

Underlying the insecurity of CAP employees and alienation of the population in general are traditional suspicion, hostility and fear of hostility. There is certainly no demonstrable evidence that RBC members are antagonistic to the poor, capricious in their behavior, or irresponsible. Rather, what is important is that fear, hostility, and suspicion are fundamental aspects of life in this community, and must be taken into consideration if the CAP is to be meaningful.¹²

The preceding paragraphs indicate that little has been done in developing genuine "community action," and that forces within the Ojibwa will, largely unrecognized, pose great difficulties. Some question exists in fact as to the extent that the CAP staff was wholeheartedly attempting to develop community action. An HSR field researcher states:

"... one of the most obvious aspects (of local CAP activity) is the de-emphasis on community action in favor of dealing with a pocket of poverty in an atomistic and atomizing way. Public relations talk concerns itself with selling the program to the "poor," but the technique of the sales pitch is to make contact with the individual, and then to deal with him as such. One hears staffers talk of saving even one individual from poverty, as though the job of the staff were to lay bait for persons already predisposed to bite and to dismiss the other fish as deficient in appetite."

In concluding this portion of the report, it may be mentioned that the WPA is remembered as a "golden age." Everyone worked, problems were minimal, and long-term tangible good was accomplished. To the extent that the CAP jobs correspond to this ideal, they are wholeheartedly approved. Work under the Nelson Amendment component is apparently rewarding in this sense.

(2) *The Problem of Nepotism and Favoritism.*—From the beginning of hiring for CAP administrative, professional and sub-professional positions, charges of nepotism and favoritism were rampant. It is advisable to restate several characteristics of White Earth Ojibwa social structure and culture because of their relevance to an understanding of this particular phenomenon.

The social groups most important to the White Earth Ojibwa are kin-based. Kinship is highly important in Ojibwa human relations concepts. A man should help his relatives and share his good fortune with them. The statement that "blood is thicker than water" is extremely meaningful in this context. It is expected that a man will help a relative before helping strangers, and would be severely criticized for doing otherwise. A man "in business" is expected to give preference in hiring to kinsmen, and no criticism attaches to the practice. Moreover, in a society this small that has been intermarrying for generations, every individual has many kinsmen. Although the importance of kin ties decreases with relative distance, at White Earth first cousins, nephews and nieces, as well as more immediate family, are of great importance. Second cousins and their children are of less importance, but not by any means disregarded.

If, however, a man hires a kinsman while utilizing public funds, he is severely criticized, even though he may be acting in accord with the Ojibwa principles described.

Since the web of kinship relations at White Earth is known to everyone there, any person hired by the School Board, the CAP, the RBC or the TEC is considered by others from the point of view of relationship. If there is any degree of relationship between an employee and the person who hires him, it will be considered nepotism by an outsider, for the group is always ready to believe the worst of anyone not closely related. A relative of a degree too distant to be normally significant may be chosen for his qualifications, but this will not avoid the allegation. Contrariwise, a relative may be chosen because he is most competent for the job, but charges of nepotism will still be raised. On the other hand, relationships would also be utilized by the critics themselves, were they in power, and all other things being equal, their own kinsmen would be given preference. In short, it may be expected that anyone in position to do so will practice a little "honest nepotism."

As indicated earlier, the members of the RBC and similar organizations are those who, within limits of the political system, are considered best able to negotiate with the world of the white man and his governments, Federal, state, and local. In general, RBC members are economically more successful than most, more socially adept and, hence, different. To be different is to invite criticism,

¹² It may be noteworthy that Ojibwa Rorschach protocols from other reservations quite consistently show profiles that, interpreted by urban American standards, exhibit paranoid tendencies.