

analyst at a meeting in Bemidji in April 1966, effectively reducing the potential influence of the CAPComs and the CAP Staffs.

(3) *Communication Problems.*—The importance of effectively communicating with the "poor" Indian population was generally recognized among the CAP staff as a major problem if an effective CAP were to develop. Instruments for communication included the membership of the CAPCom, a weekly newsletter, community meetings for particular occasions, and, presumably, dissemination of information through CAP employees. Notices were posted in stores, post offices, and other places.

While almost everyone at White Earth village knew of CAP or some of its programs, the same was not true of the other villages. At Pine Point, for example, many did not know of the existence of CAP, a number did not know of the Recreational program, and very few know of the Study Hall or Remedial Reading as part of the CAP. The CAP Social Worker was rarely in Pine Point, and seldom for any length of time, the Social Work component was scarcely known. Visits of the CAP Administrative staff were few and ineffective. The situation at Rice Lake was slightly better. Naytahwaush and White Earth, especially the latter, as the center of the CAP Administration, were best informed about CAP and its activities.

It can be argued that sufficient information was distributed so that anyone interested in the program could readily learn of any activity or job vacancy. However, this overlooks certain problems of communication, and the attempt to develop interest in the CAP.

Many of the "poor" from the "west side" of White Earth, for example, do not frequently visit the center of the village when weather is bad. Many are marginally literate and do not notice the posters, and, for this group, reading is not a habit. Association with people from other parts of the village, unless they are kinsmen, is limited, so that discussions in which the knowledge of many people is disseminated are rare. For the "poor" conversations are likely to be with others with similar characteristics. In a society in which personal relationships are the only important ones, impersonal communication naturally has limited results.

What is required is personal contact with the poor. This contact must not be solely through aides selected from the poor, as in Community Worker components, but by responsible members of the CAP Administration. Indiscriminate contact with the poor is too time-consuming to be productive, but long-term repeated contact with informal opinion leaders among the poor may be extremely significant. The contact must be on the "home ground" of these opinion leaders—CAP administrators must come to them. Summoning the poor to a meeting in the formal atmosphere of a school does not provide an environment in which the poor are comfortable; it can only be rationalized as administratively convenient for contacting the largest number of people, regardless of significance. Significant communication with the elements in question cannot be accomplished without time and effort. Personal relationships must be established between the administrative staff and key members of the local communities.

If the school auditorium provides an environment of unease to many Ojibwa, it is also important to recognize the implicit symbolism of many of the appurtenances of official life. An interview or discussion with a man behind a desk, dressed in the expensive symbols of middle class, in a building symbolic of impersonal and unrepresentative government, present preliminary obstacles that make many of the "poor" exceedingly reluctant to make contact.

In passing, it may be noted that the amount of communication of all forms between CAP and the population has decreased, especially since the resignation of the VISTA girls. The newsletter was temporarily suspended, but eventually reinstituted, smaller and less informative. The social workers had, at the same time, virtually ceased to have contact with the people, except through aides and in public gatherings. It is duly noted that the increasing amount of paperwork and other administrative routine left little time for the Director to mingle with the poor in the communities, and the social workers were apparently needed to help in administration. With the increased administrative staff, which now includes three assistant directors, increased communication may be possible.

(4) *Inadequacy of the Staff.*—Complaints concerning inadequate training, lack of work, absenteeism, irresponsibility, and even drunkenness on the job were encountered. This combination of complaints was rarely focused on any one individual, of course; some complaints were widespread, but there was also recognition that most people employed were attempting to do a good job.