The 150% Man, a Product of Blackfeet Acculturation[1]

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Some work with the "levels of acculturation" concept seems to assume a continuum of change and often entails an unintended correlate of cultural loss and replacement. An assessment of individuals among the Blackfeet using two scales, one a measure of Indian orientation and the other of White orientation, reveals that this view may be incorrect. New ways can be learned without abandoning the old. The bicultural reservation community provides a variety of roles and situations for selective use of both. It is suggested that a matrix model would be more meaningful than the continuum model for the assessment of individual acculturation, and that more attention should be paid to situational factors.

I

IN THIS paper I explore the implications of an attempt to measure "levels of acculturation" among the members of the Blackfeet Indian Tribe of northern Montana with the intent of showing how a change in the techniques of data analysis, during the process of assessing levels of acculturation, disclosed some interesting variations from the expected acculturation continuum. As one facet of a continuing research project directed toward an ethnography of these people, it follows a line of inquiry stemming from the work of Voget (1950, 1951, 1952), Bruner (1956a, 1956b), and Spindler (1955) and relates to questions examined by French (1961, 1962), Polgar (1960) and others who have stressed the heterogeneous nature of modern American Indian reservation societies and cultures. Closer examination of the variations among my data indicates that some of the concepts commonly used to assess processes of individual acculturation, or variations in bicultural experience, need further study. The questions raised can be answered only by continued research into these problems both on the Blackfeet and other reservations.

The terms used to identify levels or other categories of acculturation, such as Voget's *native, native-modified,* and *American-marginal,* Bruner's *unacculturated, marginal, acculturated,* and Spindler's *native-oriented, transitionals, lower-* and *upper-status acculturated,* describe long-term processes of tribal acculturation with reasonable accuracy. They also serve to focus attention upon the problems of individual acculturation—how people, over one to several generations, adapt to bicultural environments and learn to use cultural directives from another society. The "levels of acculturation" concept makes us aware of the differential rates of acculturation—that all segments of a tribal society do not learn and utilize concepts from another culture at the same rate and to the same degree—and provides a means for handling this differential both in description and theory.

We latecomers to the study of American Indian reservation life tend to take these categories, and the heterogeneity they handle, somewhat for granted. The cultural variation is easier to recognize now that others have pointed it out, and we can build upon these ideas and attempt refinements that appear to be called for.

This discussion will proceed in three steps: First, a brief description will be given of the Blackfeet tribal structure that represents a position along the course of tribal acculturation. This description will establish, in part, the social and cultural context within which individuals make adaptation. This will be followed by an examination of some cases of people who do not show straight-line acculturation from a more Indian to a more White position. These individual variations will be seen to relate to the statuses open in the social structure and the attendant roles, and to give some indication of how people learn these roles. I will then

Accepted for publication January 12, 1968.

consider some of the implications that these cases have for studies of cultural heterogeneity on this reservation, at least, and perhaps on other Indian reservations as well.

II

The Blackfeet tribal enrollment as of February 1, 1960, was 8,456 members of which 4,850 lived on the reservation. Roughly 13 percent of this resident population was fullblood, while perhaps another 10 percent was less than one quarter Indian. Until 1962, when tribal membership was limited henceforth to those of one quarter or more Indian descent, there had been no limitation on enrollment based upon any particular degree of Indian "blood" (Blackfeet Tribal Council n.d.).

Field study (reported in McFee 1962 with data and rationale for the statements that follow) revealed a great diversity in income, occupation, schooling, and other factors among the population. Yet the tribe, as a whole, is highly acculturated. Its members participate, in varying degrees, in the economic and political life of the state and nation. All live in houses, most drive cars, watch TV, dress in Western clothes, attend the regional schools and churches. All but a few of the older people speak English. In many respects they are similar to their non-Indian, rural Montana neighbors. Indian cultural characteristics, however, persist among one segment of this population, and individual and group variations in the degree of this persistence make it possible to recognize acculturation *categories*. I stress categories because, as I hope to show later, these may or more often may not correspond to meaningful social groups. The point to be made here, however, is that in the course of tribal acculturation, a bicultural social structure has become established that provides both models and positions for varied adaptations to reservation life.

