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SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES IN THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS--A
PILOT STUDY OF TWO WASHO INDIAN COMMUNITIES. FINAL REPORT.

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TO EXAMINE THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION ON
ACCULTURATION, THIS PILOT STUDY ATTEMPTED TO DETERMINE IF
THERE WAS A SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN EXTENT OF EDUCATION
BETWEEN THOSE WASHO INDIANS WHO WERE ACCULTURATED AND THOSE
WHO WERE NOT. WHEN IT WAS FOUND THAT THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF
TWO TENTATIVELY SELECTED GROUPS WAS NOT SIGNIFICANTLY
DIFFERENT, AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO LOCATE FACTORS OTHER THAN
EDUCATION WHICH INFLUENCE THE ACCULTURATION OF MINORITY
MEMBERS. TWO QUESTIONNAIRES WERE DEVELOPED TO OBTAIN
SOCIOECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION. THEY WERE
PRESENTED TO BOTH AN ACCULTURATED GROUP OF WASHO INDIANS
(NEWLY SELECTED) AND THE NONACCULTURATED GROUP CONSIDERED
PREVIOUSLY. WHILE IT WAS EASILY DETERMINED THAT THE
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL DID NOT VARY SIGNIFICANTLY BETWEEN GROUPS,
CONCLUSIONS REMAINED TENTATIVE. FURTHER RESEARCH WAS
RECOMMENDED. ONE OF THESE CONCLUSIONS WAS THAT COMMUNAL
PRESSURES, BOTH FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE, OPERATE TO EITHER
INHIBIT OR ACCELERATE THE ACCULTURATION OF MINORITIES. (GD)

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Alex Simirenko

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University of Nevada

Reno, Nevada

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5. INTRODUCTION

At the heart of this research project lies the major tentative hypothesis that there are no statistically significant differences in the number of years of education between an acculturated or assimilated minority group and the unacculturated, or less acculturated, minority group. This hypothesis was originally formulated on the basis of a study conducted by this investigator of an ethnic community in Minneapolis in 1960. ¹

This study discovered that when we compare the assimilated group formerly belonging to the Minneapolis Russian community and those who still continued their membership in the community, no apparent statistical significance in the years of formal education could be ascertained. This finding forced us to re-evaluate all the previous thinking on the relation between education and acculturation. Certainly many of the foremost ideas in sociology had been called into question by these findings. If there is no particular difference in education of the acculturated and the non-acculturated groups, or the less acculturated groups, then the influence of American formal educational structure on the acculturation of minorities is indeed negligible. Such a formulation, however, would negate all our previous theorizing on this problem.

¹Alex Simirenko, *PILGRIMS, COLONISTS AND FRONTIERSMEN: AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN TRANSITION*. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

Sociologists have traditionally believed in the impact of public education on the acculturation process. Such beliefs, although unsupported by empirical research, are still to be found in the most current sociological literature of today.

Frank Wilson Blackmar, one of the important sociologists in the first three decades of this century, writing on the acculturation of the American Indian exhibits great belief in our educational system to aid in assimilating Indian population into the American Society.² According to Blackmar, "the main issue of the Indian question today is his assimilation to the population of ordinary citizenship. To obtain this it is necessary to have universal education of the right sort suited to the needs of the Indian boys and girls in the present status."³

Such a formulation meant that the United States Government would have to place greater effort and resources in the development of education facilities for the American Indian.⁴

'This means that the government must not only spend more money at present in the employment of teachers of the right sort, but must employ skilled teachers for special kinds of instructions for home economics,

² Frank Wilson Blackmar "The Socialization of the American Indian." The American Journal of Sociology, Vol XXXIV, Number 4, (January, 1929), pp 653-685.

³ Ibid., p. 655.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 655 -656.

conservation of property, in government relationship, and in responsible citizenship. There must be better salaries in order to procure better teachers, but teachers in the schools are not any more important than teachers in the field, who might be called community organizers, or social engineers, or vocational advisers, who should go into the community and teach the people how to live as well as what to live for. In order to procure better teachers, it will be necessary to have them especially prepared for the work, and in order to have this, better salaries must be paid; but nothing avails so much in doing justice to the Indian and promoting his instruction as to the abandonment of partisan politics in appointments.'

In reference to the educational curriculum, Blackmar also sees very special needs for the American Indian: ⁵

'As to the curriculum of education which the Indian must receive in the schools, it must be assumed at first that if he is going to fit into the modern life of our civilization he must have an education equal to that of the white population of the dominant race. That is, he must be treated as we treat the white youth of today in fitting him for the life he must live. This means, of course, that he must have a general education as far as he is able to take it. We are adopting the same theory in our high schools, colleges and universities. We must give the youth an education that will fit him for the life that he has to live, and this will be determined by his traits, tendencies, and abilities on the one side, and the field of human service he is to enter. This applies more specifically to the Indian youth, because, not having the range of choice that the white boy has, we must be sure that he is fitted for a particular occupation, so that industrial training in industry, arts, agriculture, and commerce must be dwelt upon as of prime importance.'

Blackmar's writing is only one example of the thinking of sociologists, not only in 1929, but also in the 1960's.

⁵ Ibid., p 668.

Probably the most influential writing on the problem of acculturation in America has been that of W. Lloyd Warner in cooperation with his many associates, and particularly with Leo Srole.⁶

In Warner's view, acculturation of the members of an ethnic community tends to be related to their rise on the socio-economic ladder. Each ethnic group starts on the road toward acculturation to the American values as well as toward a socio-economic advancement as soon as it settles in an American city. Warner and Srole summarize their findings in the following fashion:⁷

'When he (the immigrant) has consolidated his position in the lowest class level, the pl generation ethnic does not always stay there. As we have observed in the two preceding chapters, he is drawn by the attractions of the Yankee City residential and occupational hierarchies and begins his upward climb in both. Positions in both these hierarchies are highly important criteria determining status in the class system. By means of these two forms of mobility; by great emphasis on the expansion of capital; by further extension of relations, formal and informal with the natives; and by rapidly becoming more American in outlook and conduct (more slowly in matters which touch the family and the ethnic group) a substantial proportion of the pl generation within about twenty years after arrival compelled inclusion in the upper-lower class.'

⁶ W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF AMERICAN ETHNIC GROUPS. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

The educational system plays an extremely important role in the immigrant's upward climb. The mobility of the immigrant is facilitated by the education that he receives in the American schools. In Warner's formulation:⁸

'In the American school system, however, the schools assume a far greater educative function. In terms of the F¹ generation child, they have almost exclusively the function of orienting the child to the American society, since the immigrant parents are themselves inadequately oriented. Not only do parent and child during an important part of the day move in separate social structures, but, as a consequence of the fact that one is in a Yankee City factory and the other in a Yankee City school, the father is no longer the supreme and sole lawgiver to the child.'

Warner and Srole devoted considerable attention to the so-called "orienting functions of the school system", all of which are supposed to re-orient a member of an ethnic community to the values of American society and away from the values of his ethnic community. To quote Warner again:⁹

'Not only does the child acquire in the school these American attitudes of "self-reliance" and "freedom of action" with respect to his own individuality, but he becomes oriented both in the curriculum and in school rituals to specifically American symbols. Four of the courses in the Yankee City grammar schools are: Duties of Citizenship, History and Constitution of the United States, Civics, and English. The following numbers are included in the annual Memorial Day exercises held in all the city's schools in which ethnic children are conspicuous participants: Salute to the Flag," and recitations -

⁸ Ibid., p. 127.

⁹ Ibid., p. 140.

"What Our Flag Stands For," "Red, White and Blue," "Memorial Day," "Little Patriots," "For Our Country," and "America the Beautiful." All but one of these are presented on the programs of the First Grade.

In subjects taught, attitudes suggested, and symbols ritualized, the school effectively transforms two basic classes of elements in the ethnic child's personality--his behaviors and his attitudes. A school officer in effect states this fact: "In school the foreign kids are resocialized so that their differences, at least outside of the home, tend to disappear. The ethnic child comes to conform with the personality of the American child.'

Even more important than the quotations from Warner's writings presented here is Warner's general approach to the problem of social mobility and social class. Warner defines social class as "two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior or inferior position." In such a formulation the variables of income, status, occupation, residence, as well as education are linked together. Warner assumes the unidimensionality of the socio-economic classes. This would indicate that an individual who goes up the social ladder also must go up the educational level as well, or vice-versa. Since, in Warner's thinking, a member of the minority community experiences an acculturation at the same time that he advances his socio-economic position, it is inevitable that he also advances his education in this process.

Warners work in this field has influenced several generations of sociologists (that is, generations not in the traditional sense but in the academic sense.) Warner's formulations are still repeated today in different forms by other sociologists. Thus, for example, the most recent text on minorities by Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan approaches the problem of acculturation in the following fashion: ¹⁰

'Since some persons in minority groups assimilate and others do not, the question arises: what are the conditions under which such drastic transformations of perspective occur? First of all, people who assimilate are drawn from those who have had opportunities for contacts with the dominant group, and this often depends upon one's position in the minority group. Some children of low rank, for example, are reared outside of ethnic colonies. Their parents may be employed on estates, or they may prefer not to be associated with the group. The youngsters grow up among the privileged, knowing little or nothing about the "foreigners" with whom they are identified. Sometimes contact is indirect - through the media of mass communication. Usually, however, contacts are direct and sustained- schoolmates, teachers, playground directors, clergymen, or fellow workers. Such associations provide the communication channels through which ethnocentrism is broken, through which a sympathetic understanding of another way of life is acquired.'

Here we see the continued stress placed upon the influence of schoolmates, teachers and playground directors to assimilate a member of an ethnic community.

¹⁰ Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan: Ethnic Stratification, (New York: Macmillan Co. 1965.) p. 512.

Again, when we read the contemporary literature in the sociology of education we also find stress being laid upon the schools as agents of acculturation and assimilation. David A. Goslin, sociologist at the Russell Sage Foundation, formulates in the following way the importance of schools in the acculturation of minority groups. ¹¹

'Unlike the relative homogeneity of the traditional rural community or small towns, urban complexes have been characterized by the great cultural diversity of their populations. This has been due in large part to the tendency of immigrant groups (and migrants from rural areas) to settle in large cities in order to be near job markets as well as other people having similar cultural backgrounds. The result has been the formation of ethnic enclaves scattered throughout urban areas but concentrated in the central city in particular. Urban school systems have been forced to make special provisions for such groups in order to speed up the process of acculturation and contribute to the adjustment of their members to American society. Special courses in the English language and in American history and citizenship have been required, along with provisions for vocational training and guidance. In addition to difficulties in recruiting sufficient teachers who possess a facility in the languages spoken by such groups, the acculturation process is complicated by the normal resistance of ethnic groups to pressures to give up traditional ways of doing things. Although, the greatest influx of immigrants was halted by restrictive legislation in the 1920's (which did not affect the rate of migration of citizens from our territories, including Puerto Rico), distinct groups still exist within each of our major cities, and urban school systems must continue to make special provision for them. Except for the removal of the language barrier, many of the individuals who are moving to northeastern and western cities from the South and rural North

¹¹David A. Goslin, THE SCHOOL IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foreman and Co., 1965), p. 54.

create many of the same special problems for the educational system. Thus the Negro who moves from rural Georgia to Chicago, New York or Detroit must learn to adapt to a basically different culture in much the same way that the Hungarian or Chinese immigrant must adapt. In this process the educational system currently plays and will continue to play a vital role.

