

white residents in the area. The Recreational programs, Study Halls, and Social Work projects were designed, proposed, and approved in terms of their value to the Ojibwa rather than to the poor rural whites. It is true, however, with Medicare Alert and new components, such as the beautification program under the Nelson Amendment, that a reasonable number of whites are being employed as aides. There is another CAP, embracing Mahnomen, Hubbard, and Becker counties (the Mahube CAP), however, surrounding and interpenetrating White Earth, which may give necessary consideration to programs for the poor rural whites.

Insofar as whites within the reservation are concerned, it is noteworthy that they form a population, if not community, separate and distinct from the Ojibwa. With some exceptions, the overlap of these neighboring groups is extremely limited. While residing in the same territory, they form separate social systems.

The white poor of the farms, small villages and towns, as well as those interested in their problems, were sometimes antagonistic to the Ojibwa as a consequence of the CAP. They expressed the belief that the Federal Government was discriminating against the whites, or expressing bias in favor of the Indians. Other whites protested that this was another Government "hand out" program that would continue to keep the Indians in a state of dependency, prevent their assimilation, discourage self-reliance, and otherwise be of no long-term value.

Research among the whites indicated widespread ignorance of the Indian population, even among those relatively well educated, with various official responsibilities for Indian affairs. An official of one school system, in which many Ojibwa attend high school, professed the belief that truancy was common because the children were needed to help with household and farm chores. Concerned as an educator with "educating the whole child," he was under the impression that the Ojibwa were farmers. The existence of a separate social system with a different set of values is almost completely unsuspected.

Widespread prejudice against the Ojibwa, or Indians in general, was revealed by the research. Actual discrimination was much less common or was less overt, but exists. Information on prejudice and discrimination against the Minnesota Indian population has been accumulated over the years by the Governor's Human Rights Commission and other state agencies, and in more recent years by the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It is sufficient here to note that it is widespread. It is also proper to note that while there is prejudice against Indians in general, Indians who behave in approved middle class fashion find fairly easy acceptance. Anti-Indian prejudice is much less deep in this area than anti-Negro prejudice.

What is important to the success of CAP in the long run, is not only the extent of actual prejudice and discrimination against Indians, but the beliefs of the Indians themselves about white attitudes. It is a common belief among the Minnesota Ojibwa that the whites discriminate against them in many areas. Complaints have been filed with appropriate state agencies concerning discrimination in employment, hospitals, housing, law enforcement, and education. The belief is common that the Indian has little chance, and, whether the belief is based on fact or fancy, it poses a psychological and social block to attempted participation in white society. Each instance of discrimination encountered reinforces the belief or fear.

One example may suffice. When the White Earth children complete elementary school in their own villages, they move to high schools in predominantly white communities, ten to twenty-five miles from home. Here most have their first long-term associations with whites. The Indian children enter with several cultural disadvantages. Because of their upbringing, they are less competitive; by virtue of different values learned at home, they place less emphasis on education; because of less than adequate reservation schools, they enter with academic backgrounds inferior to the average white student; thanks to genetics, they look different; because of poverty, most are poorly dressed. The consequent reactions of the white students are often humiliating to the Indian children and, when added to academic difficulties, result in a high drop-out rate. If a Head Start program is desirable here for those entering elementary school, a similar program would seem of unquestionable value as preparation for high school.

(5) *CAP as Seen by the School System.*—Representatives of the school systems attended by students graduating from the White Earth schools were interviewed by one of the researchers. In general, considerable ignorance of reservation life was revealed, but several of the principals and superintendents were reasonably