THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY LEVEL WORKER

IN PAPAGO INDIAN DEVELOPMENT

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1971
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank the great number of people who assisted in the completion of this dissertation. Especially invaluable was the guidance provided by the faculty dissertation committee: William H. Kelly, Chairman, and Bernard L. Fontana of the Department of Anthropology, and J. Michael Mahan of the Department of Oriental Studies. The author only regrets that he was unable to carry through all of the many useful suggestions of the committee. In addition, the helpful comments of Edward H. Spicer and Keith H. Basso of the Department of Anthropology and Courtney B. Cleland of the Department of Sociology were appreciated.

The debt which the author owes to his colleagues and co-workers is immense. He wishes to express his thanks to Barry R. Bainton and Rolf W. Bauer with whom he discussed various issues pertinent to the study, and who provided bibliographic assistance as well; to Darrow V. Dolan for his editorial aid; to Leona V. Thomas and Simon J. Lopez for their help in the development of a field questionnaire; and to the many Papago Community Development Workers who assisted in the basic data collection and bore the tremendous responsibility of stimulating development in their own communities. The individuals who served their communities in this capacity are Steven Antone, Sylvester Celestine, Juan Joe Cipriano, Roger Enos, Emillio Francisco, Albert Gomez, Mac Hendricks, Geraldine Hunter, Juan Jim, Lupe Jose, Alvin Juan, Lawrence
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ABSTRACT

This inquiry investigates the role of the community-level worker in the social and physical development of certain small communities located on the three Papago Indian reservations in southern Arizona. The salaries of the workers peopling the study were financed by a grant to the Papago Tribal Council from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Pertinent issues in community development as well as various aspects of Papago culture are reviewed prior to the examination of the specific activities of the Papago community-level workers. The original goals of the program which framed their activities are considered carefully. The content of training programs and procedures is analyzed in terms of its effect on the success of the workers. The personal characteristics and previous experiences of the workers are examined as factors influencing their performance. The impact of the application of development resources on the achievement of certain abstract goals such as increased community self-determination, increased community participation in decision making, and the strengthening of existing community organization is also considered. The major conclusion of the study is that the community-level worker can be part of an effective strategy for bringing about development in small-scale communities. The presence of such workers can increase communication between local communities and the larger and more complex political organization of which they are a part.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of a development program which was organized to effect certain changes in Papago Indian communities located on the Gila Bend, San Xavier, and Papago reservations in southern Arizona. The Papago Community Development Program was initiated in July of 1967 and funded by the federal government under the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Organizationally it is responsible to the Board of Directors of the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity. The board is delegated its authority by the Papago Council, and the program is considered to be a component of Papago tribal government.

The community development program is one of 4 Papago tribal programs financed by the federal government through the Office of Economic Opportunity: Headstart pre-school, Papago Legal Services, Papago Emergency Food and Medical Services, and the Papago Community Development Program.

Currently the personnel of the Papago Community Development Program consists of seventeen community development workers at village or regional levels, two field supervisors, a secretary, and a program director, a total of twenty-one persons. A complete discussion of the program's goals will be found in the body of this paper. It is sufficient to say that the community development workers were to work closely with Papago communities in reaching certain developmental goals. These include strengthened community organization, increased realization of
community felt-needs, and the improvement of communications between governmental services and Papago communities. The program is based on what is referred to as the community development process (Biddle and Biddle 1965). The author actively participated in the administration of the program as supervisor from July 1968 to April 1969, and as program director from May 1969 to May 1970.

Field Techniques

The basic field technique was participant-observation. The author made periodic field visits to all Papago villages that participated in the program, and a great deal of time was spent in consultation with community development workers in groups and on an individual basis. In these consultations a wide range of topics was discussed, including resource procurement, problems of community organization, aspects of Papago culture and politics, personnel problems, program goals, community development abstractions, and methods to improve performance. In addition, consultations were carried on with tribal and community leaders, government officials, and various resource persons. As director the author actively participated in decision and policy making related to the program.

Another invaluable source for this study was various documents relating to the program. These documents included program proposals; government reports; letters; training materials; and agenda and minutes from tribal council, community development worker, district, and village meetings. A further important source of information was the administrative reports of the community development workers. Initially these
consisted of a daily journal which was submitted to the staff monthly. The entries were largely limited to concise statements about what the worker did during the day. The workers were later required to file a bi-monthly report which posed five simple questions or statements:

1. Describe what things you worked on in your community in the past two weeks.
2. What people worked with you on these activities?
3. What other contact have you had with members of the community? What people? What did you do?
4. Did you have any contacts with "resource" people such as government agencies, the tribe, churches, private individuals? Which ones? What were the results?
5. What were your problems in the past two weeks? What things or information do you need to better meet the needs of your community?

These reports were used in some of the case studies which appear in Chapter 8. There were great differences in the individual worker's ability to communicate adequately these reports. Some were detailed and quite useful for analysis, but others contained insufficient detail.

In addition to the administrative reports a rather comprehensive questionnaire was administered to the community development workers who were active during October 1969. This confidential report was designed to elicit the following information.

Name
Birth date
Birth place
Original village
Mother's village
Father's village
Marital status
Number of children
Life-time residence and occupational history
Religious affiliation
Community activities and voluntary membership
Associations prior to becoming a worker
Language preference by social setting
Selection date
Political context of selection
Type of selection process used
Understanding of worker's role when selected
Employment status when selected
Residence when selected
Self-promotion in selection process
Where initial information about the job came from (Community Development Program 1968).

These data were used to describe the selection process as well as to determine basic personal characteristics of the community development workers.

In addition to the primary sources mentioned above, the growing body of community development literature was extensively consulted as well as many of the standard sources on Papago history, economics, and culture.

**Limitations of the Study**

Clearly the greatest limitation in pursuing this study was the investigator's administrative duties. One can only agree with George Foster (1969: 170) that an anthropologist who is researching change programs would do well to avoid administrative responsibility.

The first and most obvious problem is insufficient time to carry out both tasks. Time limitations hindered data collection throughout the course of the study; an increase in program activities increased the need to collect data as well as adding to administrative responsibilities.
Another set of problems were caused by the conflict inherent in the administrative-research role. As an administrator the relationships one has with staff members (a primary source of data) are instrumental, hierarchical and evaluative. This conflicts with desired research relationships. Homer Barnett (1956: 176) succinctly states the problem:

No matter how competent and well-intentioned an administrator-anthropologist may be, he is placed in an almost impossible position because of the antithesis embodied in his dual role. He cannot enforce a rule and at the same time inquire into reactions to it with the hope of getting genuine responses. His status as a power figure seldom fails to create a psychological gap which manifests itself in an attitude of reserve, at least on the part of the governed.

This position is also clearly stated by E. E. Evans-Pritchard:

It may be held that it is laudable for an anthropologist to investigate practical problems. Possibly it is, but if he does so he must realize that he is no longer acting within the anthropological field but in the non-scientific field of administration. Of one thing I feel quite certain: that no one can devote himself wholeheartedly to both interests; and I doubt whether anyone can investigate fundamental and practical problems at the same time (Peattie 1958: 6).

This conflict did affect the objectivity of data and the rapport with various informants. It should be admitted that when data collection interfered with administrative responsibility the process of data collection was suspended. It would be unrealistic to say that this did not affect the ultimate validity of the study. At the same time, because of deep and intimate involvement in the program the author's access to information was greatly augmented. In the context of tribal program administration the author was viewed as part of the existing structure rather than merely as a familiar outsider. This was not the case, however, within the contexts of other, more traditional Papago structures.
The Value of the Study of Development

There are two important reasons for studying development programs. The first reason, and possibly the most important, is that the research data and results can be incorporated into the re-formulation of program policy, structure, and goals. There should be feedback to program participants so that research findings may be applied to re-directing the development program. The findings discussed herein have been made available to program participants.

Alan Holmberg's (1955: 25) discussion of the role of the participant-interventionist is relevant to our considerations here:

In purely observational studies of the natural process of change, it is generally assumed that the investigator stands outside of the socio-cultural process he is studying, that he himself is not a part of it. In such approaches the investigator is little concerned with the means or ends of a socio-cultural process; he tries hard not to affect the situation; he minimizes his influence as much as possible. In fact, he aims for complete objectivity.

The same cannot be said, however, for the method of participant intervention, where, for the most part, just the opposite holds true. The investigator becomes a vital part of the process he is studying; he defines and manipulates both means and ends; he tries strategically and economically to influence the situation. In fact, we might almost say that he aims for completely "objective" subjectivity.

Biddle and Biddle (1965: 127) discuss the utility of this type of research. They write, "Community development research has a practical purpose, that is, to help people solve problems. This immediate utility means that data and records become feedback which people can use in discussing their development." Biddle and Biddle stress the participation of the community in the research. Orderly and objective research can be
of tremendous assistance in program management. Many federally sponsored programs do not have the benefit of sound re-evaluation.

Change program research findings can also be used by individuals and communities that are planning or administering other change programs. There are numerous useful models of program structure available in the literature. All programs have to be adapted to various new situations. Ward Goodenough (1963: 23) points out, however, that despite the increased acceptance of the community development approach in official circles there does not seem to be a corresponding increase in its application in program design or administration. He sees three major reasons for the lack of widespread acceptance in operational terms. These are the "inadequacy of the present state of knowledge, the inadequate dissemination of what is known," and the fact that the technique is an "interference of the agent's established habits and attitudes (1963: 23-24).

The second major contribution of this type of research is to various theoretical systems. Primarily we are concerned with the theory of community development, but contributions can be made to general theories of socio-cultural change and to what Charles Erasmus (1961: 10) refers to as the "general theory of culture development." This dissertation will treat critically some of the theoretical assumptions of community development. In the course of the paper certain salient features of the theory will be reviewed. It is difficult to review the theory comprehensively because of its general lack of coherence.
Content of the Dissertation

The dissertation will discuss the Papago Community Development Program. In the course of the discussion certain theoretical issues will be examined. The central question is the adequacy of community development theory to serve as a model for policy and structure of a program which is intended to achieve a set of development goals.

Chapter 3 will contain a discussion of the historical and cultural factors that will assist in our understanding of the current Papago situation. The remaining chapters will focus more closely on the Papago Community Development Program itself. Program goals, worker selection, community development training, development resources, development case studies, and techniques of development will be considered. Finally, there will be a chapter with conclusions and policy recommendations.
CHAPTER 2
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

What is community development? To discover an answer to this question we will review salient points in the diverse community development literature. It is hoped from this review that the reader will gain sufficient knowledge to understand clearly the discussion of the program itself.

Community development has been variously described as a movement, a process, an ideology, and a system of theory (Sanders 1958). The term community development dates from the early 1950's when the British journal Mass Education Bulletin was retitled Community Development Review (Erasmus 1968: 65). However we are to regard community development, it exists as a discrete and uniform body of concepts. Content analysis of a large number of "policy articles" reveals some of the conceptual uniformities which can be found in many attempts to define community development. Erasmus' analysis of fifty-nine articles indicates the relative stress given concepts recurring in diverse definitions of community development:

Of these, sixty percent stress 'self-help' group action via community participation and voluntary cooperation. This is the characteristic most emphasized by writers on Community Development. Second to this ideal procedure is the ideal goal of effecting 'self-determination,' 'democracy,' 'self-reliance,' or 'local self-government;' forty percent of the articles mention such concepts. Material goals, such as better living standards, improved housing, health, and diet are discussed less often (ten percent) than nonmaterial. Closely related to this emphasis on
nonmaterial goals is the concern (fifteen percent) with the development of self-confidence in backward groups suffering from apathy, limited expectations and distrust of government . . . .

The 'felt needs' of the people to be aided and the need for 'technical help' from agencies providing aid were each mentioned by approximately thirty percent of the authors (Erasmus 1968: 65).

Many of the numerous definitions found in the literature of community development the author finds sensible and well conceived. One which has been particularly useful to the Papago Community Development Program is:

Community development is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and problems; . . . execute these plans with a maximum of reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community (International Cooperation Administration 1956: 1).

A comprehensive survey of community development definitions would reveal similar themes as well as some variation in emphasis. Some of the different foci are on specific national identities, education, economic efficiency, democratic institutions, political independence, and participation in the mainstream of national life.

Contributions to the Conceptual Base of Community Development

Community development has, as have most other disciplines, a rapidly developing conceptual base. Concepts have been contributed by anthropologists, administrators, educators, missionaries, social workers, sociologists, politicians, and a wide range of other specialists. Whatever the usefulness of these concepts, the diversity of the contributors'
backgrounds has resulted in a lack of conceptual uniformity in the literature. The major contributions will be discussed below.

Conceptions of Abstract Principles

There have been numerous attempts to develop sets of abstract principles calculated to guide community development planning and operations (Dobyns 1949, Batten 1957, Bauer and Keneally 1969). The value of these principles in program operations has yet to be empirically demonstrated. However, statements of abstract principle will continue to be a focus of discussion among people interested in community development. We have included below one of the more widely accepted schemes of abstract principles, which is found in Goodenough's major theoretical study, *Cooperation in Change*.

The core issue of his study is cooperation as a means of development. He discusses the issues involved in achieving cooperation among individuals and groups of individuals with differing goals, values, customs and traditions. Goodenough advances the notion that cooperation in development can be achieved through the application of certain select procedural rules. These rules, which Goodenough has drawn from extensive studies of the literature descriptive of community development programs, are presented below:

1. Development proposals and procedures should be mutually consistent.

2. Development agents must have a thorough knowledge of the main values and principle features of the client community's culture.

3. Development must take the whole community into account.
4. The goals of development must be stated in terms that have positive value to the community's members. They must be something that they, as well as the agent, want.

5. The community must be an active partner in the development process.

6. Agents should start with what the community has in the way of material, organizational, and leadership resources.

7. Development procedures must make sense to the community's members at each step.

8. The agent must earn the respect of the community's members for himself as a person.

9. The agent should try to avoid making himself the indispensable man in the development situation.

10. Where there are several agents at work, good communication and coordination between them and their respective agencies is essential (1963: 23).

Goodenough feels that the validity of these community development principles is supported by the successful projects which he feels were based on them. He indicates such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States, the Etawah project in India, and the Vicos project in Peru as being responsible for generating recognition of these principles.

Following his statement of principles, Goodenough attempts to develop certain theoretical aspects of community development. These include wants, needs, identity change, social control, revitalization, values, beliefs, and the prediction of the direction of change. His interest is largely confined to those aspects of development programs which can be best explained in terms of the theories of cultural and social anthropology.
Conceptions of Community Development Process

The idea of process is implicit in most discussions of community development (Sanders 1958; Mezirow 1960; Buitron 1961; International Cooperation Administration 1956). William and Loureide Biddle in particular have made substantial contributions to our understanding of the community development process. They conceive of community development as a "... social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world" (1965: 78). The dimension of community improvement which is often implied in discussions of community development is absent from Biddle and Biddle's definition. The desired end of the process is not environmental improvement, but the increased ability of a community to deal with its environment. Further, Biddle and Biddle (1965: 78) expand our understanding of process by defining it as "... a progression of events that is planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively identify and choose. The events point to changes in a group and in individuals that can be termed growth in social sensitivity and competence." A process is not a fixed procedure but the succession of stages of community and individual growth.

In their exploration of the concept of process, Biddle and Biddle (1965: 90-91) attempt to designate "major stages" of the "flow of process." The six stages were derived from an examination of "... numerous case studies of community development processes" (Biddle and Biddle 1965: 90-91).

**Exploratory.** This stage is the period for preliminary study, gathering of information for the community development encourager,
introduction of the encourager to the community, and the initial communication between the community and the encourager.

**Organizational.** The organizational stage focuses on problems, informal meetings with community members, initiation of group structure, developing commitment to work on group problems, and informal training.

**Discussional.** At this stage the problem becomes better defined; alternative solutions are considered, studied, and evaluated; and proposed action is decided upon.

**Action.** The action stage sees the development of a work plan. In addition progress is reported, analyzed and evaluated.

**New Projects.** This stage calls for a discussion of new problems, increased utilization of outside resources, and increased political pressure and coalition with other sources of power.

**Continuation.** The last stage includes providing for continuation of the group, withdrawal by the community development worker, selection of more complex problems and development of increasing responsibility.

Biddle and Biddle further elaborate upon the process theme in their presentation of case study materials.

Conceptions of the Strategy of Analysis

Broadly speaking, research in community development has two major functions. First, research in a community can be used directly to plan or re-plan a development program in that particular community. The second type, indirect, is research which leads to formulations of general theories applicable to a wider range of development situations.
There are many examples of indirect applied research. Among the more useful are three publications of the Russell Sage Foundation, *Health, Culture, and Community* (Paul 1955), *Human Problems in Technological Change* (Spicer 1965), and *Cooperation in Change* (Goodenough 1963).

A consideration of the benefits and techniques of direct applied research are included in Biddle and Biddle's comprehensive discussion of the community development process (1965). Biddle and Biddle are not concerned with research *per se*. They stress the participation of the community in what they call action research.

... *action research is an on-going study of a social process and its results to date, which is carried on as part of the process. The accumulating findings are used to guide and correct the decisions of the continuing process. Participants contribute to research in the manner that their increasing ability will allow. Contribution to scientific generalization may be sought by qualified participants, as well as practical answers to problems* (emphasis in text) (Biddle and Biddle 1965: 128).

Biddle and Biddle conclude their discussion of research with a proposed generalized research design, a guide for data collection, and some recommendations for analysis techniques. Biddle and Biddle's techniques have not been uniformly applied. The major contribution which their work makes is the idea of community participation in research.

One of the most notable contributions to action or direct applied research has been made by the Cornell-Peru project. The research and development approach as it was applied in the project at the hacienda community of Vicos produced results which were significant both from the standpoint of science and application. The approach is based on close interaction between research activities and program formulation activities.
In the continuous interplay between scientific generalization and goal-seeking behavior, the insight-feedback of a scientific generalization can be employed both for goal revision and as empirical data for research. This is one of the great advantages of the research and development approach (Holmberg 1958: 14).

The technique is based on the tendency for social scientific predictions to be self-fulfilling when these are communicated to the subjects of the scientific inquiry. Holmberg illustrated the technique as it was applied to one of the goals of the Vicos project, that of increasing the decision making responsibility of the Vicosinos vis à vis the role of the patron. In a manner of speaking each step in the development process is to be considered a hypothesis. The initiation of a new step in the development process is therefore a test of an hypothesis. The processes lead to the isolation of variables, through the rejection of invalid hypotheses. "The essence of the connection between research and development... is that each developmental intervention... is both a necessary step towards reaching community goals and in the research sense a method of varying the group situation to isolate another variable in group dynamics" (Holmberg 1958: 15). Holmberg's contribution is great. He succeeds in providing social scientists with both a research model and a rationale for linking research with development goals.

Conceptions of Role

The role of community development activist has been referred to as change agent, innovator, catalytic agent, encourager, and participant-interventionist. The most general term is change agent, which subsumes a wide range of development activist roles with many different orientations (Goodenough 1963: 217). The role of outside innovator is very much
like that of change agent, a generalized initiator of change (Arensberg and Nichoff 1964: 66). The catalytic agent role focuses less on change and more on stimulating processes by which communities can discover their problems (Ellery Foster 1953: 7).

The conception of the role of encourager, provided by Biddle and Biddle (1965: 260) brings an interesting element to our thinking about the role of community development activist. Essentially the encourager is the initiator of the "process" of development in a community. He works for increasing participation on the part of the community. He is not conceived of as an innovator; he is an instigator of processes that encourage others to become participant innovators. He is not a change agent per se, but he does assist the community in achieving changes which they desire (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 16 in Biddle and Biddle 1965).

The role of the participant-interventionist as described by Holmberg (1955: 25) is framed in terms of what are essentially research goals. The role, however, is not purely objective. His approach to the research problem is conditioned by his values, and he is much more directly involved than the usual researcher. As Holmberg (1955: 25) says, "The investigator becomes a vital part of the process he is studying; he defines and manipulates both ends and means; he tries strategically and economically to influence the situation." Therefore the role, in addition to that of research, is also concerned with change, change which is developmental. The participant-interventionist studies the process of development while he is encouraging it. Holmberg's major contribution in
In this regard is in indicating to social scientists how research and development roles can be effectively combined.

Conceptions of the Role of the Individual in Community Change

Goodenough views the community development process as essentially the collective identity change of individuals. As human beings, our concern with our identity dominates our existence. Our identification in a social context is essential to our survival; fellow human beings assist us in accordance with our identities, as a mother an infant son, just as they may restrain or injure us on the same note, as a policeman a criminal. Identity constantly changes, a factor which Goodenough (1963: 177) thinks important to an understanding of community development:

A person's identity changes all through his life as his abilities change and as he accumulates a record of achievements and failures. Since community development aims at helping people achieve a new sense of identity and worth, both individually and collectively, what we understand of the process of identity change will help us understand community development as a process also.

Further, a change agent is often most concerned with creating "... in others a desire to alter their activities" (Goodenough 1963: 217). Goodenough discusses some of the techniques of appraising and changing self-identity. These include the self-realization of public image and the reinforcement of incipient change based on positive and negative sanctions. It also is apparent that changes take place in the public identity of the community's membership when the change agent advocates it. Yet according to Goodenough this is an inadequate result. He states "... there are occasions when what we [as change agents] desire of others is that they want to change their identity. We are not
satisfied that they present themselves in the guise we desire just be­
cause we desire it, but insist that this guise reflect the way they
truly want to feel about themselves" (emphasis in Goodenough 1963: 218).
Thus the community development advocate is interested in generating the
desire to change rather than change per se.

To summarize, the changes which community development is pre­
sumably to effect are changes in an individual's identity. We may add
that the composite individual change of a community is synergetic. Also,
the locus of the desired change resulting from the community development
process is the individual self-images in a community. The community de­
velopment advocate is interested in internal change in the manner of one
author's description of changes at Vicos:

Its people still live in adobe huts. They have no bathrooms.
Their drinking water is impure. Their food is primitive.
They weave their own clothes and wear them Indian style.
"But we didn't set out to change these people outside,"
Professor Holmberg says. "We weren't putting on a show. We
wanted to change the inside, where it matters" (Lear 1962: 58).

Other Contributions to the Conceptual Base

Conceptual contributions have been made in other areas. There
is a large and well established body of literature on culture conflict
and planned change. This ranges from interesting but not particularly
useful anecdotal studies of conflict and rejection in planned develop­
ment, to such serious studies as Cooperation in Change (Goodenough 1963)
and Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change (George
Foster 1962). Other significant contributions have been made in the
literature derived directly from accounts of operational programs. Some
of the major contributions are the multi-purpose worker concept (Cisse
1964; Dube 1958; Ellery Foster 1953; Green 1961; Langrod 1964; Mayer 1958; Mugerji 1961; Taylor 1967; Wale and Isales 1964), mass education as stimulus for development (Cisse 1964; Goussault 1968; Tabellini 1963), and various techniques for local development investment (Cape 1962; Cisse 1964; Dube 1958).

**Theoretical Adequacy and Community Development**

An adequate general theory of community development would have to account for a wide range of phenomena. It would be an all-inclusive set of more or less plausible or scientifically acceptable principles which could explain the phenomenon of that type of social or cultural change which is consciously planned and initiated for the purpose of improving the relative well-being of a community. The quality of well-being may either be defined by the community or the sponsor of the efforts to change. Clearly community development theory is not a coherent system. The major theoretical concepts are dispersed throughout a large body of literature which crosscuts many disciplines. The intellectual interaction among these disciplines is surprisingly limited. The scientific rigor of the theoretical contributions is quite variable as are the backgrounds and training of the major contributors. In spite of the diversity we will attempt as part of our description of the operations of the Papago Community Development Program to make an assessment of the adequacy of community development theory as it applies to the program.
CHAPTER 3

THE PAPAGO SITUATION

There are approximately 11,000 Papagos, about half of whom live on the three Papago reservations located in southern Arizona (Kelly 1963: 63; Hackenberg 1967; Fontana 1964: 208; Rund, Siegel, and Rumley 1968: 9). The largest of the reservations, called the Papago or Sells reservation, was established in 1916 by executive order of the President of the United States (Kelly 1963: 6; Joseph, Spicer and Cheskey 1949: 18; Fontana 1964: 159; Hackenberg 1964: V-16). This was the last Indian reservation established by the federal government (Fontana 1964: 159). It is adjacent to the Mexican border and directly west of Tucson, Arizona. The total land area is reported variously as 2,770,336 acres (Kelly 1963: 17), 2,773,358 acres (Lucero 1970: 2), and 2,774,966 acres (Head 1964: 1). Two smaller reservations are San Xavier, established by executive order of President Grant in 1874 (Fontana 1964: 129; Spicer 1962: 136) located near Tucson, and the Gila Bend reservation, established by executive order of President Arthur in 1884 (Fontana 1964: 147; Spicer 1962: 136) near Gila Bend, Arizona. The size of the San Xavier reservation is variously reported as 71,159 acres (Kelly 1963: 17), 71,189 acres (Head 1964: 1), and 71,095 acres (Lucero 1970: 2). The size of the Gila Bend reservation is reported as 10,235 acres (Kelly 1963: 17; Head 1964: 1) and 10,337 acres (Lucero 1970: 2). The land of all three reservations is held in trust by the federal government through the Bureau of Indian
Affairs. The reservations are incorporated into the Papago Tribal political organization under provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act and a Papago Tribal constitution ratified in 1937 (Spicer 1962: 1h2-3).

Environment

The Land

The Papago lands are characterized by the basin and range topography typical of the Sonoran desert of southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico.

Characteristic of the Sonoran Desert from one end to the other are the isolated block-faulted mountains and intervening outwash plains. From roughly northwest to southeast the rugged disconnected mountains line the desert so that they are never out of sight, seldom forming less than an uninterrupted and encircling mountainous border to the viewer no matter where he stands in the desert. Move where one will across the face of the desert, the mountains are always there in the background between the arid plain and the sky.