Briefly, the tribe is divided into two recognizably contrasting social groups: (1) a numerically, politically, and economically dominant group, here called *White-oriented,* that is culturally similar to any non-Indian, rural Montana community, and (2) another social grouping of tribal members who *want to be Indian* and who act in conformity with attenuated tribal traditions, persisting Indian values, and some borrowed pan-Indian symbols. I call this the *Indian-oriented group.* A man or woman who aspires to be a member of this group must value being Indian, and participate in some Indian-oriented activities, such as bundle openings, Indian dances, song services, Indian encampments, and visiting. Above all, such people must be helpful and generous to others. Display of generosity, even to the point of self-impoverishment, was highly valued in the Blackfeet past, and remains important today among this segment of the reservation population. More Indian- than White-oriented people use the Blackfeet language frequently in their homes and in conversation with their friends. Note that the criteria used to define these groups are social and cultural, not biological. While Indian orientation and greater degrees of Indian descent correlate moderately, this is not the key to Indian-oriented participation. The important factors are aspirations, values, goals and behavior.

It is this Indian behavior, and the qualities that can be inferred from it, that highlight the contrasts between these two subsocieties. To a great degree, participation in the Indian-oriented activities, and commitment to Indian values, preclude full social acceptance by the White-oriented group. These things take time that White-oriented people feel should be spent in gainful work. Generosity is fine, the latter say, but not to the point where a man and his family undermine their economic position. White-oriented people tend to be, seek to be, or think they are, more independent, acquisitive, hard working and success oriented than are their more Indian neighbors. Social groups form within these subsocieties, while acculturation categories may include people who have little if any social interaction.

Each of these subsocieties is stratified, providing lower and higher status positions based upon appraisals of an individual's success in conforming to the ideals of the group to which he belongs. Equivalent positions in the two subsocieties tend to contrast. A man who has achieved high status in Indian society by emphasizing Indian characteristics, by spending much time at the proper social gatherings, by his knowledge of Indian lore and ritual, and particularly by his continued generosity, may find it difficult to attain high

status in the eyes of White-oriented people who measure his social worth by economic standards, scheduled work hours, formal education, and accumulated capital.

In addition, the Indian-oriented face yet another hurdle. They, more than the White-oriented, must know how to behave in terms of both cultures. Only occasionally, and usually for political purposes, do the White-oriented enter into the Indian-oriented world, but political and economic necessities require the Indian to participate at many levels within the White sphere. Here he is expected to speak English and behave according to White-oriented directives and expectations if he is to succeed in gaining the ends he seeks.

This is a culturally and socially bifurcated population held together by the legal and social implications of Indian descent, residence upon an Indian reservation, and, to a great degree, by participation in common economic and political spheres. The White-oriented segment, composed of recently acculturated persons and others from families where White socialization practices have been dominant for several generations, are assimilated, in most respects, into the general American society. The Indian-oriented group, on the other hand, consciously stands against such assimilation. This, then, sketches in some aspects of the social structure and cultural environment within which individuals make adaptation on the Blackfeet Reservation.

III

In the analysis that led to the above and following conclusions, I first attempted to sort the members of a random sample of the resident male tribal population, who had been born before 1941, into acculturation categories by analyzing their responses to a socioeconomic questionnaire. This interveiw material provided data on a range of activities and achievements that could be identified as either Indian or White traits. It was assumed that the cases would distribute along an acculturation continuum ranging from those who showed the most Indian characteristics to those who measured most White, which they did to some extent. Groupings along this continuum, however, did not correspond to any social units that had been observed during the course of the research. It was noted, too, that in the early assessments some individuals fell into odd positions along the line. For instance, one very successful rancher, one quarter Indian, who on the basis of the most visible criteria should have been at the highly acculturated end of the continuum, reported high competence in the use of the Blackfeet language and considerable knowledge of, and participation in, Indian activities. The rules of analysis at that point required that he be positioned near the middle of the continuum, partially acculturated, although this was an obvious misappraisal.

