

adjacent white villages and cities. The local stores stock only basic items, sold at relatively high prices because they do not benefit from large-scale purchasing. Nearby stores carry a wider selection of items, a greater variety of brands, and tend to have lower prices. The white towns of Detroit Lakes and Mahanomen have the lowest prices and the greatest variety, and as a bonus provide a visit to the "big city." In consequence, CAP salaries quickly leave the reservation communities, and the normal by-products of increased employment do not long adhere to the locality.

If the major CAP objective is assimilation, as some, particularly whites, believe, it is far too early to judge the effectiveness of the CAP approach. If the objective is, as most Ojibwa believe, a viable economic base for the reservation, CAP has not really come to grips with it. If the objective were simply to provide a WPA type of employment, then the CAP has been inefficient.

Some comments pertinent to the community's involvement in CAP are also appropriate at this point. Initial national OEO and local CAP publicity, through talks, meetings, newsletters, etc., emphasized to the White Earth Ojibwa that CAP was their program, to carry out their wishes and plans, to solve their problems. In the summer of 1965 a considerable number of them knew of the program and were interested. By the time the field research of this study began in February 1966, interest had become more widespread but was highly critical. In the ensuing months it became apparent that alienation from the program had set in and that it was regarded as a tool of the RBC. This attitude was perhaps most widely held among the poor.

The change correlated with the following developments: (1) withdrawal of two VISTA girls who had published a newsletter and had established wide contacts within White Earth village; (2) increasing organizational complexity of the CAP office; (3) decreasing contact of the CAP Administrative staff, especially the social workers, with the ordinary people; (4) routinization of CAP activities; (5) increasing belief by the people in the limitations on CAP potential; (6) decline of importance of, and decreasing attendance within, the CAPCom; (7) increasing importance of the RBC.

The OEO has emphasized the necessity of involvement of the poor, though with noticeably decreasing fervor. In this connection, it is of some relevance to indicate the attitudes of the "poor" Indians employed by CAP. The "poor" tend to regard themselves as fortunate to have "jobs," even though the programs in which they are employed may be temporary. Employment opportunities are limited, so that with adequate dissemination of information pertaining to available jobs, more than enough applicants enter the competition. But these jobs are regarded as fortuitous, terminable either by the end of the program or at the whim of the RBC. Job holders do not think it wise to make their personal views of the program vocal, for fear of consequences, specifically loss of jobs. Several of the poor employees, who have nevertheless been somewhat outspoken, live in fear that they will be dismissed. The poor, employed by CAP or not, along with other segments of the population, tend most strongly to regard the CAP as the property of the RBC. The poor particularly view the RBC as controlling both the CAP and the reservation—and they fear the RBC.

Another problem somewhat related to job insecurity is lack of job descriptions or clear definition of roles. OEO publicity in the past emphasized "participation of the poor." On the other hand, the RBC has made it clear that the staff is to avoid controversial issues, and was later supported in this by OEO Memorandum 23. At the same time, responsibilities of many of the aide positions are unclear. Supervision is frequently inadequate, and supervisors are also unclear as to job specifications. As a consequence, aides fear that they can be fired with relative ease with no method of appeal. The aide positions regarding which this seems most significant are those concerned with Social Work, Recreation, and Study Hall—activities traditionally associated with institutions in which the Indian was treated as a passive recipient. It is not probable that positions available under the Nelson Amendment, the Building Skills component, and other activities with more clearly defined requirements will provide for easier adjustment. It is generally true that neither the Social Work aides nor the poor population with whom the aides work understands what the aides are attempting to do. While the problem of job insecurity does not involve all aides, it is nevertheless surprisingly widespread. That one employee was dismissed for so-called "immoral behavior" during off-hours is well known, and provides some substance for existing fears.