

6. A decline in the effectiveness of social control, resulting from inadequacy of traditional methods of social control in coping with problems posed by an expanding population, and due as well to the decline and demise of the control functions of the Midiwiwin (the Grand Medicine Society) and to usurpation of authority by "outsiders."

The Dawes ("Allotment") Act of 1887 made possible the allocation of lands to individuals, and permitted the sale of individual lands by "civilized" Indians (i.e., those who could sign their names) or by those who claimed white ancestry. The presence of a railroad in proximity to the rich forest brought in timber speculators in the 1890's. Most of the land of the reservation was soon in their hands, and by the mid-1920's the forest had almost been denuded of valuable timber. With these events, deterioration of the economic base of the White Earth Ojibwa society was complete.

Notwithstanding these significant changes in Ojibwa ecology over more than the past century, however, strong elements of traditional social structure remain, and there is ample evidence that what might be viewed as the Ojibwa modal personality type has not changed drastically.

The 1920's and 1930's saw the removal of the Indian Agency to Bemidji, an end to the boarding school educational system that had been initiated in the 1890's with BIA operation of the school system, and the advent of BIA control of law enforcement. The educational, law enforcement, and welfare systems were transferred to the State, and in turn to counties too poor and disinterested to be effective.

Following passage of the Indian Re-Organization Act of 1934, the six "open" reservations of Minnesota Ojibwa organized as the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, with reservation councils responsible for local government. In 1963 a new constitution was adopted. The long period of relative insignificance of tribal and reservation government, and in turn its transformation, are particularly pertinent to understanding the problems which CAP has encountered at White Earth.

2. *Recent Conditions and Present Context*

The following outline of the social structure of the White Earth Ojibwa is intended to provide further context for examination of the development of the White Earth Community Action Program. It covers not all aspects of the social system, but those identified as most relevant in the course of field research. In view of the persistence of certain characteristics of social organization from pre-reservation times and the redevelopment of some earlier characteristics in the new reservation context, a brief statement of the old social system is needed initially.

a. *Early Ecological Adaptation*

The social structure of the Ojibwa in the period of their westward and south-westward movement represented a social adjustment to the environment and its exploitation. The resources of the northern forests, with limited technology available, did not permit great density of population; indeed, except for recent white settlements, the area remains today one of the most sparsely inhabited regions of North America. The pattern of settlement was adapted to the exploitative patterns of the seasons: largest groupings (the band) occurred during the spring and summer, when attention was directed to tapping sugar maples, fishing, and some hunting. Late summer and early autumn saw some dispersion for the harvesting of wild rice, followed by hunting as the major activity. Winter, the season for trapping, saw the utmost dispersal.

The nuclear family (husband, wife and children) remained together throughout the year, and was, as long as conditions permitted, in close proximity to several other such units, usually related through father-son or brother ties. A number of such groups, occasionally up to one hundred, constituted a named band. Kinship was bilateral (relatives of both mother or father were equally recognized). Parallel cousins (the children of one's father and his brothers, or of one's mother and her sisters) were classified as siblings, while cross-cousins (children of one's father's sister or mother's brother) were conceptually and terminologically distinct. Preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage may be seen as an adaptation to low density of population, with small, local bands widely distributed, providing continuing sets of alliances among small family groups.

The responsibilities and privileges of kinship were extended further through the totemic groups (known also as clans or gentes), membership in which