A second look at his case showed that this man had been socialized in White ways, had high status in the White-oriented group, but as a boy had been taught much of the Blackfeet lore, ritual, and language during a three-vear residence with his Indian grandfather. This knowledge was retained and used on occasion for participation in Indian-oriented activities. These indices were pulling him back toward the more Indian end of my continuum. It was more realistic to recognize him as a White man who knew Indian ways and could participate at certain levels of Indian-oriented society. He had not become acculturated from Indian to White, but from White toward Indian. Perhaps, for this reason, he did not belong on the continuum with which I was working, yet he was a resident tribal member of minimal Indian descent.

Other cases were found where men, thus centrally located on the continuum, knew Indian culture well, learned it in their childhood homes, and took part in its modern expression. On the basis of this knowledge and the observed participation they should have measured among the less acculturated. But, in addition to all this, they had been well educated and displayed many characteristics required for successful assimilation. By these latter indices they should have fallen well into the more acculturated range of the continuum. This particular use of the continuum model was not dividing this population with sufficient accuracy. It was apparent that the model I was using rested on an assumption of cultural replacement—as a man became more acculturated he would replace Indian ways with White ways. Evi-

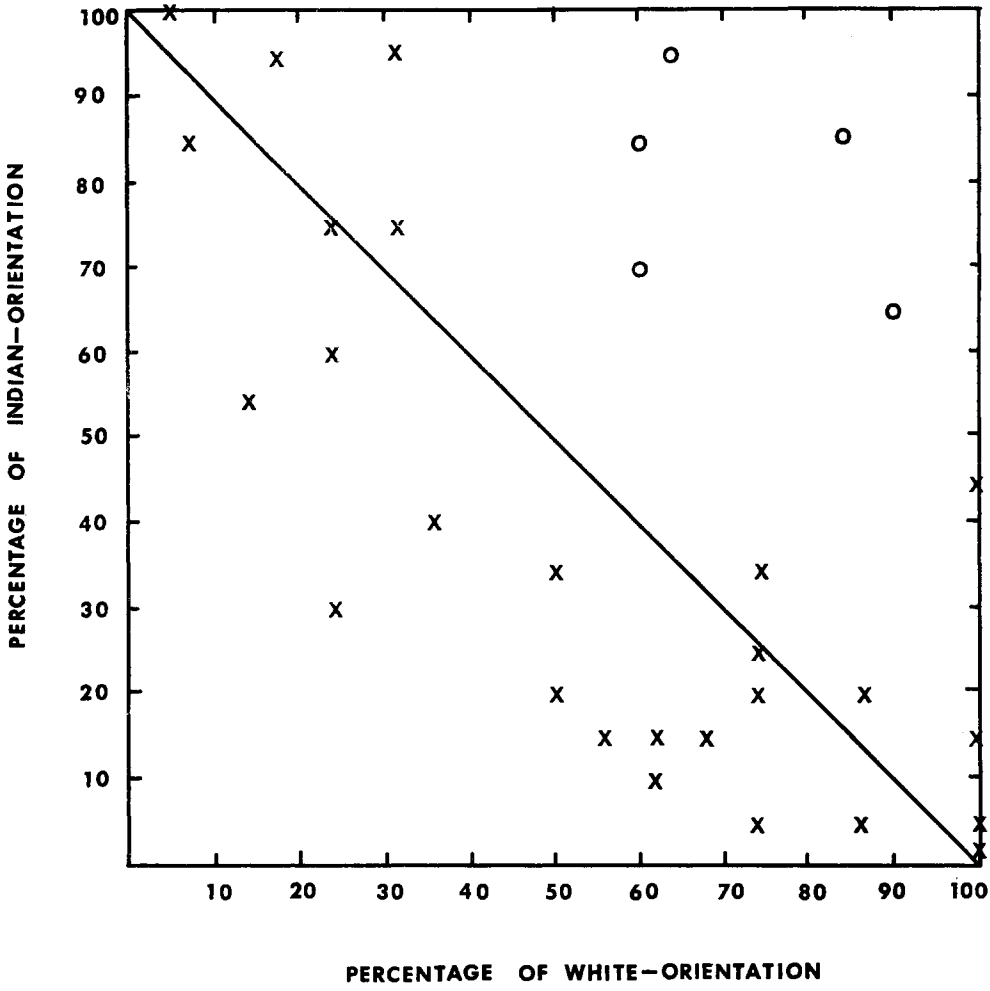

FIGURE 1. Approximate distribution of subjects according to percentages of Indian and White orientation. *X* identifies subjects placed by analysis of questionnaire responses; *O* reflects a more impressionistic placement. The diagonal marks the expected acculturation continuum under an assumption of cultural replacement.

dently an assumption that might hold for group acculturation could not be made about the individuals who were contributing to the group process.

The data were reexamined and some of the indices selected for further analysis. Knowledge and use of the Blackfeet language, knowledge of Blackfeet religious beliefs and lore, participation in Indian dances, singing, and give-aways, and some linguistic indices of home environment were used as measures of Indian-orientation. A comparable set of indices for White-orientation was then established from the data provided by the original questionnaire. Each man was measured by each of these standards, two continuua were constructed and used as the vertical and horizontal axes of a two dimensional matrix, or scattergram, upon which the two measures of each case could be plotted.

The scattergram distribution (see Figure 1) conformed reasonably well to the previous continuum, but now individuals clustered into groups that more closely fit their observed social interaction. This led to my

