

(2) *Family*.—The family is the most important unit in the Papago social structure and its solidarity is strong. Most often a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children—three generations in all. Since relatives may be depended upon for hospitality, it is a rare household that does not also include a widowed daughter, a distant cousin, or a child whose parents have died or remarried. Brothers or sisters of the old parents (also regarded as grandparents by their siblings' grandchildren) may also be part of the family. Thus a Papago child is born into a family that includes a varied combination of relatives. A child's family relationships are such that the absence of one relative is no deprivation, for there is usually another who is acceptable as a substitute.

The Papago family is patriarchial and there is always a recognized head of the house. In a typical household of three generations, the grandfather holds authority over the group, and each married son is head of his own family. If the grandfather grows too old for active responsibility, his authority passes gradually into the hands of the son who is generally considered to be the ablest—not necessarily the oldest. Although the head of the house always has the final word, he has a strong obligation to solicit and consider carefully the opinions of all the other family members before final decisions are made. Even small children are consulted in things which concern them directly, and a child's decision as to whether he wishes to go to school or the hospital is seldom questioned.

Seniority and respect for elders is the most important guideline for personal relations in the household. The child not only respects his parents, but he must also defer to older brothers and sisters. Each person in the family seems to have some authority over all those younger than himself. Men, as a rule, have greater prestige and authority than women. Descent is reckoned through the male line, and inheritance is from the father. Older brothers have more authority than older sisters, and all boys expect their sisters to wait upon them in the home. Men usually receive and spend the family's cash income. Even if a woman has a strong personality and actually makes decisions, the man is always the family spokesman, and the woman will disclaim authority, at least in public. However, women are not relegated to an inferior position. They are never ordered about and are never servile toward the men. The attitude of both sexes is simply that their duties and spheres of authority and influence are different. In recent years the women have been working outside the home and have been gaining some influence in spheres once dominated by men. For example, in the tribal elections in the spring of 1956, women voted for the first time.

(3) *Village*.—With its officers and activities, each village functions as a political entity. A headman acts for the villagers in outside contacts, especially with non-Papagos. He may inherit office or be elected by the Village Council, but holds office only by common consent. He may be replaced at any time his work becomes unsatisfactory. He is a spokesman rather than a leader, expressing village attitudes rather than forming them. The more accurately he reflects the opinions of his village, the better he is at his job. No Papago tries to make himself a "big shot." However, a headman may be powerful. Remarkably foresighted, concerned with his people's welfare, he is responsible for them and is expected to feel his responsibility. Villagers look to him for ideas. Therefore, although he may not formulate opinion, he guides and helps it along. He calls the meetings of the Village Council, composed of all the adult men, to talk over decisions of any importance. One headman has summarized his activities as follows:

When we're going to have a meeting, I go around and tell everybody what time we're going to have it. Meetings are held here at my house. If somebody from the Agency is coming through, he sends word so I can go around to tell the people to come. I tell the people there will be someone coming, and if I know his name, I call it. At the meetings, sometimes I tell the man's name and why he came over, and what he is going to talk about. I tell them to go ahead and say what they want to. We always have to use interpreters because some of the old people don't understand English.

A headman does not act on important matters until his council agrees on the course. Unanimity is a strong Papago idea—one they usually achieve at the cost of speedy action. It may take weeks or months. Some issues, never agreed upon, are never acted upon. When outsiders demand fast action, not allowing time for unanimity, Papagoes are disturbed.

(4) *District and Tribe*.—No tribal organization existed until 1937, when Papagoes organized under a written constitution, authorized by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The governing body is a Tribal Council consisting of