All in all, sociological literature is characterized by the belief that the American educational system is effectively promoting the acculturation and assimilation of members of various minority groups. It should be pointed out that all of these formulations have little, if any, empirical basis for their support. Most of them are based upon general observations and common sense generalizations. Not even Warner has done any controlled study of educational levels of the assimilated and the non-assimilated, or less assimilated, groups. The present pilot study focuses upon this major problem and attempts to give some tentative answers based upon empirical data.

Purposes, objectives, or

hypotheses and models

Despite near universal exposure to public education, ethnic communities persist in retaining their identity largely because substantial numbers of their members resist complete acculturation. If the impact of public education upon the acculturation of minorities is negligible, then there must be other factors extraneous to education

which inhibit or accelerate the acculturation of individuals. These suggestions are not at all original with the investigator. Already in 1957, Evon Z. Vogt, an acknowledged specialist on the Indian acculturation, reviewed the hypotheses which have been advanced to account for the persistence of Indian culture. He contended that the view that American Indian acculturation has been slow because of inadequate public education, mass communications and contact with the members of the wider society "fails to account for the many cases of Indian groups which have been subjected to a great deal of contact, yet who continue to maintain many of their old patterns." ¹² Professor Vogt, on the other hand, favors a different hypothesis, recently advanced by Eric Wolf, which "stresses the importance of an organized communal structure" of the Indians as either hindering or facilitating acculturation to the values of majority society. While this type of explanation "has not been systematically explored with the United States Indian data," according to Professor Vogt, it is one which may prove extremely fruitful in our account of the persistence of Indian culture. ¹³

¹²Evon Z. Vogt, "The Acculturation of American Indians," in George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, eds., *AMERICAN INDIANS AND AMERICAN LIFE* (Philadelphia: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1957), p. 143.

¹³Ibid., pp. 143-144.

Therefore, the purposes and objectives of the present community study of the Washo Indian are twofold:

- I. To discover if there is significant difference in the years of education between those Washo Indians who are acculturated or assimilated and those who are non-ac-culturated or less acculturated.
- II If it is true that the educational level of the two groups (described in point I), are not significantly different, than the attempt is to be made to discover what other possible factors, other than education, influence the acculturation of minority members.

In order to achieve the first objective, we have formulated the following tentative hypothesis to be tested in the pilot study:

No statistically significant difference will be found in the number of years of education of the two groups.

To achieve our second objective five additional tentative hypotheses were formulated:

1. The members of an acculturated group are located considerably higher on the class scale than the members of the less acculturated group.
2. The members of an acculturated group are less concerned about their prestige in the community and rate

each other lower than the members of the less acculturated group.

3. The members of an acculturated group show greater interest in the politics of the wider American society but they depreciate political activity within their own local community. The less acculturated members, however, are expected to be more concerned about the affairs of their own community and little concerned about the decision making in the wider community. In general, we can predict higher power scores for the less acculturated community. The acculturated group concerned with class advantages, according to our theory, will prefer to ignore influence and power.
4. The members of an acculturated group will show greater acculturation to the values of the major community and away from the traditional Washo values, thus revealing higher acculturation scores than members of the less acculturated community.
5. Individuals in the acculturated group with high acculturation scores will receive greater deference from their community members (higher status scores)

while individuals in the less acculturated community with high acculturation scores will receive lower deference from their fellow members.

The above hypotheses have been formulated on the basis of ideas developed at the turn of the century by Max Weber. Weber distinguished between three socio-economic dimensions: class, status, and power. According to Weber, persons with common access to wealth occupy the same class situation. Persons sharing the same social honor or esteem share equal status and belong to the same status group. Persons who have a chance to influence the actions of others occupy position of power. Individuals may be able to claim advantages with respect to either class, status, or power, or a combination of the three dimensions.

Any community, including an ethnic community, represents an unequal distribution among its member of class, status and power advantages. Even when an ethnic community seems to be located at the very bottom of the larger society and shares least in each of these advantages in comparison to other groups, the members of this community nevertheless divide among themselves according to these three dimensions. Some of them may be either richer, or more respected, or have greater power. Thus, when members of ethnic communities begin to establish social ties outside their community and move toward acculturation to the dominant societal values they

bring with them their advantages which can be either improved, lost or exchanged for the advantages they did not previously possess. More specifically, individuals have certain vested interests within their communities which influence their response to the larger society.

An illustration from one classic study may be helpful in clarifying this point. Albert Blumenthal, in his remarkable study called SMALL-TOWN STUFF, observed that certain high status families of Mineville refused to leave town and exchange status advantages for economic advantages available elsewhere. Similarly, in an ethnic community individuals who enjoy high esteem and exercise power prefer to remain within the community and resist acculturation of its members. Individual, however, who are low in status may have little to lose in leaving the community. An improvement of one's status within any community seems to be a more difficult task than an improvement of either class or power dimensions. Albert Blumenthal noted that "some families have advanced far financially and yet have been able to move but little from their original ratings in the eyes of the community." 14

Thus, only special types of individuals are attracted toward acculturation rather than simply those who rise on the socio-economic scale according to Warner. Individuals willing to undergo acculturation

¹⁴ Albert Blumenthal, SMALL-TOWN STUFF (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 172.

are rewarded with considerably better economic position at the expense of their status. If they value their status within the community, they are likely to resist acculturation and for this action be rewarded with higher status or power position by that community. Even in cases of lower status members of an ethnic community there are advantages in remaining in the community. Membership in an ethnic community signifies that an individual even though suffering certain hardships is never on his own - that he is always protected and has the privilege to receive help in case of need from his fellow members. Individuals who leave the community have to be prepared to meet many possible emergencies with their own efforts and often alone.

In the above view, an individual remains unacculturated not because he is uneducated, uninformed, stubborn, or unable to rise on the socio-economic scale devised by Warner. Instead, as was partially confirmed by the Russian community study, the individual simply values economic advantages to a lesser degree than other advantages. This explains the persistence of ethnic communities. This also explains why individual immigrants who remain outside the ethnic community tend to acculturate more rapidly into the American society.

6 METHOD

To test all the six tentative hypotheses outlined above, the following method was initially suggested in our proposal of the pilot study. First of all two Washo Indian communities were selected on the advice of anthropological experts: The Dresslerville Community and the Carson Colony. The Dresslerville Community was supposed to represent a less acculturated group, while the Carson Colony was to represent the more acculturated group. According to our anthropologists, the Dresslerville Community was composed of some 30 families. As was stated in our initial proposal, most of these families "are unemployed and receive welfare support". The Carson Colony was believed to be composed of some 90 families most of whom have jobs and are self-supporting."

A little over a year after the acceptance of our proposal information gathered by anthropology students came to light indicating that our original information was in error. The population of the Dresslerville Community was not smaller in size to that of the Carson Colony. A number of unemployed and welfare recipients was considerable smaller in the Dresslerville Community than in the Carson Colony. Furthermore, the number of families (with both husband and wife present) in the Dresslerville Community was 24 while

in the Carson Colony only 21.

Additional data supported the idea that the Carson Colony was not an appropriate second group for the conduct of our pilot study. For one thing, close to 40% members of the Carson Colony were not members of the Washo Tribe and, therefore, would not give us the kind of data we seek. Secondly, the educational levels of the males in the two communities were not significantly different. If we compare the information gathered in our study of the Dresslerville Community with the information gathered by an anthropology student of the Carson Colony, we find that there seems to be little difference between the two groups.

TABLE I

<u>Education of males in Dresslerville and Carson Colony</u>		
<u>Grades completed</u>	<u>Dresslerville</u>	<u>Carson</u>
0 - 8	35.3%	38.7%
9 - 12	58.8	48.4
Some University, Trade and Business School	5.9	12.9
Total	100%	100%

Similarly the occupational profiles of the two groups seem

to be quite distinct, but in the wrong direction. That is, the direction indicating that perhaps the Dresslerville Community may be more acculturated than the Carson Colony. Thus, for example, the Carson Colony did not contain even one man of semi-professional or supervisory category. There were at least two such persons in the Dresslerville Community. Furthermore, the Carson Colony contained only 26.5% of skilled workers in comparison with as many as half of the workers in the Dresslerville Community belonging in a skilled category.

All in all, the information which came to light did not permit us to utilize Carson Colony as the ideal more acculturated Washo Indian Group. Considering that it was a pilot study and that the ideas that were to be tested were most important, it was decided to select as our second more acculturated group those Washo families living outside of any of the reservations and colonies.

For the purposes of easier identification of the acculturated and the less acculturated groups we shall, from now on, refer to them as either Tribalists or Independents. The Tribalists are the Washo families, with both the husband and wife present and living in the Dresslerville Community, who are still in the age range which doesn't permit retirement. The Tribalists represent the less acculturated and certainly non-assimilated community.

The Independents, however, are assimilated families, in which both husband and wife are present and in which the husband is himself a Washo, representing a more acculturated group. Certainly they are already an assimilated group since they reside outside of any reservation or colony and since they are on their own, so to say, as far as making a living is concerned.

We have interviewed all but one family of the Tribalists. The Dresslerville community is composed of 18 families who are not on the retirement list. Of these, one family arrived only in the summer of 1966 and because of the constant absence of the husband at his work it was impossible to make some kind of meaningful contact with him. In order to interview all these families much of the energy and time has gone into establishing rapport. Contrary to the earlier information gathered by anthropologists, the Dresslerville community families, or the so-called Tribalists, are extremely hard working and busy people. Therefore, even after

establishing a rapport with the community it was still a problem of finding heads of the families at home ready to be interviewed. This was one of the reasons for the delay in completing the study.

The Independents, who live scattered all over the United States have been discovered through the aid of the Indian Bureau at Stewart, which keeps the census information on the Washo tribe. The Washo are now in the final stage of their court settlement with the Federal Government and many of the Washo who reside outside of the reservations, even as far away as New York, have placed their names on the tribal list. Thus, it was possible to obtain names of those persons who were living outside of the tribal land. As many as nine families were discovered to be residing in the general Reno-Carson City-Fallon-Lake Tahoe area. Two of the families in Carson City, although residing outside the tribal land have been known to be constant participants in the problems and affairs of the Carson Colony. These two families were purposely omitted from our list. Seven families were interviewed in this general area. In order to obtain information on the assimilated Washo families living outside and far removed from the Tribal condition, we have mailed out questionnaires to as many as 54 families. Of these, 20 questionnaires never reached their destination. Of the 34 questionnaires which were mailed out and

which supposedly, but without any certainty, have reached their destination, 14 questionnaires have been received with questions answered. Thus, as many as 41% of successful and returned responses have been achieved. Considering that this is a tribal group and that the questionnaires which were mailed out and were in no special way prepared for paper or pencil response, the results have certainly been admirable. To achieve this result, two follow up letters were mailed. Both the initial letter as well as the follow up letters are enclosed in the appendix of this report. Of the 14 questionnaires which were returned, only 9 were useful for our purpose. Two questionnaires were answered by widows whose husbands have already died and some have come from persons who are already in retirement and, therefore, did not qualify. Others have come from persons who have returned back to the tribal land. All in all, the Independents, or the more acculturated group, for which the information was gathered were made up of 16 families, 9 of which came from distant places and 7 from the general area of Reno-Carson City-Fallon-Lake Tahoe.

The information was gathered with the aid of an extensive, although not as extensive as one would wish, questionnaire. Actually two questionnaires were mailed, both of which are found in the appendix. Questionnaire A included questions of the general socio-economic nature. Questionnaire B was intended to

discover the educational experience of the two groups as well as their attitudes towards education. This was an attempt to probe more deeply into the influence of education upon the acculturation process.

