

twenty-two members, two being selected from each of the eleven districts into which the reservations are divided. The Gila Bend and San Xavier Reservations are each one district. Each district is self-governing in local matters and is headed by an elected district council composed of not less than five members. All elected leaders hold office for two years.

The Tribal Council has always been quite democratically structured, the source of the force for a democratic orientation ultimately deriving from the village.

There was no immediate acceptance of tribal organization in the terms in which the Government men saw it. There had never been a subordination of one village group's interests to another, nor was there now. Representatives were not regarded by their districts as empowered to enact legislation, but rather were thought of as "legs," to use the old Papago term; that is, messengers and communicators of news to their district councils. This was notably true of San Xavier, which regarded itself as quite distinct from the "desert people" of the Sells Reservation (Spicer 1962: 144).

The political structure of the Papago, which is genuine "community action," is threatened when quick action on any issue is required. It is important not to confuse the size of the carrot dangled in front of the horse with the total dietary requirements of horses: however attractive the rewards for the Indians of a lot of money right away, the democratic, and slowly moving, Papago political processes ought not to be run into the ground, or be bypassed (albeit under pressure) by those more acculturated and accustomed to dealing with white society.

3. *Impact of the Community Action Program*

a. *Introduction*

The Community Action Program on the Papago Reservation is in a formative stage, moving from a base of Papago leadership to widening Papago involvement. The impact, at this stage, is in the realm of tribal politics, with CAP as a central element in the redefinition of roles of tribal leaders and Federal administrators at one level, and of the roles of tribal leaders and village leaders at another. Tribal administrators visualize the creation of Papago leadership, free of Anglo controls, as a possible outcome of Community Action Programs.

The CAP Director has formulated a set of community development principles as the result of his past experience as Tribal Chairman and of a long association with anthropologists. The following report will illustrate how the Director's philosophy has influenced the present position of CAP's development on the Papago Reservation.

The Director's position is fairly clear and is stated in the following quotation from an interview with him in March 1966:

The OEO Act called for maximum feasible involvement of the people. This is tailor-made for the Papago people because that is the way we do things. The Chairman in the Tribal Council cannot approve an action without reference to the people. The Chairman lends support, submits things to the Tribal Council, and full discussion follows. The Tribal Council seldom gives instant approval; instead, a proposal must go to the district meetings. Delegates may come in to Tribal Council meetings and say, "We cannot support something one way or another because it's not yet discussed in district meetings." This is exactly the way they carry CAP. . . .

Anything done with the people must involve everybody. There must not be programs without involvement of the people. The jobs must not be doled out as political plums. People will want relatives in jobs. If factionalism or nepotism creep in, it is the people's undoing. There is community involvement so they feel free to criticize. The CAP Committee helps decide who is to be hired or fired. The CAP Director may hire but people reserve the right to approve. . . .

We must be willing to take one step back to take ten tomorrow. You cannot ramrod anything through—it takes time, but when a decision is reached it is a decision of the people. We will never break any speed records, but we are building solidly so our work will not come apart at the seams.

(1) *The People.*—The influence of an earlier way of life on the modern adjustment of Papago Indians seems to be of considerable importance. This is in large part due to the relatively recent (1917) introduction of Federal services on the main reservation and to the continued isolation of reservation villages.

The most important political fact is that the Papago were never, until very recent times, organized as a tribe. It was a society of small autonomous groups, loosely held together by custom and tradition and governed by the unanimous decisions of the older men.