identification of the Indian-oriented and White-oriented subsocieties as meaningful social entities. Now, too, the unusual cases appeared in better perspective.

These cases were divided into those who measured either quite low or quite high on both scales. The few who were low on both scales remain to be explained. At first glance they all appeared to be young men, and perhaps had not yet had sufficient experience in the adult roles of either group to affect the indices used. The other cases, those that measured from 45–80% on both scales were more intriguing. They were, it seemed, well versed in both cultures. In the original sample, one man scored 35% on the Indian and 75% on the White scales; another 45% and 100% respectively. Five other people, including two women, were well known to me, however, and by less objective assessment appeared to fall in the 60–90% range on both scales.

There appeared to be two types among these highly bicultural people. One, like the rancher mentioned earlier (45% on the Indian scale and 100% on the White) represented people who had been raised in White-oriented families but had, either through some early experience like the rancher, or later in life, learned about Indian culture. Several of this type had become situationally Indian-oriented, learned the language, and participated in some Indian functions. These people retain many of the advantages of their White-oriented backgrounds, but do things with and for the Indians that gain them some respect, acceptance, and following. They neither live with, nor seek full identification with, the Indian-oriented group. Some of these people are very willing ethnographic informants; they have contributed valuable information in the past and give accurate accounts now, but some of this may be without benefit of references. They have read the books and filled out the gaps of their own experience with information from the anthropologists.

People of the second type are often full-blood, Indian-oriented men or women who have been raised in Indian homes, who speak the Blackfeet language fluently, and know about the traditions and lore. They understand the Indian-oriented culture, were raised within it, and know the requirements for leadership status within that group. In addition to their Indian training, these people have received a good education in White schools and have had a wide range of experience in parts of White culture. They speak English well. They express the ambition to be Indian, but want to do this by combining what is "best of the Indian way with the best of the White way." I have labeled these people the *Interpreters* because this is a position they frequently fill vis-à-vis the two subsocieties. The Interpreters can talk to and better understand both sides. Yet they are Indian-oriented. They live with and want to be accepted by the Indian group and to maintain their Indian identity.

The Interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and were given parts in a Sun Dance held on the reservation in 1959. Another young man, who appears to aspire to this role, sponsored another Sun Dance in 1965. These men may not have sufficient knowledge to fill these roles in traditional ways, but they are recognized as Indian leaders who are sympathetic and "good to people." They tend to express Indian values and subscribe to Indian symbols. They often put up a tepee for the annual encampment, put on costumes, dance or sing, emphasize their Indian names, and belong to the existing Indian societies. Yet, because of their training and experience in White ways, they are capable of competing with the White-oriented and through hard work and ability have gained some economic success and the respect of the White-oriented group. These men could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. But they are not wealthy. Because of their Indian-orientation, they must curb their economic ambitions in order to maintain their status. The very capabilities that make them valuable leaders within their group subject them to constant surveillance and criticism. They cannot acquire too much; they must be generous and helpful. Their knowledge of White ways is respected and seen to be useful, but they must not go too far in trying to "live like a White man."

The bicultural milieu has created the need for these mediators—Interpreters—to mesh the political forces of the two subsocieties. The Indian-oriented cannot remain economically and politically independent,

but must work with the larger community in order to exist. The Interpreter role requires bilingual people, educated people, Indian-oriented people who can forward Indian goals, yet maintain the values of this group. The Interpreter understands these goals better than the well-meaning White-oriented who have learned of Indian ways. The Interpreter can use his bicultural knowledge to forward these goals and to maintain his group.

This role has been one of long standing, but the capabilities required have increased. Interpreters are called upon for greater proficiency and mobility within the White world, but retain their unique value as they learn White culture well, resist cultural and social assimilation, and maintain their identification with the Indian-oriented subsociety.

This role bears many similarities to those described in other acculturative situations; e.g., Gluckman (1940) and Fallers (1955) discuss bicultural roles in Africa, but the Blackfeet role is not as clearly defined, or firmly institutionalized, as is the case in many of these other examples. While Interpreters are often elected to the Tribal Council, they may also be B.I.A. employees and entrepreneurs. The point is they may exert their influence in a number of differing situations, but have in common a following among the Indian-oriented, a position of leadership that is achieved not ascribed, and the bicultural knowledge and experience to help the Indian-oriented minority to survive.

Once these variations from an acculturation continuum are recognized, similar trends can be noted at the lower social levels. Most Indian-oriented people know the rules for behaving in a number of social contexts within the White-oriented community. A day laborer can mix with laborers of the White group with no particular trouble. He knows the proper cultural patterns for interaction in this context. He may know, as well, the rules to follow in several other situations. He has attained a degree of acculturation that may not be reflected accurately on a straight line measure. This serves to remind us that a man is more than a culture container. If, by one measure, he scores 75% on an Indian scale, we should not expect him to be limited to a 25% measure on another scale. Contemplation of this "container" metaphor led me to call these bicultural cases the 150% men. The experience of these people shows that there can be cultural loss at the individual level, but the retention of Indian characteristics, rather than their replacement as new ways are learned, depends upon whether or not these are seen to have continuing utility for the individual. The social and cultural milieu of the Blackfeet Reservation provides a use for both if a man wants to be Indian-oriented.

Some of the processes of learning such accommodation are implicit in the cases examined above and have been given more explicit treatment by Polgar (1960) for a bicultural situation, Crowley (1957) for a more complex plural society, and Stern (1966:227–235) for the Klamath. Stern also provides independent support for generalizing beyond the Blackfeet case: he describes a "mosaiclike" accommodation among the younger Klamath; notes that acculturation can be supplementing as well as replacing (1966:100), and has concluded that individual acculturation has been varied: "tribal members are not to be found extended along a single continuum of change" (1966:227).

