

there were fluctuations in attitudes about how big the program would become, and on each reservation there was marked uncertainty over what the program would mean to the people and to the tribal council.

This uncertainty was manifest in different ways on different reservations. Problems regarding the staffing of components, problems of generating and maintaining interest in particular components, and problems concerning the role of the Consortium and the CAPCom, were surface expressions of an underlying "battle"—basically between the professional CAP staff and the tribal councils—for control of the program.

The issue was not one of control over a classroom or two of youngsters, and a series of ballgames: rather, it had to do with the hopes of the various parties in the struggle for future, large-scale, locally important anti-poverty endeavors. The importance of these hopes as an influence over action was manifest in two ways.

First, the BIA was almost wholly ignored in the first year of operation—not because, in general, the BIA was unwilling to help, and not wholly because the Indians perceived the BIA as unable to help. Indians wanted this program for themselves, and they wanted this badly enough to turn their backs on their traditional external sources of help.

Second, the applications that flowed into OEO toward the end of the first year of component operations asked for a very much broader range of components, not just refunding on a bigger scale of what they had before. In the light of the treatment received by the very first applications from the tribes, submission of a broad range of component applications on the second round stands as a testimony both to the faith in OEO which remains on reservations and to practices OEO has developed during the first year of operation.

However, the working relationships that have developed between tribal councils, OEO, the CAP staffs, and the Consortium have tended to reward "smoothness" of operation and haste, preventing a confrontation with some of the fundamental problems of Indian poverty. In particular, these working relationships have led to a diminution of participation, by Indian people, in the design and planning of programs, at the same time that they have been developing even more program components to be "presented" to the Indian people.

A brief discussion of existing components in relation to their function and impact follows in the next section.

D. ORIENTATIONS OF EXISTING CAP COMPONENTS

The many complications attending submission, funding, resubmission, and refunding of components—specific instances of delays and staffing problems—are illustrated in the narrative accounts of Chapter III. Emerging from these vicissitudes, however, are some general considerations regarding components which are of interest in evaluating present CAP operations. With few exceptions, components are oriented to three ends (with some overlap): (1) education, (2) jobs for CAP aides, and (3) correction of limited aspects of reservation poverty (e.g., home repair).

1. Education

Indian Community Action Programs on the reservations studied, especially in the first year of operation, are heavily oriented toward educational programs. These educational components are important in urban Community Action Programs, where they prepare children from "disadvantaged" homes to compete with better-prepared classmates, and where such components are politically "safe" in the difficult context of urban political-machine conflict with local CAPs. Educational programs are important in rural areas, from which so many people eventually migrate to cities, ill-educated for an urban environment. Further, these programs take on special importance in the rural South as a mechanism for conveying certain attitudes about race relations. On Indian reservations, however, the advantages of an educationally oriented CAP are not as clear-cut.

In the short run, Indian CAP education programs benefit the young by attending to their health and diet (the "hot meal" feature), and these programs may also benefit the mothers by freeing them for employment or other activities. In the long run, educational programs may contribute to the completion of, say, high school: the impact of counseling, guidance and study hall programs toward this end is more admissible than the pre-school programs (the long-run effect of which is as yet unknown). The potential benefit of educational programs is, however, conditional upon the use to which the education gained in put: Education