7 RESULTS

Complete results of the study are detailed in the following pages. The two groups are identified as either Tribalists or Independents. The numbers identify either tables or questions corresponding with the numbers on the questionnaires. Most of the tables also include verbatim answers of the response to the questions, thus providing us with typical and unique responses.

Table 2
Husband's birthplace

Geographical Area	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Washo or near Washo land	17	100%	12	75%	29	88%
Distant land	0		4	25	4	12
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Four born outside of Washo land:

Camino, California

San Francisco, California

Oakland, California

San Antonio, Texas

Table 3

Husband's Age

Ages	Tribalists	Independents
20 - 24	1	1
25 - 29	1	1
30 - 34	2	3
35 - 39	6	2
40 - 44	3	2
45 - 49	1	3
50 - 54	1	1
55 - 59	2	1
60 - 64		
65 - 69		1
Median Age -	35 - 39	40 - 44
Mean Age -	40.18	43.37

Table 4
Wife's Birthplace

Geographical Area	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Washo or near Washo land	15	100%	7	44%	22	71%
Distant land	0	0	9	56	9	29
Total	15	100%	16	100%	31	100%

Nine born outside of Washo land:

Moopa Reservation

Swindon, England

Bridgeport, California

Hominy, Oklahoma

New England Area

Kansas State

San Francisco, California

Brooklyn, New York

Yosemite National Park

Table 5
Wife's Age

Ages	Tribalists	Independents
15 - 19	1	
20 - 24	1	1
25 - 29	2	4
30 - 34	4	1
35 - 39	2	2
40 - 44	3	2
45 - 49	2	2
50 - 54		1
55 - 59		1
60 - 64		2
65 - 69	1	
Median Age -	35	40
Mean Age -	35.6	40.69

Table 7

In what tribe, colony, or reservation
was the husband raised.

Place grown up.	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Reservation or near	17	100%	11	69%	28	85%
Outside of reservation	0	0	5	31	5	15
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 8

Wife's Tribe

Tribe	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Washo	10	59%	3	19%	13	39.5%
Other Indian Tribe	7	41	9	56	16	48.5
Non-Indian	0		4	25	4	12
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Of the non-Indians, two are caucasions, two unknown.

One Caucasion girl is from England

Table 9

In what tribe, colony, or reservation was the wife raised

Place Grown Up	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Washo or near Washo land	14	100%	5	31%	19	63%
Distant land	0		11	69	11	37
Total	14	100%	16	100%	30	100%

Table 10

Children: name and ages

	Tribalists	Independents
None	1	
1	1	3
2	5	4
3	2	2
4	4	5
5	1	
6		1
7	1	1
8		
9		
10	1	
11		
12	1	
Median -	3	3
Mean -	3.94	3.12

Comment

If we count only families with children in the Tribalist group, the mean number of children is 4.19.

Question 11

If children over 18, how much school did each complete

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 A 20 year old girl finished high school, one year of business school.
 - 4 Boy: 25 years old - finished 10 years of schooling.
 - 5 Oldest girl attended 11 grades. Boy 12 grades and started college.
 - 6 Boy: 19- finished high school - goes to paint school in Oakland under the Relocation Program.
 - 7 Oldest boy - 12 grades.
 - 8 Two boys had 12 grades.
-

Independents

- 1B Oldest girl had 4 years of high school but did not graduate.
- 3B Oldest boy - 12 years of school - finished high school, the girl - 10 years of school.
- 6B The three girls all had high school, two had business college and one had attended Haskell College for 6 years.
- 7B Three boys finished high school, one girl 2 years of college.
- 8B One son - one year of Junior college and 2 years of business college.
- 10B Oldest boy 2 years of college, one boy high school and girl high school plus 11 months business course.
- 11B Daughter completed high school.
- 15B Boy and a girl - both finished high school.
- 16B Oldest boy - high school education.

Table 12

Have the children been taught an Indian language

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
None at all	3	21%	11	69%	14	47%
Some, enough to understand a little.	11	79	5	31	16	53
Total	14	100%	16	100%	30	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 2 They could speak it if they wanted to, but usually they don't want to. I will encourage the young ones at least to understand.
- 4 Yes, he understands everything I say.
- 5 Tries, but can't do it alone.
- 7 Grandma speaks to them - they understand, but do not answer in Washo nor speak between themselves.
- 9 A few words - would like to teach more.
- 10 A little bit, but not too much.
- 13 Too young yet, but wife does not speak it and husband only little.

Independents

- 1B Grandmother speaks Washo to the children.
- B Piute language.
- 6B Just to understand, not speak it.
- 7B No, understand quite a bit, speak only the dirty words.
- B Understand (Piute) but speak very little.

Table 13

To what extent is Indian language spoken in family

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Not at all	8	47%	13	81.5%	21	64%
A few words	7	41	2	12.5	9	27
Both English and Washo used	1	6	1	6.	2	6
Washo most of the time	1	6	0		1	3
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 14
Any relatives living now with family

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	0		3	19%	3	9%
No	17	100%	13	81	30	91
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Tribalists

- 1 Mother lives next door.
- 5 Mother lives next door.

Independents

- 1B Cousin of husband.
- 9B Wife's great-grandmother.
- 10B Mother-in-law.

Table 17

Husband's highest grade in school completed

Years	Tribalists	Independents
None		1
1		
2		
3		1
4	1	
5		
6	2	
7	1	1
8	2	
9	3	2
10	1	1
11	1	
12	5	4
13	1	3
14		1
15		1
16		1
Median -	9	12
Mean -	9.41	10.62

Comment:

Of the 6 Independents who attended college only two were raised on the reservation or colony.

Table 15

How long has the family lived in the present community

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Always	10	62.5%	5	31%	15	47%
Lived elsewhere	6	37.5	11	69	17	53
Total	16	100%	16	100%	32	100%

Table 19

Wife's highest grade in school completed

Years	Tribalists	Independents
None	1	
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		1
8	1	3
9	2	1
10	1	1
11	2	1
12	7	8
13		1
Median -	11	12
Mean -	10.14	10.62

Table 21

What kind of job did husband's father do and what was he skilled at

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Ranch hand and unskilled	12	71%	7	44%	19	59%
Skilled	5	29	3	19	8	24
M clerical	0		2	12	2	6
Semi-professional	0		1	6	1	3
Unknown	0		3	19	3	9
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 5 Electrician
- 7 Logging and ranching
- 8 Electrician
- 12 House builder
- 16 Truck driver
- 17 Electrician

Independents

- 1B Father died before son was born - ranch hand.
- 2B Father (foster father since 3 years of age) worked for City of Reno, Street Department, paving crew.
- 3B Step-father, carpenter.
- 5B Ranch hand, logger and sheepherder, own sheep.
- 7B Rode cattle on the range; followed timber game, broke mules for Army.
- 8B Teamster and farmer.
- 12B Pro-soldier - 33 years with U.S.A.F. Retired officer - Aircraft maintenance.
- 13B Meat cutter.
- 14B Secretary-treasurer of Misc. Culinary Employee Union Local #110.
- 15B Postmaster

Table 22

Is husband employed now

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	16	94%	15	94%	31	94%
No	1	6	1	6	2	6
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Question 23

If not, why -

Tribalists

12 Cannot find a job - was offered one in Oregon,
but refused to go that far.

Independents

10B Sick leave from P.H.S. Hospital in Schurz, Nevada

Question 24

If not, what kind of a job did he do last and when

Tribalists

12 Three months ago was employed an an electrician for
two years - was laid off.
Is experienced electrician - wired house.

Independents

10B Medical technologist

Question 25

If not, how is the family supported

Tribalists

12 Father's and grandfather's family support them.

Independents

10B Wife employed.

Question 26

If employed, where

Tribalists

- 1 Douglas County Sheriff's Office
- 2 San Francisco, building trade
- 3 Oakland, Interior and Exterior decorating
- 4 John Henrickson Ranch
- 5 Project head for the Economic Opportunity Program in Dresserville
- 6 General contractor at Lake Tahoe and Fallon Leaf Lake
- 7 Construction Company
- 8 Lumber Company
- 9 Baker Electric
- 10 Anaconda Copper Company
- 11 State Highway Department
- 13 Fred Dressler's old ranch
- 14 Douglas County Road Department
- 15 Maneley Motors
- 16 Home Building Industry
- 17 Home Building Industry

Independents

- 1B Hires by the Painting job through union hall
- 2B Gallagher Sheet Metal Co., Reno
- 3B Silver State Construction Co., Fallon
- 4B Industrial Park
- 5B City Water Company
- 6B His own business
- 7B Washoe Pines Guest Ranch
- 8B Okanogan, Washington
- 9B Mono Medical Center, Bridgeport, California
- 11B City of Hominy, Oklahoma
- 12B United States Air Force
- 13B Kansas City, Missouri
- 14B San Francisco Chronicle
- 15B A. M. Lewis Co., Northridge, California
- 16B Naval Air Station, Alameda, California

Question 27

What is the job called

Tribalists

- 1 Deputy Sheriff
- 2 House Painter
- 3 Painter
- 4 Farm laborer
- 5 Project head for Economic Opportunity Program
- 6 All around hand at building houses (skilled)
- 7 Laborer
- 8 Truck driver hauling trees
- 9 Electrician
- 10 Truck driver
- 11 Maintenance Man
- 13 Ranch Hand
- 14 Blade and Showell operator
- 15 Automobile mechanic
- 16 Carpenter
- 17 Electrician

Independents

- 1B House painter
- 2B Sheet metal worker
- 3B Truck driver
- 4B Custodian
- 5B "Plumber" of a limited nature
- 6B Businessman
- 7B Ranch foreman and custodian
- 8B Office manager, accountant and corporation treasurer
- 9B Hospital custodian
- 11B Superintendent of the Water Dept.
- 12B Engine Technician
- 13B Laborer
- 14B District Manager in Home Delivery (Newspaper)
- 15B Fork Lift operator
- 16B Production controllman

Question 28

What does he actually do in his job

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Patrolman
- 2 Paints houses
- 3 All kinds of painting jobs
- 4 Seasonal summer ranch jobs
- 5 Supervises 10 teenagers cleaning up the Dresslerville area and beautifying the area
- 6 Does everything on the house, skilled
- 7 Unskilled labor
- 8 Drives a truck
- 9 All kinds of electrical work
- 10 Drives truck
- 11 Operates snowplow in wintertime and drives truck in fair weather
- 13 Bales Hay, operates machinery, etc.
- 14 Plows snow in the winter and helps construct road in Fall
- 15 General motor repair
- 16 Carpenter in the new homes and remodeling jobs
- 17 Electrician - electrical wiring put in the homes

Independents

- 1B Paints houses
- 2B Sheet metal fabricating and installing
- 3B Drives truck and trailer trucks and loads all construction equipment
- 4B Care of lawns - watering and training it; outside work in general
- 5B Puts in water pipes, fixes leaks, part of an installaion crew
- 6B Leases 80 acres - owns 27 horses - saddle horses are rented out at Lake Tahoe - Also cuts X-mas trees for retail. Quit going on pack trips about 6 years ago.
- 7B All kinds of maintenance work - irrigate - brand cattle, veterinarian
- 8B Administrative and accountant duties
- 9B General clean-up of offices, patient rooms, surgery room, etc.
- 11B Maintainance and construction
- 12B Repairs aircraft engines - also commercial pilot
- 13B Works on residential and commercial painting
- 14B Distribute papers, manages news-boys, collects bills from carriers
- 15B Brings cases of groceries for men to load on trucks
- 16B Schedule work, shop loading, co-ordinate production and manpower

Table 29

What is his monthly and yearly income

Yearly Income	Tribalists	Independents
Less than 1,000		
1,000 to 1,999	1	
2,000 to 2,999		1
3,000 to 3,999	3	
4,000 to 4,999	1	4
5,000 to 5,999	3	3
6,000 to 6,999	4	1
7,000 to 7,999	1	2
8,000 to 8,999		1
9,000 to 9,999		2
10,000 to 14,999		1
<hr/>		
Median -	5,000 to 5,999	5,000 to 5,999
Mean -	4,615	6,000

Table 30

Does he belong to a labor union

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	4	23%	6	38%	10	30%
No	11	65	9	56	20	60
Unknown	2	12	1	6	3	10
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 31

Is wife employed

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	6	35%	6	37.5%	12	36%
No	11	65	10	62.5	21	64
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Question 32

If not, what kind of job did she do last and when

Tribalists

- 1 Used to work as a maid.
 - 7 Dry cleaning outfit 5 years ago "silk finisher"
-

Independents

- 1B Laundry work a long time ago.
- 2B Four years ago - laundry work and casino change girl.
- 3B 20 years ago - housework.
- 4B Up until a month ago - worked as typist.
- 7B Registered nurse.
- 8B Professional seamstress and seasonal apple packing.
- 13B Worked in hospital - 1955
- 15B Secretary, resigned May, 1965.

