

Papago culture was characterized by an emphasis on traditional religious ceremonialism and leadership, and a lack of interest in Anglo ideas of wealth and public works. There has always been a highly developed native literature in myth and song recital, in folk stories, and in formalized oratory. Papagos have been greatly interested in social gatherings and especially sensitive to the maintenance of form and custom in social intercourse. Early reports give an impression of an unhurried, relaxed type of life, and a dependence upon established tradition. There was a reliance on old people who understood this tradition to speak for the group, rather than reliance on individual initiative.

These values and traditions persist today, particularly in outlying villages. They account, in some measure, for the resistance to projects and proposals stemming from the white man's concept of "progress" and of wealth as a symbol of status and achievement.

Modern Papago life continues to revolve around the village or a combination of related and contiguous villages. As social units, these clusters of related families are far more meaningful to the average Papago than membership in the Tribe. This attitude is reinforced by a system of village and district control of grazing rights.

In the larger settlements a traditional social-political organization controls the daily lives of the people. The headman is frequently a powerful figure and is often tied to the traditional way of life through his additional duties as a native diagnostician (*Ma-kai*). To him, and to the elders in the village, are brought all local problems and decisions: the timing of a fiesta, the settling of land and other disputes, and dealings with the outside world. The leadership pattern within the extended family is a reduced version of the village pattern. The oldest male assumes the role of family spokesman and any situation arising within the family must be solved with this man as mediator.

Prestige in a village is gained by participation in local events—fiestas, the cattle round-up, the building of chapels and repairing of *charcos* (temporary rainwater reservoirs) and fences. Papagos talk about the "American way" (*mirigan kiidag*) and the "Indian way" (*o'dham kiidag*). To work and live in the society of Indians, earning a living from farming and ranching, and making everything possible from local resources without dependence upon money and wage work, is the "Indian way" and the people who live this way are praised.

A type of political factionalism has grown out of the conflict between the "American way," which is identified with Sells, largest town and seat of the BIA agency, and with life in off-reservation communities, and the "Indian way," which is identified with the smaller reservation villages. Those who have begun to find success in the "American way" are generally considered "progressives" who do not oppose change or the influx of commercial life to the reservation. The "conservatives" take the other stance.

The pull of these forces is not an Indian choice. The reservation cannot support its population in the Indian way of life. Most families must seek wage work in Sells, or off the reservation, either permanently or temporarily, and thus are inevitably drawn into the cash economy and the ways of life of the American.

(2) *Family Economics and Settlement Patterns.*—Papago Reservation families may be roughly divided into five economic classes: (1) wage workers, (2) full-time cattlemen, (3) part-time cattlemen, (4) reservation residents with off-reservation employment, and (5) welfare recipients and others who are not in the labor force.

Wage workers are found mostly in Sells where they are employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, the Tribe and by traders and cattle buyers. Kitt Peak National Observatory, east of Sells, employs twenty-two Papagos and perhaps another twelve are employed by schools and traders at Santa Rosa and other reservation towns. Wage work income is estimated at close to one million dollars annually and involves about two hundred permanent and seventy part-time Indian employees.

Full and part-time cattlemen are estimated at 250, no more than thirty earning an adequate living from this source on a full-time basis. The part-time cattle raisers supplement their income principally from seasonal and temporary off-reservation wage work. Some are employed at temporary jobs on the reservation and some supplement their income through subsistence farming. Gross income from cattle raising is estimated at \$650,000 annually.