

suspicious of him. He could not explain to the satisfaction of its members what he was doing there and was asked to leave.

VISTAs who were interviewed complained that they could get no support from the Washington office of VISTA, and no one at Pine Ridge could give them advice on what to do. The OED Director said that the VISTA program created more problems than any other. A number of VISTAs resigned before their terms were up. One created a controversy between the OED and the 1966-68 Tribal Council because the Tribal President seriously objected when she was not granted an extension by VISTA in Washington. Though she was very popular with elderly Sioux at the "Old Folks' Home," and with members of the Tribal Council, the OED Director recommended that she not be retained. She reportedly would not pay her rent, and created various other difficulties.

When the 1966 Tribal Council assumed office, many of its members were concerned about OED's refusal to permit the extension of this VISTA worker's tour of duty. They were particularly angry about the Tribal Council's powerlessness in the situation. They also objected to the OED using VISTAs for its own purposes. Some Council members, as well as rural Sioux, felt that VISTAs would not be respected as long as they had to be pampered with trailers, running water and electricity, and that they were being paid for jobs that Indians could do just as well. Based on VISTA literature and a VISTA film, they felt that VISTAs were supposed to "work with the people," rather than with Government agencies that could afford to hire a staff.

When a VISTA representative arrived to discuss arrangements necessary for more VISTAs to be assigned to Pine Ridge, the Tribal Council liaison representative to the OED said that the Tribal Council wanted more control over the VISTAs, and specifically proposed a training program for VISTAs to be organized and run under the auspices of the Tribal Council. The VISTA representative made it clear that there were strong budgetary reasons for allowing the VISTAs to remain officially under the OED, but he thought the training program was a good idea and could very likely be put into effect. All parties apparently accepted the compromise, but the issue of who would have final decision-making power in the case of a clear disagreement between the OED and the Tribal Council was left unresolved.

c. Opinions and Attitudes Regarding CAP

It is impossible to create a conceptual model of the social and attitudinal variations within the Pine Ridge Reservation which does justice to their complexity. Roughly ten thousand people live over a five thousand square mile area, most of them in small communities. The concepts of sociological fullbloods and sociological mixed bloods, referring to relatively unacculturated and traditional Indians, on the one hand, and to Indians relatively acculturated to white values, on the other, are useful to denote cultural differences, and a number of communities and factions think of themselves as being "fullbloods" or "mixed bloods." These are loose concepts, however, and though for some program administrators the participation or non-participation of Indians in their programs may seem to divide the reservation into two rather clear groups, these groups do not exist as social entities.

Attitudes toward the OEO and its programs seem to have less to do with the program than with general preexisting attitudes toward Government programs, ideal and actual. Theoretical future benefits from the OEO were generally not appreciated, except by relatively acculturated employed Indians. Both unacculturated and acculturated Indians tended to evaluate the worth of the OEO as a direct function of its success in satisfying their felt needs, and as an indirect function of their initial hopes regarding the likelihood that it would be truly helpful.

The relatively unacculturated Indians were very pragmatic about what they needed, and therefore what Government programs should help them to get. The main felt need was for jobs. People interviewed in the White Clay and Wakpamni Districts—in particular in Calico, Payabya and Oglala—tended to see a need for more industry. (The Wright-McGill snelling plant has employed men from those communities for a number of years.) In more isolated areas, there was general interest in cattle cooperatives and community gardens. However, both industry and ranching were mentioned in all areas, excluding Pine Ridge, where ranching was not suggested. Other felt needs mentioned frequently were self-help home improvement and truly low-cost housing, well-drilling, and irrigation projects.