This alternation of plain and mountain has been aptly defined physiographically as the Basin and Range Province. In more exact terms it is characterized by roughly parallel and discontinuous mountain ranges, separated by continuous basins (Dunbier 1968: 5).

On the Sells reservation the elevation ranges from 7730 feet at the top of the highest peak (Baboquivari) to the lowest point on the alluvial plain of 1500 feet at Chuichu (Kelly 1963: 18). The alluvial plain is cut by numerous washes. The major ones are Santa Rosa, running northward through the central part of the reservation to drain into the Santa Cruz and Gila Rivers, the Vamori which cuts a serpentine path in the southern part of the reservation until it courses into Mexico, and the Sells Wash in the eastern part of the reservation. There are innumerable smaller
washes throughout the area (Kelly 1963: 13). In regard to the soil it is noted that:

The greatest portion of the Papago Reservation is composed of alluvium weathered from the scattered hills and mountains, and which grades from coarse to fine as distance increases from the source. In the valley floors the soil varies from fine sand to sandy clay and clay, all suitable for agriculture where water is available (Kelly 1963: 19).

Climate

The Papago occupy a desert. The availability of water plays a tremendous role in economic activities, settlement patterns, and traditional religious life.

The highest precipitation is in the Baboquivari Mountains, where the annual average is about 20 inches at high elevations. A few miles to the west, at lower elevations, the annual average is only 12 to 14 inches, and as one goes toward the west and north the trend is steadily drier, with average rainfall of 10 inches or less at the west edge of the reservation and less than 7 inches at the extreme north. Fully as important as the general scarcity of precipitation is the nature of its occurrence—divided between a summer season of scattered, intense storms from July to mid-September, and a winter season of gentler, more widespread rains from early December to early March. The annual total varies tremendously for any locality, so that averages mean little to anyone depending on rainfall during any given year for farming and stock raising (Kelly 1963: 20).

The number of frost-free days for the Papago area is quite high; Tucson reports 265 days; Ajo, a few miles beyond the far western edge of the reservation, reports 336 days; and Sells, located in the east-central part of the Papago reservation, reports a growing season of 266 days (Hackenberg 1964: II-5). The average daily temperature is ninety degrees in July and fifty degrees in January; during winter nights in the desert the temperature often drops below freezing (Kelly 1963: 21). The
Papago area has a number of different life zones. These are the Lower Sonoran Zone with such plants as desert grasses, mesquite, creosote bush, catclaw, saltbush, and cactuses; the Upper Sonoran with heavier rainfall and resultant pinyon-juniper woodlands, oak trees, manzanitas, and cliff-roses (Fontana 1964: 3).

Flora and Fauna

Papago lands have a tremendous range of plant and animal species. The predominant plant species are palo verde, mesquite, catclaw, creosote bush, ironwood, cholla, prickly pear, acacia, saguaro, bursage and pigweed. Many of the plants are useful for food, medicine, building materials, and fuel. The predominant animal species are mule deer, white-tailed deer, antelope, mountain sheep, javelina, jack rabbit, cotton tail rabbit, packrat, Gambel's quail, and dove. For a complete collation of the botanical and zoological data see Hackenberg (1964: II-11-21).

Minerals

There are extensive copper ore-bodies located on Papago lands. Currently there are two large-scale mining operations by American Smelting and Refining Company in San Xavier District and Hecla Mining Company-El Paso Natural Gas Company in Sif Oidak District. Of these the Lake-shore Mine tract in Sif Oidak District seems to hold the greatest potential for Papago economic development. By the end of 1969 approximately 50 Papagos were employed in various capacities in the mining operations there. The deposit, which contains approximately 470 million tons of 0.75 per cent copper ore, will be mined using both pit and shaft
techniques simultaneously (Randall and Love 1970: 10). A more detailed description of the geology of the deposit can be found in an article by Harper and Reynolds (1969). The reservation lands have also produced gold, silver, lead and manganese (Kelly 1963: 19).

Groundwater

Water is available from wells in various parts of the Papago reservation. In certain areas the groundwater level is sufficiently high to permit economically worthwhile agricultural development. Groundwater is available in sufficient amounts "... in three broad valleys, evenly spaced from east to west across the main reservation and in four localities along the northern, southern and eastern borders" (Kelly 1963: 27). In the remaining areas of the reservation wells are deeper and less productive.

Public Services

Electricity. There is electricity available in the following communities and localities: Santa Rosa Ranch, Havana Nakya, Ali Chukson, Sells, Gu Oidak, Topawa, Vamori, Supi Oidak, Choulic, San Miguel, Quijotoa, Santa Rosa, Anegam, Gu Komelic, San Xavier, San Lucy, and Chuichu. Chuichu is served by the San Carlos Project, San Lucy is served by Arizona Public Service, and a portion of San Xavier is served by Tucson Gas and Electric. All others are part of the Trico Electric Cooperative system (Kelly 1963: 35).

Telephones. Mountain States Telephone serves the following villages and localities: Kitt Peak, Santa Rosa Ranch, Havana Nakya, Ali
Chukson, Sells, Topawa, Fresnal Canyon, Vamori, Choulic, San Miguel, Quijotoa, Santa Rosa, Anegam, Gu Komolic, Ventana, Vaya Chin, San Simon, Gu Vo, Chuichu, and San Xavier. There are one-hundred ninety-eight telephones listed under the Sells exchange which covers the entire reservation minus Chuichu (Mountain States Telephone 1970: 313).

Highways. The reservation is bisected by east-west state highway 86 which connects Tucson to the desert mining town of Ajo. Starting at Quijotoa in the central part of the reservation where it intersects with Highway 86 the Bureau of Indian Affairs has constructed a paved road which goes to the north border of the reservation connecting with a road from Casa Grande. There are a few other stretches of paved road. The many areas not served by these paved roads are linked together by 79.6 miles of standard, graded, unsurfaced roads; 10.7 miles of sub-standard, graded, unsurfaced roads; and 335.6 miles of ungraded and unsurfaced roads (Kelly 1963: 34).

Papago History

The Aboriginal Period

The people now known as the Papago were known by many different names prior to the beginning of the 19th century. The explorers, soldiers, and priests who traversed the Papago area found numerous groups of culturally and linguistically related Indians whom they referred to as Sobaipuri, Soba, Pima, Gileno, and Papago (Fontana 1964: 9). These groups spoke different dialects of the Piman family of the Uto-Aztecan stock. At least one student of the Papago language recognizes nine
dialects, eight of which are spoken on the main reservation (Saxton and Saxton 1969: 184).

Prior to European contact the groups which are now referred to as the Papago lived in the area bounded on the north by the Gila River, on the east by the San Pedro River, on the west by the Gila Mountains, and on the south by Mexico, into which it extended. Generally speaking the people can be put into three categories: western, central and eastern.

When first seen by Europeans, Papagos were earning a desert living in essentially three different ways depending on their particular location in Papagueria. Those who lived in the extremely dry western third of the country were semi-nomadic hunters, gatherers, and traders. Papagos living in the central area farmed at the mouths of arroyos in the summer and hunted, gathered, and traded when they were not farming to supplement their food supply. Papagos in the eastern section and elsewhere along permanent streams were sedentary farmers who made use of irrigation to grow an abundance of native crops (Fontana 1964: 14).

At the time of the first contact with Europeans most of the people who are now called Papago were village dwelling farmers who successfully raised corn, beans, and squash. They were able to supplement their farm production with hunting and gathering. They practiced a religion which centered on man's relationship to nature, on the seasons, and on shamanistic and herbal curing. The villages were governed by a council of adult males which convened nightly.

The Hispanic Period

Possibly there was contact between Papagos and the earliest of the European explorers; we have no clear record of this, however. The first meaningful contact with bearers of European culture came in 1696 when the Jesuit Priest Eusebio Kino initiated a missionizing program.
among the Sobaipuri in the Santa Cruz Valley (Spicer 1962: 126). Although he had little success in his attempt to extend the mission program into the vast area west of the Santa Cruz, Kino had tremendous impact on Papago economic, social, and religious life.

The Spaniards' trips were hurried, with little more than one day stops at even the largest villages, during which they spoke to the people of God and the King of Spain and baptized the young children and the sick. In some places they appointed governors and other officials for the villages and gave them canes of office in the name of the King of Spain. The people were friendly and helpful. They always begged Kino to come again.

He did intend to come again, or send others, to found missions. For this purpose, and to provision his own expeditions, he sent many herds of horses and cattle ahead and supplied the people with seeds to plant wheat (Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1949: 11-12).

Although Kino died in 1711, other priests of the Society of Jesus carried on the missionary work until the order was expelled by the King of Spain in 1767. They were replaced the following year by the Franciscans, who continued the missionizing program. The Franciscan efforts have been described as relatively weak and confined to the missions of the Santa Cruz Valley (Spicer 1962: 132). The Papago lands remained under Spanish colonial control until Mexican independence in 1821. Papagos then began to interact with Mexican citizens on an economic basis.

A certain dependency of the desert Fimans on the Mexican farmers and ranchers grew up. They often came southward into the Altar Valley especially to work in the harvest, taking goods and sometimes money with them from these seasonal expeditions, but maintaining homes far removed from their employers. On the other hand, Mexican settlers steadily encroached on Indian lands, and hostile relations also developed (Spicer 1962: 132).

The Papago remained under the titular control of the Mexican government until the Gadsden Purchase of 1854 when a great portion of the Papago
lands became part of the United States. Papago settlements continue to exist in Mexico to this day.

The Papago underwent a great deal of change as a result of European contact. There were significant changes in religion, political organization, social organization, and economics.

The Anglo-American Period

The coming of the white man to Papago country resulted in increasing exploitation of Papago lands. Whites immediately started prospecting for minerals near Ajo, Gunsight, Fresnal, and numerous sites in the Santa Cruz Valley (Fontana 1964: 112-113). In 1854 a large copper mining operation was begun near Ajo; it is still being operated. Numerous white ranchers also came to be active in the Papago area (Spicer 1962: 134). The continued alliance between Papagos and whites against Apache raiders, however, indicates that at least some of their relations were mutually beneficial. The Papagos at San Xavier maintained a standing army of 150 men in 1865 to swell the ranks of the whites (Spicer 1962: 134). Concern for the rights of Papagos began to increase in official circles. In 1856 a representative of the Office of Indian Affairs reported to the Commissioner:

From the most reliable information in my possession, we have acquired, by the Gadsden Treaty with Mexico, about five thousand Indians in addition to those heretofore under charge of this superintendency. A large portion of this accession to our Indian population consists of Pueblos, situated near Tucson; and as a military post is about being established in the vicinity, and that a section of this Territory is now being rapidly settled by our people, I would respectfully recommend that an additional agent or sub-agent be appointed to take charge of the interests of these people (Meriwether 1856 in Fontana 1964: 115).
In 1857 an agent for the Indian people in the area of the Gadsden Purchase was authorized. It was during this period that the federal government appointed an agent to work with the Papagos at San Xavier where he distributed hoes, shovels, and picks to the local people (Spicer 1962: 136). The agent also selected a "head chief" and five "sub-chiefs" through whom he dealt with the Papagos. By 1863 the agent urged his superiors to set aside a reservation for the Papago at San Xavier. Later the next year, with the financial assistance of the legislative assembly of Arizona, a priest was able to set up a school at the mission there. The reservation for the Papagos at San Xavier was established in 1874:

... a miniscule fraction of aboriginal Papago domain had now been legally reserved for them. And unlike non-Indian land, it belonged to all the Papagos rather than to any individual. It was tax-exempt land and Indians living there were wards of the federal government rather than citizens of the Territory of Arizona. Thus some Papago lands had been secured to Papagos, a genuine blessing; but at the same time Papagos had been placed in a category that deprived them of many of the rights, and responsibilities, of American citizenship (Fontana 1964: 129).

The following years saw the increasing development of educational opportunities for Papagos as schools were opened in parts of the reservation. This period was also marked by increased conflict between white cattlemen and Papagos over the use of range lands and water holes.

Most of the Papago country was not well adapted, but a considerable portion of the eastern and central parts had good grass cover in the 1870's. Ranchers moved steadily into these parts. In some instances they found water holes which they appropriated, driving off the Papagos who customarily used the water. In other cases the new ranchers developed their own wells and water supply, excluding Papagos from what they developed. Small battles were fought (Spicer 1962: 137).

To protect the Papagos from further incursions generated by white economic interests the reservations were established at Gila Bend and
Sells in 1884 and 1916 respectively. Development by the federal government continued into the 1920's with the drilling of numerous deep water wells in various areas of the Papago reservations. These had a tremendous impact on settlement patterns and seasonal migration.

The Papagos were organized under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act by 1937. At that time the Papagos accepted a constitution and a scheme of political subdivision based on grazing districts. San Xavier and Gila Bend were incorporated into this organization as districts. Throughout this period various economic development projects were carried out. These included public works projects through the Civilian Conservation Corps of Roosevelt's New Deal. There was increasing Papago involvement in wage-labor economy, educational development, and enhancement of Papago tribal government's political power.

Although Papagos benefited from their association with the American government, the benefits were not without costs. The Papago, as is true of many Indian groups, have experienced what may best be called a dependency generating history. Through time the federal government, as represented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other bureaucracies, had increasing influence and control over local decision-making processes. Spicer discusses the effect of the national bureaucracies in terms of the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' agency superintendent:

A structuralization which has maintained a considerable stability of form for nearly a century grew from an early conception of a very simple kind of integration between Indians and the U.S. The essential feature of the structure has been the administrative linkage of the local communities of Indians on reservations with a bureau of the national government with and subject to the Department of the Interior. For some sixty years this arrangement was very simple. The linkage at the local
level was through the single role of the Indian Agent, or as he came to be called— the superintendent. This role was a protective one, but clothed in solid authority. The superintendent's authority has been extended through many aspects of life; economic development and land management, local government and law, and the regulation of contacts with persons outside the reservation. This authority was in effect absolute since there was no clear structure for Indians to appeal decisions or to affect appointments in the superintendency. This kind of upward-oriented authority was designed to protect Indians' rights, but it rapidly undermined all existing political authority among Indians (1962: 15).

The imposition of federal power through the superintendent brought about a dislocation and disintegration of traditional political organization. The local federal authority was in no way integrated with Indian communities except as it was convenient for the federal institution. Native political institutions as well as the federally created and sanctioned tribal councils were either ignored or manipulated by local bureau representatives. The traditional decision-making prerogatives of villages as well tended to be ignored by federal bureaucracies, and power-deprived community organizations became unstable and disorganized. There are significant exceptions to this pattern, but generally the Papago villages came to have less and less political power.

Papago Political Organization

Papago Communities

There have been numerous important changes in Papago village organization, but there is also stability in certain very important areas. Using Ruth Underhill's (1939) description of what may have been pre-Spanish Papago social organization we will first attempt to characterize traditional Papago community organization.
Traditional Community Organization. The basic unit of village government was the council. It was composed of the village's mature men. Women did not participate directly, although they may at times have come to listen to the proceedings. Attendance at the meetings was part of each man's responsibility.

In every village, or even where two or three families were camping together a nightly men's meeting was held. This was the real governing power of the community. It decided on communal activities: agricultural work, hunts, war, the dates of ceremonies, games with other villages. It approved the installation of a chief or of new residents of the village. Men reported whether they had seen tracks of enemies or of deer. Visitors from other villages were welcomed and questioned (Underhill 1939: 78).

Not all males were part of the "deliberative body." Some were only listeners. The council members had to have shown quality of character at some time in the past.

Meetings were regular with the ceremonial leader of the village presiding. The meetings would take place in a circular meeting house where conferees would sit solemnly in a circle and begin their activities by passing a ceremonial cigarette made of reeds and native tobacco. Following this the leader or his designate would make a speech encouraging good moral behavior. It was followed by more ritual speeches and cigarette smoking. After this initial ritual it was appropriate to bring up proposals for consideration. The subject of communal hunts or agricultural labor might be broached by a member of the council or the leader speaking for someone else. After a proposal was made the council members were given an opportunity to comment.

A man who agreed completely made another speech in the same vein so that before the process was complete, a project had
been many times confirmed and restated. One who disagreed took time for thought and then made his strictures, after which others commented in regular turn, always beginning at the right of the speaker. If sentiment was divided, the procedure was to discuss until opinion was unanimous (Underhill 1939: 82).

The speakers and statements of opinion tended to be very repetitive. According to Underhill, repetition was important for solidifying the group.

The purpose of such repetition would seem to be an emotional one: the attaining of complete unity in the group. After an idea has been re-stated so many times, and each man has had his share in sponsoring it, every man's conviction has been solidified and there is little danger of an unsympathetic minority. The long sessions before an agreement is reached have the same purpose. There must be no dissenting minority. Action will be ineffective unless the whole group acts with complete conviction (Underhill 1939: 83).

This is government through consensus rather than authority. Every individual is aware of activities and is expected to participate in planning. It would seem that tradition of consensus would limit the possibilities for change in the community.

In addition to the council, the traditional Papago village had numerous other roles. The most important was the ceremonial leader—variously called "the wise speaker," "the one above," "the one ahead," "the one made big," "the fire maker," "the keeper of the plaited basket," "the keeper of the smoke," and "the keeper of the meeting" (Underhill 1939: 72). The ceremonial leader protected the sacred fetishes which gave the community power. He also called the community meetings to order and served as a priest for the community ceremonies. Ceremonies were held to induce rain and to stimulate successful growth of crops. The ceremonial leader made sacred speeches at those affairs. In addition to being a priest, the ceremonial leader "... acted as a patriarchal advisor to the village" (Underhill 1939: 73). The ceremonial leader, early in his
career, chose a successor from among his male relatives. The chosen man served as an apprentice with the leader in order to learn the tasks. In some cases the village council had to approve the selection.

Some villages had one individual whose responsibility it was to make announcements. This role, which Underhill refers to as a crier, did not exist in all villages; but in most large villages some one woke the people in the morning and called them to the meetings in the evenings (Underhill 1939: 75). The crier might also call for assemblies to warn the village of impending dangers.

Another office was that of war leader. His primary responsibility was to remember the war ritual "... and recite it on the proper occasions" (Underhill 1939: 76). The war leader retained his position until old age. Nevertheless, "It was he who directed a war party and planned its strategy even if he was too old to do much fighting himself" (Underhill 1939: 77).

Papagos hunted deer, rabbit, packrat, and fowl for purposes of subsistence, and deer for fare at certain fall ceremonies. There were rabbit hunts associated with the rain ceremonies at which fermented saguaro cactus fruit syrup was drunk.

For communal hunts..., there was a leader who set the day, chose the locality, called the people together at dawn, appointed the beaters and made the required speech. He passed his office down, as did the others, by instructing a younger man, usually a kinsman, and finally asking the council to ratify his appointment as the new leader (Underhill 1939: 77).

Very similar to the hunt leader was the game leader; in some villages the same man may have been both concurrently.
In many villages the office of the game leader was so important that it was held by a special man. His duty was to make the arrangements for intervillage games, see that the runners were properly trained, take charge of the party on the march to the challenged village, lead the cheering, argue for his side in matters of fouls, appoint the referees, see that the relay runners got off in the proper order. His ceremonial duty was the recitation of a speech before the contest began (Underhill 1939: 77).

Underhill also points out the minor role of song leader -- the individual who memorized songs and led the ceremonial singing during liquor fermentation.

Papago Community Organization in the Historic Period. There have been numerous changes in Papago community organization following contact with European culture. One of the most significant developments is that of increasingly authoritarian leadership roles. With Spanish contact the Papagos took over certain new political roles which were based on Spanish models. The most important of these roles was the Kovenal or governor. The governor is "... definitely an executive and, until the establishment of judges under the Indian Service, he had police power. He is at present the most important person in the village, completely overshadowing the ceremonial officers and sometimes achieving dictatorship" (Underhill 1939: 84).

One account of Papago village organization is found in The Desert People by Alice Joseph, Rosamond Spicer, and Jane Chesky (1949). They point out the importance of the role of the chief in village affairs.

Authority in the village is vested in the chief or kobanal (from the Spanish gobernador) and his two assistants. According to custom -- since there is no written law for village affairs -- these offices are elective. In some villages the chief always comes from a certain family. ... The chief holds office until he wishes to retire or until the people become dissatisfied with him (1949: 52).
The chief has numerous functions; he seems to share authority less than his more traditional predecessors.

The chief seems to function as judge, mayor, and sheriff combined. He is called on to settle personal disputes over family problems, division of lands, difficulties over water, damages done by straying cattle, and all the miscellaneous problems that arise wherever people live together. He may also act as banker for the group (Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1949: 52).

The chief also served as the leader of the village council. The council was attended by all the adult men of the village. At council meetings, all the village problems are discussed. Lands are assigned for farm use; stockowners air their problems; the doings of the Agency are discussed. Everyone has his say if it takes all night. In the old days unanimity of opinion had to precede a decision, for the concept of majority rule was not known to the Papago. Nowadays, there is not always unanimity for the simple reason that there is not time. A government proposal may have to be accepted or rejected, and white men call for prompt action (Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1949: 52).

One of the most important aspects of village organization is its capacity to mobilize labor. Planning for this purpose is often at village council meetings. These cooperative undertakings may include livestock round-ups, fence repairing, cleaning washes to facilitate irrigation, building construction, and preparing for fiestas.

The livestock operations are particularly well organized. A village usually selects a person to act as foreman for its livestock activities. He has some authority but he receives no pay.

... the foreman "works for the people;" i.e., he has charge of all the proceedings -- the day and place to start, the methods to be used, and all the activities to be carried on by the village men and boys. He must see that the proper brands are applied to calves and colts, a responsible task which is scrutinized by the cowboys. He it is who decides what other cooperative work should be done to protect and
improve the villagers' livestock. When a corral is to be built or a charco improved, he summons the men to come and help (Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1949: 51).

Many of the features discussed in both Underhill and Joseph, Spicer and Chesky are still important components of Papago village organization. Certainly the village council remains a vital force in many Papago villages. However, it should be recognized that both the structural complexity and capacity for problem solving in individual villages is quite variable. The most thoroughly integrated communities may have the benefit of several specific organizations. The communities' organizational focal point is usually the village council which deals with a range of problems. Councils may have a full complement of officers in the Anglo's mode -- chairman, vice-chairman, etc. -- or the more traditional chief. Another important component of the village political organization is that of the roles which link the village to such higher-level Papago political organization as the district councils and the Papago Council organized in 1937. These are the district councilmen and the tribal councilmen who serve, in theory at least, to communicate the desires and decisions of the village people to the tribal and district councils. In addition, contemporary Papago communities may have the benefit of any number of special-purpose organizations made up of differing segments of the village population. In Papago villages during 1970 these groups include stockmen's associations; parish clubs; women's clubs; athletic teams; farmers' associations; water committee; youth clubs; homemakers' clubs; parent and teacher groups; veterans' groups; village development planning committees; dance troupes; religious choirs
both Christian and traditional; traditional ceremonial planning groups; and village development clubs.

The Papago communities with less structural complexity in terms of formal village organization may not have either a village council or any of the special-purpose organizations which have been mentioned. Communities of this type have a great deal of difficulty in carrying out even the simplest development plans.

Papago Districts

The area under the jurisdiction of the Papago Council was subdivided into districts in 1937. There are eleven districts on the three reservations: Sells, Baboquivari, Schuk Toak, Chukut Kuk, Gu Achi, Pisinimo, Gu Vo' o, Hickiwan, Sif Oidak, San Lucy (formerly Gila Bend), and San Xavier. Each of the districts has a council which meets regularly. The representatives to the council are chosen in direct elections in the villages of that district. All occupied villages are represented. The membership of the district council elects its own officers, i.e., chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer. These individuals are not paid in most cases, although some districts have adopted the policy of issuing per diem payments, and the chairman of San Xavier district is paid. This is possible in some districts because of increasing revenues. Districts get one half of all lease and royalty monies from farming or mining. The other half goes to the Tribal government. Sif Oidak district has over two million dollars at its disposal. San Xavier district also has substantial income.
The district councils carry out numerous activities. These include allocating district funds, approving land-use plans, hiring certain program personnel, modifying district membership, supervising elections, approving decisions made by village councils, approving agency programs, and discussing behavior standards of district residents.

Council representatives link village organizations to the district council. The district council is in turn linked to the tribal council by tribal councilmen. The communication between the two latter political bodies is active and important. Proposals made in the tribal council are usually delayed procedurally until district councils consider them. This is a very slow process and very much dependent on the individual tribal councilmen's ability to communicate adequately issues under consideration at the tribal council. The process is complicated by councils which do not meet regularly. To increase the efficiency of the process some district councils schedule their meetings to follow by one or two days the meetings of the tribal council. District councils also carry out decision making on their own.

The effectiveness of each district organization is related to the quality of local leadership, the extent of factions, the amount of district funds, the strength of village organization, educational levels of district members, and a community's historic relationships with the tribal government.

Papago Tribal Organization

The foundation of Papago tribal government is the Papago council. The council, established in 1937 under the provisions of the Indian
Reorganization Act, is the preeminent political organization on the three reservations. It meets monthly in its chambers in Sells and is made up of twenty-two members -- two representatives from each district who are elected annually with alternates. After the district elections are certified and all protests are satisfactorily resolved, the newly elected tribal councilmen elect their chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer. Formally each of these individuals runs separately; informally there are tickets. The elected officers of the council are paid. In previous years they were not, and because of this they tended to be Bureau employees, thus creating a fundamental conflict of interests.

The council may define tribal membership, levy taxes, create and administer tribal law, and budget and spend tribal funds. Most of their decisions are subject to veto by the superintendent, although this is rarely practiced. Theoretically, though, a superintendent could control tribal business through this prerogative. Council decision making procedures are based on the concept of majority rule; rarely are votes anything but unanimous, however.

By 1970 the council had been in existence over thirty years. Its early years were difficult. It was not readily accepted by the people of the villages.

