

Indian families residing on the reservation who earn their livings through seasonal and temporary wage work off the reservation are estimated at 300 to 500.

The fifth important segment of the reservation population is the group living on unearned income, mostly welfare, and those not in the labor force. Most recent figures on welfare are for 1962, when an average of 536 adults were receiving welfare income in the following categories: old age assistance (265), aid to dependent children (154), aid to the blind (12), and general assistance (104).

In a 1964 study it was estimated that six hundred males over the age of fourteen and not in school were technically out of the labor force, either idle and not looking for work or unable to work because of old age or illness. Many of these, of course, are welfare recipients. Others are truly idle and are supported, in large part, by relatives.

There has never been a satisfactory study of family income on the reservation. Full-time cattlemen no doubt have the highest income, but no estimate is available. The group employed at wage work has an average annual income of about \$3500. The income of those who combine serious effort at cattle raising with wage work perhaps averages \$2500. The average annual income of other reservation families, including those on welfare is not known. A good estimate would be \$1100 plus or minus \$300.

It is estimated that just under five thousand Indians make their usual home on the three Papago reservations. Income, employment and residence data would indicate that about 20% are stable residents with incomes from cattle and wage work, another 13% make a fair living from cattle but supplement this income with wage work, about 40% have reasonably stable homes but are supported by welfare payments or by relatives, and 26% make their usual homes on the reservation but earn their livings through seasonal and temporary off-reservation wage work.

A significant aspect of the employment and settlement pattern has to do with tribal political organization and possible community development projects.

The small farming and cattle raising centers are losing population to Sells and to villages near the borders of the reservation because of the shift to a wage work economy. Cohesive communities with common employment and social interests are thus giving way to more heterogeneous communities whose inhabitants are not deeply committed to community affairs. Sells and the central Tribal Government at Sells are gaining in importance at the expense of outlying villages.

(c) *The Land*.—The problem of transportation and communication on the main reservation stems from the combined factors of distance and scattered small population centers. The reservation stretches sixty miles along the Mexican border and extends about ninety miles north to south. In this vast desert area of 4329 square miles are thirty-six villages with a mean population of 110, ranging from Sells with about seven hundred inhabitants to Vaye Chin with twelve. Between are the ranch homes of another five hundred residents.

Two good roads cross the reservation from east to west and north to south, meeting in the approximate center at Covered Wells. This gives all-weather access to about half the villages. The other half are on dirt roads, often impassible in wet weather. About 100 miles northwest of Sells is a small Papago reservation at Gila Bend with a population of about one hundred, and sixty-five miles east of Sells in the San Xavier Papago Reservation with a population of approximately five hundred.

Most of the reservation is desert land, suitable only for stock raising. The elevation on the east rises to over 7000 feet in the Baboquivari Mountains, but drops rapidly to the west to about 2400 feet at Sells, and to about 1500 feet at Chuichu to the northwest. Rainfall over most of the reservation averages about ten inches per year and temperatures range from a record high of 115 degrees in summer to a low of 17 degrees in winter.

Speculation with respect to possible non-Indian use of the main Papago Reservation serves to bring into perspective the nature of the land and its resources. Had this area never been an Indian reservation it would probably now have a non-Indian population of around one hundred families: perhaps twenty families at a tourist and trading center at Sells; another thirty or forty ranch families; another twenty or so engaged in farming at favorable locations such as Chuichu and Papago farms; and perhaps another twenty engaged in