Question 33

If employed, what is the job called

Tribalists

- | | |
|----|--|
| 3 | Telephone operator |
| 5 | House maid |
| 9 | Assistant teacher at headstart program |
| 11 | House maid |
| 13 | Senior steno at employment security |
| 14 | House maid |
-

Independents

- | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| 5B | Presser in dry cleaners' laundries |
| 6B | Cook at an elementary school |
| 9B | Motel maid |
| 10B | Registered nurse |
| 14B | Junior bookkeeping clerk |
| 16B | Housekeeper |

Question 34

What does she actually do on her job

Tribalists

- 3 Long distance operator
 - 4 House work - 3 to 4 days a week
 - 9 Watches playground, paints, sings and plays with children
 - 11 Cleans homes
 - 13 Stenographic work
 - 14 Housework in Gardnerville and Minden
-

Independents

- 5B Folding laundry
- 6B Cooking and kitchen work
- 9B Cleans motel rooms
- 10B Nurse
- 14B Process pre-authorized check plan
- 16B Supervise maids

Table 35

What is her monthly and yearly income

Yearly Income	Tribalists	Independents
Less than 1,000		1
1,000 to 1,999	4	2
2,000 to 2,999		
3,000 to 3,999		2
4,000 to 4,999	1	1
5,000 to 5,999	1	
6,000 to 6,999		
7,000 to 7,999		1
Mean Income	2,167	2,714

Table 36

Did the present house in which they now live cost them any money

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	3	18%	13	81%	16	48%
No or little	14	82	3	19	17	52
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 13 Paid \$6,000 for a trailer in which they now live: to be paid for another 5 years.
- 14 Paid \$7,000 for a trailer in which they now live.
- 16 Live in a trailer owned by the family.

Independents

- 1B Rent a house: \$110. a month.
- 2B Rent - \$95. a month.
- 3B Yes
- 4B Rent - \$85. a month.
- 5B Buy two lots being paid for, one at \$7,200 and the other \$5,900. Live in a paid up trailer.
- 6B Rent cabin from lodge, also rent corral and pastures.
- 7B Room provided at the ranch where he works.
- 8B Yes
- 9B Yes. Two-bedroom trailer.
- 10B Rent
- 11B Evidently live in mother-in-law house.
- 12B No. Live at the U.S.A.F.
- 13B Yes.
- 14B Rent
- 15B We are buying
- 16B Yes

Table 37

Number of rooms excluding bathroom

Number of rooms	Tribalists	Independents
1		1
2	1	2
3	4	3
4	4	3
5	8	1
6		2
7		3
8		
9		
10		1

Mean	4.1	4.6
------	-----	-----

Table 38

Bathroom in the house

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	15	88%	16	100%	31	94%
No	2	12	0		2	6
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 39

How many cars owned

Cars	Tribalists	Independents
None	1	0
1	4	7
2	7	6
3	3	3
4	1	0
Mean -	1.94	1.75

Typical and Unique Answers -

Tribalists

- 1 2 trucks: jeep, family car
- 3 Pickup truck and sedan
- 4 Pickup truck and sedan
- 5 Pickup truck ('51) - 2 sedans
- 7 Pickup truck and broken car
- 8 Sedan, pickup truck and a large hauling truck
- 9 Jeep and pickup
- 10 Pickup and sedan
- 11 MGM pickup and sedan
- 12 None
- 14 2 large trucks, jeep and sedan
- 15 Jeep and Sedan
- 16 Jeep and Chevy
- 17 2 pickups and sedan

Independents

- 2B Just a pickup truck and a new 1965
- 3B '62 Chevy pickup, '59 Chevy station wagon and jeep 6 years old
- 5B Jeep, pickup from 1946, '56 Ford
- 6B '59 T-Bird, '59 Dodge 1-ton truck, '63 Ford pickup
- 10B Pickup truck ('57 Chevrolet) and '65 Chev. sedan

Table 40

Models and age

Age	Tribalists	Independents
1	1	4
2	1	4
3	3	1
4	3	2
5	1	2
6	2	2
7		3
8	1	
9	1	2
10	1	1
11		1
Mean	4.8	4.7

Tribalists

1	Oldsmobile	10	1956 Buick
2	Chevy	11	1963 Chevrolet
3	Chevy	13	1963 Chevrolet
4	Ford	14	1965 Ford
5	Buick, Pontiac	15	1960 Oldsmobile
6	Chevy '57	16	1960 Chevrolet
8	Ford	17	1961 or 1962 Chevy
9	Jeep		

Independents

1B	1957 Mercury
2B	1965 Pickup truck
3B	'62 Chev. pickup and '59 Chev. station wagon
4B	'55 Chev.

Independents

5B	'56 Ford
6B	'59 Thunderbird and '63 Ford pickup
7B	'60 Valiant
8B	'61 Chevy Station Wagon
9B	'64 Chevy
10B	'65 Chevy
11B	'61 Ford
12B	New Buick and 2 year old Sprite
13B	'63 Ford
14B	'60 TR-3 Triumph and 1959 Chevy Station Wagon
15B	'61 Corvair and '64 Chrysler
16B	'64 Custom Ford and '66 Ford Pickup Camper

Table 41
Telephone in the house

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	3	18%	13	81%	16	48%
No	14	82	3	19	17	52
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 42
Washer

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	11	65%	10	62.5%	21	64%
No	5	29	6	37.5	11	33
Unknown	1	6	0		1	3
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 43

Dryer

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	1	5%	5	31%	6	18%
No	16	94	11	59	27	82
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 44

Refrigerator

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	16	94%	13	81%	29	88%
No	1	6	3	19	4	12
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 45
Sewing Machine

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	8	47%	11	69%	19	58%
No	6	35	5	31	11	33
Unknown	3	18	0		3	9
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 46
Toaster

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	11	65%	15	94%	26	79%
No	4	23	1	6	5	15
Unknown	2	12	0		2	6
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Television - How much watched

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	16	94%	16	100%	32	97%
No	1	6	0		1	3
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique AnswersTribalists

- 1 Goes on steady all day - 10-12 hours a day - husband watches news.
- 2 Evenings - Ed Sullivan, Lawrence Welk, Lucy, Combat for husband.
- 3 Just husband - every night. Wife - occasionally - Lucy show.
- 4 Watched every night - likes Western mostly, extremely dislikes BATMAN.
- 5 Watched every night by kids - husband likes sports programs.
- 6 Goes on all the time for the kids, husband watches baseball.
- 7 On all day and always evenings.
- 9 Whenever something special goes on - evenings - musicals, educational programs, good movie, human interest story.
- 11 Much of the day - news, boxing, Western.
- 12 I am a fanatic - watch all night, prefer comedy.
- 13 About 4 hours a day.
- 14 Every night.
- 15 Watch more in winter and fall at night mostly.

Independents

- 1B All day and night in summertime, after school till 9 PM in winter.
- 2B PM only - kid programs, space programs, animal programs and Westerns - do not watch musicals or comedies.
- 3B Every day-evenings - about 4 hours - like Western and news.
- 4B Constantly going, prefer shows, football games and news.
- 5B All the time - like all kinds of shows.
- 6B One hour after supper - news.
- 7B Little watched - like baseball and news every evening.
- 8B Often
- 9B Fifty per cent
- 11B Everyday and night.
- 12B Four hours a day.
- 13B Mostly on weekends due to studies.
- 14B Approximately 15 hours a week.
- 15B Color TV and black and white, evenings only.
- 16B Evenings and weekends.

Table 48
Radio (AM, FM)

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	16	94%	15	94%	31	94%
No	1	6	1	6	2	6
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 2 News in morning for weather report.
- 4 4 or 5 of them in the morning to keep time.
- 5 Used very little
- 6 Husband listens to baseball games all the time.
- 7 Sometimes in the morning
- 9 News or good music - semi or classical music - once in a while
- 10 Not much at all
- 11 News only
- 13 Husband likes country music, wife likes popular music
- 15 Husband likes Western music; wife popular music

Table 49

Phonograph (Regular, Hi-Fi)
How much used

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	8	50%	10	62.5%	18	56%
No	8	50	6	37.5	14	44
Total	16	100%	16	100%	32	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Kids use it for rock and roll music.
- 2 Used a lot for Western and pop.
- 3 Wife listens every day - popular music.
- 4 Occasionally used to play Western music.
- 7 Very little use.
- 11 Western records - twice a week or so, especially weekends.
- 13 Wife plays list tunes much of the fine time on their Hi-Fi phonograph.
- 14 Like it better daytime when not working. Television does not work at daytime well when it is hot.
- 15 Used once a week or so.

Independents

- 1B Couple of hours a month.
- 2B Stereo phonograph - about two hours daily.
- 3B About two hours a week.
- 8B Regular with loudspeaker for ballroom use. Not much used now - was used often when we taught English "ole type" ballroom dancing here in the Northwest some ten years ago.
- 9B Yes, Hi-Fi, fifty per cent.
- 10B Lots - by girls.
- 12B 6-12 hours daily.
- 14B 6 - 8 hours a week.
- 15B Hi-Fi, occasionally.
- 16B Yes, constantly.

Musical instruments in the house

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	3	18%	8	50%	11	33%
No	14	82	8	50	22	67
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique AnswersIndependents

- 1B Clarinet
- 3B Accordion
- 9B Guitar and harmonica
- 12B Drums
- 14B Banjo
- 15B Accordion and piano
- 16B Tenor sax, classical guitar, electric guitar and regular guitar.

Question 51

Who plays the instrument and when

Typical and Unique AnswersTribalists

- 3 Husband plays once or twice a week for himself
- 11 Husband plays guitar
- 15 Professional entertainer, plays on weekends in Carson City, Hw. 50 Club.

Independents

- 1B Daughter plays the clarinet at Indian Community land events.
- 3B Daughter and their mother.
- 9B A boy - 7 years old - just learning the guitar.
- 12B Husband - Pro 14 years.
- 14B No one.
- 15P Nobody anymore - children and wife did.
- 16B Husband plays sax and classical guitar; son plays folk, electric and regular guitars.