The people as a whole have taken little part, and there are no sanctions to reinforce the status of the delegates from many of the districts. So long as there is a leader who is vitally interested in having his district represented in the Tribal Council, the district organization remains alive, but if the leader loses interest or leaves, it falls apart. There is no particular demand for representation in the council. The people do not have regular district meetings, and they delay elections long past the time specified in the constitution. All this is an indication of a political system in
its infancy, which needs strong leadership in all its parts before it can become a functioning and integral part of the life of the people (Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1949: 90).

Tribal government has undergone tremendous change and development in the past thirty years. It is more complex and diverse than it was in the earlier period. Tribal government, with the increasing strength of the chairman's executive role, has developed an elaborate organization of various departments and programs. At the time of the study by Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, the tribal government was operating a few small scale programs, such as arts and crafts sales, tribal fairs and rodeos, a loan program, and the tribal herd operation. By the middle of 1970, the tribal government was engaged in a tremendous range of diverse service and development activities. (see Table 1).

The expansion of tribal operations is related to increased tribal resources as well as to a growing tendency for the federal government to provide funds for tribally-run programs. Many federal activities can be carried out by the tribe on the basis of a contractual relationship between it and a specific government agency. The Community Health Program is carried out on such a contract. The Public Health Service pays the tribe to provide the services of that particular program.

**Papago Economic Life**

The current Papago economic adaptation consists of three major strata. The first stratum consists of residual elements of the traditional economic system based on hunting, gathering, and farming. The second, derived from the Spaniards, consists of major augmentations to traditional farming and the innovation of animal domestication. The
Table 1. Components of Papago Tribal Government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Fund Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Departments)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>fiscal activities, payroll, bookkeeping, record keeping</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>legal counsel</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>wells, pump, vehicles, and physical plant</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>Tribe and mineral exploitation firms liason</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Herd</td>
<td>Tribal ranch management</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and Crafts</td>
<td>retail sales of Papago crafts</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock inspection</td>
<td>Sold livestock inspecting brand recording</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Programs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Health</td>
<td>Services health workers</td>
<td>Public Health Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrition</td>
<td>Food Supplements, Nutrition training</td>
<td>Public Health Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>Training of unemployed</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Coordination of education activities</td>
<td>BIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papago Office of Economic Opportunity</td>
<td>Legal Services, Pre-school, Community Development</td>
<td>OEO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
third, associated with Anglo-American contact, is the increased monetiza-
tion of Papago economic life through such activities as wage labor, re-
tail sales, government subsistence grants, and proceeds from property
rentals. Currently, elements from all strata make up the Papago economic
system. Individual Papagos are differentially committed to various
strata of the system.

The Traditional Stratum

Hunting. Papagos in the past hunted a great variety of mammal
and bird life. Some of the most important species were mule deer, white-
tailed deer, antelope, mountain sheep, javelina, wood rat, jack rabbit,
cottontail rabbit, mice, Gambel's quail, and mourning dove (Hackenberg
1964: II-53). The techniques used included communal drives, traps, bows
and arrows, and burrowing. Hunting is still carried out for both eco-
nomic and ceremonial reasons in some Papago communities. The most im-
portant game taken are the rabbits and deer.

Gathering. Wild plant products were very important to the tradi-
tional Papago economy. Some of the more useful species include mescal,
wild onion, pig weed, capsicum, palo verde, saguaro, night-blooming
cereus, lambsquarter, creosote bush, sotol, barrel cactus, mormon tea,
ocotillo, gourd, martynia, organ pipe cactus, wild tobacco, bear grass,
ironwood, cholla, prickly pear, mistletoe, pinion, arrow weed, mesquite,
and sacaton grass. To a limited extent Papagos continue to make use of
wild plant products for basketry materials, building materials, foods,
medicine, and fuel.
Farming. Prior to Spanish contact Papagos raised certain crops which included several varieties of beans, corn, various native cucurbits, tobacco, and cotton. The farming technique was based on use of flood water from the washes.

The Papago type of farming in the desert upland has been termed "akchin" or flood-water farming (their term "Akchin" refers to the creek mouth or opening of an arroyo). Land suitable for cultivation appeared on the lower bajada in small fan-like patches at the mouths of washes. The fertility and irrigation of these patches was secured from the flooding action of the washes themselves. Papago technical intervention consisted largely of placement of earthen dikes for water spreading and collection. Tools used for this purpose included the digging stick, and potsherds and baskets for removing earth (Hackenberg 1964: II-33).

There continue to be subsistence farming activities on the Papago reservations. However, the amount of this type of farming is greatly reduced with perhaps only ten per cent of the arable land in use for this purpose (Kelly 1963: 84). The reduction seems to be caused by the development of new economic alternatives. There are also additional acreages in irrigation agriculture, especially at San Xavier, but most of this land is leased to non-Indian farmers.

The Hispanic Stratum

The Spaniards had considerable impact on the Papago subsistence system. They introduced many new varieties of plants to the Papago farmers. In addition, and perhaps more important, were the domestic animals introduced along with the mission program.

With the coming of the Spaniards, various old world crops were introduced into Pimeria Alta: ...In order to furnish a more stable food supply for the Indians at the missions... Kino distributed seed of wheat, chick peas, bastard chick peas, lentils, cowpeas, cabbages, lettuce, onions, leeks, garlic, anise, pepper mustard, mint, melons, watermelons and cane,
as well as grapevines, roses, lilies and trees of pear, apple, quince, mulberry, pecan, peach, apricot, plum, pomegranate and fig. ...As the penetration of foreign animals into Pimeria became very rapid soon after Kino's arrival, he quickly established a number of stock ranches with cattle, oxen, horses, mules, burros, goats, sheep and chickens. ...The introduced crops which proved to be of the greatest significance in early Piman economy were wheat, barley, watermelons and cowpeas, and in that order; the most important domesticated animals were horses and cattle (Castetter and Bell 1942: 74).

Contact with the Spaniards also resulted in Papagos learning some new economic institutions. In a manner of speaking the Papagos received their elementary education in the concepts of a market economy from the Spaniards. This to an extent prepared them for their later intense involvement with the Anglo-American economy. Some of the new concepts learned were labor for wages, use of money, standard weights and measures, and small scale profit making. In many cases the Papagos adopted Spanish loanwords for the new concepts (see Table 2). These words were derived from a recently published Papago-English dictionary. The dictionary spelling is retained in the Papago words (Saxton and Saxton 1969). There are numerous other loanwords from Spanish for new plants, new animals, numbers, days of the week and various manufactured goods.

Clearly the introduction of cattle in this period is of great importance and significance. However, it did take the Papagos a long time to learn the techniques of cattle raising.

Most of the cattle were allowed to run wild at first, considered much as deer or other game, to be hunted and killed as the families needed food. According to Doctor Underhill the 1 or 2 appointed hunters of each family group ordinary (sic) brought in 10 or 15 deer a year to provide for the family. As the settlers drifted into the country, taking up mines and ranchlands, and colonizing the valleys, the wild deer and antelope became scarcer, and the family hunter killed about the same number of half-wild cattle, to be cut up and distributed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Papago</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>money</td>
<td>lial</td>
<td>real</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dollar</td>
<td>pihsh</td>
<td>peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cent</td>
<td>sin-tehwo</td>
<td>centavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stamp</td>
<td>is-tahmpa</td>
<td>estampa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>check</td>
<td>chahghih</td>
<td>cheque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number</td>
<td>nuchmol</td>
<td>numero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>tiampo</td>
<td>tiempo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hour</td>
<td>ohla</td>
<td>hora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minute</td>
<td>minuhto</td>
<td>minuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>store</td>
<td>tianna</td>
<td>tienda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranch</td>
<td>lahnju</td>
<td>rancho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to measure</td>
<td>pesalt</td>
<td>pesar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
for food, gifts and barter, as they had distributed venison (Xavier 1938: 2).

Out of these beginnings developed a large Papago cattle industry. Stock raising came to be the major source of income in some areas, particularly in the southeastern part of the reservation where more water was available. There were general increases in the number of cattle owned. It is estimated that by 1919 Papagos had 30,000 head of cattle and as many horses (Metzler 1960: 53). The development of the Papago cattle industry was not without cost.

The cattle industry was a blessing to Papagos in many ways. It is probable that had they not been raising cattle they would not have gotten a large reservation in 1916 and again in 1917. It also provided Papagos, many of whom liked the free, open, and wandering life of the range, with a means of getting cash and with food-on-the-hoof. But like most blessings, this one came with a curse attached. Cattle were the trojan horse of free enterprise. The operation of the livestock industry became a business to many Papagos such that individual initiative, the desire for profit and surplus, and the wish to do for oneself rather than for one's village became sources of conflict in Papago culture. Papagos could now be divided into have's and have-not's depending on the number of cattle one might possess. This was something new for the desert people; and it was something that was to bring trouble for years to come (Fontana 1964: 142).

The Anglo-American Stratum

The most significant development during this period has been the increasing involvement of the Papago in the national economy. Concurrently, there has been a substantial increase in the degree of monetization. This can be seen in the minor role that the traditional subsistence activities play in current Papago economic life. A few traditional economic activities such as basketmaking are pursued almost completely because of their market value. Currently the three major
sources of cash to Papago individuals are wage labor, cattle sales, and welfare. The following statement is excerpted from a speech made by Thomas A. Segundo, chairman of the Papago council at a meeting of anti-poverty officials concerning decreases in the welfare grants of a large welfare category. The statement expresses in general terms an overview of the Papago economy today.

The Papagos are poor. The reservation economy rests on three legs, cattle, welfare, and on-reservation jobs. Estimates of total input of each of these elements vary, but it is safe to say that the following represents a reasonable picture of the Papago economy.

The cattle industry, last year, brought in $800,000. The total income from wages paid to Papagos employed on the reservation is approximately $1,000,000 a year. Welfare represents an additional $1,000,000 a year input.

Thus, the total income produced is $2,800,000 a year; based on a population of 7,000 Papagos, this figure gives us a $400 a year per capita incomes. Thus, we have an income base approximately $7,000 below the U.S. national average of $7,436.

Thus, the Papagos are poor (1969: 1).

However imperfect these statistics are they are generally supported by other more carefully drawn studies (Taylor 1967; Padfield and van Willigen 1969). The statement also gives us an indication of relative importance of each category.

Wage labor. Papago involvement in the wage economy became increasingly intense in the last half of the 19th century. Some individuals came to be employed in silver and copper mines, the ranches in the area, Mexican communities in the Altar Valley, and with the federal government (Spicer 1962: 136). Opportunities increased throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Estimates indicate that in 1939
"... one-third of all Papago income was now derived from wage work off the reservation" (Spicer 1962: 142). Significant sources of employment were the mines, irrigated commercial farming, domestic and yard work, and federal employment including work programs such as the CCC-ID of the "New Deal." The Papago involvement in agricultural jobs was intense.

As Anglo commercial irrigation agriculture supplanted Pima Indian agriculture on the Gila and expanded into the Casa Grande and Santa Cruz Valleys, it became an enormous factor as a wage source to augment Papago income. Especially through the 1940's and 1950's, there was great demand for highly seasonal hand labor in cotton irrigation, chopping, weeding and picking. For the most part, this work was available on farms immediately adjacent to the reservation, thus permitting workers to come and go almost at will. The effect was to absorb that segment of the Papago population which in some ways was surplus. At the same time, it permitted the Papagos to retain close ties with reservation kin and territory while providing substantial inputs of earned income into reservation economic life (Padfield and van Willigen 1969: 215).

Papagos were hired mostly as cotton pickers, although some came to be machine operators, irrigators, and general hands. Dobyns' study Papagos in the Cotton Fields (1950) provides a rather complete view of this type of agricultural labor. He estimates that in 1950 the number of Papagos involved in the cotton harvest was 2000. Most of the families involved still maintain a home on the reservation. They migrate annually to the cotton camps in the Santa Cruz drainage, near such places as Tubac, Continental, Eloy, Marana, Casa Grande, Coolidge, Eleven Mile Corner, and Chandler. Dobyns' study shows also that a significant number of Papagos were beginning to be employed in agricultural jobs on an annual basis.

An increasing proportion of the Desert People who work on cotton farms no longer make an annual migration from reservation home to labor camp. They moved from the reserves more or less permanently, consciously recognizing themselves as permanent farm workers. Mostly they are irrigators, but do general farm work, and include tractor drivers and other skilled workmen (1950: 22).
This major source of Papago employment diminished through the mechanization of cotton picking, causing great difficulty for many individual Papagos. There is no direct evidence that any other source of employment has replaced this one. Recent research has indicated that commercial farm employment is still the major source of jobs for Papagos. The following table, pertaining to employment, refers to a sample of Papago males, fourteen years or older (see Table 3) (Padfield and van Willigen 1969: 213).

The table shows certain interesting facts. Half of all employed individuals worked in commercial agriculture, the percentage of Papagos in the labor force is low, and occupations other than the traditional and commercial farm labor is very limited.

Another interesting episode in the development of Papago participation in the national labor force has been the relocation program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1914 the Bureau placed an "outing matron" in Tucson to assist Papago women to get jobs as domestics. This system was replaced at the beginning of World War II with a general-purpose off-reservation placement service sponsored by the Bureau. In 1948 a pilot program was set up by the Bureau for Navajos in Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles.

Two years later the Relocation Program was established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Relocates were to be given financial assistance to go to the relocation city and for an additional 30 days if necessary, while they were being trained and placed in a job. The State Employment Services assisted in the program by giving general aptitude tests and by helping the relocatee to obtain employment (Metzler 1960: 101).
Table 3. Type of Employment by Residence for Reference Month of July 1964.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>(All) No.</th>
<th>(All) %</th>
<th>(On-Resv) No.</th>
<th>(On-Resv) %</th>
<th>(On-Off) No.</th>
<th>(On-Off) %</th>
<th>(Off-Resv) No.</th>
<th>(Off-Resv) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papago Style</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Farms</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Occupations</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/Sales</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(non-farm)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL EMPLOYED</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idle</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to Work</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL WITHOUT WORK</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reporting</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>300*</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One individual did not report residence.
The Bureau continues these types of activities presently despite the program's poor success and its general disregard of community-based economic development.

Presumably the employment position of the Papago worker is improving by means of the extensive industrial and mining developments being planned at this time by the Tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Ernst and Ernst 1969). The new developments at Lakeshore have already made numerous high paying jobs available to on-reservation Papagos.

Cattle Sales. Active participation by Papagos in the cattle market did not come until the 1890's.

On the west side of the Baboquivari Mountains some Papagos began the transition from subsistence cattle raising, involving a few cattle on unfenced range to be slaughtered when food was needed, to the planned raising of cattle for the national beef market. Beginning in the 1890's, family groups in this favourable area which included villages such as San Miguel, Chukut Kuk, Topawa and Vamori began to improve water holes and to appropriate for their own use, in the manner of White cattlemen, these water sources. Slowly they began to build up cattle herds which brought them into the cash economy of the region (Spicer 1962: 138).

The importance of cattle sales increased greatly through time. By 1937 it was reported that cattle sales revenues constituted the largest share of individual Papago income, over 43 per cent of the total. Ten years later cattle sales had dropped to 27 per cent, which was less than wage labor (Metzler 1960: 58). Currently livestock revenues are about $1,000,000 annually (Lucero 1970).

Revenues from cattle sales could be increased considerably if certain changes in marketing took place. There are many obstacles to such change, however. Papagos tend to sell their cattle in response to
their own needs for cash rather than in response to the market. To Papagos cattle are a convenient way to store capital:

... cattle are the reserve fund for the people, the "Papago Bank!" When there are no jobs and no crops many villages would sell their cattle. ... Therefore the advantages of the plan urged by the government, regular big cattle sales spaced periodically through the year in such a manner as to bring higher prices, does not appeal to the average Papago cattleman. ... There is a great advantage, to his mind, in being able to lay his hands on ready cash when he wants it; and he is ready to let the extra profit go for the sake of convenience or to supply the immediate need (Xavier 1938: 20-21).

Another limitation on sales revenues is the nature of the relationship Papago cattlemen tend to have with the cattlebuyers. Papago cattlemen's sales contacts are limited to a few buyers, perhaps because they feel more secure this way. Their contacts are further limited by their lack of transportation, the buyers' tendency to stake out territories on the reservation, and the network of personal obligations that develop between buyer and seller. All this limits competition and lowers price. The price differential between "Indian" cattle and the regular market animals is significant. Again the poor get less.

A yearly market spread averaging $5.00 per hundred weight has been reported by the University of Arizona Extension Service, listing a comparison of off reservation and on reservation prices. This means that an 800 pound cow is bringing $40.00 less than the true market price.

These figures combined with the income loss due to classification manipulation means that the loss per head to the Papago rancher is easily $50.00. 10,000 head of cattle were sold during 1968 and 1969. A market support service could mean an additional $500,000 income directly to the Papago ranchers (Nordtome 1970: 1).

A major obstacle to increasing cattle revenues is the condition of the range. Virtually all Papago lands show the effects of erosion with the resulting loss of forage productivity.
Since farming and stock raising are important means by which the Papagos use the resources of their reservation, the nature and especially the present condition of their soils is of great importance. The soils of the area include much fine alluvial material, and frequently have only very sparse coverage of vegetation. Much of this cover has been reduced by overgrazing, and even before introduction of stock there were numerous areas where heavy summer showers or the frequent strong winds of the dry spring period caused substantial erosion (Kelly 1963: 25).

These conditions limit range forage production. Unfortunately there has been neither sufficient money allocated by the Tribe or agencies of the federal government to solve these problems. In addition, the devices used to maintain the optimum number of cattle on the range have been unsuccessful. For example, stockmen's associations have been started to serve as a community-based range management organization. The Articles of Association and By-laws of the Gu Achi District Stockmen's Association empower the association to "...put into effect a system of livestock management which will safeguard our grazing resources and conserve our range for use of future generations" (Organizing Directors 1964). Although the membership of this association is very much concerned with range conditions and carrying capacity they have yet to attempt to limit cattle ownership in any effective way (Bauer 1968: 141). Neither is there any indication that the associations at Vamori, Pisinemo, Sif Oidak, and Kaka-Ventana-Vaya Chin have been able to deal with this problem. It is perhaps needless to say that the issues of range abuse and inventory management are explosive politically. At the same time there is considerable interest in range development at all levels of both Papago and agency organization. This interest has been apparent through recent Papago history. Fontana reports (1964: 141) that as early as 1914,
Congress provided funds for "...development of a water supply for
domestic and stock purposes and irrigation for nomadic Papago Indians in
Pima County, Arizona." The concern for range development is also mani­
fested in the well drilling program in operation during the first twenty
years of this century (Bauer 1968: 4), the horse-reduction program in the
1930's (Dobyns 1949: 23), the establishment of grazing districts in 1937
(Spicer 1962: 113), the Emergency Conservation Work and CCC-ID programs
of the 1930's (Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1949: 20), the Agricultural
Adjustment Administration program in the 30's and 40's (Bauer 1970: 44),
the Tribal Herd Ranch Program initiated in 1935 (Bauer and Keneally 1969:
2), the more comprehensive Papago Development Program of 1949 (Nichols,
Ladd, and Segundo 1949), and the 1949 Papago Agency proposal for com­
prehensive development (Head 1944). There has been a great deal of ac­
tivity in the post-war period. The Bureau, for example, initiated the
development of five stockmen's associations to facilitate range improve­
ment and control (Ketzler 1960: 62). In addition, range development
matters have been given consideration in a number of comprehensive plan­
ing papers such as the Overall Economic Development Plan, Papago Reser­
vation (Anonymous 1962), Ten-Year Program, Papago Reservation (Jenkins
1964), and Planning and Development Programs, the Papago Tribe (Ernst and
Ernst 1969). Currently there is still another development proposal be­
fore the Papago council. Although this proposal was drafted by the
Papago agency staff it is fundamentally a compilation of requests from
district and village entities. These requests were translated into tech­
nical terms and assigned an estimated cost. The proposal was submitted
to the Papago council in February of 1970; there has been no official position taken by the council at the time of this writing (July 31 1970). The proposal goes beyond the district requests, as one might expect. The council resolution furnished with the proposal makes the following statements in reference to the ordinances which acceptance of the proposal requires. "That said Ordinances shall prescribe grazing controls, proper utilization and distribution of livestock to prevent ecological damage to Papago rangelands and prescribing criteria for grazing fees to be used for the protection and management functions to be carried out by the Tribe" (Lucero 1970: 4).

There is a great need for development to assist the individual Papago cattlemen both rich and poor to maintain or improve the revenue from their herds. The community development program came to be involved in this important area of development.

Welfare payments. Certainly the Anglo institution of public welfare has had a tremendous impact on Papago life. Unfortunately few studies of the effects of welfare dependency on the Papago have been made. It is difficult to conceive of Papagos as cynical exploiters of this institution; for one reason, they lack sufficient knowledge of the welfare system to misuse it. The complexity of categories, eligibility requirements, and bureaucratic procedures in the Parkinsonian tradition is revealed to us below:

Welfare programs in the Papago reservation are from two sources, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the State of Arizona. The state program consists of the four standard "categorical" assistance programs provided for in the Social Security Act of 1935, as amended... These are Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Aid
to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. Although Arizona has emergency relief and general assistance programs, these "residual" welfare programs are not available to Indians on the theory that Indians have another available resource mainly the general assistance program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The state program can be criticized for high caseloads, for its case workers, a reluctance to take applications in the field, a sluggish, and at times incompetent administrative process, and a failure to make all efforts to communicate with the Indian people in their own language. Arizona has a rather low level of assistance, with a $220 per month maximum grant, and in addition tends to penalize Indians by the use of its Uniform Assistance Plan. Under the plan, Indians often fall into category A-4, that is, they live in one room dwellings. Consequently they receive $7 less per month than someone who happens to live in a two room dwelling. The Arizona Assistance Plan is used not so much to determine what a family really needs to live on but rather to lend an aura of rationality to the grant making process by varying the sums of money within grossly inadequate maximums set by the legislature.

The assistance program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is authorized by the Snyder Act (1921). Regulations providing for general assistance appear in 66 Indian Affairs Manual (1965). These regulations prohibit assistance to Indians who do not live on a reservation.

The Bureau's general assistance program was primarily intended to make up for the inadequacy or absence on Indian reservations of state assistance programs, both categorical and residual. Although the Bureau's regulations encourage their social workers to attack discrimination against Indians by state welfare agencies, the Bureau has in many instances, if not most, avoided any embarrassing federal-state controversies, at least in recent years (Wolf 1969: 1-2).

One important variety of the Bureau's general assistance payments is the Tribal Work Experience Program in which an individual who is qualified for welfare accepts a job assignment in either his village or an agency and has his welfare grant augmented by $30 per month for work-related expenses. The payments are issued to him weekly on a pro rata basis for time worked.
Various scholars have noticed the increasing role of welfare in Papago subsistence (Kelly 1963: 120; Metzler 1960: 25, 31). The accompanying table (h) renders into numbers the recent increases in the number of Papago welfare cases. The massive increases have been of rather recent origin and are based largely on the popularity of the Tribal Work Experience Program, increased knowledge by Papagos of their welfare rights, and the existence of service and development programs assisting individual Papagos in their relations with welfare officials both state and federal. The increases attributable to the Tribal Work Experience Program are included in the general assistance category. These became most dramatic in the last quarter of 1967. The AFDC category has also shown tremendous increases. Metzler reports that in 1950 there were only 13 Indian families in Pima County receiving AFDC payments (1960: 27). The most significant fact indicated by the table is quite clearly that the total number of Papago welfare cases has more than doubled in the last ten years. The increases in the future will be the result of additional Papagos discovering welfare opportunities rather than a deterioration of economic conditions.

The Papago cattle industry despite deteriorating range conditions continues to be an important source of individual income. Because there are an increasing number of jobs in government, mining, and industry available to reservation residents, however, we are forced to conclude that the Papago economy is not independent and viable; rather, it is dependent on subsidy. This position is supported when we look at more comprehensive data:
Table 1. Welfare Cases on the Papago Reservation for 1959 and 1969.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Welfare</th>
<th>1959</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Age Assistance</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid to Dependent Children</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>+80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid to the Blind</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Assistance</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>+444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>+614</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly, the skills and capacities of the on-reservation population tend to be economically marginal vis-à-vis the national economy, and the "Indian Problem" is indeed formidable when only those Papagos living on the reservations are considered. This segment of the population can also be described as residual, in the sense that its members participate less, or not at all, in off-reservation economic life.

This is evidenced by the facts that they are relatively older, make greater use of welfare payments, have less education, participate less in the labor market and have generally lower incomes than the off-reservation Papagos. This suggests that the reservations have become more a center for the administration of welfare and health services than an economically productive base for the total Papago population (Padfield and van Willigen 1969: 214).

The Effect of Situational Factors

There are factors which both limit and give potential to the strategy of community development in the Papago context. We will briefly indicate some of these factors here.

Limitations for the Potential of the Community Development Strategy in Papago Indian Development

The environment is severe; the extreme temperatures, the limited and erratic supply of water, and the ruggedness of terrain have forced this area and its inhabitants to the margins of economic viability. The Papagos have survived by persistent application of their organizational potential and technology, by maintaining a low-density and mobile population, by extensive exploitation of economic opportunities outside their territories, and in the last half century by increasing subsidization by non-Papago political organizations. Economic marginality has inhibited the necessary capitalization for development of both group and individual. It has also encouraged migration for purposes of trade with other nearby
populations (Fontana 1964: 22), for employment outside the Papago territories (Spicer 1962; Padfield and van Willigen 1969; Dobyns 1950; Waddell 1966), and to better exploit different areas within the Papago territory (Fontana 1964: 26; Hackenberg 1964: 23, 36; Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1969: 22). Clearly the evidence of migration and externally derived subsidy indicates that the Papago lands viewed in the context of existing technology and economic organization are not capable of sustaining the existing Papago population. Based on this, one might argue that the Papago community is an anachronism and that to base a development strategy upon its potential is unwise and inefficient.

