

itself. The former regard the community as capable of achieving much, but it must be recognized that the community has extraordinarily limited resources and that it is lacking in the basic responsibility and authority of government. Desired results must be obtained through the agency of the Federal Government, and for this a few knowledgeable people must negotiate. The community can do little more than provide moral support and participate in the results. The failure of tribal and reservation government to accomplish much, and the numerous but never implemented Federal and state plans and proposals, further reinforce an attitude of indifference that is characteristic of many White Earth Ojibwa.

Many, particularly among the CAP staff, agree that apathy must be overcome and enthusiasm generated. Apathy and indifference are, however, to be expected when the social group has little control over its destiny. It is clear that the villages, the reservation, and the Tribe can do little to influence the future except as their leaders are able to utilize whatever Federal programs become available. In a sense these leaders are still leaders of the hunt, bringing back game in the form of program benefits. Apathy or indifference are most likely to disappear when there is ample evidence that involvement and activity will bring satisfactory rewards.

The definition of community is a problem not fully recognized by local CAPs or by OEO. In the case of White Earth, the "Community" Action Program includes Ojibwa in three villages, one "community," a few hamlets, and isolated households. The villages in turn contain major divisions that within themselves have many correspondences to the pre-reservation band. Moreover, the CAP also pertains to a number of whites living in White Earth Reservation, many of them poor, who have few relationships with the Ojibwa population and certainly no sense of identification. One may question whether this provides a social base for a viable CAP. One may further question whether the newly organized "white" CAP of the area surrounding the reservation has a chance of success as a "community" program, since it involves a number of scattered, small population centers with different economic bases in three different counties, interpenetrating parts of White Earth Reservation as well.

The early statements of the senior officials of the Federal Administration, the OEO directorship, and the higher levels of the Federal bureaucracy indicated the necessity of community involvement to bring an end to the causes of poverty. Community involvement was seen to include maximum participation of the poor, and the Act itself required advisory committees with such participation for development of CAPs. It was clear that this was not designed as a WPA-type project merely to provide employment, but was intended to strike at the "roots" of poverty by providing the motivation and mechanisms for people to rise to middle class standards. It is also clear that the program was aimed at combatting poverty in urban slums, near most of which jobs are available for those who become motivated and have sufficient skills to obtain them. It is not clear, however, that reservations or poor rural white areas were primary concerns, for in the latter, jobs are not present and motivations and skills are thus largely irrelevant.

b. Sequence of Events after Funding of CAP

With the foregoing considerations in mind, the history and development of the White Earth CAP may be now more meaningfully discussed.

Following funding in April 1965, arrangements were made by the RBC for initial hiring of administrative employees with the aid of the BIA and state employment service. In June, the CAP Director took office.

A native of Naytahwaush and a recent college graduate, the Director was widely known on the reservation and had far better understanding of local conditions than an outsider would have. The Director of the recreation program was also a college graduate and a native of Naytahwaush, where he had taught school. The first social worker was white and professionally trained. He was joined in July by a second individual with advanced training in sociology and experience as a social worker and college instructor. As already noted, the Head Start program had been independently organized through appropriate school boards.

A number of informants with whom the researchers talked reported that the Director and Recreation Director were engaged by the RBC largely on the recommendation of a BIA official, but these statements lack confirmation.

By the summer of 1965 initial staffing was almost completed. Hiring procedures had been organized by mid-summer. Notices were posted of vacancies and applications taken at the CAP office. These were reviewed and recommendations made by the CAP Advisory Committee (CAPCom) sitting with the RBC. The RBC then made appointments. The then-resident anthropologist noted that at