Table 52

Are there books in the house.
If yes, what kind

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	5	29%	11	69%	16	48%
No	12	71	5	31	17	52
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 11 A whole wall full of books
- 13 Mostly pocket books

Independents

- 1B 2 dozen books of fiction and biography.
- 2B 6 books dealing with husband's work - 12 children books.
- 3B About 100 books - class "many"
- 5B 10 volumes of encyclopedia - none other
- 8B Encyclopedias, text, fiction, non-fiction, and various magazines.
- 9B Educational - Readers' Digest and condensed books.
- 10B Yes, all kinds.
- 14B Encyclopedia, Harvard Classics, paper backs.
- 15B Yes, one room is a library; Great Books of the Western World, Encyclopedia, classics and contemporary.
- 16B 4 sets of encyclopedias, electrical and electronic manuals, and story books.

Table 53

Newspaper
If yes, which paper

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
More or less regular reader	3	18%	16	100%	19	58%
Occasional reader	9	53	0		9	27
Does not read	5	29	0		5	15
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Nevada State Journal, Reno Gazette
- 2 San Francisco Examiner
- 3 Oakland Tribune
- 4 Carson City Newspaper
- 5 Nevada State Journal or Reno Gazette
- 6 Nevada State Journal
- 11 Nevada State Journal and/or Reno Gazette
- 13 Courier of Gardenville and Carson City Chronicle
- 14 Record Courier Weekly
- 15 Record Courier Weekly; Nevada State Journal at lunch time.

Independents

- 1B Reno Evening Gazette
- 2B Reno Evening Gazette
- 3B Record-Courier (Weekly) and Fallon Eagle Standard (Weekly)
- 4B Reno Evening Gazette
- 5B Reno Evening Gazette
- 6B Nevada State Journal
- 7B Reno Evening Gazette
- 8B Sportsman - Review, local weekly
- 9B Mason Valley News, L.A. Times, Bridgeport paper
- 10B Nevada State Journal and National Observer
- 11B Tulsa World
- 12B New York Times, Herald Tribune
- 13B Kansas City Star, Catholic Reporter
- 14B San Francisco Chronicle
- 15B Herald and San Francisco Examiner
- 16B Daily Review Hayward

Table 54

Inter-tribal newspaper
The Native Nevadan, mailed to the family

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	3	18%	7	44%	10	30%
No	14	82	9	56	23	70
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 55

What does husband do on his vacation time

Response	Tribalists	Independents	Total
Stays home and works around the house	7	3	10
Hunts	9	9	18
Fish	8	9	17
Travel by car to relatives	1	2	3
Travel by car to see the country	2	5	7
Camping	0	4	4
Others	1	7	8
Total	28	39	67

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 3 Water skiing - owns boat
- 4 Usually go hunting - own 4 or 5 guns
- 5 One of the best hunters
- 7 Helping somebody else when free - does not rest much home
- 11 Couple of years ago went on a trip to Arizona, once to Disneyland and San Diego Zoo, works around the house
- 16 Unknown
- 17 Unknown

Independents

- 1B Deer hunting, fishing, camping
- 2B Fishing, camping, hunting, visiting, swimming
- 5B Fishing, hunting, prospecting
- 8B Travel, camping, fishing and golfing
- 9B Find extra work
- 10B Work on ranch
- 12B Hunt, work around the house, fly
- 15B Works in yard when not on a trip
- 16B Hunting, fishing, and for recreation manages softball and basketball

Table 56

Is husband registered to vote

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	8	53%	12	75%	20	64.5%
No	7	47	4	25	11	35.5
Total	15	100%	16	100%	31	100%

Table 57

Is wife registered to vote

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	6	35%	11	69%	17	52%
No	8	47	4	25	12	36
Too Young	1	6	1	6	2	6
Unknown	2	12	0		2	6
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 58

Has husband ever held public office

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	2	12%	0	%	2	6%
No	15	88	16	100	31	94
Total	17	100%	16	100%	31	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Presently Douglas County deputy sheriff.
- 5 Was sheriff of Douglas County for 3 years. 1959 - 1961

Table 59

Has wife ever held public office

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	0		0		0	
No	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 60

Is husband member of the tribal or inter-tribal council

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	2	12%	2	12.5%	4	12%
No	15	88	14	87.5	29	88
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 5 Since 1947 member of tribal council, with exception of 2 years.
- 11 Member of the Old Washo Council and now member of New Dressler-ville Council.

Independents

- 1B Is representative on Council for the scattered Washo.

Table 61

If no, was he ever a member

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	2	13%	1	7%	3	10%
No	13	87	13	93	26	90
Total	15	100%	14	100%	29	100%

Table 62

Is wife member of the tribal or inter-tribal council

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	2	12%	0	%	2	6%
No	15	88	16	100	31	94
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Table 63

If no, was she ever a member

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	0	%	0	%	0	%
No	15	100	16	100	31	100
Total	15	100%	16	100%	31	100%

Table 64

Does the family have many non-Indian friends

Any Friends	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	9	53%	14	87.5%	23	70%
No	8	47	2	12.5	10	30
Total	17	100%	16	100%	33	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 3 A few friends in the Bay Area
- 6 "Millions of them" - half of the guys work there, up the lake, are my buddies
- 7 None
- 8 None
- 9 Not too many, but a few, six or seven I suppose
- 10 Not many
- 11 Not too many - know quite a few - have friends, but have no time to visit
- 13 Some friends married to white girls and these are friends, also the guy that husband cuts Christmas trees for is a friend and comes to visit
- 14 A school leader friend of a wife and a retired game warden a friend of the husband

Independents

- 2B Two families exchange visits
- 3B A dozen different ones here
- 4B None
- 5B A few - half a dozen
- 6B Five dozen different families from around the Lake all the way to San Francisco and Palm Springs - exchange visits
- 7B A dozen
- 8B Yes, throughout the U. S. and in England
- 9B A few
- 11B Yes, many of them
- 14B Yes, all my friends are non-Indians
- 15B 99% non-Indians

Table IB

When you first started school did you ever want your teacher to speak Indian

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	2	17%	2	13%	4	15%
No	10	83	13	87	23	85
Total	12	100%	15	100%	27	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Never thought about it - already spoke English.
- 2 No, did not speak Indian at all.
- 3 No, can't recall that far back.
- 5 I could speak a little English, but not much.
- 6 Made no difference - we always spoke both.
- 9 I do not recall, I don't think so.

Independents

- 3B No, never thought of that.
- 5B Yes, she was a white woman. I spoke Washo at home. It made it a bit hard.
- 6B No, too young to know better.
- 7B Couldn't say.
- 10B Of course - when couldn't understand English.

Table 2B

By the time you were in fourth grade
did you understand English pretty well

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	12	100%	14	100%	26	100%
No	0		0		0	
Total	12	100%	14	100%	26	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Independents

- 3B Long before 4th grade
- 6B Only one week of school.
- 7B Yes, I was raised with white kids. My dad was "adopted" by white people.
- 14B Yes, spoke only English.
- 15B Very well, as it's my native tongue.

Table 3B

Have you ever been afraid to speak English in front of non-Indians? If yes, why

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	5	42%	0	%	5	18%
No	7	58	15	100	22	82
Total	12	100%	15	100%	27	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Used to be afraid to say the wrong thing. Afraid that everybody would laugh.
- 4 Well, if they speak first then I answer, but I usually never speak myself to anybody. Even now I don't speak to many people and they think, I think I'm better than they are.
- 5 Yes - I did not know much English at the time I started school.
- 7 Yes - for fear of saying something wrong
- 8 Sometimes
- 11 Yes, it's hard if you don't grow up with white people - you don't feel like speaking out - did not know if one spoke as one should - there is always a little feeling like that.
- 12 Never.

Independents

- 6B "No, not that I can remember" (He speaks fine English - good grammar - quite at ease in talking, relaxed and enjoys talking.)
- 7B No, never was afraid. I've sat in on a lot of government hearings.

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Table 4B

Have you ever wanted to quit school?
If yes, why

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	9	75%	4	29%	13	50%
No	3	25	10	71	13	50
Total	12	100%	14	100%	26	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Wanted to quit school and play a lot. Envious of the older group, waiting to be free.
- 2 I thought my brother would continue his education, but he joined the Navy; I did not think I was smart enough.
- 3 From the first day - just wanted to play mostly.
- 4 No I had to quit, did not want to quit, liked going to school. I even ran away from home to attend Stewart school.
- 5 I was always interested in school and I liked school. I had to quit school to support my family because of sick father.
- 6 No, not really.
- 7 Bored and uninterested in school.
- 9 A couple of times - lonely for home mostly.
- 10 Yes, wanted to go out and work.
- 11 Father was sick and family had nothing to eat.
- 12 Many times because I did not like it.

Independents

- 1B No, left school to join the service.
- 3B Yes, I had to support myself. My mother and father died when I was pretty young - about 15.
- 4B No, finally left because of finances.
- 5B Yes, couldn't get along with my teacher right on the reservation. I joined the government CC's working.
- 6B No school.
- 9B Yes, after nine years - quit and joined the U. S. Army.
- 10B Yes, every child does sometimes - reasons that would be silly at this stage.

Question 5B
What made you stay in school

Tribalists

- 1 The only reason was the law. I never really cared anything about school.
- 2 Was on the boxing team. When that was over I took off.
- 3 Don't know. I guess I decided to go to school.
- 4 Liked going to school.
- 5 Interest and appreciation.
- 6 I just liked it I guess.
- 7 Everyone else did, I guess.
- 8 Did not stay in school.
- 9 My old man.
- 10 I don't know, I just stayed.
- 11 My old man kept me in school.
- 12 My grandfather just kept on pushing me so I just had to. He said you got to be electrician, all your uncles are electricians, you will be one too.

Independents

- 1B For education, I guess.
- 2B I liked school mostly, but got tired of it by the time I finished High School. I wanted to roam around.
- 3B I wanted to go to school and I could when my father and mother were living.
- 4B I wanted to have a profession, a better type of job.
- 5B School was handy, I lived right across the street.
- 7B I wanted to go to school and to be an electrician, but my dad didn't have the money. I went to Portland to study for electrician but my math wasn't good enough.
- 8B A desire to obtain a profession, however, the coming of the 1939-1945 struggle in Europe prevented the fulfillment of this desire.
- 10B Required to.
- 11B Wanted to get ahead, to learn, and for the athletics.
- 13B In order to graduate.
- 14B School was fun. Also I had mostly industrial classes and enjoyed them. I wanted a trade when I got out of school.
- 15B Everybody needs at least a high school education.
- 16B Hunger.

Question 6B

What was the hardest thing for you to do in school

Subject	Tribalists	Independents
History	3	1
English	4	3
Arithmetic	3	3
Chemistry		1
Civics		1
Public Speaking		2
Other		3
Nothing Special	1	3

Typical and Unique Answers

Independents

- 7B Money was the hardest part - summer earnings went on clothes.
- 8B Can't recall anything very difficult.
- 10B Conform to regulations.
- 13B Manual chores.
- 14B Apply myself to study.
- 15B Get up in front of class.

