

unsuccessful, but the lesson learned indicates a high probability of success in the forthcoming year of operation. The Social Work program was also largely unsuccessful, if viewed as intensive and successful casework or as oriented toward community organization, exceedingly difficult at White Earth. Administration was highly competent, with good organization of routine activities. The burden of administrative requirements, however, often of questionable value, left the administrative staff with too little time to be effectively involved in the community.

It was noted that the most successful components were those that traditionally operate as a part of the educational system. Such components could readily be transferred to the jurisdiction of the school system, leading the CAP staff more time to deal with other essential problems.

The various opportunities offered for employment of the unskilled or poor have been of limited value. People have been employed, and have therefore had more money, but most of the activities associated with the jobs have had poor role definition, with consequent confusion, and/or little relevance to earning a living in private or other public employment. They are, indeed, popularly and correctly considered "make-work jobs," of less long-term value than those provided by the WPA of depression days. The stimulation of interest in community activity has largely been inhibited by fears, only in part justified, or retaliatory measures that may be taken by the RBC, and now by OEO prohibitions upon undefined "political activity" by CAP employees. Moreover, the jobs are themselves considered fortuitous and of short-term duration, as there is little expectation that the OEO program will be maintained indefinitely.

The major problem of provision of "real" jobs within commuting range of the reservation communities cannot be met by CAP alone. The component of probable long-term value in this respect, the Building Skills component, involves the cooperation of a number of Federal agencies, but "problems of coordination" have prevented this component from becoming a reality, so far. The CAP is the only mechanism by which the Ojibwa of White Earth can obtain the cooperation of the agencies that can, in the long run, provide an economic base for a society that has had none since the expropriation of their lands. If the CAP staff continues to be inundated with paperwork, major tasks are not likely to be accomplished.

If the programs directed toward the education of the young are successful, they will continue to stimulate the migration of the educated and the skilled from the reservation, unless employment opportunities can be brought there or nearby. If this major problem is not solved, a continuation of the relative leadership vacuum can be expected to continue, and the poverty of the reservation area will be unrelieved.

The solution of the major problem of lack of employment opportunities will require the cooperation of many Federal agencies, as noted above. The problem will be even closer to solution if the cooperation of private business and industry can be enlisted. To bring about this cooperation will require aggressive and intelligent leadership, and highly competent technical assistance. The proliferation of Government agencies will require technical advisors with an unusual degree of competence and understanding of programs and legal limitations.

An additional set of problems is posed by the lack of nearby employment possibilities of known availability. The educational system to which many of the CAP programs are oriented depends upon the motivation of the student. If the rewards are not obvious, or involve conflicts in values when departure from the reservation is necessary, the motivation may be inadequate. One thinks of the analogy of the rabbit and carrot—if the carrot is too far away to be seen or smelled, it will not be chased. Without parental employment, the father may be an inadequate figure for purposes of identity. This problem is, however, different from that of the urban slum, for the values by which a man is judged are different. If he is a good hunter or fisherman, for example, he may still be important in a positive sense, even though unemployed. To these problems may be added the peculiar form of "alcoholism," if that is even an appropriate term, that is a symptom of frustration, hostility, or withdrawal from harsh realities.

The problem of developing community organization or cooperation is one that has many obstacles, particularly among the Ojibwa. The "atomistic" social structure, the associated kin groups of various sizes, and the lack of established village governments are linked with attitudes of fear, suspicion, and hostility to individuals and groups, internal and external to the society. The hostility expressed about the successful and the different, and the consequent distaste for positions of authority limits the number who can and will "work for the com-