Another major limitation to the strategy of community development is the increasing dependence of Papago communities. Limiting our reference frame to the Papago village, we can see that such political entities as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Public Health Service, the Papago council with its associated departments and programs, and the Papago district organizations have usurped certain traditional village activities or have initiated new activities which Papago communities have subsequently perceived as requisites of community life. We have already alluded to the increasing economic dependence of Papagos, the evidence for which is overwhelming. One might say that the idea of developing independence and self-sustenance in communities which have a dependency generating history is an unjustifiable luxury even in these quixotic times. This view is further supported when we see the proliferation of organizations and activities which only exist in reference to Papago communities, communities which they are calculated to assist, improve, educate, and paradoxically, emancipate. The future of independence in
Papago communities is further jeopardized by the nature of many existing and proposed economic developments, exploitation of which creates a dependence on extra-community organizations and often a critical decrease in the number of appropriately motivated individuals to sponsor, plan, and implement community activities.

There are, however, mitigating factors which indicate that Papago communities do have the potential to develop internally. It is at these factors that community development strategy is justifiably directed.

Contributions to the Potential of the Community Development Strategy in Papago Communities

In spite of increasing political and economic dependency, Papago communities retain sufficient organizational coherence and procedural predictability to make a development strategy, which assumes community involvement and decision-making as requisite, workable. Although the highly stable organization and rather formal and ritualized procedures of the traditional Papago village organization that Underhill has reconstructed for us are largely absent, there exist in their place sufficient functioning Papago community organizations as to make the strategy appropriate. These same organizations, as will be demonstrated in the body of this paper, when provided with appropriate information and resources, are able successfully to achieve independently-defined goals which community members view as desired improvement. Communities with stronger organization than others have a greater ability to develop as is evidenced by their capacity to implement more rapidly plans and mobilize the resources at their disposal. It should be pointed out, however, that the
organizational complexity and strength of Papago communities is quite variable.

Further, the relatively high potential of the community development approach in Papago development is indicated by the literature on Papago development activities. Studies have shown that development strategies which are not based on intensive and meaningful participation by Papagos tend to be ineffective. This observation was made by Dobyns (1949). After considering Dobyns' viewpoint plus additional case material illustrative of success and failure, Rolf W. Bauer, executive director of Papago Community Action Program, developed a systematic set of hypotheses relevant to development strategy in the Papago context. According to Bauer the crucial factor in Papago development is whether or not a Papago community considers a particular development as its own. Bauer's position is most clearly stated in a manuscript co-authored with Henry Keneally, Jr. entitled Community Participation as an Indicator of Developmental Change (1969). The system of hypotheses follow.

In order for them to come to call a program their own, the members (of a community) must participate in some combination of the following aspects of the program's development: (1) they have to accept the initiator (or change agent) of the development process as a person who can be trusted, who has demonstrated concern for the well being of the community, and has respect for its members and their potential for developmental change. He must possess the knowledge, skills and potential resources sufficient to help them solve their problems. Once the change agent has been accepted by the community, the following kinds of participation can be initiated. (2) They have to help identify the problems that they wish to resolve. (3) They must participate in planning a program solution to the problems they helped identify. (4) They must believe that there will be benefits for themselves derived from the program's success. (5) They must be allowed the time and opportunity needed to adapt the planning, organization, project and evaluation to their own socio-cultural life. (6) They must recognize as their own the organization (and its functions)
responsible for carrying out the program, and then participate through it. (7) They have to (a) accept the major responsibility for organizing and carrying out the program solution, and (b) do the work themselves or select those who do, (8) They must (a) come to decide whether or not new skills and technical knowledge are necessary to carry out the plans; and (b) they have to identify and obtain the resources that can assist them. (9) They have to recognize the results of their efforts, success or failure, as their own (Bauer and Keneally, Jr. 1939: 5).

One argues easily, then, from the positions of Bauer and Keneally and Dobyns that in order for reservation development activities to be a success it is necessary that Papagos involved identify the project as their own. This identification is only possible through intense participation in planning by Papagos, an attribute which is a fundamental policy of the Community Development Program.
GOALS OF THE PAPAGO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 encouraged broadly based participation in the development process. Involvement, or what the framers of the Act circuitously refer to as "maximum feasible participation" of a community in its own development, is consistent with the traditional Papago political process which is based on local autonomy and group consensus. The Papagos involved in the planning of the original program proposal felt that the opportunities made possible by the Act were well suited to successful development within Papago communities. The developmental concepts expressed in the Act were also largely consistent with much of the theory of community development. The consistency is quite marked in the areas of community participation and the mobilization of local resources against poverty. The relevant sections of title II of the Act, which allow for legislation of entities such as the Papago Community Development Program, are quoted below:

The specific purposes of Title II-Urban and Rural Community Action Programs are to promote, as methods of achieving a better focusing of resources on the goal of individual and family self-sufficiency-

(1) the strengthening of community capabilities for planning and coordinating Federal, State and other assistance related to the elimination of poverty, so that this assistance, through the efforts of local officials, organizations, and interested and affected citizens, can be made more responsive to local needs and conditions;
(2) the better organization of a range of services related to the needs of the poor, so that these services may be made more effective and efficient in helping families and individuals to overcome particular problems in a way that takes account of, and supports their progress in overcoming, related problems;

(3) the greater use, subject to adequate evaluation, of new types of services and innovative approaches in attacking causes of poverty, so as to develop increasingly effective methods of employing available resources;

(4) the development and implementation of all programs and projects designed to serve the poor or low-income areas with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served, so as to best stimulate and take full advantage of capabilities for self-advancement and assure that those programs and projects are otherwise meaningful to and widely utilized by their intended beneficiaries; and

(5) the broadening of the resource base of programs directed to the elimination of poverty, so as to secure, in addition to the services and assistance of public officials, private, religious, charitable, and neighborhood organizations, and individual citizens, a more active role for business, labor and professional groups able to provide employment opportunities or otherwise influence the quantity and quality of services of concern to the poor (United States Government 1968: 27-8).

The original planners of the Papago program attempted to show in the proposal that "maximum feasible participation," an avowed goal of the enabling legislation, could only be achieved with a program which served the people in the Papago communities directly. This was to be a major thrust of the community development program. Our discussion of the goals of the program will be resumed shortly after a brief review of the creation of the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity of which the community development program came to be a component part.

Creation of the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity

During August of 1964, Eugene J. Johnson, Chairman of the Papago Council was informed by Robert A. Roessel, a member of the President's
Task Force on American Indian Poverty, that the Papago Tribe was eligible to participate in the national Office of Economic Opportunity programs. In addition, Roessel informed Josiah Moore, the Papago Tribal Education Consultant, about the opportunities made possible by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Mr. Moore brought this to the attention of the Papago Tribal Education Committee. The committee came to be very active in the preliminary developments of the Office of Economic Opportunity programs on the Papago reservation. It became the ad hoc Community Action Program Committee, taking it upon itself to support and advocate Papago adoption of the program as part of the Papago tribal government. To assist in writing the original proposals, they invited Thomas A. Segundo, a college educated Papago who had been working in Chicago as the Director of the Chicago American Indian Center. The committee had been informed that it was required to submit the initial proposals by the 15th of September; this put it under a great deal of pressure.

The committee members held numerous planning meetings where they developed recommendations for programs. These included pre-school centers, village-centered study halls, student counseling services, vocational training, adult education, traveling libraries, special services for off-reservation students, and employment counseling for Papagos who live where there are jobs available. In addition they expressed interest in carrying out a survey research program on the reservation in order to accurately determine needs, especially in the area of education. There was much concern over making the program relevant to all Papagos no matter where they lived.
There was no formal recognition of the status of the education committee until the 5th of September, 1964, when they requested a special meeting of the Papago Council. During the meeting, the committee with the assistance of Roessel made a presentation to the Council on the provisions and opportunities made possible by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The Council, responding favorably, recognized the opportunity and delegated the responsibility of proposal submission to the education committee, which was re-designated as the Papago Community Action Committee. The leader of the committee felt very strongly about the participation of the Papago village residents in planning and proceeded to meet with as many of the village and district organizations as possible in an attempt to ascertain their needs and desires. The committee, in order to make an effective presentation to the communities, made a concerted effort to learn the contents of the Economic Opportunity Act. The entire twelve-man committee participated in the presentation given the communities. It included short talks on the enabling legislation, preschool education, the Community Action Program, teacher aides, Papago traditions, leadership training, adult education, and vocational training. After the presentation of this background information the chairman of the committee, Cipriano Manuel, led an open discussion with those in attendance.

At these meetings the people made a wide range of suggestions including range development projects and new school construction. There was much concern for increased educational opportunities. This is expressed in the initial proposal sent to the Office of Economic Opportunity:
The Community Action Committee has held long and numerous meetings with the people in the districts involving many hours of discussion and deliberations at which the people have made their suggestions and proposals for action programs in their communities...In both reservation and non-reservation communities the Papagos have almost invariably responded in terms of education as a need for improvement of living conditions among the Papago families. They indicate strong support for programs designed to improve the education of their children and most important, it is the one activity around which other necessary programs for the development of human resources on the Papago reservations can be built (Papago Community Action Program Committee 1964: 1-2).

Based on their conferences with villages and the tribal council, the committee submitted a proposal to the council on September 29, 1964. By November, funds for a remedial reading program and an educational survey were approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The survey was initiated in January of 1965. During 1965 six additional proposals were submitted; these were for program administration, a Papago cultural survey, counseling services for school-age children, pre-schools, parent and child centers and leadership training. Of these proposals administration, pre-school, counseling, and parent and child centers were funded. The committee also hired Thomas A. Segundo as Papago Community Action Program Director, with Josiah Moore as his assistant. By December of 1965 the community action program staff had started work on a proposed community development program.

A careful historical study of the effects of the Economic Opportunity Act on Papago political organization would indicate substantial developments aside from the desired programmatic effects. The Economic Opportunity Act financed a substantial elaboration of bureaucratic organization under virtually exclusive Papago political control. The effects of this can be seen in two broad areas. First, the staff, supported by
the Office of Economic Opportunity financing, substantially increased the visibility of the tribal governmental organization both within the communities and at the inter-agency level. The number of tribal employees increased at least five-fold between the time of the first Papago tribal programs and the year 1967. The second major effect of Papago bureaucratic elaboration was the increase in power of Papago political organization based on patronage. Because of the employment policies promulgated this source of political power was distributed widely on various levels of political organization.

Significantly, all these developments had been carried out in calculated isolation from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the organization which historically has been the exclusive link between the federal government and the Papagos. During June of 1964 the agency superintendent had learned about the "war on poverty" and had started to develop a strategy to bring the Office of Economic Opportunity to the reservation through the Bureau. At the same time, as we have noted, the tribal education committee had developed an interest in the program. During September of 1964 there had already been a confrontation between the education committee and the representatives of the Bureau. The Papagos demanded that the Bureau representatives turn over to them all the official Office of Economic Opportunity documents, which they did; further, the Bureau desisted from subsequent action in this area. These actions served as an emphatic statement of independence from Bureau political dominance. The agency staff continues to display wariness of the Office of Economic Opportunity personnel to this day.
Although the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity displayed numerous organizational difficulties through its early history, by 1967 a large share of these problems had been resolved. The problems included poor bookkeeping, difficulties in hiring trained staff (many jobs went unfilled), misuse of property, and erratic support of employees (missed pay checks, etc.). Through time there have been improvements in Papago government administrative ability.

The Papago Community Development Program: Its Goals

As noted above, the community action program staff had started work on a proposal for a community development program in late 1965. The need for this activity had been indicated in the survey carried out as the first Office of Economic Opportunity funded proposal. The survey stated that:

It has been pointed out in the discussion of the findings that the participation of villagers in village affairs is limited to a few, apparently. If the programs proposed are to be genuine community action programs it will be necessary to develop community participation and responsibility.

Therefore it is recommended that there be a proposal providing for developing this kind of participation and that this should include arranging for some person qualified to give the kind of guidance that will promote local leadership, encourage group participation, increase the feeling of individual responsibility in community affairs and give help in knowing how to thus participate (Stout and Moore 1965: 103).

A proposal was written in response to this recommendation. The strong orientation toward community development reflect in the proposal was supplied by Thomas A. Segundo, a former Chairman of the Papago Council (1947-53), former Director of the American Indian Center in Chicago, co-author of the 1949 Papago Development Plan (Nichols, Ladd,
and Segundo 1949), and a former student with Sol Tax at the University of Chicago. The proposal also reflects the assistance provided by Robert A. Roessel, Director of the Indian Community Action Center, Arizona State University, who is experienced in community development in Navajo communities.

The Papago Community Development Program came into existence during July of 1967. The program was funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity in response to the proposal submitted to the national office in July of 1966. We will attempt to illustrate the scope and content of the program as it was originally planned by examining the original proposal for the program. The planners were very much aware of the overall consistency between the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act and the community development approach which stresses participation. Our review of the program will deal with the context of development, development goals, principles of development, and program organization.

Context of Development

The program was aimed at the needs of the Papago villages. The planners were concerned with the changing relationship that Papago villages have with their surroundings. The increasing dependence of these communities on institutions outside the community was an area of major concern. We will see that one of the important goals of the program was to increase the independence of these communities while developing their ability to force the institutions outside the community to better serve their needs. In so doing the program was to reverse the trend of Papago communities toward dependence.
In former years the community needs were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. Today these villages must look elsewhere for essential community services; as for example shopping, education, health services, religion, government and the like. Wage work during certain periods of the year supplements the income from livestock and subsistence farming and has become very essential to the great majority of the Papagos living in these communities. The Papagos engage in seasonal wage work for a part of the year in cotton picking and other agricultural pursuits to supplement their meager reservation incomes. These are the participants and will be the chief beneficiaries of a community development program (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 2).

Development Goals

The proposal indicates some of the potential areas of development, although there was a disavowal of pre-planning for communities. The fundamental concern was with "basic living conditions" including a desire for improved basic technology rather than large-scale development. Particular interest was shown in improving economic productivity.

Since the Papago reservation is an economically underdeveloped area it is the feeling that major emphasis should be placed upon those activities which aim at promoting the improvement of the basic living conditions existing in the Papago communities in the direction which would permit the use of modern tools, techniques and methods of living (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 1).

The planners also desired "...that the Papago communities be stimulated or helped to adapt new techniques that will lead to greater economic productivity and provide them with better food, housing, health, education" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 2). More specifically, there were aspects of Papago community life which they regarded as "crucial gaps." These were to be the objects of concentration. Some of these were adult education; pre-school education; community recreation for all age groups; improved community sanitation programs; citizenship
and leadership training; agricultural programs; improved marketing techniques for livestock; stimulation of arts and crafts production; training in carpentry, plastering, masonry, plumbing, and electrical work; improved house construction; and programs to preserve Papago culture.

**Principles of Development**

The proposal, as has been noted, shows a strong consistency with the ideas found in community development literature. A discussion of some of the basic abstract assumptions of the original proposal follows.

**Felt-Need Concept**

The program was to operate in terms of the felt-need concept, i.e., needs as expressed by the community. As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, the felt-need concept is fundamental to the community development approach. It was considered necessary to involve the people in the process of realizing their needs and to develop a community based strategy for achieving goals predicated on those needs. This was to be done with a minimum of reliance on resources from outside the community. Therefore, one of the program's responsibilities was to "...encourage discussion in the villages and to focus on the real concerns of the people, define and rank the needs, develop the confidence and the will to work at these needs or objectives, and seek solutions to these needs before aid is solicited and provided to them" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 2).
Encouragement of Strong Community Organization

The program was to work within the context of existing Papago social organization. The program planners were committed to strengthening existing community organization, not to displacing it. They were interested in "...developing individual feelings of worth and dignity [as well as] community pride [while they were attempting to] significantly raise living standards within existing social organization" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 6). There was a realization that existing organization might not be adequate for the new developments. Therefore they noted that development could be in terms of "...community organization which may, or may not, already exist, or by helping to create that organization where it does not exist" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 2). It was realized that new needs would develop within the community the attainment of which would exceed the community's capacity. "There is a realization that whole series of problems may develop for which new mechanisms to provide for the economic and psychological needs now taken care of by family organization may have to be developed" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 2). There were no specific recommendations for the creation of new community organization.

Encouragement of Community Independence

One of the major concerns of the program was the stimulation of community independence. The concept of cooperative self-help was seen as basic to this concern. This view is reminiscent of the community development process as discussed by Biddle and Biddle (1965).
Communities engaged in development were to improve their competence in dealing with their own problems. "The possibilities envisioned are limitless but the self-help, working together, and awakening to the potential of a community are necessary attributes of the program. A learn by doing approach is a prerequisite to its success" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 6). The planners were very much concerned that Papago communities learn how to make use of their own resources as well as resources from outside the community.

It will be necessary to bring about an awareness of what the Papagos can do for themselves, the areas in which they will need outside help, and to gain a knowledge of available resources because an attempt to deal with problems for which no resources are available may cause frustration and a sense of failure and create or recreate a state of apathy in respect to all other problems (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 2).

One of the products of increased community independence was to be increased problem-solving ability. This was to come from increased cooperation, new organizations, new technology, and increased knowledge of available resources. As it is stated in the proposal, "It is anticipated that the community development program . . . will make it possible to extend the range and scope of the problems with which communities can deal successfully" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 3).

Linkage between Government and Papago Communities

The community development program was to serve as the connecting link between Papago communities and the other component parts of the Papago Community Action Program. Through these linkages the chances for success of the other components, pre-school--parent and child
centers, administration, and the soon to be funded legal services program were to increase. The workers were to coordinate all programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity at the local level. The workers were also to increase the communication between all government programs and Papago communities.

Culture Conflict

There was a very strong commitment not to impose the program on the people. The communities were to choose voluntarily to participate. This is related to a desire not to disrupt the Papago way of life. Discussing technological innovation, the proposal notes "... that many aspects of life in a Papago Community relate to customs, beliefs, ceremonies and rituals which may be affected in a fundamental way by the introduction of these new ideas and subsequent technical changes" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 1).

Conceptions of Workers' Roles

A careful reading of the original proposal indicates the tremendous importance of the workers, since much of the responsibility for program success or failure was in their hands. The provisions for support staff were limited to supervisory personnel; there was no provision for a technical support staff in the proposed areas of development.

The workers were to be selected by their own communities. It is implied that the communities were to establish their own criteria for the appointments.

The Community Development Workers shall be Papagos who will be selected by their own communities and approved on the basis of their general attitude, knowledge of their people
and dialect of the area, and must be able to communicate adequately in Papago and English possessing a willingness and ability to get along with people (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1956: 5).

Something of the relationship between the workers and their communities is indicated in the following:

They will work closely with the people with the objective of helping them articulate their values through the discussion of concrete needs. This calls for both intimate and long conversations with individuals who should be dealt with by the community worker as his teacher, and also group meetings in which the individual viewpoints will be adjusted one to another with the guidance of the Community Workers. They should be continually trying to develop their own skills in making necessary adjustments to counteract any tendencies toward conflict within the communities using both their knowledge of developing traditional values and perhaps new forms of formal organization (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 5).

One of the workers' responsibilities to the community was to "... stimulate natural leadership in the wise use of all local resources, natural and human, in projects which truly represent group goals in any specific community" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 5).

Proposed Program Organization

The original proposal requested funds to support thirty-seven community development workers. This would be sufficient to provide one worker for virtually every village on the reservation. These would include all the villages and major villages as Kelly defined them. Although it seems plausible that the program planners used Kelly's work as a guide, there is no clear evidence of this.

Village: A village represents community life. It is a settlement of five or more separate family co-residence units whose members frequently meet. A village has a church, a feast house or a school, and is visited regularly
by outside service personnel. Members of villages live in the location for at least six months of the year. At times, therefore, a village may be vacant.

Major Village: A major village, by definition, may never be vacant. At least twenty separate family co-residence groups live at such a settlement longer than six months of the year. In addition, a major village is visited by a variety of service personnel including priests, peddlers, agency workers and Public Health employees (Kelly 1963: 38).

Field contact with these workers was the responsibility of seven community development supervisors located at San Xavier, Topawa, Sells, Santa Rosa, Pisinimo, Vaya Chin, and Chuichu. This arrangement required that the reservation be divided into an appropriate number of administrative areas based on combinations of districts. The supervisors, according to the proposal, were to be concerned with structural and cultural aspects rather than technical assistance and technical development. The proposal makes no reference to these aspects. It notes that supervisors

must be able to identify the particular traits of the various groups in the communities who will be affected by the proposed programs, to advise about the resistance to, or support for, those changes likely to be found in the local culture, and to recommend changes in the proposed program. They should be able to advise as to how the program may be adapted to the culture or, vice versa, how certain cultural patterns must be changed if the program is to be implemented. They must be skilled in identifying and analyzing the systems that stem from these values (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 5).

**Summary**

The proposal emphasizes structural and cultural aspects of development through the use of community level workers. There is a secondary and highly generalized concern with technological development. This follows a pattern often found in the literature (Erasmus 1968: 65).
The development activities were to focus on individual Papago communities rather than on the Papago tribe as a whole. Further, the specific goals of the development activities were to be coterminous with the felt needs of Papago villages. The development process was to foster stronger community organization, community independence, improved communication between Papago villages and various service and development programs, as well as community improvements per se. This all was to be carried out with a studied sensitivity for Papago social, cultural, and political institutions so as to minimize misunderstanding and conflict.

Pertinent ideas exist which were either not mentioned or emphasized in the original proposal. There was, for example, no strong commitment to specific economic development goals such as increased income and more jobs. There was no recognition of the role of the community development worker in providing direct personal services to community members. Some of these services are welfare referral, voter registration, social security enrollment and participation, transportation, assistance in dealing with health services, and a wide range of other personal services. In addition, the proposal did not advocate any specific technical or structural innovations which could have served as initial targets for the new workers. These could have included such things as specific programs and techniques related to housing development, or structural innovations such as village planning committees, 4-H clubs, stockmen's associations, and consumer cooperatives. Also the original planning did not provide for structural or procedural changes in existing service and development programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity,
Papago Tribe, Public Health Service, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to make them more compatible with goals of community development.
CHAPTER 5

THE TRAINING OF PAPAGO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

In April of 1967 the Office of Economic Opportunity approved funding of the Papago Community Development Program. The Papago council accepted the grant with its "modifications, conditions, and requirements" in May. The grant provided funds for eleven community development workers, one supervisor, a secretary, and the director (Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program 1967: 1). In the process of budgetary readjustment, the national office eliminated twenty-six community development workers, six supervisors and the assistant director from the program. Reductions were also made in funds for travel, office rental, consumable supplies, and other overhead items. The number of community development worker positions was increased to twelve by re-budgeting by the time the initial training sessions started.

From its beginning the community development program has placed a strong emphasis on training. The training needs of the workers have been met in various ways. These include formal training sessions, field trips, individual counseling, staff meetings, and by supplying a wide range of written materials. The goals, content, and techniques of training have changed through time in response to changes in staff, available resources, and program needs.

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Formal Training Sessions

The initial training sessions were held at the public school in Sells, Arizona from July 17th to August 4th, 1967. The training staff included Thomas A. Segundo, director, Papago Community Action Program; Francis McKinley, field coordinator for training, Arizona State University; Hiroto Zakogi, community development specialist, University of Wisconsin; John R. Lewis, supervisor, Papago Community Development Program; Philip Salcido, translator and Albert Alvarez, translator. The training sessions had three major thrusts. The first was training in group dynamics with the goal of increasing community participation in planning and decision making. The second was training in the principles and process of community development with particular reference to the goals of the new program. The last major thrust was orientation to the resource programs available on the reservation with particular reference to Office of Economic Opportunity funded programs.

The phase of the training session which dealt with group dynamics focused on how to increase community problem solving ability, assisting communities in becoming more democratic, and understanding the nature of the decision making process. The training staff used lectures, written materials, and employed the technique of role playing.

Initial exposure to consideration of group problem solving and decision making was carried out in terms of eight basic principles which when applied were to increase community effectiveness in these areas.

1. Atmosphere - this involves the mechanics of setting up a physical atmosphere conducive to problem orientation.
2. Threat Reduction - pleasant inter-personal relationships reduce threat and permits shift of orientation from inter-personal problems to group goals.
3. **Goal formulation** - explicit goal formulation increases the group we-feeling and increases involvement in the decision-making process.

4. **Distributive leadership** - distributive leadership enhances problem involvement and permits maximum distribution of member growth.

5. **Flexibility** - groups should formulate agenda which should be followed until new goals are formulated on the basis of new needs.

6. **Consensus** - the decision-making process should continue until the group formulates a solution upon which it can form a consensus.

7. **Process awareness** - awareness of group process increases the likelihood of goal orientation and allows for more rapid modification of goals or sub-goals.

8. **Continual evaluation** - continual evaluation of goals and activities permits catharsis and intelligent modification of the problem solving process at any state of decision-making.

(Papago Community Development Training Staff 1967a: 1-2).

One area extensively explored in the group dynamics section of the training was that of the roles contained in various small groups such as committees and councils which are active in Papago communities. Role as conceived by the training staff dealt with qualities of participation in social units rather than structural components of participation. Some of the group "roles" discussed in the training session included those of harmonizer, encourager, clarifier, initiator, energizer, dominator, aggressor, deserter, tension reducer, negativist and opinion giver. These are not roles in the sense of being formal components of a social unit, but rather qualities of participation in a social unit.

To illustrate these and other "roles" the training staff designed role-playing situations where individual trainees could act out some of these role qualities.