Table 7B

Have you ever played hooky? What were some of the things that made you play hooky

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Quite a bit	3	25%	3	21%	6	23%
Sometimes	5	42	5	36	10	38.5
Never	4	33	6	43	10	38.5
Total	12	100%	14	100%	26	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Sometimes. Nothing really. Depends what time of the year it was. Skiing in the winter, hunting and fishing in the fall.
- 3 Quite a bit - mostly walk around the mountains.
- 4 When still small - used to go to "Mud Lake" and stay until school was over. Never in Stewart.
- 6 Who hasn't. Not too often. Fishing, messing around.
- 9 Grade school only: Played around mostly.
- 11 Perhaps when I was younger, but not in Stewart because there was constant supervision.

Independents

- 1B No at Stewart, we lived right there.
- 2B I used to in high school. Just went 1/2 days - just afternoons. I didn't need the extra credits for graduation anyway. Kind of restless.
- 3B Yes, I liked fishing so well. Now, I wouldn't want my grandson to play hooky to go fishing I know better now.
- 4B No, just one time in 4 years.
- 5B Once in awhile. Just not to go.
- 7B Quite a bit. In love with a girl. Wanted to go out with the boys on camping and fishing trips.
- 9B Yes, fourth grade at Smith Valley, Nevada. Had a prejudiced teacher.
- 10B Yes, orneriness - afraid of incomplete lessons, preparations, etc.
- 14B Yes, nothing about school, mostly just because I was tired. As I stated before, school was fun.
- 16B Yes, hobbies.

Table 8B

Do Indians ever learn things at school that make them be disrespectful or mean to their parents - or makes their parents feel sad

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	0	%	1	6.5%	1	4%
No	11	92	13	87	24	89
Don't know	1	8	1	6.5	2	7
Total	12	100%	15	100%	27	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 5 I don't think so. I think that what they learn it does them good.
- 6 Take my kids now - they're pretty good since they started school-behave better.
- 8 Don't know.

Independents

- 2B I don't think so, not now-a-days. Depends on age of parents.
- 3B Not that I know of, not true in my family.
- 6B Now-a-days the kids are more hard to handle than before. I don't know if it is from education or what.
- 8B Only if they possibly associate with undesirables and participate with a group of same to bad ends - similar to gangs of youths in our larger cities. Alone they can be directed to bring good.
- 10B Yes, we were discouraged to speak our native languages (Explanation - this was 1920-1930).
- 14B Not any more than any other race. I don't know about boarding schools like Stewart because I had been raised in the city and attended public schools.

Table 9B

Have your children ever learned anything at school that makes you and your family feel pleased

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	8	73%	11	73%	19	73%
No	2	18	1	7	3	11.5
Don't know	1	9	0		1	4
Children not in school	0		3	20	3	11.5
Total	11	100%	15	100%	26	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 They are learning how to get along with people and learning to associate with one another.
- 2 Oh yes, their manner and their English.
- 3 Not really, cannot recall anything special.
- 4 No, nothing special.
- 5 I like my children learning to play musical instruments.
- 6 They bring home nice works like pictures, whatever.
- 7 Yes - read and write.
- 8 Some things.
- 9 Children not in school yet.
- 10 Yes, everything I guess.
- 11 The music they play, like the clarinet played by the older daughter.

Independents

- 1B Daughter, learned typing, play a musical instrument, while boys get shop and art classes and participate in track events.
- 3B Athletic teams and all competitions. Just going to school for them pleased us.
- 5B Not yet, they are just getting up to that point - 7th grade.
- 6B Yes, went to business school and got jobs and earned own living. We were pleased with all education.
- 7B The whole idea of getting to high school.
- 15B Anything they learned pleased us.

Table 10B

When it comes to teaching your children English and Arithmetic, do you think the teachers do a good job or a bad job.

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
A good job	9	75%	6	46%	15	60%
A bad job	0		0		0	
Fair, but could be better	0		2	15	2	8
Depends on a school or a teacher	0		5	39	5	20
Don't know	3	25	0		3	12
Total	12	100%	13	100%	25	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Independents

- 1B They do a pretty good job, but they go to a little bit too fast for our children - it could have been better in their results.
- 3B Fair job.
- 5B Some do and some don't.
- 6B By jove it had to be a good job or they couldn't be doing jobs they are doing today.
- 7B Yes and no. In different schools different results. I think Carson students are ahead of Reno.
- 8B This depends strictly upon a teacher's ability. Some have the capabilities to teach good and some, as in other trades or professions are primarily interested in the monetary gains it provides.
- 10B Yes and no.
- 14B I think that the teachers in San Francisco do a good job. I can't speak for reservations or non-English speaking Indians.
- 16B Fair

Table 11B

Does the school do a good job or a bad job in teaching children competition (for example, competition for grades or in sports, etc.)

Response	Tribalists	Independents	Total
A good job	9 75%	12 80%	21 78%
A bad job	0	0	0
Don't know	3 25	0	3 11
Depends on school or teacher	0	2 13	2 7
Debatable question	0	1 7	1 4
Total	12 100%	15 100%	27 100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 I think they are doing a good job - the two older boys are taking part in all sports activities; especially basketball and football.
- 2 Doing a wonderful job.
- 3 The school does pretty good - the oldest boy went to Stewart where he played football. He did pretty good and it feels good to read things in the paper about him.
- 8 Don't know.
- 9 They did all right on my own boys.
- 11 I think it's all right as much as we know.

Independents

- 1B They do a good job. I am referring to the Reno area.
- 2B A good job. Programs like football and basketball.
- 3B Good job. A good thing.
- 4B It depends on which school and what teachers.
- 5B I think so, must be.
- 6B I told my grandson I would give him \$1.00 for every "A" he got. In last year he got 36 A's (in Fallon). School does good job in getting him to compete.
- 7B Pretty good as far as teacher is concerned.
- 8B Again, this depends on the school, the make-up of the staff and how the school program is administered.
- 10B Debatable - think competition and desire to excell is inherited.
- 11A Yes, they do a fine job.
- Very good job.
- Yes, here in San Francisco - sports and clothing mainly.

Sometimes children get ashamed in school and don't like to go. Have you heard of anything like that

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	5	42%	5	33%	10	37%
No	6	50	10	67	16	59
Don't know	1	8	0		1	4
Total	12	100%	15	100%	27	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 No, I haven't.
- 2 Yes, I had that trouble when I was going to school, would get embarrassed at clothes and shoes.
- 3 Not really, not that I can remember.
- 4 Ashamed because they do not have the right kind of clothes - they never complained about food.
- 5 No, not in my family.
- 6 No, we never had anything like that yet. I hope we don't either.
- 8 Don't know.
- 9 Yes, because their clothes are not good and they have nothing to wear.
- 10 No, I never heard.
- 11 I don't think our kids have had any problems like that - I have been ashamed because of my clothes, but not my children.
- 12 Only because of some shabby clothes or something like that.

Independents

- 1B No, my children are not backward. They like to participate.
- 2B A lot of it yes. I think because of being around white teachers - poor homes - don't have good clothes.
- 6B No, not our children. Observed it with others - it is treatment they get at home - not school.
- 7B Yes - regarding clothing. It has a lot to do with this. Especially girls 14 - 16. They grow out of it later.
- 10B Yes. Some have mental abilities incompatible with those in their age group or class - or poor clothing.
- 11B I have not heard my child say a thing like that.
- 14B Not that I can recall right now.
- 16B Yes, not in our area, but we have heard of the situation in Nevada, especially where dress is concerned.

Table 13B

Have you ever helped your child with lessons

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	7	70%	13	93%	20	83%
No	3	30	1	7	4	17
Total	10	100%	14	100%	24	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Yes, I have in mathematics; that's about all. That's the hardest subject for the kids now.
- 3 A little - sometimes arithmetic, sometimes writing.
- 5 As much as we could.
- 6 As much as I can - reading, arithmetic, etc..
- 10 No, I didn't know very much.

Independents

- 2B We read to the children - they are too young for school.
- 3B The mother does.
- 5B Not much.
- 6B I couldn't, but my wife has.
- 7B Sometimes.

Do you think Indians who go to school get better jobs than Indians who don't go to school

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	12	100%	13	93%	25	96%
No	0		0		0	
It depends	0		1	7	1	4
Total	12	100%	14	100%	26	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Yes, they do, definitely.
- 3 Those who go to school get better jobs.
- 4 Sure, yes.
- 5 Yes, that is true. There is a big difference there - the schooling is a good thing. I want my boy to go to college again this year - last year he had no money and had to leave the second quarter.
- 6 Sure they do, I know they do for a fact.
- 11 Yes, I think so, more so each year I did not think so when I was going to school, but I sure think so now.

Independents

- 1B They gotta go to school.
- 2B Naturally.
- 3B I don't know, I didn't go to school much and I got the best job any Indian I know has, but if I had a better education I could have even a better job.
- 5B I think so.
- 6B Some do yes.
- 7B Yes and no. Depends on where they live and work.
- 9B Depends on individual, but education does help a little.
- 11B I think Indians who learn do get better jobs.
- 15B Anybody with an education gets a better job. The more training - the better job.

What kind of a job do you want your children to have when they grow up

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Anything they want	6	43%	4	31%	10	37%
Skilled jobs	5	36	2	15	7	26
Semi-professional jobs	2	14	0		2	7
Professional jobs	1	7	7	54	8	30
Total	14	100%	13	100%	27	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 2 Nurses, dental aids, pilots.
- 3 Hard to say, I would let them decide. Just want to have them finish school.
- 4 Heavy equipment operator.
- 5 Like carpentry or diesel mechanic.
- 6 It all depends on what they like to do. You can't tell them what to do - as long as they like what they are doing.
- 7 I don't care.
- 9 From a doctor to a teacher to a musician.
- 10 A mechanic.
- 11 Will depend on them and their education; he will have to make up his own mind, he is good with hands.
- 12 I want them to be a couple of electricians.

Independents

- 1B I'd like them to learn a trade. How far they go to better themselves after high school is up to them. Wife: An Indian lawyer or businessman.
- 2B Get as far as they can whatever their abilities are.
- 3B Younger son, diesel engineer.
- 4B Whatever the child wants. What he is best qualified for.
- 5B Something a lot better than what I'm doing, I hope. I think a year or two of college anyhow - engineering for boys. I'd like them to pick.

Independents

- 6B I am pleased with what my children are doing and I hope my grandson gets college education and if I live long enough I'll help him get it. More up to him to decide.
- 7B Lawyer and doctor. I couldn't afford it. I feel the same toward my grandchildren.
- 9B I'll let them decide after they've completed their education.
- 10B Whatever they decide - respectable self-supporting type.
- 13B A job that will earn a good living.
- 14B Lawyer or an engineer of some kind.
- 15B Whatever they'll be happy doing.
- 16B Professional.

Question 16B

In what way will going to school help them get such a job

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 1 Most jobs now require education, particularly high school education. Soon 2 years of college will be required.
- 2 Gives qualifications for the job.
- 3 They do not hire unless one has a high school education.
- 4 Would have to have schooling to get that type of job.
- 5 The only chance the boy has in getting a skilled job like that it to go through the San Francisco or L.A. "Relocation Program" where they usually give them a start with a little money.
- 6 Education always helps to get a good job - any kind of a job - the menial job. Son-in-law went to a welding school and now he has a good job. Before that, he was just a hay-hand.
- 7 Better chance to prove that one knows how to do things.
- 8 School is preferred by those who hire people to work.
- 9 If they specialize, they are bound to get a good job.
- 10 I think so.
- 11 Will perform their jobs better.

