

Representatives of each of these groups must be sought as informants if anything like a true picture of reservation conditions or aspirations is to be obtained with the possible exception of certain reservations such as those of the Pueblos of the Southwest, where the events of history have led to a more cohesive maintenance of old ways than elsewhere, and a stance of secrecy toward the outsider so that only officially designated spokesmen will inform the observer at all. In other areas, however, all groups will have complaints to voice, problems to describe, accusations to make, and each will probably accuse the other of greater or less responsibility for the general state of affairs. Out of these interlocking, sometimes complementary, sometimes conflicting sets of testimony, a fairly clear-cut picture of the human element in the local poverty complex will gradually emerge. When this is combined with as objective as possible an appraisal of the economic realities of the community and of the impact of past and present efforts to ameliorate the situation, realistic recommendations may be made toward the elimination of poverty.

3. *Functional Aspects and Interrelations*

In most American Indian communities today, after at least a century of reservation life, following two centuries or so of more or less unhappy contact with European invaders, either one of two developments seems to have taken place. Where the original cultural complex was geared to a pattern of primarily agricultural subsistence at a low-level of abundance, as among the Pueblos, a tendency to retain communal solidarity in somewhat covert fashion is noted. Ceremonies and languages are kept secret from the outsider and the overt tribal government represents a contact point between the real tribal government and the outside world.

Where a more abundant hunting culture existed as among the Plains Indians, permitting a more flexible, looser tribal organization, with institutions primarily geared to hunting and war parties, the disappearance of the buffalo, and other diminutions of hunting opportunities, as well as the cessation of intertribal warfare has led to an almost complete dissolution of tribal institutions above the kin-group level. A few forms may remain, but little of the substance. The residual culture of such groups is concentrated in the kin-group structure and is atomistic within that context. That is to say, each kin-group tends to function as a separate faction, seeking its own ends in disregard of the interests of other similar groups. Only when some disturbing force of clearly threatening or compelling nature impinges upon two or more of these groups from the "outside," is there even a temporary alliance. This appears to be analogous to the older hunting or war party when more than one kin-group had to cooperate in order to attain some highly desired goal of the chase or deal with a highly dangerous military threat. Otherwise, kin-groups of greater or less extension were the normal social milieu in relative isolation from their peer groups—as they are today. In this atomistic variety of present-day Indian society, members of the tribal government again serve as spokesmen to the outside world, but without the uniform backing and consensus of nearly all elements of the population as in the Pueblo groups. They, themselves, represent only one, or perhaps a few, of the dominant factions of the reservation concerned, and are subject to the criticisms and accusations of all the other kin-based factions.

This state of affairs makes it necessary for the researcher to become well accepted by the tribal leadership in the case of the cohesive groups and to concentrate his researches upon that leadership, while, among the atomistic groups, although acceptance by the leadership is equally necessary, it is only the beginning of the researcher's work. He must learn to be accepted among the "out" factions, as well (without antagonizing the "in" factions), and expect to hear many versions of the "truth" from all sides.

4. *Interviewing Objectives*

Having identified his groups and determined the most effective approach in a given reservation, the researcher must strive to discover the basic views as to what is happening in regard to poverty and the Indian future from each discernibly different group, in order to have a basis for measurement of his own independent observations. In relation to the CAP impact, he must learn the sequence of events surrounding the inception and progress of each component, as well as the reactions of the several internal Indian factions and of external groups such as the BIA and the PHS.

Since Indians in general do not feel comfortable under formal questioning by whites, regardless of the ostensible reason for the interrogation, a period of