Another topic in the general area of group dynamics treated by the training staff was the decision making process. As in the training in group roles the concepts related to this area of training were dealt
with in a quasi-academic style. The trainee's introduction to the study of decision making included a typology of decisions, such as "rendering an opinion," "making a specific recommendation," "offering a solution for a concrete problem," "defining courses of action," "handing down a verdict," and "stating a general policy." The training stressed the process of how decisions can be made. Some aspects of this that were considered were the amount of information available to the people who would make the decision, the number who would be affected by the result of the decision, the extent of consensus, and the effect of a particular decision making technique on the execution of a decision. Particular types of decisions were examined by the trainees. These included self-authorized decisions, minority support decisions, majority support decisions, preliminary rejection, near-consensus decisions, and decisions based on consensus in thought and feeling. The conclusion it was hoped the trainees would reach was that decisions having broad support and understanding within the group were a desirable goal. The ideal decision was one which is based on what the staff referred to as "thought and feeling consensus." This type of decision was thought to exist when:

All members have contributed to the decision, or feel that their contributions have been given a fair hearing and are more satisfied with it than any of the other alternatives which have been considered. Each individual has had an opportunity to voice his opinions, ideas and reservations and is satisfied with the treatment these have received. Under this procedure, the probability is greater that a decision will emerge which has given proper weight to the significant conditions affecting the decision and as such gains greater support from all members of the group (Papago Community Development Training Staff 1967a: 2).

All the discussions of group dynamics were carried out in both English and Papago to make the training more meaningful to the participants.
These ideas were further reinforced by the setting up of role-playing situations. The role-playing situations were directly related to the cultural modes of the Papagos. Role-playing was done in both Papago and English to insure full participation. The usual situation was to isolate one trainee and then plan a common C.D. worker problem situation for the role play. A discussion session would follow the role-playing. Participants would try to analyze the presentation and draw out the purpose, processes, reaction and personal insights (Lewis 1967: 10).

The second training area in the original training sessions was that of the community development process. The training was to focus on three topical areas. The first was to develop in the trainee skills in identifying the felt needs of a community. The second was to improve the skills of the new workers in making an assessment of local resources and improving their ability to use outside resources. The last topic was the improvement of communication skills. The techniques used in this section of the training included lectures, demonstrations, field trips, role-playing and the examination of case histories.

The new workers were taught relevant principles of community development and given case studies in order to strengthen their understanding of the process. There was a translation into Papago of the concepts which were discussed. It appeared in the document, A Guideline to the Basic Principles of Community Development (Alvarez and Salcido 1967). This five-page statement includes many basic concepts of community development. It amounted to a succinct recapitulation of the training staff's view of community development. Portions of the guidelines are included here. The training staff defined community development as a process:
... of community action in which the people:

- organize themselves for planning and action.
- make clear their common needs and problems.
- make group plans to meet their needs and solve their problems.
- carry out these plans depending most upon local community resources.
- use other resources from outside their own community only when needed (Alvarez and Salcido 1967: 1).

This definition is clearly derived from that used by the International Cooperation Administration (1956). The guidelines note "This process is important because: when people in a community have a chance to decide how they can improve their own living conditions, sanitation, and education they can have a better community" (Alvarez and Salcido 1967: 1). The guidelines indicate that the purposes of community development are "... to help people find ways to start self-help programs to get ideas and find ways to help the people develop and carry out their plans to improve their own communities" (Alvarez and Salcido 1967: 2). It was also pointed out that "Community development is organization for action" and that for a community worker to organize the people he had to know "... methods for bringing people together, ways in which people work in groups, ways of getting people to take part in groups" (Alvarez and Salcido 1967: 2). The basic theme of cooperation is stressed again by pointing out that people can develop their communities by "... getting together and talking together about what they can do about problems in their community, making use of things people in the community can do, finding what experience and skills can be developed as people work together" (Alvarez and Salcido 1967: 2). The guidelines state and re-state many of the basic themes commonly
understood to be parts of the community development approach. Most of
the basic premises of community development are stated in various frames
of reference as in a definition, a program, a process or a profession.
The orientation, for example, is stated in terms of the responsibilities
of the community development worker:

The worker talks with the people so that they come to know
who he is and what he is doing.

He has them talk about their needs and wants and hopes for
themselves and the community.

He helps them to plan together and to choose a problem that
they can do something about in the community.

He helps the people find the resources needed to solve the
problem.

He helps the people to act, to do something about their
problem.

By doing these things the people in the community can come
to understand what they can do if they cooperate and work
together to make their community better (Alvarez and Salcido

The third major area of the initial training session was the
orientation of the workers to other service and development programs
which could be used as resources. The staff desired "... to acquaint
the trainee with the great variety of programs that are available to in-
dividuals, groups and communities" (Papago Community Development Training Staff 1967a). The basic concept dealt with in this area of
training was that of resources, which the training staff defined as "... anything that can be used in meeting of needs or solving of problems"
(Papago Community Development Training Staff 1967b). The discussion of
resources stressed that the search for resources should start in the
worker's own community, that valuable resources are often hidden, and
that the worker should constantly try to find new resources. These views are stated in the training materials.

A search of the community might uncover resources that the community didn't know existed before. The greatest resources in the community are people because they have many skills, ideas, and experiences that can help in solving community problems. Sometimes nobody bothers to find out what people have to offer and this valuable resource remains tucked away in some corner of the community just going to waste. This is one of the reasons why CD workers try to get as many people as possible involved in community development.

The statement goes on to note that

The CD worker can help the community to explore all the resources that are available both inside and outside the community. There are so many new programs and agencies these days that have been formed to help local communities that it is impossible to know all of them and difficult to know which ones to use. The important thing is for the CD worker to help the community to be aware of the need to constantly look for resources - to be resource conscious (Papago Community Development Training Staff 1967b: 12).

After the initial discussions of the resource concept, representatives of the various resource providing institutions made presentations. Presentations were made on various Office of Economic Opportunity programs by Gene Sequaquaptewa of the Indian Community Action Project, Arizona State University; by Herb Bechtolt of the Indian Division of the national Office of Economic Opportunity Program; by Thomas A. Segundo of the Papago Community Action Program; and by Robert Mackett, Chairman of the Papago Council. Presentations were also made, on their programs by representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Public Health Service, and the Cooperative Extension Service and Employment Service of the State of Arizona.

The initial training session also offered an extensive week-long field trip which included visits to various Office of Economic Opportunity
programs on the San Carlos Apache reservation, the Gila River reservation and the Navajo reservation. During this trip time was spent discussing the nature of programs on other reservations and their resemblance to the Papago Community Development Program.

During the first week in September of 1967 the newly trained community development workers assumed their places in their respective communities where they proceeded with their work.

The period following the initial training session was a difficult one for the workers. Much of their time was devoted to interpreting their own understanding of community development in the Papago context. To assist the workers the program issued a newsletter approximately one month after the workers were in the field. It reported that most of the workers were occupied in explaining their role to the community and that the initial projects included working with a youth club and feast committees, community surveys, installing community water systems and with planning a community laundry (Papago Community Development Program Staff 1967).

The first of the follow-up training sessions was held at The University of Arizona, October 18th through the 20th, 1967. The training staff consisted of Rolf Bauer and John Lewis, supervisors, Papago Community Development Program; Josiah Moore, assistant director, Papago Community Action Program; Edward H. Spicer, professor of anthropology, University of Arizona; and Francis McKinley, field coordinator for training, Arizona State University. These sessions focused on abstract principles of community development as well as providing information on new resources such as Save-the-Children Federation. The session was
attended by community development workers from the Pascua-Yaqui project in addition to the Papago workers. The following is an account of part of the proceedings as reported by two of the Papago workers.

Dr. E. H. Spicer, a professor at the University opened our first day of meeting explaining the principles of community development, he said that community development is new, and it's hard for the people to understand it. . .., it will take time for them to get used to it.

He said that, there are two (2) main problems. Number one (1) is to stimulate, that is to get people to plan and find their own needs to reach for their goal. Community development means people working together in their communities, developing their communities together instead of people coming in from the outside planning for them. Community development is a job of helping to change the habit of planning for other people to find ways of helping.

Number two (2) is to help change B.I.A. habits that they have the tendency to do things their own way on the Papago Reservation. They are there to help or assist any project on the reservation (Sam and Norris 1967: 1).

The authors reported some comments that Spicer made giving examples of Bureau of Indian Affairs' programs on the Papago reservation which were based on cooperation between government and community. His discussion continued in terms of community development principles.

He talked about Community Development principles; first principle is participation which meant that people have to take part in some kind of a community action in order for a community to be a better place to live. Participate in planning, organizing committees, and building.

Second principle is, felt needs, which means, what do the people in the community want most, education, housing, water and etc. Also felt needs is people to find out what they can do by working together for what they need most.

Another principle is, strengthen the community organization, this means that wherever there is any kind of organization there has to be in need of help one way or the other.

Still another principle is, look widely for help, this meant or doesn't really mean that you should look for help way out
of the United States but what it actually means is, to look for help in the community or have as many help as the community can get (Sam and Norris 1967: 1-2).

The two workers also recorded the comments made by Francis McKinley on the concepts of the process and project approaches to community development.

Francis McKinley talked about Process and Project which is not a new subject. This has been one of the main sources during our training for Community Development Workers. Here process and projects are also our main sources in every field we get into.

Process is a community action which people participate in organizing their plans, improving or solving their problems and needs, making their community a better place to live. Projects are started in order that jobs be created for people who are seeking employment, for education, sanitation, housing and etc. He talked on taking a good look to oneself, how people might see us and how to deal with people (Sam and Norris 1967: 2).

Ruth M. Bronson spoke to the group about the application of the community-child program of the Save-the-Children Federation to the communities of the Papago reservation. Her presentation contained information about how communities could benefit from participation in the program, how a community would go about participating in the program, and how the national program was organized.

A representative from the Arizona State Welfare Department spoke to the community development workers about the Manpower Development and Training Act programs in the state.

Dean Krahulec of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Papago Agency Social Services Branch spoke to the group about the Tribal Work Experience Program. In the words of the two community development workers:

Any person under public welfare or general assistance can get on this program to learn a new experience and hopefully a skill?...person working learns work habits, plus a lot...
of other things, such as leadership training, organization, how to apply for a job, sanitation, reading, writing, state or Papago government (Sam and Norris 1967: 3).

The workers also found out how a community could start a work crew of Tribal Work Experience Program enrollees, where to go to enroll in the program, and what the enrollee would receive by being in the program.

In December of 1967 another training session was scheduled at The University of Arizona. Again the goal was to link the principles of community development to the practical problems of meeting community needs. At this session the focus was on housing development. The session was attended by the Papago community development workers, members of the Papago Housing Authority, community workers from the San Carlos Apache Community Action Program, and community development workers from the Pascua-Yaqui project. Nadine H. Rund made a presentation which focused on the varying needs which are met by housing in different cultural settings and the application of the community development approach to housing development. In addition various types of federal housing programs were examined such as mutual self-help housing and the housing improvement program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The trainees were divided into small discussion groups and given the task of planning a housing development project for a hypothetical community. These plans were then submitted to a review board which evaluated them.

There were no further community development training sessions until late in July of 1968. From the 23rd through the 25th of that month a session was held at the Santa Rosa Boarding School on the reservation. Again there was discussion of abstract ideas associated with community development. Again, one of these was the so-called project
versus process concept. Process-centered development is thought to be concerned with involvement of the community in development; goals are defined by the community, the dignity of the individual is considered, reciprocal social relationships are evaluated, and community decision making is encouraged. Project-centered development is centered on specific material improvements, goal definition outside the community, subjection of the community to development, material welfare, and unidirectional persuasion of communities to carry out a project. Presentations of other subjects were made including the structure of bureaucracies, the role of the Office of Economic Opportunity on the Papago reservation, resource availability on the reservation, case studies, and three special presentations on current projects at Pascua, Guadalupe, and El Mirage, Arizona. The week following the session the participants were to be attached to one of these three development programs for the purposes of improving their objectivity in observing the community development process and enlarging their perspective of development possibilities. The training materials state that this would:

provide contact with new resources and techniques utilized in these projects and this knowledge will be a future asset. It is planned that the trainee will be able to distinguish objectively the processes, elements, methods and techniques that make a successful or unsuccessful project, and most important to be able to apply the objective perception techniques to local community (Papago Community Development Program Staff 1968: 7).

There were no formal community development training sessions until May 1st and 2nd 1969. This session was held at the Baboquivari Cabin, southeast of Topawa on the reservation. The purposes of the session were to encourage objectivity when considering community
problems, to reconsider some of the concepts of community development, and to review some case studies in Papago development. The training staff consisted of Edward H. Spicer, Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona; Nadine H. Rund, anthropologist, United States Public Health Service; Michael Schneider, O. F. M., Sells parish priest; Margaret Knight, graduate student in anthropology, University of Arizona; Rolf Bauer, Community Health Educator, United States Public Health Service; and the author, the Director of the Papago Community Development Program. There were presentations on resource development and the housing relocation project at Gila Bend.

The most successful part of the training session was the small group discussions which considered, "What problems are you having with your work now?" The responses revealed some of the difficulties workers were having at the time (Papago Community Development Staff 1969). One of the major problems was that the communities did not understand the goals and nature of community development; the discussants thought that the causes of this were the lack of Papago words which could be used to explain the concept and the substantial differences which exist between Papagos of different generations. Another major problem discussed was the lack of cooperation between people in the community. Some of the reasons were thought to be jealousy and envy, inter-generational conflict, lack of education, lack of respect for the young, fear that the Whites will take over, poor organization and failure by the workers to use the ideas of the community. Other problems were seen in the area of communication between worker and community caused by the lack of an adequate Papago community development vocabulary and poor attendance at
meetings. The workers also noted their continuing problems with trans­portation. The problem of limited participation in development activi­ties was seen to be caused by conflict with staff of other programs, family conflicts extant in the communities and general lack of under­standing. The workers also had problems in getting people organized be­cause of the reluctance to accept responsibility. Their problems were further complicated by administrators who did not understand the workers and their difficulties. In discussing other problems relating to their roles, the workers felt that the communities were becoming too dependent on the worker and that there was no leadership without them.

To review in general terms, the formal training sessions focused on abstract concepts of community development. One of the most important concepts was that development should be based on community felt needs rather than needs defined by the program or the worker. Related to this the workers were trained to encourage community participation in planning and executing development projects. A third important concept was that the independence of communities should be supported and encouraged. In­formation about resources for community development was given secondary stress. However, the workers received virtually no training in the tech­nical skills which they came to need so much.

As the program matured less stress was placed on community de­velopment theory and more on specific information about technology and resource procurement. There tended to be fewer formal training sessions as the program grew. An increasing amount of training was carried out in staff meetings which were less difficult to manage logistically and in­creased training flexibility. It is anticipated as of July 1970 that
the program will continue to use formal training sessions only to a limited extent.

**Community Development Worker Meetings**

Throughout the operation of the program there have been periodic meetings of all the workers and staff. The relative importance of these meetings to provide training has increased through time. The meetings came to be scheduled more regularly and frequently and were more structured in their content. They were more flexible in execution than the earlier more formal training sessions. In the initial stages of the program they were held monthly but were frequently missed. Later they were held twice a month to coincide with payday, thus increasing motivation to attend and simplifying distribution of the checks. Initially the meetings tended to be held in Sells near the central office of the program; later the meetings were held in the home villages of the community development workers.

The agenda of these meetings included a wide range of topics. Frequently someone from outside the program was invited to make a presentation related to training needs. Inclusions in the agenda were made at the request of a community development staff member, community development workers, and individuals representing other programs. The staff coordinated outside presentations by inviting the speaker and scheduling the presentation. The workers invariably exercised their prerogative of questioning the speaker and often the questions were quite aggressive. As part of the meeting the workers were often requested to make reports on their activities. The workers used free time at the meetings to
consult with staff members, guest speakers, and other community development workers on problems that they might be having in their work.

In keeping with traditional Papago etiquette, members of the host community often attended the meetings in order to listen to the speakers, and usually served their guests an elaborate meal. Some examples of agenda are given below.

Sells, Public Health Service conference room, September 25th 1968.

1. Adult education possibilites on the reservation; Donald Peterson, Superintendent of Schools;
2. Housing development opportunities for Papago communities; Richard Romero, Chief, Papago Agency, Housing Branch;

Covered Wells, community building, November 15th, 1968.

1. Election of community development secretary; community development workers;
2. Discussion of community development workers' training needs; community development staff and workers;
3. Discussion of case studies in community development; community development staff and workers;

Anegam, feast house, November 29th 1968.

1. Discussion of Office of Economic Opportunity, Board of Directors meeting concerning pay raises for community development workers;
2. Planning a panel discussion on community development for community health representatives' training session;
3. Report on welfare rights meeting; Geraldine Hunter, San Xavier community development worker;
4. Report on field trip to housing development project on White Mountain Apache reservation; Geraldine Hunter;

5. Tour of Anegam community development projects; Lupe Jose, Anegam community development worker.

    Cowlic, School Building, December 17th 1968.

1. Panel discussion on education; staff members of the Arizona Center for Early Childhood Education;

2. Tour of Cowlic community development projects; Alexander Pancho, Cowlic community development worker;

3. Cooperative Extension Service programs; Bill Johnson and Gene Tashquith, extension agents, University of Arizona;

4. Activity reports; community development workers;

5. Tour of Chuichu community development projects;

6. Tribal equipment loan policies; Alfred Gonzales, director of maintenance, Papago Tribe;

7. Community development program mileage claim policy; John van Willigen, director, community development program;

8. Sales and planting of fruit trees; community development staff.

    Fresnal Village, feast house, January 31st 1969.

1. Fruit tree planting demonstration; Bill Johnson and Gene Tashquith, Extension agents, University of Arizona;

2. Proposed Community School Program; Don Peterson, Superintendent of Schools and Marge Puella, Board of Education member;

3. Save-the-Children Federation; Ruth Bronson, area representative, Save-the-Children Federation.
In order to illustrate further the nature and content of the community development worker meetings we will include the minutes of one of the meetings.

Opening meeting was ordered by Chairman Mr. Pancho on this day January 31, 1969 at 10:30 A.M. - Fresnal Village.

Time turned to Gene Tashquinth and Bill Johnson from Extension Services to demonstrate /planting fruit trees/. A two feet deep and 2 feet diameter hole was prepared in which a peach tree was demonstrated to all C.D. Workers and village people who were interested and were present. Mixing the dirt and manures also was shown and explains of certain numbers shovel both when mixing. Mixture is shoveled into hole until nearly to top. Then the tree was pruned of broken roots. When tree was set in it'll have to be straight. Gene and Bill tell us if a place is rocky the hole will have to be 3 feet deep and 3 feet in diameter. Fruit trees will be watered at a certain time. By Tuesday some papers will be given to John to be distributed to C.D. Workers or who have turned in order; these papers will inform of how, when and what can be done with fruit trees. Holes have to be dug now, so the mixture will be soaked two to three weeks before trees arrive. Bill and Gene will gladly go around help people of how they can plant fruit trees.

Time now permits Marge Puella and she told us about Community School. She thinks this could get out people's interest; mentions this is what we need. Mr. Donald Peterson is a Sells Public School Superintendent, District 40, tells us this school has Board members elected each year by Papagos. The Board members consist of Chairman Joe Moore, Clerk Marge Puella, Bob Mackett, Claude Miguel and Ramon Chavez. Mr. Peterson brings out about the Mott Foundation. Community education can be supported from this foundation, if really taken by hearts of people. Community school may bring recreation for man and family. This might help some of our youngsters who up to now don't seem to know what they'll do. Because of no family togetherness. Concept might be of a movie, Child Health, Physical fitness, Boy and Girl Scouts could bring social activities. Would also bring people to be good citizens.

Harry Marcus inquired of what can be taken if community accepts sessions? Mr. Peterson responded that it would be basic, how to write, read and number figuring. General Education Diploma may be received completing the basic. Mr. Peterson announces of Cowlic starting session and was found out pupil were beyond basic. A General Education Diploma is a High School level. The present shop, gym and classrooms can be used. C.D. Chairman
Mr. Pancho asked if shop tools can be available after school session. Yes, said Peterson but arrangement have to be made. Statement made by Mr. Peterson that we could try to organize in order to cover our reservations, and ten people be petitioned from other districts.

1:00 P.M. meeting now continuing with minutes read by assistant secretary. Minutes submitted through secretary Geraldine Hunter, who is absent at this time. No corrections made.

C. D. Chairman Mr. Pancho repeats the reminder in minutes just read. The reminder was about Community Development workers meeting that is always should be respected and always conducted. Because people are looking at C. D. Workers all the time.

A question now asked by new C. D. Worker Mr. Celestine if we are rotating having our meetings? Chairman tells him we do rotate in having our regular C. D. meetings. Also Mr. Pancho here says since new workers joined maybe you would like to elect a new chairman. C. D. Worker Harry Marcus in return pleases and thinks chairman is managing great and facing things since he had gotten this position, because its the good of our people's help. New C. D. Worker Juan Joe Cipriano agrees on the C. D. meeting conduction.

During this meeting an introduction was made by Supervisor Mr. Ramon of Juan Joe Cipriano from Kerwo.

C. D. Worker Celestine introduces Pauline, a Pisinemo Save-the-Children Federation Committee Secretary. Chairman turns time to Mrs. Ruth M. Bronson who was only present to answer questions. C. D. Worker Celestine asked about personal expense. Mrs. Bronson sometimes provides it. Mrs. Bronson says the Committee should be volunteer workers. C. D. Supervisor Mr. van Willigen says paper materials can be provided from O.E.O. Mrs. Bronson tells us we should have a separate mail box especially at a Trading Post.

Harry explains of a Committee in other people's hands in his community of Little Tucson. A problem arises when family moved away from where applicant was made. When such case occurs community just have to lose community funds this would have to be decided by Committee. An example was given here it happened in Gila Bend, family moved to another place and Gila Bend lost funds.

Juan Joe introduces himself to Mrs. Bronson, tells her there is no committee in his community. Mrs. Bronson now informs on old program of S,C,F. which can sometime be transferred on to new program.
New program is very much extended through C. D. Workers. Otherwise it couldn't have been bigger. Cooperation is much appreciated by Mrs. Bronson and Field Office. If any changes arise committees and C. D. Workers have to inform the office as soon as possible. This is rather important. Mr. Fancho asks about 1 or 2 children receiving clothes and candies from old sponsor, yet has a new sponsor. Mrs. Bronson was certainly glad in hearing this. A case can be expected as such because when a sponsor retires and sponsorship terminates.

Steven finds out around nine or more children are on the old program at Santa Rosa Ranch School. Steven will try to transfer these if committee and sponsor agree.

Time now turns to Mr. John van Willigen, C. D. Supervisor to take fruit tree orders and collect money from individual C. D. Workers that had orders. John tells us that if costs go down or if any money left and maybe used to buy tools for fruit tree pruning that C. D. Workers will borrow or use them. Receipts were made by Mr. van Willigen.

While waiting to turn in their orders they are glancing at out Income Tax Return shown by Supervisor Mr. Ramon.

Decision was made that next C. D. Meeting will be in Gila Bend on February 13, 1969. For this meeting Co-op stores will be main subject on agenda.

C. D. Worker Charles Lewis motions that meeting should adjourn. Meeting adjourned at 1:30 P.M. (Jose 1969: 1-4).

This particular meeting was typical. It illustrates that meetings were carried out and run by the community development workers.

One of the greatest advantages of these meetings was that presentations could be arranged rapidly when desirable resources became available. Also, meetings occurred often enough so that time was always available for discussion of details of interest to only a few attending workers. The meetings were held in many different villages and gave all community development workers an opportunity to see what their colleagues were accomplishing. Some workers attempted to delay their turn at sponsoring a meeting in order to complete a project which they could point to
with pride. The meeting continues to play an important role in training community development workers.

**Staff Counseling**

Staff counseling plays an important role in training community development workers. The entire staff usually had daily one-to-one contact with the workers either face-to-face or by telephone and radio. Contact with the workers was given high priority by the staff.

It is difficult to analyze formally the content of staff counseling because it was difficult to record systematically. There was a wide range of matters discussed including village, district, and tribal politics; sources of assistance for community projects; personal and family problems; program policies; community development principles; on-going projects; the nature of white man's culture; the nature of Papago culture; and factors affecting the worker's role in his community.

The following journal entries suggest the nature of staff counseling. The entries are from one day in October of 1968. The names of people and villages have been changed.

Talked to Florence on the phone. She asked if there was any way of getting a truck for transporting the community materials for south village. The people are spending a lot of time getting the cemetery cleaned in preparation for All-Soul's day. They need a truck to haul the adobe bricks from where they made them to where they will be used. The men will continue to work making adobes because they lack building materials right now. The materials that they need now are cement, lime, poultry wire, and lumber for window frames. Florence also wondered about who would pay for the gas for the truck.

Molly called, told her news. /The Area Field Representative/ had been out to talk about SCF business. The fruit trees had been delivered but almost no one was home when the stuff arrived. /The man from Land Operations/ apparently showed them how to do what you have to do. Everyone is very preoccupied with All-Soul's day.
I went to see John Thomas. I asked about his house, the walls are almost finished. John had been the object of a lot of criticism. Being accused of not doing his job, spending too much time in (an off-reservation town). We talked a bit about his house then he indicated he would resign. He said not because he didn't like the job. But because his wife had left with the children. They were living in (the off-reservation town). Ray said he was staying down there longer and longer (Van Willigen 1968: 114).

Staff counseling continues to play an important role in training community development workers who use this also as a source of current information.

Content and Effectiveness of Training

There were two general areas of training. These were in the abstract principles of community development and concrete procedures of community development.

The abstract principles of community development consist largely of generalizations about behavior which if carried out will tend to yield success in community-centered development activities. The recommendations stated in the initial training sessions and in A Guideline to the Basic Principles of Community Development (Alvarez and Salcido 1967) are typical of such abstractions. These principles provide a worker abstract guides for action as well as a convenient set of multi-purpose goals. They tell in a general sense how the strategy of action should be developed and carried out, yet they do not provide specific procedures for action.