Independents

- 1B Learning for a job and occupation.
- 2B By training. The more you learn in school the easier to get a job.
- 3B A good education would get him this job. This is what I missed out on.
- 4B Now-a-days you have to have an education to get any place.
- 5B University training is necessary for engineering.
- 6B A college education will help with any job.
- 7B If they are lawyers, they get big jobs in big corporations. But they have to go to school beyond high school.
- 8B Material learned, association with others and "The Degree".
- 9B Depends on the amount of education they get.
- 10B Preparation in speaking this damn English which seems universal.
- 11B Going to school helps them to compete on an equal plane with anyone else.
- 13B Most any job today requires an education.
- 14B An education and being able to communicate with people.
- 15B Anybody with an education gets a better job. The more training - the better job.
- 16B They can compete favorably with other races, oral interview, etc.

Table 17B

Has your child ever said that he doesn't want to go to school

Response	Tribalists		Independents		Total	
Yes	1	9%	4	31%	5	21%
No	10	91	9	69	19	79
Total	11	100%	13	100%	24	100%

Typical and Unique Answers

Tribalists

- 2 Caron did once when she was sleepy in the morning.)No).
- 4 The boy wanted to attend trade school, but the girls always liked school.
- 5 Sometimes they stall a little when they get up late, but we go after them and see to it they get their bus.
- 6 None of them have said that yet.
- 10 No, they liked to go to school.
- 11 No, I don't believe so - they may have felt so, but they never said it.

Independents

- 1B Husband: No. Wife: Yes, all the time, but not seriously.
- 2B They are anxious to go to school.
- 3B Not to us.
- 5B Three like it, one girl doesn't. It keeps them out of mischief.
- 6B Grandson loves to go to school. Never loses a day.
- 7B Lots of times when they wanted to go with friends when they were playing hooky.

Independents

10B No - they know better - unless due to illness.

11B No, my child has never said this.

8 DISCUSSION

As had been stated earlier in the Introductory section of this report, the purposes and objectives of the present community study of the Washo Indian were twofold. The first step was to discover if there was a significant difference in the education between the two groups. Our first major hypothesis stated that no statistically difference will be found in the number of years of education of the two groups.

On the face of it, when we look at the statistics offered in Table 17, on the "husband's highest grade in school completed," there is little doubt that the Independents are better educated. This is especially true when we look at the number of males in the Independents group who attended college. There are two considerations, however, which evade the certainty of our knowledge of this question. Of the six men who attended college only two were raised on the reservation or colony. This means that the influence exerted upon these individuals by the tribal community was non-existent. Secondly, those persons who answered our mailed questionnaires were already pre-selected to be of higher educational achievement than those who have failed to respond to the questionnaire. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that it was one of the Independents who had absolutely no schooling, that is, he attended one week of school. As many as 18% of

Independents have completed seventh or lower school grades and as many as 43% Independents have completed grades 9 - 12. In the Tribalists group 35% had an education of 8th grade or below and 59% between 9th and 12th grades.

In view of these circumstances, it is quite possible that if we had a chance to interview a randomly selected group of Independents, we would find that their educational level was no higher than that of the Tribalists.

An even better indicator of this rather inconclusive result is offered to us on Table 19, "wife's highest grade in school completed." There is slight, if any, difference in the education of wives in the two groups. While only 14 per cent of the Tribalists had never attended high school, 25% of the Independents have never attended high school either. On the other hand, one member of the Independents group did complete one year of college (6 per cent.) Grades from 9 - 12 were attended by 86 per cent Tribalists and 69 per cent Independents. The mean number of years in school for the Tribalists was 10.14 and for the Independents 10.62. This means that the Tribalists have married women closer to their own educational achievement than did the Independents. The reason for this can probably be explained by the fact that 59% of the wives in the Tribalist group are part of the Washo tribe, while only 19 per cent of the wives in the

Independents group are Washo. It is likely, therefore, that the Washo men who married women outside of their own tribe had to make sacrifices, one of which was to marry a woman of considerably narrower educational background than his own.

Very interesting results, perhaps the most valuable results in the whole study, have been discovered through the Questionnaire "B". Thus, for example, to the question, "have you ever been afraid to speak English to non-Indians" (Table 3B), 42 per cent of Tribalists said "yes". None of the Independents have assented. In the answer of one of the Tribalists: "Yes, it is hard if you don't grow up with white people, you don't feel like speaking out - don't know if one is speaking as one should". This would indicate that the Independents, whether schooled or not, have had considerable exposure to the English language and English speaking persons in their childhood not to be afraid to speak English. Their later decision to withdraw from communal life was probably greatly facilitated by this ease in the use of the English language.

Table 4B, question "have you ever wanted to quit school," is again an interesting example of differential responses to schooling on the part of the two groups. Seventy-five per cent of Tribalists and only 29 per cent of Independents have admitted

to have wanted to quit school. From the kind of answers given us we can infer that the support and the rational to attend school was stronger for the group of Independents.

Interesting response was received to Question 10B:

"when it comes to teaching your children English and Arithmetic do you think the teacher does a good job or a bad job." While 25 per cent of the Tribalists said they did not know, while the rest of them have said that the teachers are doing a good job, the answers of the Independents are remarkably varied. Forty-six per cent of the Independents stated that the teachers do a good job, 15 per cent said that they are doing a fair job but it could be better and as many as 39 per cent have remarked it depends on a school or a teacher. The same kind of variation in the answer was received to the Question 11B: "does the school do a good job or a bad job in teaching the children competition." Again, 75 per cent of Tribalists replied that the school does a good job and 25 per cent said they didn't know. In the Independents group, however, 80 per cent said that the schools did a good job, 13 per cent said that it depends on the school or the teacher, and 7 per cent (that is one man) said that this is a debatable question, since he believed that "competition and desire to excel is inherited."

There is evidence that the group of Independents places greater importance on their children's performance in the school. Seventy per cent of Tribalists and as many as 93 per cent of In-

dependents have replied that they helped their child with lessons (Table 13B.) The Independents envision and hope of a higher occupational advancement for their children than the Tribalists. As many as 54 per cent of Independents say that they would like their children to perform professional occupation. This contrasts with the Tribalist response among whom 7 per cent would like their children to become professionals and 14 per cent semi-professionals. There is a considerable number of individuals in both groups who claim that their children should make their own choice on the matter of occupation. Among these are 43 per cent of Tribalists and 31 per cent of Independents. The group of Independents, however, in responding with an answer that the children ought to become anything they want to become tend to place limits which have to be achieved by the children. This is evident, for example, in the following response: "I will let them decide after they have completed their education," or, "get as far as they can whatever their abilities are," or, "whatever they decide - respectable self-supporting job."

It may be that the pressures to attend school and perform well in school are greater upon the children of the Independents. This may be documented by the fact that while only 9 per cent of Tribalists report of their children saying that he or she does

not want to go to school, as many as 31 per cent Independents have reported this to be true.

The second objective of our pilot investigation was to discover what other possible factors other than education, influence the acculturation of minority members. Five tentative hypotheses were formulated. We shall review our findings as they pertain to each of the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1. The members of an acculturated group are located considerably higher on the class scale than the members of the less acculturated group.

The best indicator of class position is the total family income. The mean family income for the Tribalists, considering only the income of the employed, was \$5,615.00 and for the Independents \$6,750.00. It is interesting to note that the highest salary of a Tribalist male is under \$8,000.00., and even in this case only one man earns between \$7,000.00 and \$8,000.00.. As many as 4 men in the Independents group have earned between \$8,000.00 and \$12,000.00. this may indicate that persons who desire better paying jobs are required to leave the colony in search for such jobs.

Another significant index of class position is the occupation of the husband and our several questions with respect to the jobs performed by the men have prompted us to assemble the following table:

TABLE II

Occupational Distribution of Tribalists and Independents *

Type	Tribalists		Independents	
Professional and semi-professional	1	5.9%	2	12.5%
Management and supervision	1	5.9	4	25.0
Skilled	9	53.0	3	18.9
Semi-skilled	3	17.6	4	25.0
Unskilled	3	17.6	3	18.9
Total	17	100%	16	100.3%

* Constructed from Questions 24, 26, 27 and 28.

The data would indicate that the standard of living could be higher among the Independents, especially in view of the fact that the average number of children per family is one child less in the group of Independents. On the other hand, we have to keep in mind that 81 per cent of Independents are either buying or renting their homes in comparison with only 18% of the Tribalists. Most of the Tribalists, 82 per cent of them, pay very little for their living quarters.

Hypothesis 2. The members of an acculturated group are less concerned about their prestige in the community and rate each other lower than the members of the less acculturated group.

The data that we have available does not permit us to make a judgment with respect to this hypothesis. The Independents by their very act of leaving the community have demonstrated that they are not concerned, at least to the same degree, about prestige in the eyes of other Washo people. Since they are scattered all over the United States they are mostly unfamiliar with one another and do not form a community of any kind.

Hypothesis 3. The members of an acculturated group show greater interest in the politics of the wider American society but they depreciate political activity within their own local community. The less acculturated members, however, are expected to be more concerned about the affairs of their own community and little concerned about the decision making in the wider community. In general, we can predict higher power scores for the less acculturated community. The acculturated group concerned with class advantages, according to our theory, will prefer to ignore influence and power.

Whatever the evidence we have available does seem to indicate that the Independents are more interested in the wider society and wider community than the Tribalists. Seventy-five per cent of the husbands in the Independents group are registered to vote in contrast to 53% in the Tribalist group. Similarly, 69% of the women in the Independents group are registered to vote in contrast to only 35 per cent in the Tribalists group. All of the Independents reported reading, on a more or less regular basis, the newspapers published in their communities. On the other hand, only 18 per cent of Tribalists are more or less regular readers, 53 per cent are occasional readers and 29 per cent do not read newspapers. Interestingly enough, the inter-tribal newspaper Native Nevadan which is mailed free on request, is received by as many as 44 per cent of Independents and 18 per cent of Tribalists. This indicates that the Tribalists tend to be more interested in the purely Washo affairs and still continue to ignore the Pan-Indian movement. Another indication of the fact that there are certain benefits derived from living in the tribal community as far as power is concerned is the fact that as many as 12 per cent of the Tribalists (2 men) held some kind of public office, while none of the men in the Independents group did so. These two men were employed as Douglas County Deputy Sheriffs, and one of them is presently a Project Head for the Economic Opportunity Program in Dresslerville.

Hypothesis 4. The members of an acculturated group will show greater acculturation to the values of the major community and away from the traditional Washo values, thus revealing higher acculturation scores than members of the less acculturated community.

The evidence is very strong that the Independents are much more acculturated to the values of the general American society and away from the tribal, rural, values of the Washo. For one thing, as was mentioned earlier, only 19 per cent of the men in the group of Independents are married to Washo women, in contrast to 59 per cent of Tribalists married to Washo women. While none of the Tribalists are married to non-Indians, 4 Independents, or 25 per cent, are married to non-Indians. Two of the non-Indians are Caucasians, two are unknown.

In response to the question whether the children have been taught an Indian language, 21 per cent of the Tribalists and 69 per cent of the Independents said "none at all." Here we have almost complete reversal. When asked "to what extent is the Indian language spoken in the family" 47 per cent of the Tribalists and 81.5 per cent of the Independents said "not at all." (Table 13.)

Such items as telephone seems to be an extremely sensitive index of acculturation. While only 18 per cent of Tribalists

have telephones, 81 per cent of Independents do so. It should be noted that in every case that a Tribalists owns a phone, he does so because of the requirements of his job. He has little other use for it. The telephone is also an index of the kind of community that these groups reside. The Tribalists have most of their friends and relatives living either in the same community or nearby, while the Independents generally reside in the cities spatially removed from their friends and relatives.