IV

In summary, the continuum model has utility for assessing tribal acculturation, but may lead us into the "container" error when applied to processes of individual acculturation. The danger seems present in statements like the following:

> Although there are many degrees of acculturation to be observed among the Pinon Navajo, ranging from the modern, progressively oriented high school graduate to the most traditional and unregenerate Navajo, . . . [Downs 1966:1388].

The continuum of replacement is implied even though the statement is meaningful in Downs' discussion, and perhaps unfairly lifted from that context. But, are there not many modes of individual adaptation that are overlooked by this model? Are there any 150% men among the Navajo?

I suggest that the next step in assessing individual acculturation processes and the part these play in tribal acculturation on the Blackfeet reservation, and perhaps on others

as well, would be to devise a technique that would measure the numbers and kinds of situations, Indian-oriented and White-oriented, in which a person is capable of participation.[2] A matrix model of the bicultural knowledge and activities of the tribal population would result that would show categories of acculturation that should relate better to the roles provided by the tribal structure. This treatment might eliminate some of the frequently reported residual categories—marginal, transitional, etc.—that often become necessary to handle cases that do not fit the continuum. Many of the men we have considered to be "lost between two cultures" may not be lost, but happen to have been observed out of their accustomed contexts. Perhaps they were shifting their orientation, or were temporarily outside the range of their ability or experience to accommodate to some aspect of the bicultural situation. They should retain still the knowledge and skills that would allow them to return to their own group or to handle other situations.

Two points have been raised in informal discussion of these ideas with other anthropologists that should be considered. One is the statement that my division of the reservation population into two subsocieties appears to be little more than the old "Traditional-Progressive" distinction, and the second concern is that my conclusions might be explained as a consequence of the method rather than as an approximation of the real condition of the Blackfeet. My answer would be no to both possibilities. The Traditional and Progressive labels could be applied to people in both groups, but would not describe adequately the bifurcation arising from differing orientations. It is true that these terms would apply to divisions within the Indian-oriented group: the Interpreters and some others could be called Progressives in the usual sense of the term. I have, in effect, attempted to describe one kind of Progressive to show that "progressive" adaptation need not lead to cultural loss. The second point cannot be disposed of so easily. I can only plead that my original intent was to find levels of acculturation; the results were unsatisfactory and another method of analysis led to conclusions that seemed to make more sense in light of my experience among these people.

These comments and the issues discussed in this paper raise further questions. Many of the answers will come from continued research, better data, and refined analytical techniques. Much could be gained from studying the same population over a long period of time. In time, records of attempts by men to move about more widely within this bicultural, bisocial reservation environment, their successes and failures, should provide answers to some of these questions, and point up more clearly the mechanisms that are used to adapt to acculturative situations. The increasing ranges of capability developed by individuals in this context must affect both the rate and direction of tribal acculturation.

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper read at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 1963. The fieldwork was conducted during the summers of 1959, 1960, 1963, and 1967.

[2] David French (1962) examined the contexts in which bilingual Indians used one, both, or the other of the languages. The choices indicated their appraisal of situation and their ability to respond appropriately.

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APPENDIX A

SOCIOCULTURAL FIELD SCHEDULE*

1. Case No. _____, Indian Name _____ 2. Age_____ 3. Degree Indian _____

4. Area location _____ 5. Marital Status _____, No. of children _____

6. Education _____

7. Source of subsistence
   - A. Income per year _____
   - B. Type of occupation _____
   - C. Land ownership _____
   - D. Land and mineral income _____

8. Home
   - A. Ownership _____
   - B. Type _____
   - C. No. of rooms _____
   - D. No. persons living in house _____
   - E. Condition _____
   - F. Source of water _____
   - G. Sanitation _____
   - H. Furnishings _____
     1. Furniture _____
     2. Native objects _____
     3. Cooking range _____
     4. Heating _____
     5. Radio _____
     6. Television _____
     7. Telephone _____