The concrete procedures of community development consist of specific models for action which if followed will lead to completion of technically sound projects or the acquisition of resources. Many of the
topics presented at community development worker meetings centered around this activity, because both the staff and the workers recognized the importance of knowledge at this level. The importance of both principles and procedures in development will be discussed in the concluding chapter. Clearly, any program which is designed to bring about development in a community needs to account for both principles and procedures in its training protocol.
CHAPTER 6

THE SELECTION AND BACKGROUND OF PAPAGO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

The Board of Directors of the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity on the basis of funds secured through a grant from the national Office of Economic Opportunity approved on April 12, 1967, authorized a number of open positions in the community development program. Initially, as mentioned above, eleven positions were funded for community level workers. After budgetary readjustment by the board, this was increased to twelve. In order to have at least one worker in each of the districts, the board authorized an increase to seventeen in the fall of 1968. This chapter, then, is a study of the qualifications and the basis for selection of the staff of seventeen community development workers active in October 1969. The information contained in this chapter has been derived from a questionnaire which was administered to the workers at that time. The nature of this instrument was discussed in Chapter 1.

Selection of Community Development Workers

Community selection of workers is a fundamental policy of the community development program. This policy is also applied in the selection of non-professional pre-school staff with certain exceptions. It is viewed by the staff and board as the first step in the process of maximizing community involvement in these programs. Selection was done by the communities with little direction from the staff. No formal job
requirements were laid, except as required by the conditions of the grant which stipulated that employees be at least twenty-one years old. The job guidelines issued by the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity were brief:

The Community Development Workers shall be Papagos who will be selected by their own communities, and approved on the basis of their general attitude, knowledge of their people and dialect of the area, and must be able to communicate adequately in Papago and English while possessing a willingness and ability to get along with people (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966:

The existence of the openings were made known to the reservation communities through members of the Board of Directors of the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity, members of the Papago council, and Community Action Program staff members. Communities which had early access to information regarding the openings were the first to fill the positions. This is verified by the fact that Sif Oidak, Gu Achi, and Sells districts were able to hire three workers each, whereas Gu Vo, Chukut Kuk, Baboquivari, Schuk Toak, and Hickiwan districts did not have any workers in the initial twelve. The secondary expansion of the community level staff permitted one worker for each of the five districts.

There are three major constraints on initial worker selection. The first is the access to information which the community has. If a community has good communication with the sources of information it has a greater opportunity to select a worker because they learn the procedure for acquiring the worker sooner and with more detail. This permits it to respond more effectively to the afforded opportunity. A community with better understanding of the goals of the program can, at least theoretically, select a worker who is more qualified for the job. Some communities'
access to information was so limited that they did not find out that the program was coming into operation in time to participate. The second constraint reflects a more serious difficulty. Some communities may have had the information available to them, but their community organization lacked the capacity to respond to it. They had insufficient social coherence as a community to make and communicate a decision. Ironically, the communities having the greatest need for organizational development (a major program goal) were not able to participate in the program because they lacked the capacity to select a worker. In at least one case a local political leader sensing this organizational impotence, simply appointed the worker himself. Sells, the largest population center on the reservation and devoid of any overall community organization was one of those unable to select a worker. Sells' inability to select workers has affected other programs with similar policies. In the case of the Sells pre-school, the non-professional staff has had to be selected by the program administrator rather than the community. The third major constraint to worker selection is the community's desire to participate in the program. Generally, the desire to participate increased as the program matured and manifested success. The desire was related to concrete achievements of the workers in other areas rather than abstract notions about the role of the worker.

Political Context of Selection

Selection decisions were made at various levels in the Papago political system. This occurred in spite of the fact that in the original planning documents the village was viewed as the basic unit of
participation. Selections recognized as valid were made by district councils, villages, regional groups of villages, and by villages with district council ratification (see Table 5).

Table 5. Political Context of Selection Decisions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District Council</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Groups of Villages</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village with District Council</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N= 17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

District councils have taken a more active role in selection than had been originally predicted or planned. This is partly the result of the way the information was delivered to the villages. Much of the information was presented to the Papago council which in turn conveyed it to the district councils, thus allowing the district councils to control the selection. Also, the secondary expansion in 1968 was conceived in terms of a district quota which seemed to justify district selection. Further, in cases where the district council is seated in the village for which a community development worker has been proposed, the district council itself frequently made the selection for the village. In some cases the district council has effectively replaced the village council as the local decision making organization.
Selection by villages was surprisingly limited considering program plans. It tended to occur in villages with strong community organization and councils which met regularly. Village selection was also supported by weak district organizations.

Selection by regional groups of villages was an unexpected development. An area of Sells district known as the North Villages has had a community development worker since the beginning of the program. The worker is viewed as representing the entire region which consists of the six villages of Nolic, Kahiok Kug, San Luis, Vainom Kug, Lincon, and Santa Cruz. The precedent for this context of selection was the regional election of a district councilman for the North Villages. Such selection seemed to be required because of depopulation in the area. Some of the villages are almost deserted. The limited population of a given village would not justify representation. In addition to the North Villages case, three villages in northern Hickiwan district selected a single community development worker. These are the villages of Kaka, Ventana, and Vaya Chin. The precedent for regional grouping is the Kaka, Ventana, and Vaya Chin Stockmen's Association and the political conflict which exists between the villages in the north and those in the southern part of the district. The villages of northern Hickiwan district petitioned the program staff for a worker: "We the people of Kaka, Ventana and Vaya Chin request that an additional Community Development worker be chosen from our area to represent our villages. Due to the distance involved, the present CD representative is unable to provide adequate service to meet our needs" (Lewis, Angea, Sam, Angelina, Pablo and Mike 1969: 2). The petition was signed by seventy-five adults and seven district officials.
and presented to the Board of Directors who authorized an additional worker from that area. The petition proceedings were organized by the man who was later selected to be the community development worker. The entire attempt to get a community development worker was based on the region's ability to mobilize sufficient political power. More power could be brought to bear by the existing regional faction than through any single village in the region. The support mobilized was significant as the number of signatures indicates.

Another type of worker selection was that of village appointment with district ratification. This tended to occur where there was strong district organization and relatively weak village organization located apart from the district council. In each case the village council would select a worker and request that the district council approve it. Both cases involved reassigning the position after a worker had resigned.

Modes of Selection

Of the seventeen community development workers only five were elected in the parliamentary sense of the word, that is, with at least two persons nominated for a position with the final selection by vote of a politically legitimate group. However, none of these seventeen workers were unilaterally appointed by powerful Papago politicians, although workers in the past had been. Various means of public selection other than election were employed in other cases. This usually meant that after a public discussion of the job, a single candidate was selected and approved by the district or village council. In at least two cases the potential worker knew about the job prior to the community's taking action
on it and aggressively tried to secure it. In one of these cases the potential worker simply inquired of the community action program staff about available work. A staff member informed him of an opening as community development worker and also of the community's role in hiring. The individual then went to the village where he explained the nature of the job to the village headman and council and asked for the position. He was then given their approval.

There is no discernible pattern to the nomination procedures used for community development worker selection. Prior to selection, workers were nominated by Office of Economic Opportunity board members, tribal councilmen, district chairmen, district councilmen, tribal officers, village chairmen, and by oneself. Some nominated in absentia did not know who nominated them. The most interesting thing to note is that most of the nominations were done by individuals in elected positions (see Table 6). As can be seen the nominations tended to be made by people occupying formal political roles rather than by average citizens. This is appropriate; the community action program staff consistently used established Papago political organization to convey information relevant to the program.

Community Criteria for Selection

The Papago Office of Economic Opportunity, its board of directors and the community development program staff did little to influence the selection process. Specifically, as stated above, there was only one clearly stated requirement for communities to consider in the selection process. That was the stipulation by the national office that all
Table 6. Persons Who Nominated Community Development Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OEO Board Members</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Councilmen</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Chairmen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Councilmen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal Officer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Chairman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (not present)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N = 17)
employees be twenty-one years old. In at least one case even this rule was ignored. Except for the very general statements about the qualities desired in workers there were no other job requirements.

The communities themselves established requisite qualifications for community development workers. Communities came to be more restrictive as the program grew older. Often when a community was offered a position or had a vacancy its leaders would inform the staff that there were no qualified individuals for the post even when there were unemployed men in the communities at the time. One requirement which was often insisted upon was the possession of a high school diploma. The staff's experience indicated that that was relatively unimportant. They never suggested to communities that they ought to search for a high school graduate. Another community-defined job requirement was the ability to cope with drinking. Drinking behavior was often reviewed by communities when they filled the positions. Lack of a "drinking problem" was often essential. In one community the fact that the potential worker had recovered from alcoholism assisted in his ultimate selection. He was respected for this a great deal.

Often communities came to participate in the program with significant misunderstandings of the role of the worker and they would therefore select their worker in accordance with their misunderstanding. One community's view of the role of the community development worker was particularly constricted. They saw the worker as specialist in housing development and selected the worker on the basis of his proficiency with carpentry tools and his ability to act as a foreman of small work groups. His capacity to deal with resource organizations was impaired by his
inability to speak English. Despite special help by the supervisory staff, his access to the necessary resources was partially blocked. Things went undone. The community reassessed the situation and fired him after a year of service. His replacement spoke English.

Initial Role Concepts

As suggested in the previous section, both communities and workers had significant misconceptions of the role of the community development worker. Presumably communities with more accurate conceptions of the role would be able to select a more effective worker. We have no data to present concerning the communities' initial conceptions of the role but we are in a position to discuss how the individual workers initially conceived of their new job. At least to an extent this mirrors the conception developed by the community. To ascertain the worker's understanding of the role all were asked in October 1969, "It may be difficult to remember but, what was your understanding of the C.D. workers job when you were first picked?" Their responses are indicated below:

I thought I was to contact the people in the community about what they need and to see how they are getting along.

At first I thought it was just working on housing, but I talked to [the community development supervisor] and he said other things were involved.

To better your community, to help the under-educated learn about their privileges and trying to get the community the needs that they need.

To tell the truth I had no idea what the CD worker's job was. If I had known it, I might have turned it down.

I heard around it was to help people. Many things that I found out you should help them on.
If there is anything wrong in the community that I should see to it that it is fix, also, like if our cattle is in the wrong place we should put them where they belong and other things that is what the job was. Nobody had ever said anything to me about what my job would be, but this was just my own understanding.

I thought it was somebody who could work in the "city" [the pronunciation of C.D., misunderstood].

Didn't have any information.

Didn't have any idea at first. Later I thought it was a person who had to do something for the people.

I thought it was a laborer's job. Doing things in the field to help the people.

I understood the job pretty thoroughly because I had to explain it to District and Tribal Council. The main things were to get villages organized, find out the needs of the people and help them get materials [This particular individual had been a member of the board of directors prior to being selected by his district to be community development worker].

To go in and get everything the people needs mostly on housing.

Work for the people.

Help people in my community to get jobs to help the village people. Get some men to work, get them jobs to help the people through them.

No idea at all.

Didn't know too much then when I first started, what they told me was to work for the community to get what they need, whatever is necessary to work for the betterment of the community (van Willigen 1969: 2-4).

Some of the community development workers had an accurate but perhaps incomplete picture of their role. Others had very little knowledge of what the role involved. The individuals who best understood the role at the time of selection usually gained their understanding from contact with a member of the board of directors.
Preconceptions of role which fit official conceptions included the responsibility to improve the community, the responsibility to convey to the community important information, and the responsibility to procure resources for community and individual projects. Misconceptions often included the ideas that activities were to be limited to a single endeavor such as housing, and that community development workers were no more than maintenance men or laborers for the village.

There were several important concepts of community development that were absent from the workers' initial interpretations of their role. Only one person mentioned the community development worker's responsibility to organize his community. There was no mention of involving the community in planning development activities, nor was there any mention of the community development worker as an advocate for his community except in terms of resource procurement. Quite simply, the workers' initial conception of the role was that of a service worker to the community. Generally, the more complex ideas associated with community development were absent. We can conclude that the workers' understanding of the role tended to be different from the conception of role as it was formally planned.

Personal History of Papago Community Development Workers

Because of the lack of rigid job requirements one would expect that the individuals selected would differ greatly from one another. We will discuss some factors of personal history of the community development workers. The data available to us relates to age, sex, education, religion, language, civil status, prior work experience, and previous
participation in voluntary associations. To amplify further these data autobiographical information concerning one individual will be included. All the data, except the autobiographical, were derived from the personal history questionnaire described in the introductory chapter.

Age

The median age of the community development workers is thirty-four. The youngest is twenty-two and the oldest is fifty-two. People generally preferred more mature individuals. The desirable qualities such as facility in English and higher educational attainment, however, tend to be greater among the younger segment of the population. One community development worker who was the minimum age of twenty-one at the time, lamenting his problems stated, "I am too young. The old men don't listen to me."

Sex

Of the seventeen community development workers, two are female and fifteen are males. There is a tendency to select males because they are more likely to be family heads and need the work, are better able to act as work crew leaders, and have greater technical knowledge in matters relating to housing, range, and water development. The two females are both quite successful, however.

Education

The median educational attainment of the community development workers is ten years of schooling. Eight of the workers have graduated from high school, and one individual had college training.
Recent survey research shows the median grade attained for the reservation population six years and older is 7.2 years (Rund 1968: 38). The range of educational attainment is very wide despite this relatively high grade attainment. The workers' education range from zero years of formal education to two years at The University of Arizona. The workers attended various public school systems including Tucson, Florence, Phoenix, Ajo, Toltec, Casa Grande, Marana, Continental, and Gila Bend. Many of them attended government schools at Phoenix, Santa Rosa, Sells, and Riverside, California, as well as various mission schools. Several of these individuals were active in school organizations.

Religion

All seventeen of the community development workers report that they attend religious functions of some kind. Fourteen of the workers are Roman Catholic, one is folk Catholic, two others attend Protestant churches - the Church of Christ and the Church of the Nazarene. All the workers participate in traditional Papago religious events to some extent, although the members of Protestant sects don't participate very intensively. These traditional events include the Magdalena pilgrimage. All Soul's feasts, wine ceremonies and various saints' days. At least five of the workers are directly involved in traditional Papago religious life as ceremonial participants or medical practitioners.

Language

All but one of the community development workers can speak English. All of them speak Papago. Ten of the workers use both languages at home; seven use only Papago in the home. Ideally the worker should be skilled
in both languages. Lack of facility in either language can serve to isolate the worker either from his community or from useful resource people.

Civil Status

Currently, ten of the community development workers are married and seven are single. The married workers have on the average of three children each.

Work Experience

The occupational patterns of the community development workers is similar to the occupational patterns of Papagos as a whole. Many of the workers have been employed in agricultural jobs near the reservation, but very few have had white-collar or skilled blue-collar jobs (see Table 7).

At the time of selection only seven of the workers had jobs. These seven were recruited from off the reservation. In some cases the workers actively sought the job. When workers were recruited from off the reservation they welcomed the chance to come back to their own communities.

Participation in Voluntary Associations

Many of the workers participated in a wide range of activities in their districts, communities, schools, and their places of employment before they were chosen to be community development workers. The most activities recorded for one individual was nineteen; the least recorded two. The median number of activities was eight. These figures tend to underestimate the total number of activities because the participation
Table 7. Previous Work Experience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Work</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm work</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory work</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranch work</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction work</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal service</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail sales</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food service</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitorial/domestic</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus driver</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad line-work</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yard work</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(multiple response)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in informal organizations is ignored. The figures do not include activities which were begun after the individual became a community development worker (see Table 8). The tabulations give some indication of the wide range of activities in which the workers participate. There was no attempt to correlate participation with community involvement or worker effectiveness.

There are some workers who were deeply involved in community affairs before selection. During this time they had a strong orientation toward development goals and were already functioning as unofficial community development workers. These workers were particularly successful after they were appointed.

Biographical Data

To give the reader a more complete understanding of the backgrounds of the Papago community development workers the following short biographical sketches are given. These were collected in late 1969 along with data related to selection procedures, community activities, work experience, education, and initial role conception.

Luke Vincent, thirty-one years old was born in Santa Rosa where he is now the community development worker. He spent the first fifteen years of his life moving back and forth between Santa Rosa and Florence, where his parents worked in the cotton fields. He was able to graduate from the Phoenix Indian School in 1958. After graduation he held various jobs as a "cat skinner" and tractor driver near Florence and on the reservation. While he was home he was an officer in the parish club, worked as an advisor to the 4-H club and Boy Scouts. In 1961 Luke attended a trade school in Phoenix for six months where he learned welding. Worked as a welder in Phoenix for four years. From 1965 to the present Luke held jobs as school bus driver, cattle truck driver for a reservation buyer, and as a cowpuncher on a spread near Casa Grande. Luke is married and has three children.
Table 8. Activities and Organizations Participated in prior to Selection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity or Organization</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athletic teams</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School organizations</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast committees</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water programs</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choirs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District council</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church clubs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy Scouts</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal committees</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle associations</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic tournament committees</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village officer</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor unions</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth clubs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water association</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal council</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Indian interest groups</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans groups</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alonzo Sara, fifty-two years old was born at Pozo Redondo. Lived at Stoa Pitk until 1938 when he went to Ajo to work on the track gang at the mine. Came back home in 1942. From 1943 to 1951 Alonzo worked as a tractor operator, irrigator, railroad line crew, construction jobs and feed lot work. From 1951 to 1955 Alonzo was hospitalized for TB. After he got out he went back to the field work until he was selected as a community development worker.

Helen Juan, thirty-four years old, has been a community development worker for two years. After graduating from Saint John's Mission School in Laveen, Arizona, Miss Juan went to work as a waitress at an expensive Catholic girl's school at Pasadena, California. She did this until 1958, when she got a job at an aircraft factory in Los Angeles as a counter and packer. She came back home in 1960 when her mother was sick. During this time she worked as a part time domestic for a government employee. She was also active as an officer of the church club, she was instrumental in building a new church in the community. Helen has two children.

Gene Manuel was born twenty-three years ago at the Public Health Service Hospital at Sacaton. His father, a government employee, provided the family with a good living. Gene went to various parochial and public schools in Casa Grande, where he was a member of the high school basketball and football team. He graduated from Casa Grande Union High School in 1965. Had some short term research jobs with the government after he got out. Also worked as a groundskeeper at the San Francisco Giants Spring training stadium near Stanfield. Gene was quite active in community affairs being on the entertainment committee for the village's St. Augustine's feast, organizer of the Northern Papago Invitational Baseball Tournament, and district's representative to the Papago Housing Authority. Gene is single.

Leonard Stevens, thirty-seven years old, is married and has eight children. Leonard had to leave school after the sixth grade to help support the family. His father had died. In the time following that he worked as a field hand, picking, chopping and irrigating. He lived for two years in Buckeye, Arizona. During the time he was able to spend at home Leonard was very active in community affairs, he became president of the Parent Teacher Organization at Topawa, leader of a religious choir and a member of the Tribal Law and Order Committee (van Willigen 1969: 5-7).

These biographies reflect many features which are typical of the Papago cultural and historical experience. The most characteristic features are
cotton camp experiences that so many Papagos of various ages have gone through. Periodic residence in large Anglo cities for employment is another common feature.

**Summary and Conclusions**

We have tried to give the reader some idea of the individual Papago community development worker by presenting some basic statistical data about their backgrounds and experience. In addition we have briefly presented a discussion of the process by which the workers were selected by their communities. We would like to review briefly the major points in these two discussions.

What are the characteristics of the community development workers? The most significant thing we can point out is that they are not unusual people. Better educated than most reservation residents, they still manifest the limitations of an incomplete education. They tend to participate in community activities, although this is not seen to be a crucial factor in worker success. Their work histories again mirror the general Papago experience in terms of off-reservation employment.

What is the significance of the community worker selection policy? The matter of community selection of workers requires our closer attention. First, and most important, this is a radically new innovation for policy on the Papago reservation. Heretofore all bureaucratic organizations retained the responsibility to hire and fire field personnel, no matter how intimately these personnel were to be involved in the affairs of Papago community life. Most of these bureaucracies were subject to United States Civil Service regulations which preclude this type of development.
The initial program planners seem to accept the validity of the worker selection policy a priori. A major desired effect was the elimination of the threat of imposed development which the Papagos had experienced at the hands of federal bureaucracies, since a community could effectively stop attempts to develop the community by refusing to select a worker. In addition, it was felt that development work in a community could best be carried out by a person that was familiar with socio-cultural intricacies of the area; was conversant with the dialect; and was like all community members subject to the sanctions the community could bring to bear. An additional desired effect was that the new complement of decision making prerogatives would reduce the political impotence of the communities. There are no systematic data upon which we can determine whether these effects have been achieved. Yet certain effects are apparent. There is no indication that a specific community has used this policy to block development. The workers and the staff were too busy with the many requests to initiate or to accelerate development activities to be overly concerned with the issue. One community leader from a very remote and conservative village did indicate that the staff did not need to make a position available because they did not need it; he felt that they were too backward to develop. Clearly, the problem of cultural and linguistic dissonance between change agent and community which so dominates the applied anthropological literature (George Foster 1962, 1969) tends to be obviated by community selection. Standard bureaucratic hiring of indigenous personnel could not hope to duplicate this effect of the policy. The communities' traditional sanctions were augmented by the policy, in that the communities could fire as well as hire.
The workers, the staff, and the communities have given this prerogative substance. Since the program started twelve workers have been fired outright or advised to resign by community representatives because of problems associated with their work; nine because of drinking, incarceration (including felonies), and immorality. The remaining three cases were caused by ineffectiveness. We cannot clearly demonstrate increases in community political power in a wide spectrum; it is possible to say that the prerogative of worker selection is a significant source of power when the community uses it. It gives the community a means to demonstrate its will and to control things which effect its future. Because of this the workers have to be wary of the quality of their work and their behavior, particularly when there are others who want the job.

The policy of worker selection can only be effective when the community has adequate information to make a selection decision and to know that they have the right to terminate the worker. The effectiveness of the policy is limited if the community does not understand these things. It is one of the major faults of the program that no special considerations were given to improving the communities' understanding of both the specific policy and the general goals of the community development program. Since there was no special apparatus to educate the community about these matters, many communities acquired most of their understanding from the worker. Only a very secure worker could consistently emphasize the community's right to terminate his job and only a very knowledgeable worker given to abstract thinking could effectively explain the goals of the program. At the same time a specific attempt by staff people to point out to communities such prerogatives as termination would tend to
undermine and demoralize the workers. Another limitation of the policy is that in problem cases involving worker discipline the community and staff often came to feel that it was the other group's responsibility, causing mutual inaction and a secure worker in the middle. One could also say that because its intimate theoretical and pragmatic knowledge of community development and the program was good, the staff would be in the best position to select workers best suited to the goals of the program. In spite of these shortcomings, perhaps as an article of faith, the author feels that decentralized decision making in hiring is workable and consistent with the goals of community development.
CHAPTER 7

RESOURCES AND PAPAGO DEVELOPMENT

Clearly, resources are a key factor in successful community development. Any community which is involved in achieving developmental goals is confronted with the difficult problem of acquiring new resources or utilizing existing ones. Often the resources available to a developing community are both inadequate and inappropriate. Appropriate resources permit a community to achieve a goal without being required by the nature of existing resources to modify that goal. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs housing improvement program because of policy restrictions cannot supply communities with the building materials for the construction of churches and other community buildings.

Operational Definition of Resources

For our consideration here, we will define resources as any goods or services which can be directly or indirectly used to achieve a community goal. Goods used as resources include a wide range of tools, equipment, materials, commodities, money, and vehicles. Services used as resources include technical assistance and training. Resources can be located both inside and outside the community. Social institutions and individuals are not in themselves resources under our definition. It is only the goods or technical assistance or training which they may be able to provide for a specific project that constitutes a resource.
Analysis of Institutions Providing Resources to Papago Communities

We are here primarily concerned with institutions which provide resources for community rather than for individual goals. Institutions providing resources which in the experience of the program are in frequent use are listed. The inventory will include the name of the institution and its source of funds. In addition, a brief appraisal of the nature of these resources is provided, including a description of how each resource is used in Papago communities, and its consonance with the goals of community development. Five resource attributes have been selected for evaluation. These include the socio-structural locus of a resource-providing institution, the focus of application of a resource, the goal orientation of a resource, the time dimension or duration of a resource, and the effect of the resource on community organization. A more complete account of these attributes is presented after the following inventory.

An Inventory of Resource-Providing Institutions

Stockmen's Associations. As organizations these groups deal with problems of range management, range development, and cooperative buying and selling of livestock. They contribute financial and technical support to community projects in their respective districts. There are currently five such associations on the Papago reservation.

Water Committees (private). These committees have the responsibility to maintain community water distribution systems. The committee officers collect a monthly service charge from members to meet the cost of maintaining and expanding service. Some water committees have
broadened their interests beyond their formal responsibilities and assist in community fund raising for projects not closely related to the problems of distributing water. These committees were set up in conjunction with Public Law 86-121 pertaining to domestic water projects.

**Feast Committees (private).** Feast committees plan and carry out events in the Papago ceremonial calendar. These events are usually associated with the saints' days of particular villages as well as pan-Papago religious events such as the Feast of San Francisco. The implementation of feasts usually entails acquiring and serving large quantities of food, arranging dances, providing music, preparing grounds, and carrying out religious processions and Masses. Feast committees often work in additional areas of community life including fund raising and supporting work crews.

**Save-the-Children Federation Papago Drought Fund (private).** This program provides organizational guidelines and financial sponsorship for community SCF clubs. The financial sponsorship is divided. Forty percent goes for community-determined projects and sixty percent for support to individual school-age children. Communities use the program for many purposes including housing, community buildings, recreational facilities, well repairs, and tools for community projects. In some communities the SCF committee is a key problem solving organization.

**Neighborhood Youth Corps (federal, Department of Labor).** The NYC provides work and training experience to low-income young people. Communities have used these workers in community work crews. The majority of workers, however, are not placed in villages.
Tribal Work Experience Program (federal and tribal). The program provides work and training experiences for Papago family heads who would normally qualify for welfare but who would rather work. Communities organize work crews of program enrollees who are employed in various community projects. The program supplies no material or equipment. The majority of participants are working in villages.

