

concerned in helping to implement this program (e.g., Title III, "Special Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas"). It seems obvious that the extent to which a program of economic diversification can be implemented depends upon the degree of cooperation from other relevant agencies, and the ability to coordinate these joint endeavors.

D. THE POST-POVERTY WORLD OF AMERICAN INDIANS

All agencies and interested individuals consulted by HSR staff members on the question of post-poverty models for American Indian life refused to speculate on this matter, replying, in effect, that Indians themselves will have to determine their future. Without questioning the sincerity or essential propriety of this kind of reply, a problem does arise in this context since there are at least two very different roads out of poverty for American Indians, one leading toward viable, ethnically and culturally separate communities, the other toward individual assimilation into American society. Designers of programs to eliminate poverty should take cognizance of which road is envisioned, in the interests of effectiveness.

This is not by any means to suggest that one or the other of these two roads is the correct or feasible one. In fact, the main point of this epilogue is to call for the intentional provision of alternative paths to voluntary community pluralism or assimilation. However, it appears essential to recognize which kinds of components lead in which direction if real progress toward either goal is to be achieved.

Project Head Start, for example, when properly implemented and fully accepted by and for reservation children, is in reality a first step toward assimilation. The thrust of this project is in the direction of enhancing the likelihood that participating children will be able to function well within the standard American school system. Should this prove to be true, more Indian children are likely to graduate from high school, and thereby to have learned the techniques and behavior patterns associated with the non-reservation world. They will thus be more likely to find jobs "outside" and relocate.

On the other hand, projects such as the *Vh-Thaw-Hup-Ea-Ju* (Coordinated Reservation Plan—See III p. 54ff) being undertaken at the Gila River Reservation, which involves economic, social, and community development along with government and management considerations, leads mainly in the other direction. If successful, the reservation will provide a viable setting wherein Pima Indians can continue to live together and in accordance with their own behavior patterns, rooted in the past, modified by reservation experience, and different from the American norm.

There would seem to be no reason why both paths should not be entered, although flourishing enclaves with value structures differing from the norm have not been common in the American past. Other minorities, both ethnic and ideological, might be intrigued by a successful evolution of Indian communities along these lines. The general impression derived from both the literature and the empirical data acquired in the course of this study is that Indians prefer this path—leading to viable cultural pluralism. They do not particularly, seemingly with rare exceptions, wish to leave the reservation and assume the white man's ways.

There is some question as to the cause of this great affection for reservation life (entirely apart from the ordinary pull of birthplace and kin felt by many who are not Indians). One would surmise from some accounts that there is an innate compulsion among Indians to go back to the reservation in the manner of the salmon drawn to its point of origin. In reasonable terms, however, could it not be that the Indian returns to the reservation so faithfully because he is usually far less acquainted with the ways of the outside world than other men, and, furthermore, enters a world almost uniformly unfriendly and cold, indifferent to his wants and idiosyncracies? If a thoroughly successful effort to educate and acculturate could be envisioned, combined with an equally successful effort to provide a welcoming and sustaining environment in the outside world, perhaps a fair number of Indians would lose their reluctance toward taking the step of relocation and assimilation. Perhaps not. At any rate, previous efforts in this direction have not been sufficiently coordinated or intensive to produce the conditions whereby this hypothesis might be tested.

Given existing conditions, Indians, on the reservations studied, frequently appear to be aware of the unstated bias toward assimilation of a number of CAP components, and under these conditions, to reject them as anything other