

without jobs in sight after graduation is not necessarily a benefit in and of itself. Education per se could be beneficial if it altered for the positive the value that Indians placed on being Indian. To do this—which is an important educational problem regarding any minority group with a history of subjugation and a currently, socially stigmatized, position—would require an attention to Indian history and values in education programs that is not currently being paid.

2. *Jobs for Aides*

One of the major direct benefits of the Indian CAPs is the jobs that are created for aides. These jobs give a certain amount of experience both in gaining competence in the specific job area and in the general perquisites of job-holdings. They may convey a sense of purpose to people who have had “nothing to do”; and they provide a small cash income. As jobs, however, they are not without drawbacks. These drawbacks lie not so much in the potential long-run in utility of the skills gained through performing the job, as in the characteristic structure of aides’ jobs. There appears to be an operational conflict between the principle of giving poor people jobs, and the principle of getting work done. The outcome of this conflict has been a poorly defined job-description—with neither the aides nor the professional staff being at all clear as to what the aides are supposed to be doing—what the “work” is, what is an appropriate amount of work, and what it is that distinguishes good from poor performance. This lack of definition has introduced into the situation the stress of ambiguity, which not only interferes with job satisfactions gained by the aides, but is poor preparation for future jobs in other, more rigorous contexts.

3. *Components Oriented Toward Elimination of Poverty*

The particular contributions made by non-educational components to the alleviation of various limited aspects of reservation poverty (e.g., credit unions, recreation, and building skills) are important, but equally important is the experience gained by the tribes in managing a program that is partly of their own choosing. Tribal councils have, in general, been limited in their operations—and thus limited in that competence which comes from practice—by their lack of revenues. The Community Action Program has brought Federal funds to Indian reservations without the usual Federal control. These funds are, thus, in one sense, a substitute for the tax base that tribal councils have lacked. This is especially true in the light of the high percentage of Indians on any reservation who are “poor” by Government definitions of poverty. CAP programs can potentially be applied to almost the entire population of a reservation. In this manner, the Community Action Program can fund a tribal council’s development into a stronger local government.

The long-run impact of education, jobs, and “programs” is unclear. Much of value exists in the present organization of CAPs, but a number of problems can be identified both in terms of current operations and further innovations. In the narrative sections of Chapter III dealing with the full background of each reservation studied and the impact of CAPs upon it, a bewildering array of large and small problems demand solution. For many of these, specific sub-conclusions as to solution are apparent from the text. Careful examination, however, makes it possible to collect these scattered problems into fourteen major categories, each of which suggests a unified approach toward solution of the problems within the category concerned. All categories but one deal with improving the operation and effect of existing CAPs, the exception involving cooperation of other Federal agencies with OEO (BIA, EDA, PHS, and PHS) toward the goal of creating self-sustaining reservation economies.

The following sections will set forth these possibilities for enhancing and refining current CAP operations, and will consider the economically based approach, toward eliminating Indian poverty, alluded to above. This will conclude with a brief discussion of alternative post-poverty worlds for the American Indian.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the field data, and highlighted within the narrative accounts of Chapter III of the full report dealing with the course of the War on Poverty on American Indian reservations, three levels of concern become evident.

By far the easiest to identify involves the set of problems relating to the functioning of the OEO Community Action Program itself, as conceived and