4-H (federal, Department of Agriculture). This program provides organizational models, material support, and leadership in the establishment of youth education and recreation programs. Only a limited number of 4-H groups have been established in Papago communities. They have worked on leathercraft, home economics, livestock, basketmaking, and gardening projects. Leadership roles as much as possible are turned over to community members. The University of Arizona Extension Service sponsors these organizations.

Mission Churches (private). The churches provide personal, family, and community services associated with such life crises as birth, marriage, and death. In addition, church staffs contribute their skills and church facilities to community-centered projects. Churches foster church-based community organizations such as parish clubs, altar societies, and youth groups.

Public Health Service Sanitation Department (federal, Department of Health, Education and Welfare). The sanitation department supervises conditions on the reservation and provides technical assistance in design and cost estimates of water distributing systems. Sometimes it provides equipment.
Public Health Service Public Law 86-121 Program (federal, Department of Health, Education and Welfare) The program provides supervision, technical assistance, and equipment and materials for the construction of community sanitation facilities such as wells, pumps, waterlines, plumbing, toilets, septic tanks, and showers. It has encouraged the creation of small community organizations to oversee the maintenance of the projects.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Land Operation (federal, Department of the Interior) The purpose of land operations is to manage and develop the lands of the Papago reservation. Primarily interested in range development and conservation, the staff provides technical assistance to individuals and communities. Occasionally the branch will provide tools and materials and services for such projects as charco cleaning and root-knife plowing.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Housing Branch (federal, Department of the Interior) The housing branch provides management services for various reservation housing programs. The staff has provided such technical assistance as training construction crews, drawing plans, and estimating costs.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Education Branch (federal, Department of the Interior) The education branch supervises schools and special education programs for the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the Papago reservation. It has provided teachers for community adult education classes. Class plans were negotiated between the teacher and the class enrollees.
The Papago Tribe Well Maintenance Department (tribal). The maintenance department repairs and maintains the water wells on the reservation. In addition, it provides technical assistance in various projects such as making cost estimates and advising in purchases. It also provides equipment.

Public School District Number Forty (county). The organization provides public school education for the school district. It has also provided teachers, transportation, and materials for adult education classes in some Papago communities.

University of Arizona Cooperative Extension Service (State of Arizona). The Extension Service provides education and technical services in the areas of home economics, agriculture, youth programs, and range management. Many of these services are community centered. The Extension Service also manages a program by which individuals could purchase low-cost fruit trees and receive assistance in fruit-tree culture techniques.

Adult Education Program (Pima County). This program provides support to adult education programs in the form of teacher's salaries and teaching materials.

Papago Tribal Community Health Program (tribal and federal, Department of Health, Education and Welfare). The program provides the services of a community-level worker trained in basic health and sanitation practices. The workers have attempted to improve communication between health services and communities. Some workers have successfully carried out community development oriented health projects.
Papago Headstart Program (federal, Office of Economic Opportunity). The program operates six centers for pre-school children. The school buildings, buses, cooks, and bus drivers are a useful community resource. Associated with each school is the community-based Parent's Advisory Council.

Papago Legal Services Program (federal, Office of Economic Opportunity). This program provides the services of a staff trained in law. The staff is active in legal casework including trials, community education, and law reform. Communities occasionally ask legal services to assist them in maintaining community work crews when their members are declared ineligible by the BIA for this welfare program.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Housing Improvement Program (federal, Department of the Interior). The goal of this program is to repair all substandard housing on the reservation. This is attempted by the provision of materials, tools, and technical assistance to individuals. It serves individuals only. Building materials cannot be used for community projects such as churches. Program funds do, however, provide tools to community work crews.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Roads Branch (federal, Department of the Interior). The roads branch is responsible for maintaining and developing the system of roads on the reservation. In addition to road repairs, the branch will assist communities in various projects such as clearing sites for homes and community buildings.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Social Services Branch (federal, Department of the Interior). This branch provides financial assistance and counseling services to individual Papagos.
Public Health Service Public Health Nursing Department (federal, Department of Health, Education and Welfare). The Public Health Nursing Department provides health services such as home care, immunization, and health education.

Emergency Food and Medical Services (federal, Office of Economic Opportunity). This program provides emergency food to hungry people. They are also active in the area of nutrition education.

State Department of Welfare Surplus Commodity Program (State of Arizona, Department of Agriculture). The program provides free food to families who are poor.

Agricultural Conservation Program (federal, Department of Agriculture). The program, through a county committee, provides cost-sharing financial support for a wide range of specific agricultural practices such as subdivision of pasture lands, chaining and root-knife plowing of pasture lands, water piping, gardening and a great number of others. It has supported several gardens and one pasture on the reservation. The procedure for acquiring this resource is complicated.

The Papago Tribe Tribal Herd Department (tribal). In addition to managing the tribal herd operation, this department provided the framework for a cattle relief operation during the droughts of 1969 and 1970. We refer to this aspect of the department's program in our evaluation.

American Red Cross Tucson Chapter (private). The chapter has provided assistance in disasters such as fires, wind storms, and floods. In addition it provides educational services and service to Papagos in the Armed Services.
Saint Vincent de Paul Society Salvage Bureau (private). The Society working in conjunction with parish priests can provide used clothing and home furnishings in emergencies.

This inventory is unduly weighted towards resources located outside the village because of the lack of data concerning community-based resource institutions and the proclivity of the community development workers to seek resources outside their village.

An Evaluation of the Resources Provided

This evaluation consists of an analysis of five resource attributes. These attributes relate to the extent to which the application of a resource supports certain abstract goals of community development. These goals are the maximization of community choice (decision making), maximization of community participation in planning, maximization of goal achievement based on community priorities, and the strengthening of community organization. The attributes selected for analysis have been arbitrarily limited to five. Certainly other appropriate attributes could be selected for analysis. A description of each attribute follows.

**Location of a Resource-Providing Institution.** The origin of a resource is an important factor for various reasons. A resource-providing institution which is not a component of the social organization of the community generally places greater constraints on the resource allocation process than do such institutions within the community. The procedures needed to acquire resources from an extra-community institution are often unknown or imperfectly known to the members of the community who have the responsibility to acquire resources.
The officials who allocate resources for extra-community institutions are not accountable to the community politically. Communities do not have the benefit of political leverage to accelerate the allocation of greater amounts of appropriate resources. Because extra-community institutions are less familiar with the values and aspirations of the community members and do not frequently participate in preliminary planning, they tend to provide resources which are not appropriate to the needs of the community. On the other hand, community institutions which provide resources are more familiar to community members and hence the resources they provide tend to be more accessible and appropriate.

Intra-community institutions are generally more exposed to local political power. Simply, a community-based official who does not allocate resources responsibly or responsively can be replaced. Another significant factor related to the attribute which we are considering is that community use of intra-community resources is a demonstration of community competence. As a community itself increasingly meets the needs of its members the strength of its organization is made obvious. One might say that a community which substantially meets the needs of its members is a well-developed community. Conversely, a community whose members substantially rely on extra-community resources and institutions is a dependent community. Therefore, the intra-community located of a resource-providing institution is important; communities can exercise greater control over it, participate more in planning its use, and can achieve more readily goals based on the community's priorities. A resource will be considered, therefore, as either outside the community or within the community.
Focus of Application of the Resource. Resources have differing foci of application. Some resources are meant to be applied to achieve individual goals while others can be applied to achieve community goals. Resources which focus on individual goals tend to weaken community organization in the act of by-passing the community in reaching out to serve an individual. This accentuates the community's organizational impotence. American Indian history contains numerous examples of how the United States Government, by dealing with Indians as individuals and not recognizing the community organizational structure was able to destroy that structure. The Dawes Act of 1887 (Spicer 1962: 439) is one of the more tragic examples. Therefore, the evaluation will consider whether the focus of application of a resource is the individual or the community.

Goal Orientation of a Resource. Some resources are available only for specific goals of development, while others, having fewer constraints, are available for more generally defined goals. For example, funds made available to a Papago community to be used in any way the community plans would be a resource with a general goal orientation. Materials made available for a specific purpose, such as constructing outhouses, would be oriented toward a specific goal. The orientation of the resource may be determined by either the inherent nature of the resource or by the policy of the institution providing the resource. The more general the goal orientation of a resource, the greater is the community's opportunity and need to plan. The abstract goals of community development are supported if community choice is maximized, community participation in planning is increased, and community priorities
receive greater consideration in planning. Therefore, in terms of goal orientation resources have been classified as specific or general.

Duration of a Resource. Some resources have specific and quite restrictive time dimensions. A specific time dimension such as a deadline inhibits community participation in decision making because that process must be accelerated. Quick decisions tend to be made unilaterally by persons in authority who first receive information on resources. Decisions made under these conditions are often made without a full range of background data. Therefore, largely because time restrictions tend to limit full community participation in decision making, resources will be classified in terms of their duration. The two categories are resources with specific time dimensions and without specific time dimensions.

Linkage of Resource with Community Organization. Use of some resources requires a community to exercise decision making prerogatives which reinforce the independence of the community. Other resources require creation of special-purpose organizations to allocate the resource and plan its use. Others do not recognize the community's organization in any sense. An example of the recognition of the decision making prerogatives of a community is the Community Development Program's policy of community worker selection. An example of the creation of special-purpose organizations to administer a resource is the Save-the-Children Federation committees which exist in several Papago communities. Therefore, in terms of the linkage of resources with community organization, we have classified them as follows: those which do not support or create community organization and those which do support or create community organization.
The attributes used to evaluate the extent to which selected resources support goals of community development are:

1. Location of the institution providing the resource
   a. outside the community
   b. within the community;

2. Focus of application of the resource
   a. individual
   b. community;

3. Goal orientation of a resource
   a. specific
   b. general;

4. Duration of a resource
   a. with specific time dimensions
   b. without specific time dimensions;

5. Linkage of the resource with community organization
   a. does not support or create community organization
   b. does support or create community organization.

The resources discussed in the inventory were scored in terms of the criteria shown above (see Table 9). All resources were scored plus one for every "B" classification and minus one for every "A" classification. Some resources are ambiguous in some dimensions or contained both aspects of the attribute considered. These were scored as zero and indicated by "AB." The scores range from plus five to minus five. This procedure should not be viewed as an evaluation of the usefulness or administrative soundness of a resource and the associated institution, but merely as a subjective appraisal of the consistency of the resources.
Table 9. Evaluation of Major Resources of Papago Communities in terms of their Support of Community Development Goals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Linkage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stockmen's Associations</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Village Feast Committees</td>
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<td>Neighborhood Youth Corps</td>
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<td>Tribal Work Experience Program</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>AB</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>h-H Clubs</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>AB</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Health Program</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>P.H.S. Sanitation Dept.</td>
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<td>P.H.S. P.L. 86-121 Program</td>
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<td>B.I.A. Land Operations Branch</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>B.I.A. Education Branch</td>
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<td>B</td>
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Table 9, continued. Evaluation of Major Resources.

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<th>Resource</th>
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<th>Focus</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Duration</th>
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<td>Tribal Pre-School Program</td>
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<td>Tribal Legal Services Program</td>
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with some basic concepts of community development. Virtually all these resources have been useful to Papago communities and individuals. They will continue to meet the needs of Papago people in some ways. Some, moreover, will contribute to the development of independent Papago communities.

The evaluation of major Papago resources indicates that resource planning is not carried out in terms of community development goals. Of the thirty-one resources considered only ten from outside the community had positive scores. The median score of the resources considered was minus one. The composite score of all resources in terms of the attributes of location, focus, orientation, and linkage were negative. Only the composite score of the attribute of duration was positive.

In this chapter we have attempted to evaluate the extent to which resources used in Papago communities support certain of the goals of community development. The resources evaluated are used extensively by Papago communities and individuals. The evaluation is limited in certain ways. We can presume that many intra-community resources have been omitted because of lack of data. In addition, no system of weighing the resources has been formulated since the evaluation does not take into consideration the rate at which the resource was applied to problem solving by the community. Resources such as the Tribal Work Experience Program are used almost daily while the American Red Cross is used only a few times in a year. There are more aspects than the five which were considered. Also, the five aspects were given equal weight in the analysis when certainly some are more important than others.
Virtually all the resources evaluated are useful in community problem solving. However, they are not all conducive to the development of self-reliant Papago communities. A resource may be appropriate and adequate to solve community problems and yet its use may not encourage community development. All positive aspects of resources should be maximized for the benefit of the community served, and all programs which make resources available to Papago communities should attempt to maximize the adequacy and appropriateness of the resources which they control. The form of the resource and those policies affecting its allocation and use should be designed to support the independence and structural integrity of Papago communities. At the same time, Papago communities should be encouraged to develop their own resource base.
CHAPTER 8

THE ACTIVITIES OF PAPAGO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

The Papago Community Development Program was committed to a set of abstract goals which are clearly stated in the original proposal and training plans. The staff attempted to execute policy and administer the program with these goals in mind. However, it remained the responsibility of the individual community-level worker to translate his understanding of his role as a Papago community development worker into daily actions which were appropriate for achieving the goals of the program. This chapter will discuss how community development workers carried out their responsibilities.

The activities of the workers will be discussed from two perspectives. The first will focus on an individual's activities, using his daily journal as the basic point of reference. This document describes briefly the entire range of activities with which that worker was concerned. The second perspective will deal with specific development projects. These case studies will use a wide range of documentary material including individual worker's reports, community meeting minutes, field notes, and program correspondence. Three cases will be considered: formation of a community club at San Xavier, construction of a community center in the North Villages region, and construction of range development projects in Baboquivari district. There will also be a more succinct discussion of the range of other development and
service activities in which the community development workers were involved.

A Community Development Worker's Journal

Joe Chico was selected in July of 1967. He was one of the first workers chosen. At the time of his selection by the district council he was living on the reservation but had shortly before been employed as an irrigator and general farm hand on a farm near Florence, Arizona. He had the reputation of being a steady, reliable worker. Prior to his employment at Florence he had worked at Roll, Arizona, in a cattle feeding and forage production operation. Joe had also been in the army for two years during the Korean War. He was stationed at Fort Ord, California; Yuma, Arizona; and in Korea. Born in 1933 at Covered Wells, he attended the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school at Santa Rosa and the elementary school at Florence during those times when work was available for his family in the fields. He was able to get as far as the seventh grade. While at home Joe participated in community activities to a limited extent. He served on the feast committee for the local church and played as an outfielder on the baseball team of a larger nearby community. Joe is married and has five children.

The journal begins shortly after Joe completed his initial training period. The names of individuals referred to in the journal have been changed to insure their anonymity. Some place names are also changed. A few editorial additions have been made to clarify some of the entries. The journal is particularly interesting in that it deals with the earliest period of the program. All of the journals and
reports of the community development workers are in restricted files of the Papago Community Development Program, Sells, Arizona. All of the following entries are from Chico 1967.

This was a time when the communities, program staff, and workers had no precedent to guide their actions and planning.

Monday, September 11- went to visit Frank Juan. Tried to get them to attend the meeting September 13th, Wednesday night. A lot of things being said, and the people don't come to meetings and say what they think about it, meaning the roads and water- building a well to farm- for the cattle.

Shortly after formal field activities had started workers were aware of how difficult it was to get people to participate in activities related to development. It was difficult even to get people to attend meetings and discuss development possibilities.

Tuesday, September 12- went to Casa Grande to get some lumber. Came back got Lester with me took him to Ak Chin and then back to clinic to see doctor. I told him where to go, but he just turned right back and told me to take him there, so I brought him to the clinic here in Santa Rosa.

Joe's trip to the clinic of the Public Health Service indicates the beginning of a pattern in the activities of community development workers. Members of their communities came to expect certain personal services from the workers. These services demanded a great deal of the workers' time.

Wednesday, September 13- worked around my place with two others as we're trying to build a house for the St. Francisco's fiesta on October 27th and in the meeting that same night, they talked about the new road that will go to Vaya Chin. They've been talking about it but not very many people come to meetings. I think that's their only trouble, they don't want to come to meetings. Not all of the community.

Saturday, September 16- went to meeting that Saturday. And at that time the Superintendent's assistant was there.
There's a lot of questions asked mostly about the new roads west of here, road to Vaya Chin. Well somebody started it, we don't know who - I mean about the road that will be built, new road that is, but we found out about it afterwards that it's not going to be a new road but [They will] fix up the old road. Well [The Superintendent's assistant] didn't know anything about it, but only said he will find out. We found out about it alright on the coming Monday, when [The Super­intendent] was here at the meeting.

This particular entry shows how community development workers attempted to assist their communities in getting information about prospects for development. The difficulties inherent in acquiring such information are also apparent. The person invited to the meeting as a source of information had insufficient knowledge to answer the community's questions. They had to defer their questions until they could confer with the superintendent of the local Bureau of Indian Affairs agency.

Sunday, September 17- first thing I did after breakfast was get ready to go to mass here. After mass we had a small group meeting here in the church and I kinda told them what's been said in the Saturday at the Community Building, as I always do whenever I get around to it. Because none of these that's living around the church go to that meeting we've been having, and there's only about five families living here. Also we discuss about our plans in October, because it's our turn to celebrate Saint Francisco Day so we set a date October 27th, 1967, Friday night. And on the same day we went to Crowhang village to look for some musicians and we got these musicians from Crowhang to play for us on that date.

Monday, September 18- I took off to Florence to let these other church members know about our plans and the date when we'll have the dance. There's about 3 families living at Florence and two families living in L.A. California, so I stayed overnight at Florence.

The ceremonial activities associated with the church are an im­portant part of Papago community life. Community development workers came to be actively involved in these activities. In the entries above,
Joe relates how he was involved in making arrangements for a church event and encouraging people to participate in the event. The San Francisco fiesta referred to here is probably the most important of the many Papago religious events occurring on saints' days. It takes place on October 4, and is in honor of Saint Francis of Assisi. Many Papagos celebrate this occasion by making a pilgrimage to the church in Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico. In addition, a feast and ceremony are usually held in Sells for people of the entire reservation. The responsibility of sponsoring the feast rotates from parish to parish annually.

Wednesday, September 20- worked here with these other members building a house for the fiesta in October 27th, 1967 and in the evening I went to meeting at the community building. We just straightened everything up so when the Superintendent gets here on the coming Sunday we'll know what to ask him. Also talked about the roads for awhile but as usual, not many people showed up.

Another important activity of community development workers was to organize work crews to prepare buildings used for community ceremonial events. There are numerous feast houses, churches, band stands, round houses, and dance floors.

Friday, September 22- I stayed around here and help these guys building this house here, I haul so many loads of dirt which they mixed and build the house.

Saturday, September 23- I had a little trouble on my pick-up truck, I kind of worked on it, then went to the store checked mail, talked to a few people that were around the store, then came home and made two loads of dirt again.

Sunday, September 24- I got ready to go to that meeting, missed mass, because they say that meeting will start at 10 a.m. Sunday 24th, 1967. Well I went to the meeting. The Superintendent was there and three others, the Superintendent's assistant, the HIA housing officer and another man, I didn't get his name right. Well anyway the meeting went on the right track, but when the Superintendent left
there was some strong talk, well somebody from Schuk Toak District started to asking questions, but the vice-chairman from that district tried to stop him which he did, but took him quite awhile to do that. Us community development workers, we didn't get to say anything, [The Superintendent] was doing all the talking.

In the initial stage of the program there was a great deal of conflict between the programs of the Papago Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency staff. Working relationships did develop, however, in spite of some animosity.

Monday, September 25—just yesterday after the meeting, Andrew, Chico and myself talked it over, that it would be better for us to get together and talk things over or straighten [out] this meeting which we had here, yesterday, September 21th, 1967 which [The Superintendent] was there and three others, something wasn't right and I can't figure it out, so I told Andrew and Chico so we said we're to meet at Chico's house and talk things over. So early that morning I went to Chico's house, waited about 20 minutes, Andrew hasn't showed up, so I told Chico that we'd go see Joe Frank Johnson in Anegam, another CD worker in Sif Oidak District. So Chico and I went to Anegam, as we got near the church, we saw few people working around the church, chopping weeds and some of them raking it up, sort of cleaning up for the fiesta and we saw Joe Johnson working with them, so we stopped and called him over. We talked a whole lot, asked him about how he been doing, Joe said he didn't do anything yet. But said he will, its kind of hard for him to speak up in meetings. Also said that they're having a meeting in Chuichu some time next month, and think that Milford Enos would pick him up and take him to that meeting, he said he might get to talking then; well, Chcio and I encourage him some and after that we went back to Chico's house, in Santa Rosa, and Andrew already was there, well, we talked a little bit, tried to get this straight, about the background of CEO how it came about, so we figured it would be better to go to Sells and ask Tom Segundo [CAP director].

Community development workers often gave each other mutual support even though they worked in different areas. This was especially true in the early stages of the program when the workers were unsure of their role and responsibilities. Joe Frank Johnson, a worker in a
nearby community had a particularly difficult time. He did not enjoy speaking out at public meetings. He said that he was too young for the job because none of the older people took him seriously. He had a great deal of trouble in stimulating development activities.

Monday, October 2- went out and picked up the house builders and helped them a little. [Later] Chico wants to let me know that he won't be home til Thursday October 5th, 1967. He said he is going to Magdalena, Mexico, he wants to let me know in case somebody comes and asks for him. After that I stopped by at the store, and meet Sam Ramon, he said he was looking for a truck driver, to drive this cattle truck and haul some people from Santa Rosa to Sells on Wednesday, for the fiesta that night, and haul them back Thursday, back to Santa Rosa, and ask me if I ever drove a truck and I told him I have and also have my chauffeur's license Class A, so I guess I'll be going to Sells Wednesday, hauling people and hauling them back Thursday.

Another one of the personal services which community development workers often got involved in was that of transportation. They spent a great deal of time arranging for vehicles and driving them.

Thursday, October 3- 3:20 a.m. awakened by rain, I guess that's when it started raining, because my house leaks, raining outside and raining inside the house too. Well, I didn't do much, cause it was raining all morning, til about 1 p.m. I stayed home and did my paper work, about 3 p.m. a truck came with a load of lumber for our house that we're building. I helped him unload it and after that I was going to go to the store and mail two letters, I started off and about ½ mile away from my house, I got stuck in the mud and worked too late to go to the store, so I came on home, I guess what I need is a horse or a four wheel drive jeep.

Wednesday, October 4- hauled some people to Sells, came back to Santa Rosa about 11:30 a.m. Went out again around 4 p.m. hauled more people to Sells, stayed overnight, watched the dance all night long.

Thursday, October 6- helped around here building a house, haul the workers home, and had a visitor from Florence, Manual Jose, we sat around talking, mostly about our plans. And we finally broke up around 11 p.m. last night. [The Housing officer] was here Tuesday and also Thursday about
noon, I told him about other people that needed to fix up their homes. I don't know if he went around to see them people, maybe I should go around and check well, we didn't have any meeting last Wednesday night. Because the Fiesta was on at Sells, and no meeting, Saturday or Sunday, October 7th or 8th, not that I know of. Richard, our chairman said he will let us know, I guess when everybody settled down.

Saturday, October 7- I didn't go anywhere, but worked with these workers here at our place, as we don't have much time left, our fiesta time is set for a Friday night, October 27th, 1967. So we're really busy here building a kitchen.

The responsibility to do ceremonial labor often "interferes" with achieving secular community goals. Activities associated with secular goals were held in abeyance, while the requisite preparations for ceremonial events were carried out. This was encouraged by the program staff. Communities established their own priorities.

Monday, October 16- on this Monday morning I went to Sells to see the /social worker/ because I have two persons came over yesterday evening and want to get in on this TW3P. So I went to Sells and put these two names in. And /the social worker/ wasn't there but some lady there took these two names down, and said they will let us know on the first of November. Well we haven't heard anything from them yet.

The Tribal Work Experience Program was one of the first and most important resources exploited by Papago communities through the community development workers. The workers were introduced to this program during one of the informal training sessions. Simply explained, the Tribal Work Experience Program places men who are eligible for public welfare in work situations; they are paid the standard Bureau of Indian Affairs grant plus a $30 stipend for work-related expenses. Initially these workers were assigned to positions in various government agencies. Through community development workers Papago communities were also able to acquire their own paid work crews. Although the communities were
able to offer these workers only limited training experience, the pro-
gram enrollees were allowed to work near their own homes. The Tribal
Work Experience Program was an important factor in the realization of
community goals. The program also served to enhance community power by
offering a large and valuable resource for which plans could be made.
The importance of workers learning procedures relating to exploitation
of resources should be noted here. Without the knowledge of how to par-
ticipate in a program such as this, the abstract goals of community de-
velopment cannot be made relevant to the achievement of tangible goals.
The journal account also briefly describes what is a typical bureaucratic
encounter for a community development worker. The worker knew that it
was necessary to see the Bureau of Indian Affairs social worker; but
after traveling to Sells, 45 miles away, he found that the social worker
wasn't there. A member of the social worker's staff recorded the visit
and told the worker that someone would contact him.

Tuesday, October 17- 8:00 a.m. I went on over across the
wash and told these two persons about what that lady said,
that they would let them know in first part of November or
somebody will be visiting them asking questions, somebody
from TWEP.

Community development workers, in a sense, came to be an ef-
fective field staff for the Tribal Work Experience Program. They assist-
ed individuals who wanted to be enrolled; they often supervised the work
crews once they were formed; they arranged for materials and tools to be
available; and they assisted the workers when they had complaints about
pay and other things.

Thursday, October 19- I worked half a day and by 1 p.m. I
went around and gathered up all these CD workers / in the
district, and then have my old lady take us to Sells as we were to meet there to go to Tucson.

Saturday, October 21- there wasn't any meeting at Santa Rosa Community Building because a lot of fiestas were to be held that night and also the rodeo at Sells, Saturday and Sunday. So they let the Saturday meeting go until everybody settles down. There was a dance here at Santa Rosa that night and another dance at Anegam village. I went to both of them dances, stayed at Anegam about 3 hours and come around to Santa Rosa for about 4 hours and finally around 2 a.m. I went home.

The entry above is an example of how secular pursuits are often set aside by Papago communities until ceremonial activities are completed.