9. Automobile
   - A. Year _____
   - B. Est. of condition _____

10. Political activity
    - A. Expressed interest in local political affairs _____
    - B. Active politically _____
    - C. Expressed interest in "outside" political affairs _____
    - D. Party _____

11. Language
    - A. Level of English _____
    - B. Level of Blackfeet _____

12. Type of reading _____

13. Parental status

	A. Fa.	B. Mo.
1. Degree Indian	_____	_____
2. Education	_____	_____
3. Occupation	_____	_____
4. Language	_____	_____
5. Religion	_____	_____

14. Religion
    - A. Church member _____
    - B. Attendance _____
    - C. Denomination _____
    - D. Indian religions _____
    - E. Nativistic religion _____
    - F. Other _____

15. Charms, magic, myth _____

16. Utilization of medical services _____

17. Recreation
    - A. Drink _____
    - B. Athletics _____
    - C. Dance
      1. Indian _____
      2. Western _____
    - D. Hunting and fishing _____
    - E. Movies _____
    - F. Traveling for pleasure
      1. Frequency _____
      2. Destination _____
    - G. Cards or equivalent _____
    - H. Stick game _____

18. Organizations
    - A. Western _____
    - B. Indian _____
      1. Societies _____
      2. Regional or national _____

19. Visibility _____

20. Military service _____

* Adapted from George D. Spindler, *Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955, pp. 224–227.

APPENDIX B
Code for
Sociocultural Field Schedule

1. Case No. and Indian name
   - A. Has Indian name
     1. ceremonially given
     2. No ceremony
   - B. No Indian name
2. Age (years)
3. Degree Indian (fraction)
4. Area location
   - A. Town (has P.O., store)
     1. Browning
     2. East Glacier
     3. Heart Butte
     4. St. Mary's
     5. Babb
   - B. Community (usually centered around a school or community house)
     1. Starr School
     2. Little Badger
     3. Two Medicine
     4. Old Agency
     5. Cut Bank Boarding School
   - C. Near main highway, but not in town or community area
   - D. Backwoods (reached by prairie road, several miles beyond a graded road or highway)
5. Marital Status
   - A. Married
     1. common law
     2. church
     3. civil
   - B. Single
   - C. Divorced or separated
   - D. Number of children
6. Education (years completed)
7. Subsistence
   - A. Estimated annual income in dollars
   - B. Type of occupation
     1. rancher or farmer, business proprietor, supervisory position in Agency or Council
     2. a. clerk in Council or Agency
        b. teacher
        c. trade
     3. regular labor
        a. farm or ranch
        b. railroad
        c. Agency
        d. construction
     4. Regular seasonal
        a. wage labor
        b. clerical
        c. other
     5. irregular wage labor
   - C. Land ownership
     1. Yes
        a. allotment
        b. heirship
        c. purchased
     2. status
        a. trust
        b. fee patent
     3. no
     4. using land
        a. yes
        b. no
        c. using family land rent free
        d. using leased land
   - D. Land and mineral income
     1. Land leased
     2. minerals leased
     3. other
   - E. Public income
     1. pension
     2. welfare
     3. other
   - F. Other income
8. Home
   - A. Ownership
     1. lives in own house
     2. lives in house owned by others
        a. rents
        b. uses
     3. lives with relatives (specify)
   - B. Type
     1. frame
     2. log
     3. cabin or shack
   - C. No. of rooms
   - D. No. of persons living in the house
   - E. Condition
     1. excellent
     2. good
     3. fair
     4. poor
   - F. Source of water
     1. running water in house
        a. community system
        b. private well
     2. carried in from community well, hydrant or neighbors
     3. hand pump, own well
     4. streams or springs
     5. hauled in
   - G. Sanitation
     1. bathroom
     2. outdoor privy
     3. outdoors, no privy
   - H. Furnishings
     1. a. overstuffed
        b. wooden but purchased
        c. homemade (benches and tables)
     2. native objects
        a. present
        b. absent
     3. cooking range

a. gas or electric
b. wood stove
c. some cooking done outdoors
4. heating
a. central
b. oil or gas circulating heater
c. iron space heater
5. radio
a. in home
b. none in home
6. television
a. in home
b. none in home
7. telephone
a. in home
b. none in home

