

Employed and relatively acculturated Indians also stressed the need for jobs, but in discussing them they were more abstract. They spoke of the need for more and better education, and for civic virtues such as better cooperation between people, responsibility, and dependable work habits. They were hopeful that the OEO programs would help raise reservation standards. Since they themselves did not need jobs, they participated in the programs indirectly—by sending their young children to nursery school, for example. Some expressed the concern that the program would end, creating problems for other Government agencies, and some who worked in other agencies thought that their agencies should have control over some of the OEO programs. This was most true in the case of the Nursery School program, which was coveted by personnel of the BIA and state schools.

With exception of employed acculturated Indians, the overwhelming majority of Sioux interviewed did not feel that the OEO programs were helping them to meet their most important needs.

The strongest statements of dissatisfaction came from sociologically mixed bloods who lived in the districts, many of whom were or had at one time been Councilmen. Initially high expectations that the OEO programs were to be "what the people wanted" seem to have given way to anger. They sometimes stated that the War on Poverty had been "taken over" by a group of whites in Pine Ridge who were drawing immense salaries. Some objected that there were Indians competent to run the programs, and that outsiders need not have been brought in. One man stated that the program was a "racket." HSR field researchers discovered that in one district a campaigning Councilman, subsequently elected, was going from house to house with a copy of the OED newspaper (called at that time *I'm Nameless*, later renamed *War Cry*) pointing out articles that introduced different component directors and stating the (alleged) salary of each.

More traditional Sioux who were interviewed generally did not express strong resentment of existing programs, though the majority expressed indifference to or unawareness of the programs. There was a tendency to speak of "Government programs," and to fail to differentiate among them except to specify those considered more or less beneficial. OEO programs were linked together in the minds of a minority of people. The programs were not seen as significantly helpful; that is, they provided few jobs and did not improve the general subsistence level by creating irrigation works, gardens, or other concrete benefits. Some Sioux offered the opinion that Government programs were getting worse. The WPA was generally regarded favorably because it put large numbers of adults to work and created roads and irrigation systems.

There was some evidence that expressions of unawareness or indifference in fact covered resentment. HSR researchers noted that members of the communities covered intensively often shifted initial noncommittal responses to strong indictments. There seemed concern for the feelings of the researchers, whose personal allegiances were at first undetermined.

There were indications that the growing circulation of the OED newspaper, *War Cry*, increased awareness of the OEO programs, as well as the tendency for Sioux to think of them as related. Respondents often referred to facts they had read in the newspapers; but significantly, material recounted had to do with numbers of people to be hired and dates of operation of particular components, and not with the intentions or theoretical benefits of the components.

Specific criticisms of the programs, when they were made, focused on numbers and types of people employed. Many heads of families objected that the programs hired mostly young people. (The NYC has hired more individuals than all the other components combined. The second and third largest in numbers employed are the Nursery School and Health Aide components, which hire mainly girls in their twenties. Family heads raised many objections to this, on grounds that young people could not work as well as older people, that it made the young people wild, that they wasted the money, and that it encouraged young people to be disrespectful of their parents. A major factor behind these objections seems to be that parents strongly resented being made financially dependent on their children, and that this undermined their authority and self-respect. This issue is more important here than would be the case among whites since among the Sioux authority is more a function of age.)

Other objections heard from the rural people were that the programs stayed in Pine Ridge town, and that people were hired who either had jobs or had close relatives who had jobs. Since the number of people hired from Pine Ridge town