Another material possession, the lack of which is almost "un-American," is the toaster and 65 per cent of the Tribalists and 94 per cent of the Independents claim its possession. At the same time it should be noted that such another symbol of Americanism as television has infiltrated all the homes of the Tribalists as well as the Independents. Only one family of the Tribalists reporting no television is one in which husband is unemployed at the present time. He does, however, watch television nightly in the home of his relatives.

As many as 50 per cent of Independents report presence of musical instruments in their house, while only 18 per cent of the Tribalists do so. The Independents are also more likely to have books in their homes. Sixty-nine per cent of them report keeping books. The Tribalists' homes only 29 per cent can be said to have

books and among these only one family can be said to have many books.

On their vacations or whenever they have free time, the choice of activities reported by Independents are considerably broader and more numerous. Most of the Tribalists prefer to either hunt, fish, or stay home and work around the house. There was only one choice reported for traveling by car to see relatives, two choices for traveling by car to see the country and one choice for water skiing. The Independents continue to prefer some of the activities which are familiar to the Washo culture. Thus, the most frequent response is that they like to hunt, and fish. The next most desired activity is to travel by car to see the country or go camping, only three responses were given that the man preferred to stay home and work around the house and two responses that the family travel by car to see relatives. At the same time, a number of other responses, not mentioned by Tribalists, were given; for example, golfing, swimming, flying, and managine softball and basketball.

The most important indicator of acculturation is that of friendship with non-Indians. There is little doubt that the Independents have many more friends among the non-Indian population than do the Tribalists. Among the Independents 87.5 per cent and among the Tribalists 53 per cent report having any non-Indian friends at all. If we looked into the actual nature of this relationship we would, no doubt, discover that the intensity and

extensity of these friendships is considerably larger among the Independents.

Hypothesis 5. Individuals in the acculturated group with high acculturation scores will receive greater deference from their community members (higher status scores) while individuals in the less acculturated community with high acculturation will receive lower deference from their fellow members.

As was the case with Hypothesis 2, Hypothesis 5 is of the type that could not be tested from the kind of data that we have in our possession. The Tribalists do indeed have a system of community relations in which they evaluate one another. The Independents, however, are a group dispersed from one another and do not form a distinct community.

9 CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following major conclusions can be inferred from our study. With respect to our first major problem, that is the relationship between education and acculturation, only very qualified and tentative conclusions can be made. The evidence is strong that measuring simply the number of years of education of a person does not allow us to say anything about the acculturation of this same person. In this sense, we have another strong evidence that Warner's ideas on the relationship between education and acculturation are inadequate and need further illumination. At the same time some

evidence has come to light in this study which shows that there is a certain differential response towards education by the acculturated and the less acculturated groups. Whether this response is simply a matter of present position of these individuals, or whether it was already differentiated before the acculturation took place, is still a matter for further study.

The second important problem concerned in this study was related to the factors, other than education, inhibiting or accelerating the acculturation processes. The evidence is strong, perhaps even stronger than in the investigator's previous study of an ethnic community in Minneapolis, that there are definite communal pressures of a structural nature which are of great importance. Hypotheses 1, 3, & 4 seem to be tentatively confirmed. Hypotheses 2 and 5, unfortunately, could not be confirmed in this study.

The most important discovery of this study relates to Hypothesis 1. Although it was confirmed that the Independents, or the more acculturated group, is located higher on the class scale than the less acculturated group, it is not located considerably higher as our hypothesis anticipated. Yet, the sampled group of Independents is pre-selected to be of the highest socio-economic class of the Washo Indians. This means that the advantages of much higher class position outside of the reservation are simply

not available or certainly restricted as far as the Indians are concerned. Since it is the class advantages of considerable magnitude that impels and attracts members of minority groups to leave their community and assimilate within the larger American society, lack of such an opportunity is likely to deter assimilation to a great degree. Under the circumstances, the lack of opportunity on the outside may be a greater factor in the reluctance of the Washo and other Indians to assimilate, than the factors of internal community cohesion.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended, if the funds are available, that the following four problems are worth exploring in our attempt to glean more information on the acculturation process:

1. Additional studies have to be performed to give more definite answers as to the relationship between the number of years attended in a public and the influence of these school years on the acculturation and assimilation of minority group members.
2. More studies ought to be conducted to discover the subtle processes at work upon the individual minority school-child. It is possible that certain influences are exerted by special teachers and

special schools which cannot be measured by a simple yardstick of number of years in the public school. At the present time, I know of only one extended research project being devoted to this general subject; the research of Murray and Rosalind Wax in Kansas. There is a need, however, for more studies of this nature.

3. Additional studies are needed to discover communal pressures towards or against acculturation and assimilation of individuals. Here I am referring to the pressures within the ethnic community itself.
4. Finally, studies are needed to discover the communal pressures on the outside of the ethnic community inhibiting or accelerating assimilation and acculturation. In this case, the most important variable is that of class. It is important for us to know to what degree it is possible to realize greater class advantages on the outside of an ethnic community. If these advantages do not outweigh the advantages of remaining in the community, no assimilation is likely to take place.

10

SUMMARY

Despite near universal exposure to public education, ethnic communities persist in retaining their identity largely because substantial numbers of their members resist complete acculturation. If the impact of public education upon the acculturation of minorities is negligible, then there must be other factors extraneous to education which inhibit or accelerate the acculturation of individuals. In order to gain greater insight into the acculturation process, this pilot study was intended to examine two major problems:

- I. To discover if there is significant difference in the years of education between those Washo Indians who are acculturated or assimilated and those who are non-ac-culturated or less acculturated.
- II. If it is true that the educational level of the two groups, (described in Point I), are not significantly different, then the attempt is to be made to discover what other possible factors, other than education, influence the acculturation of minority members.

Several hypotheses were formulated and tested. In some cases results were inconclusive, in other cases the evidence shows clear indication of a trend. A number of important and useful findings were made in the course of this study. It is likely that our Ind-

ian educational system, at least on the level of primary and secondary schools, is not geared properly towards acculturation of minority group members. The most significant part played by our system of education seems to come only after the individual had been assimilated and has abandoned his original minority community. Thus, assimilation itself seems to act as a kind of breakthrough after which the public schools assume an increasingly more important function.

Secondly, our finding of the fact that Washo Indians who assimilated into the American society had not gained a great or at least considerable class advantages, is an indication that factors operating in the larger American society probably retard the assimilation of at least this particular minority group.

It should be cautioned, however, that all of our findings in this pilot study are tentative and need further careful investigation. Nevertheless, the information that we have been able to assemble so far is extremely useful for the conduct and initiation of further new studies.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE "A"

NEVADA COMMUNITY STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

1. Family _____

2. Husband's birthplace _____

3. Husband's age _____

4. Wife's birthplace _____

5. Wife's age _____

6. Husband's tribe _____

7. In what tribe, colony, or reservation
was the husband raised _____

8. Wife's tribe _____

9. In what tribe, colony, or reservation
was the wife raised _____

10. Children: names and ages _____

11. If children over 18, how much school did
each complete _____

12. Have the children been taught an Indian
language _____

13. To what extent is Indian language
spoken in family _____

14. Any relatives living now with family _____

15. How long has the family lived in the
present community _____

16. Where did it live before coming here _____

17. Husband's highest grade in school
completed _____

18. Which schools did husband attend _____

19. Wife's highest grade in school completed _____

20. What schools did wife attend _____

21. What kind of job did husband's father
do and what was he skilled at _____

22. Is husband employed now _____

23. If not, why _____

24. If not, what kind of a job did he do last and when _____

25. If not, how is the family supported _____

26. If employed, where _____

27. What is the job called _____

28. What does he actually do in his job _____

29. What is his monthly and yearly income _____

30. Does he belong to a labor union _____

31. Is wife employed _____

32. If not, what kind of job did she do last and when _____

33. If employed, what is the job called _____

34. What does she actually do on her job _____

35. What is her monthly and yearly income _____

36. Did the present house in which they now live cost them any money _____

37. Number of rooms excluding bathroom _____

38. Bathroom in the house _____

39. How many cars owned _____

40. Models and age _____

41. Telephone in the house _____

42. Washer _____

43. Dryer _____

44. Refrigerator _____

45. Sewing machine _____

46. Toaster _____

47. Television _____

How much watched _____

48. Radio (AM, FM) _____

49. Phonograph (Regular, Hi-Fi) _____

How much used _____

50. Musical instruments in the house _____

51. Who plays the instrument and when

52. Are there books in the house _____

If yes, what kind _____

53. Newspaper _____

If yes, which paper _____

54. Inter-tribal newspaper, The Native
Nevadan, mailed to the family _____

55. What does husband do on his vacation
time

56. Is husband registered to vote _____

57. Is wife regered to vote _____

58. Has husband ever held public office

59. Has wife ever held public office

60. Is husband member of the tribal or inter-
tribal council

61. If no, was he ever a member _____

62. Is wife member of the tribal or inter-
tribal council

63. If no, was she ever a member _____

64. Does the family have many non-Indian
friends

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE "B"

NEVADA COMMUNITY STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

Husband's School Experience:

1. When you first started school did you ever want your teacher to speak Indian?

2. By the time you were in fourth grade did you understand English pretty well?

3. Have you ever been afraid to speak English in front of non-Indians? If yes, why?

4. Have you ever wanted to quit school? If yes, why? _____

5. What made you stay in school? _____

6. What was the hardest thing for you to do in school? _____

Have you ever played hooky? What were some of the things that made you play hooky?

8 Do Indians ever learn things at school that make them be disrespectful or mean to their parents - or makes their parents feel sad?

9 Have your children ever learned anything at school that makes you and your family feel pleased?

10 When it comes to teaching your children English and Arithmetic, do you think the teachers do a good job or a bad job?

11 Does the school do a good job or a bad job in teaching children competition (for example, competition for grades or in sports, etc.)?

12 Sometimes children get ashamed in school and don't like to go. Have you heard of anything like that?

13. Have you ever helped your child with lessons? _____

14. Do you think Indians who go to school get better jobs than Indians who don't go to school? _____

15. What kind of a job do you want your children to have when they grow up? _____

16. In what way will going to school help them get such a job? _____

17. Has your child ever said that he doesn't want to go to school? _____

APPENDIX III

SAMPLE OF LETTERS

SENT TO SCATTERED

WASHO

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Reno Campus

September 21, 1966

Dear Mr.

I would like to ask you to help me in a scientific study which I am doing at the University of Nevada. For the past two years I have been studying the Washo people. I am interested in their school experience, their work, and the way they spend their after-work hours.

Would you please do me a favor and write answers to the questions which come with this letter. Please send me your answers as soon as possible in the stamped envelope with my address on it.

I will appreciate your help.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Simirenko
Associate Professor of
Sociology

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Reno Campus

September 27, 1966

Dear Mr.

A few days ago I sent you a letter telling you about the scientific study which I was doing of the Washo people. I am eagerly waiting for your answers to the questions I sent you.

If you have already answered them and sent them to me I would like to thank you now for the time you took to help me in this study. I appreciate your help very much.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Simirenko
Associate Professor of
Sociology

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Reno Campus

October 10, 1966

Dear Mr.

Two weeks ago I sent you a letter asking you to help me with my study of the Washo people. I am still eagerly waiting for your answers to my questions.

You may like to know that I do not need your name with your answers to the questions. Only the answers are important to my study since I will not be using names or referring to any specific people.

I will appreciate your help.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Simirenko
Associate Professor of
Sociology