

to the other sets) may overstep the bounds of self-seeking, violating the principle of the "image of limited good" alluded to above, which they themselves profess never to violate. Thus, one has groups of people refusing to be "aggressive" in the modern industrial sense, on the one hand, but suspicious of and hostile toward each other, on the other, for fear that one of the "other" groups will take advantage of some situation which may arise. The factionalism bred of this kind of social relation militates against strong policies and incisive responses to development programs.

Among Southwestern Indians, kin-based factions are also present, but perhaps because of the lesser degree of derangement of their original culture by whites, or the greater cohesion developed through facing an environment of scarcity where subsistence agriculture rather than buffalo and other hunting forced long-term cooperation, the divisive aspects found in the Northern Plains are not present in marked degree. The factions are held in balance by powerful indigenous leadership—also standing, incidentally, behind the ostensible leadership which holds the offices created by whites and which deals directly with whites. In the Southwest, factions tend either to mirror each other in cooperation with (or rejection of) outside programs, or to perform complementary roles.⁹

b. Recommendations

(1) *Suggested Action.*—A very sophisticated training program may be called for, in this instance, for the Northern Plains Indians. Two approaches appear possible. The "image of limited good" concept might be attacked through an intensive, cross-culturally tailored, exposition of current economic realities in the United States, in their bearing on creating and maintaining economically viable Indian reservations, directed toward leaders of all factions as well as incumbent official tribal leaders. This approach would have to be tied to very concrete evidence of fairly immediate gains, in order to be effective, however.

The second approach would involve an attempt to create among presently atomistic Indian groups the solidarity and cohesiveness of their southwestern counterparts. While culturally transmitted data, ultimately derived from differences in the historic experiences of the tribes of these two areas, are largely responsible for their differences in internal cooperation and cohesiveness, it is possible that institutional inducements toward solidarity might be devised by social scientists in collaboration with interested Indians on the reservations concerned.

(2) *Suggested Research.*—Each of the suggested programs for mitigating the effects of factionalism in the Northern Plains area would require sound research into Indian value structures. The roots of both the atomism of the North and the cohesiveness of the South, need thoroughgoing analysis—historically, functionally, and structurally—before either approach to modifying factionalism into forms productive of economic strength rather than weakness could be transmuted into meaningful training courses.

10. Nepotism

a. Problems

Closely allied to factionalism on Indian reservations is nepotism, Indian style. Among Indians, this is nothing more nor less than the honorable fulfillment of primary duties. To achieve a position of eminence or the power to dispense patronage, and not distribute this good fortune among one's kin would be a major infraction of Indian cultural imperatives.

Again, there is a difference, of marked importance, in the manner of implementation of this cultural characteristic as between the Northern Plains and the Southwest. Because of the greater structural cohesiveness and historical continuity in the South, as noted earlier, the leaders of most if not all kin-groupings are able to dispense some degree of patronage, so that the existence of kin-groupings works as a mechanism for widespread distribution of benefits throughout a given reservation. In the North, on the other hand, the data indicates that those few kin-groups with more acculturated, aggressive members are the chief recipients of or participants in the benefits of programs, while most other kin-groups are practically untouched. This is not to say that efforts are never made by Indian leaders in the North to involve non-kin, but they

⁹ See III, pp. 81, 94, 203, 243, 260, 277, 282, 313.