9. Automobile
A. Year
B. Condition
1. good
2. fair
3. poor

10. Political activity
A. Local interest
1. considerable
2. some
3. none
B. Local activity
1. have held local office
2. attend meetings of local groups
3. have attended
4. no activity
C. "Outside" interest
1. considerable
2. some
3. none
D. Party
1. Democrat
2. Republican
3. other
4. none

11. Language
A. Level of English
1. fluency
a. excellent
b. good
c. fair
d. poor
2. use
a. used predominantly in home
b. secondary in home
B. Level of Blackfeet
1. full knowledge
2. some
3. very little or none
4. predominant in home
5. rarely spoken in home

12. Type of reading
A. Books, magazines, and newspapers
B. Newspapers and magazines
C. Pulp magazines, comics
D. Little or none

13. Parental status
A. Father, B. Mother
1. Degree Indian (fraction)
2. education (years attended)
3. occupation
a. ranch or farm
b. labor
c. Agency employee
d. trade
e. business or administrative
f. housewife
g. domestic service, homes, hospital, school or Agency
h. handicrafts
i. pension, relief, etc.
4. language spoken
a. English usually
b. Blackfeet usually
c. both
d. Blackfeet only
e. English only
5. religion
a. Christian at birth
b. converted Christian
c. Indian

14. Religion
A. Church membership
1. yes
2. no
B. Attendance
1. regular
2. occasional
3. never
C. Denomination
1. Catholic
2. Methodist
3. Baptist
4. Presbyterian
5. L. D. S.
6. Other
D. Indian religion
1. full practice
2. some participation and belief
3. know of but no belief or participation
4. know little or nothing

15. Charms, magic, myth
A. Exhibit deep knowledge of native lore and belief systems and possess some native amulets, medicine bundles (not as curios)
B. Know some
C. Are aware of but do not know
D. Know nothing of

16. Medical
A. Use "outside" medical facilities and reservation medical service exclusively
B. Use regular medical service, but occa-

sionally use native remedies or medicine men
C. Depend largely upon native medicine man or remedies
17. Recreation
A. Drink
1. none
2. moderately
3. excessively
B. Athletics
1. participated while in school
2. participate now
3. attend regularly
4. sometimes attend
5. never attend
C. Dance
1. Indian dance
a. participate
b. regularly attend to watch
c. attend occasionally
d. seldom or never attend
2. Western dance (square, fox trot, waltz, etc.)
a. dance frequently
b. sometimes
c. attend to watch
d. never attend
D. Hunting and fishing
1. often
2. sometimes
3. never
E. Movies
1. attend often
2. attend occasionally
3. never attend
F. Traveling for pleasure
1. frequency
a. often
b. some
c. never
2. destination
a. attend Indian gatherings
b. visit friends and relatives
c. see the country
d. usually to other Indian reservations or communities
e. often go to places other than (d)
f. outside of state
g. within the state mainly
G. Card games or equivalent
1. bridge or equivalent
2. poker, pinochle, blackjack, or equivalent
a. social (with family or neighbors)
b. gambling principal motive
3. play occasionally
4. never play
H. Stick game
1. play frequently
2. play occasionally
3. never play
18. Organizations
A. Western
1. religious (K.C., etc.)
2. service clubs
3. veterans' organizations
4. F.F.A., 4-H, Scouts, etc., in school
5. Youth organization leader
6. other
B. Indian
1. Indian societies
a. belong
b. do not belong
2. regional and national Indian organizations (NCAI, etc.)
a. belong
b. do not belong
C. No organizations
19. Visibility
A. High
B. Moderate
C. Low
D. None
20. Military service
A. yes, years
B. no