Sunday, October 22- and on this Sunday we, the members of our small church here, Santa Maria, got together and made our plans or review our plans for our fiesta which it will be on this coming Friday and yet we were not ready, the house we were building as kitchen is not finished, we won't be able to put the roof on, so we figured we'll just throw some lumber over it and use it, then after the dances or after Soul's Day, we'll put the roof on. So I just let everything else go and started working with these members of this church. I worked full-time from October 22nd to October 27th, 3 p.m. We got most of it done, meaning fixing around the church, kitchen, where the dancing going to be and arranging this and that, and hauling fire wood for kitchen use and outside use. Thursday morning, I made a trip to Casa Grande to buy some meat. That same night, I made another trip to Covered Wells because I found out that they're going to bring Frank Thomas' body (a CD worker who was killed in an automobile accident) in. I was there when they brought his body in. I was there for awhile because I know I won't be able to go to the funeral the next day at 10 a.m. Well finally around midnight I went on home and Friday all day I help around fixing this and that, here and there. Around 4 p.m. we got everything settled and this dance went on that night.

Saturday, October 28- I rest, sleep half of the day, and went to another dance here (at) Santa Rosa, Sam's place, they call it, stayed half of the night and went back to the house.

Sunday, October 29- I stayed home and did some of my paper work, also kind of go over all of what we learned while at Tucson and tried to figure out how to go about it, well, stayed home all day.
The above entry refers to a community development training session held in Tucson.

Monday, October 30- I went to Casa Grande to the Pacific Finance Company because my car payment was due since the 25th of October. Well, I paid them one payment and bought a tire for my car.

Every worker had the problem of providing his own transportation. It is clearly one of the major logistical problems of the program. Most of the workers were forced to go in debt to own a vehicle.

Tuesday, October 31- and on this Tuesday morning, I started working on these cemeteries, for the All Soul's Day, which is on the 2nd of November. Thursday, our whole family went out and cleaned around the graves, fix the crosses, and whatever, this went on all day Tuesday, Wednesday and part of Thursday.

All Soul's Day is important in the Papago ceremonial calendar. It is on this day that the memory of dead ancestors is honored. Individual families have the responsibility of cleaning the area around their ancestors' graves. They also decorate the graves with plastic and crepe paper flowers. Again, community development workers became involved in these activities. In some communities cemetery cleaning came to be a community rather than a family activity. This was based on the community's capacity to mobilize a work crew through the Tribal Work Experience Program. Cemetery projects were quite often one of the first projects planned by communities in the initial stages of community development work. Further study might reveal that these projects were chosen because they were simple technically, needing a minimum of tools and materials, and that they clearly benefited everyone, saving many people a difficult task.
Wednesday, November 1- my wife, my two little boys, my aunt and myself went out to the cemetery and clean around the graves just like we did yesterday, from 8 or 9 a.m. to about 3 p.m. then we came on home, a little bit tired.

Thursday, November 2- my wife and I went to Topawa as we got two graves to clean up and put some flowers also, and one grave to clean and give flowers at Covered Wells and then back home. I've heard that they'll be a dance at Ak-Chin village starting at midnight and on up to 8 a.m. Friday morning. I didn't go because I got so tired doing this and that, going here and there and whatever.

Friday, November 3- and on this Friday morning, we started cleaning up the area around the church, as everybody knows that everytime after the dance was over there will be a lot of empty bottles, cans, paper and all sorts of things laying around the area. Well, we clean up all that and haul it out to the dump, we did this in two days, because we were short on workers.

Sunday, November 5- we had mass and after the mass we had a small group meeting, just us members of Santa Maria church, which is only about seven families. We talked about how our fiesta went on last Friday night 27th of October. I kind of ask them, did everything went on the way we planned? Also we talked about our next celebration which is on June of 1968. I told them that we'll be having another meeting about the last part of January, 1968. Then I went to the meeting in Santa Rosa community building.

Tuesday, November 7- went to pick up Joe Frank Johnson in Anegam and Chico and Sam at Santa Rosa. Attended community development workers meeting in Sells all day.

Wednesday, November 8- Steve Ramon and myself we started working on the house again. The house was finished, but we didn't put the roof on, we just throw some lumber over and used it. But now we got all that lumber off of it, and started working on it, and we're just hoping that it better not rain, because if it did, there's going to be a lot of damage to the plywood and more damage to the house. As I've said already that we don't have enough workers, its just us two, and none of us ever worked on putting a roof on a house, so we don't know how to go about it, but we told each other that we'll work it out somehow, so it took us quite a while to figure it out, well we worked on it that Wednesday and Thursday.
Joe Chico and his community started a housing development program as one of their first projects. The new houses were constructed of adobe walls following the traditional pattern. The roofs were built of commercial lumber, plywood, roofing felt, and roofing paper. This was either purchased by individual families or obtained from the Bureau of Indian Affairs housing improvement program. The houses which they built were well suited to the needs of the local community. One of the problems which they faced continually was the inadequacy of funding of the housing improvement program.

Friday, November 10- I had a visitor from Palo Verde Tree Stand, it's about 1½ miles southeast from here. Oliver Antone visit me and ask me when it would be better to hold a small group meeting at his village, and tell them what's my job, or what I'm supposed to be doing. Oliver said that some of his village people know me as CD worker but some don't because not all of them go to the meetings at Santa Rosa community building. So Oliver said that it would be better to gather them up and tell them. So I told him, that's a good idea. I told him that Saturday night would be best for me, so he said, he'll go around and tell everybody, also tell over chairman.

This meeting started a permanent relationship between two small communities in this district. Joe started to view himself as the community development worker of both communities. He was able to develop community organizations in both places. Many of the other workers came to serve other nearby communities that did not have community workers. This was not advocated by the staff, but developed out of the workers' feeling of need.

Saturday, November 11- we worked on the house all day long, and after work I got ready for the meeting, went around to these five families here and told them about the meeting and whoever wants to go, that I'll take them over there on my car, and bring them back after the meeting, well after
supper, I went around picked them up and went around Santa Rosa, got Chico Juan but couldn't find San Ramon, because he went with the cowboys rounding up cattle. The meeting was pretty good everyone of them were there, including some women. And some of the women speak up, we introduce ourselves and told them what our job is and what we'll be doing, and we're not going to push them around and tell them to do this and that.

It is interesting to note how the rhetoric of community development theory is reduced in this entry to "... we're not going to push them around and tell them to do this and that." The entry continues:

Oliver, Chico and myself, we planned to hold another small group meeting in Santa Rosa and another at Ak-Chin. I guess we'll wait till these cowboys get back, not hardly any men around, because on account of the round-up. We told them some of Housing Improvement, houses for ten families, Save-the-Children Federation, TWA, on the first part of our meeting. I told them about our training at Sells and the field trip to Window Rock and back.

Sunday, November 12- I left home at 6 a.m. had four hours sleep, I had to take my family to Oracle Junction to gather some yucca. My aunt makes baskets and she out of yucca. We gather some and came home about 5 p.m.

Monday, November 13- Seven a.m. worked on my pick-up, it wouldn't start, Steven Ramon asked me to haul some firewood for him, and the pick-up won't start, because my little boys pour some water in the gas tank. So I had to drain the gas tank and about 10 a.m. finally got it running, went out haul one load for this guy came home, fix two flats and worked two hours putting roof on the house.

As we have noted, from the very beginning of the program the workers were asked to give personal service to members of the community. Here was another typical request. This service orientation was more pronounced in some communities. Although these requests consumed the workers' time and resources, the obligations built up through personal service were reciprocal and ultimately were of benefit to the worker. However, there was always the possibility of a community development
worker becoming a community errand boy. It continued to be difficult for village residents to make the distinction between service to individuals and community development. A worker who insisted upon the distinction would be looked upon as being unfriendly and ungenerous. Community members consistently evaluate the worker's performance in terms of what the worker does for them personally.

Tuesday, November 14- worked on the house all day long, mostly carpenter work, my helper was here now, he didn't show up yesterday. I haul firewood for him and he said he'll come over and help me but he didn't, he said something about couldn't find his horses, went looking for them, that's why he didn't show up yesterday. Well we worked on it all day long.

Wednesday, November 15- 5 a.m. got up and went over some of my paper work for about two hours, because I told Chico last Monday that we'll go to Sells on the 15th of November to see if we can get our checks.

Thursday, November 16- my car payment due, I had to go to Casa Grande to pay up, I had to wait for [the CAP Director] from Sells as he was coming up here to bring in our checks.

In this period the program had a great deal of trouble managing its funds. Lack of experience in managing a complex program coupled with slow and unpredictable funding by the national Office of Economic Opportunity often meant missed paydays and other problems. It was unfortunate that workers were subjected to these problems.

Friday, November 17- had a visitor from Palo Verde Tree Stand Village. Ray Chavez came to me, and wants to know more about Housing Improvement. I told him everything I know about it, and he give me his name to put in for him to [the housing office] to have his house fix up. Not now but on January 1968 after he left, I worked on our kitchen.

As in the case of the Tribal Work Experience Program, community development workers came to be an informal field staff for the Bureau of Indian Affairs housing improvement program. They informed people about
the program, took applications, delivered the materials, and pressured the agency staff to make more funds available. Unfortunately, at times local people blamed community development workers for deficiencies in that program. The major problem with that program was that it was underfunded every year.

Saturday, November 18- I had to go to Crowhang Village to see an Indian Doctor [Makai] and on the way back, I stopped at Sells to see [The Sells District Chairman]. My wife wants to find out something about her lot at Sells where she used to live.

Sunday, November 19- I went to see another Indian Doctor here in Santa Rosa and again in the evening for about half a night and after that I was in bed for about four days. I was a sick man Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

Many of the community development workers got their medical care from traditional Papago medical practitioners. One of the workers was the assistant to a Papago curer.

Friday, November 24- went to get some firewood south of Vaya Chin Village. Had tire troubles on my pick-up and it took me all day to come [Home].

Saturday, November 25- I was in bed again all day. I didn't go to the dance in Jack Rabbit, Saturday night. Towards morning of Sunday, I feel a little better.

Sunday, November 26- my wife and I, we took my stepson back to St. John's Indian School. We didn't come back until late that night.

Saint John's Indian School is the mission school located on the Gila River reservation north of the Papago reservation.

Monday, November 27- I felt much better and I started working on the kitchen fixing to put the roof on. Around 2 p.m. I had a visitor, Chico came over, he wants to know if I'll make it to that meeting in Chuichu tomorrow morning, also about the Health Education Conference on Thursday in Phoenix.
As much as possible the community development workers were given the opportunity to go to training sessions related to their work. This particular conference was sponsored by the United States Public Health Service.

Tuesday, November 28- 8:20 a.m. we went to Chuichu as we're having a meeting there, C.D. meeting. And we were there all day long and the meeting lasted to 5 p.m.

This entry refers to one of the community development worker meetings which were discussed in Chapter 5.

Wednesday, November 29- worked on the kitchen roof, Steven Ramon and I. I worked half a day and I had to go to a district meeting in Santa Rosa, starting at 1 p.m. They said they would start at one o' clock, but they didn't. When I got to Chico's house, I found out that the meeting will start in the evening around 7 p.m. So I came on back and went again about 6:30 p.m. The meeting went on til about 12:30 a.m. of Thursday morning. In the meeting we talked about most everything. I'll name a few -- new school that's building west of my house, Save-the-Children Federation, roads in our districts, voting in January of 1968, community development workers and CAP. We did a lot of explaining on that. Well, we talked about other things, and a few problems of some of these people.

The community development workers had to devote a considerable amount of time to explaining the nature of their program. At this particular meeting a wide range of topics was discussed.

Friday, December 1- worked on our kitchen, putting roof on, with Steven Ramon from across the wash. We worked on it all day long, and around 5 p.m. I had to go check my mail at the store.

Saturday, December 2- I had to go to Phoenix for some clothes, on the way to Phoenix we stopped at St John's to pick up our son, and took him back after we got through shopping, we got home around 9 p.m.

Sunday, December 3- had mass and after the mass, I worked a little on the kitchen, fixing up the roof and whatever. And at 12 noon after dinner, I had to go look for a stove
(wood stove). Wife and I and our two little boys we went to Tucson. Wife had some relatives living over there on South 31st street. So, we looked around, but couldn't find any stove, so we came on home, got home around 10 p.m.

Monday, December 4- I help fix the roof on the kitchen, we had two more workers, Andrew Jose from Palo Verde Stand, Laurentine Thomas from across the wash. Around 3 p.m. I had two visitors Lorenzo Jim and Chico Juan came over. Chico asked me if I can make it to go to Sells with him tomorrow morning because Lorenzo is going to take us to Tucson, Davis-Monthan Air Base to see what supplies and equipment are over there, and how to go about getting some, depending on whatever we need or whatever the people need, so I told them that I'll go. We gotta be at Sells before 6 a.m.

As a federal agency the Papago Community Action Program of which the community development program was a part, was qualified to receive excess government property. Some of the communities were able to acquire these materials which included cast-off military uniforms, vehicles, furniture, tools, paint, typewriters, and medical supplies. Most of the property was not useful.

Tuesday, December 5- we didn't go to Tucson 5 a.m. I went to pick up Chico and found out that Chico got sick and was in bed, so he couldn't make it. Well, we set another day, which will be Thursday. I came on home and worked on our kitchen all day.

Wednesday, December 6- worked on the kitchen all morning and half of the afternoon, then in the evening we all went to the meeting in Santa Rosa community building. Quite a few people this time, about 52 people at the meeting, some of these were women. They have talked about few things, one is, who'se going to run for district councilman and some for Tribal Council, a few names came up but there will be more on our next meeting.

The first reservation elections following the initiation of the community development program forced the program staff to develop policies regarding political participation. Of the 12 community development
workers active at that time, ten were nominated for political office. Workers were nominated for tribal council vice-chairman, tribal council­
man, district vice-chairman, district chairman and district councilman. The policy was that none of the community development workers could
serve in any political office above the village level unless the body that elected him signed a waiver permitting him to do so. Joe Chico was
one of the individuals nominated and elected as a district councilman in this election. The entry continues below:

Also talked about how much per month for one trailer house, some said $20 and the other $25. The district was renting residential trailer spaces. We vote it, and came out 35 on $25 per month. We also talked about farming, drilling a well, this, is not final, a lot of them didn't say anything about it. I guess it's pretty hard for them to understand, but they will be hearing more about it from now on, they'll understand. The meeting was over 15 minutes after 12 midnight.

Papago society has many internal differences. Individuals have differential access to information. One of the important variables is facility with language. This is related to formal education and other exposures to the white world. Joe's comment in the entry above, "they'll understand," refers to a hope that with sufficient work all the people in the community who are interested will come to comprehend all the complexities of a development proposal. It is difficult to accomplish this in a society where great differences in individual acculturation exist. The successful completion of this process was a major respons­
sibility of the community development workers.

Thursday, December 7- last night after the meeting, Chico, Nolea and myself, we talked over about going to Sells today and go with Lorenzo Jim to Air Base in Tucson. We're supposed to, but we changed again. We will all go on the 12 of December.
So I just stayed here and worked on our kitchen. Our last day today, around 5 p.m. we got it all up, the roofing paper, everything nailed down.

Friday, December 8- 8 a.m. I went around and gathered up the other CD workers to take them to Sells which we're having a meeting. And we were all over there all day long. After our meeting my wife and I we're supposed to attend this Sells District meeting, but we talked to Oliver Antone about it and he got a hold of the Sells District chairman and we talk to him. Well, my wife wants to find out about her land or lot, where she used to live way back in 1936. Well, we know now that her lot is still there and still belongs to her, and some day she plans to put up a house in that lot. We didn't get to attend that meeting, their meeting was set for 7:30 p.m.

Saturday, December 9- our district meeting was set to start early today, but I had to wait almost three hours before some of the people showed up, even our chairman was late. I stayed about two or three hours, but then I had to go to Sells again. I had a passenger, she is going to see somebody at Little Tucson.

Sunday, December 10- 7:10 a.m. got up, eat breakfast, had mass about 9 a.m. After the mass I worked on another house here at our village. Also needs to improve this roofing on it. Remove the old roof and put new on it. This house belongs to one of my cousins which they've now living at Florence, Arizona. I have to talk to him about letting me use it. He said its alright and that's why I will fix it, as our house sure leaks when it rains. Well, I worked on it all day.

Monday, December 11- this Monday morning, I went to get some plywood for the house, I was going to put a new roof on, as I have talked to the SIA housing officer about it, and he told me to meet him at the old Radar Station which is located on that side of Covered Wells, close to the district line. He told me to meet him there and he will give me some stuff, I need to fix the roof on this house, well, I went on over there and waited all morning, but nobody showed up and I went on home.

Tuesday, December 12- I went out and got Noelegal and Chico we're to be at Sells before 7:30 a.m. to go with Lorenzo Jim and Frank Ortiz to Tucson air base to see about what's over there [salvage yard]. We were all over there part of the day, around 2 p.m. we started back and from Sells we went on home about 5:30 p.m.
Wednesday, December 13- and today we were to go to University of Arizona, Tucson, for another three day follow-up training. First I went to Anegam village to see if Joe Johnson got a ride to Sells and then to Santa Rosa to pick up Chico and Sam. Then to Sells via Nolic Village to pick up Frank Alvarez [CD worker] it was raining then. We got to Sells and after a while we on our way to Tucson.

Joe Chico's journal indicates the typical range of activities of a Papago community development worker. There are certain areas of activity which were common to all the workers. Communication activities are very important; the community development worker both gives and gathers information in personal visits, community and district meetings, and community development worker meetings and training sessions. Joe communicated technical information and information about development opportunities and current events. During this period Joe was engaged in many construction activities including repairing homes and constructing community facilities. Many of the community development workers worked alongside the community work crews which had been established. The area of activity which developed unexpectedly was that of personal service. Joe came to help people with transportation, wood hauling, welfare services, and home repairs.

The journal entries show how an individual community development worker applied the abstract principles he learned in the training sessions. The principles were given only brief consideration by him. It is also quite clear that the individual worker benefited significantly from knowing how to exploit a particular resource. For example, with this knowledge Joe was able to enroll people in the Tribal Work Experience Program and the Housing Improvement Program. Continuing from
this early period, Joe Chico, community development worker, was able to initiate a number of useful projects, which included organization of a community club, the construction of a feast house, and initiation of adult education classes.

Community Project Case Studies

To illustrate further program activities some specific community projects are examined below. These cases will show the reader some of the development activities in which community development workers were involved in their communities.

The San Xavier Save-the-Children Federation Club

As has been stated, one of the major goals of the program is the strengthening of community organization in order to extend the range of problem-solving ability of the community. This case study will illustrate the establishment of an organization which has become widespread on the Papago reservations since the inception of the Papago Community Development Program. This is the community Save-the-Children Federation committee.

This case study illustrates some important considerations. First, when a community is supplied with an organizational prototype to consider for adoption it often makes changes in the prototype's structure and function. It is important for the reader to be aware of the contrast between the purposes of the committee as dictated in the Save-the-Children Federation guidelines and the actual function of a particular village committee. A second point is that the creation of limited
purpose community-controlled organizations can contribute to the political independence of a community by providing a context for local problem-solving.

Although the Save-the-Children Federation program has been active on the reservation since 1965, major expansion at the village level did not take place until its involvement with the community development program in 1967. Since then there have been approximately 17 programs formed in addition to the non-community programs which had been previously operating.

Basically the program provides regular financial assistance to school-age children of low income families. A local committee completes applications and established procedures for children who are eligible for the program. Frequently they may be assisted by a community development worker in filling out applications. Applications for financial support are forwarded to the field office in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The office then attempts to find sponsors for the children. Once a child is sponsored he receives three payments of $20 each during the year, and is encouraged to use his money carefully for clothing and educational needs. The community receives $100 for each child enrolled. The uses of this money are explained below:

... the village, over the period of a year, will receive as its share of the sponsorship, $100 for each child. Thus, if 100 children are sponsored, the village may receive as much as $10,000 during a sponsorship year.

Village funds will be forwarded as community plans are completed for a village project. In other villages, projects have included: community centers, sewing centers, libraries, home improvement (such as installing screen doors and windows), installation of street lights, inoculation of livestock,
road improvement, juniper eradication, fencing, water development and many others (Save-the-Children Federation 1968a: 1).

The Save-the-Children Federation has issued a "Guideline for Sponsorship Committees." The guideline enumerates the basic requirements for participation in the program. The committees formed are responsible for the administration of the program on the local level. The constituent roles in the committee usually include a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and treasurer. The guidelines are very flexible. "The committee is selected by whatever method the local community chooses. This may be by election, by the council, the governor, or chairman. If the community wishes, Save-the-Children Federation will assist in committee selection" (Save-the-Children Federation 1968b: 1).

The committee has the responsibility to keep in contact with the American Indian Program field office and to take care of most of the scholarship application business. The committee members also have the responsibility to encourage the student to correspond with his sponsor, to acknowledge gifts, to see that the students spend the money properly for such things as school supplies and clothing.

In terms of the goals of community development the aspects mentioned above are less important than others. As has been mentioned, the community annually receives $140 for each sponsored child, to be used for community projects. The relatively small amounts of money acquired in this way have been quite useful in development projects and as a reward for organizing. The community's committee has the responsibility to "discuss community projects, collect information about cost, evaluate need and benefits, describe the amount of work that will be contributed
by community members, prepare a project request and send information to the field office" (Save-the-Children Federation 1968b: 2). Further, the local committee has the responsibility to see that projects proceed properly once the funds are awarded. It was required that the money be placed in a bank account in the name of the community's committee. Although these organizational requirements may sound rather simple, many communities found them to be quite difficult.

The process of developing new organizational structures will be illustrated by examining the attempt of one community development worker to organize a committee in her community. The case under consideration is that of San Xavier. The first community development worker in San Xavier was not successful in organizing the program there. His replacement became interested in establishing the program. Save-the-Children Federation had sponsored children before at San Xavier under another program which did not provide community funds. The earlier program had become disorganized and was no longer active.

The case is presented using the community development worker's reports from the period in which she attempted to establish the program. After learning about the program the community development worker had the subject put on the agenda of the district council meeting. San Xavier, although it is a single community, is organized as a district. The village and the district are coterminous, and there is no village organization per se.

We had a district meeting on October 17, 1968. I brought out the subject on Save-the-Children Federation Program. A great number was in favor. Being there were very few people there I will have to bring it up at the next meeting (Community Development Program 1968: 1).
The community development worker initiated the project in the context of the highest level political organization in her area. This was preceded by consultation with the district chairman to sound his opinion of the program.

The San Xavier community development worker attempted to learn more about setting up the program by visiting with another community development worker who was attempting to set up the same program in her community. This particular worker had assisted in training the San Xavier worker. One of the methods employed in the training of workers is to have them visit their colleagues and witness them at work. The following entries are all from Community Development Program, Sells, Arizona.

I met with Florence Juan on October 25th in Anegam. The meeting was very interesting. The main topic was Save-the-Children Federation. In the meeting they selected their officers.

From my meeting which I attended in Anegam with Florence Juan, I've learned a number of things. The main thing was letting the people think on the subject, discuss it, and decide on it.

This is much better than just a raise of hands to decide on something. It does take a longer time, but this gives a chance to hear what the people understand and what their opinion is (1958: 2-3).

After investigating the history of the Save-the-Children program at San Xavier, the worker found that the program had indeed been started but had become disorganized. The program had been associated with one of the members of the San Xavier Women's Club. The worker therefore consulted with the San Xavier Women's Club about whether or not she should continue her attempts to establish the program.
I talked with Mary Jose about Save-the-Children Federation. She said that the Women's Club doesn't have this program. Lena Manuel had taken care of it. She said she wasn't taking care of it any more. The children didn't write to their sponsors so they quit helping all but 5 children (1968: 1).

Mary Jose is the president of the San Xavier Women's Club and also the wife of the district chairman. The Women's Club is further linked to the district organization by the district vice-chairman, an officer in the Women's Club. In effect the community development worker asked permission to continue with her attempts at organization from both the district organization and the Women's Club. After clearing the activities with the two organizations the worker proceeded to gather additional information about the program.

I called the field representative about giving me some information on Save-the-Children Federation. She came out the next day and personally talked and gave me all the information I needed, plus a few application slips. I told her I would let her know if we decide to take on the program again (1968: 5).

The Save-the-Children Federation maintains a field staff to assist in organizing new programs and managing established ones. The representative for San Xavier lives in Tucson.

The community development worker proceeded with her attempts to establish the committee. She invited one of the community development supervisors to come to a meeting with the San Xavier Women's Club so that he could explain the program. The Club's president pointed out that in her home village the Save-the-Children Federation committee was very active. At this meeting it was reported she mentioned that if her children were lucky the village would receive some help through the new program.
I held a CD meeting on January 16th. The subject was still on Save-the-Children Federation. This time it was settled that we take this program because we feel it will be of great help to our school children. We will pick officers at our next meeting (1969: 1).

By the end of January the San Xavier committee had been established. It had taken approximately four months. By March a few children had been sponsored. During this period the community development worker served as a major source of motivation for the committee. She also served as a liaison between the field representative and the local committee, and she continued to assist the committee in its activities. Some of the committee members found that they were too busy with their own family responsibilities. At least one person had to resign soon after being elected. She was promptly replaced. The worker continued her support of the committee.

I worked with the committee of SCF. They went to the homes and filled out applications for the children. At present there have been 40 applicants. The field representative said they will try to have at least 25 children sponsored if possible.

Sylvester Manuel, the committee chairman, said that we should have two more persons in the committee to help out and watch the books along with the treasurer. We are also hoping to have sales of some sort so we can make some funds to buy our stamps and envelopes, etc. (1969: 3).

This is the first indication that the committee would expand its organizational base and range of activities.

I worked with SCF committee on the food sale. The day before we prepared all the food which we sold on Sunday. The sale turned out well, at least $57 is in our treasury, this will help with the necessary things such as stamps and envelopes, etc. On May 28, the committee met with Sister Mary Joseph. She is writing a book in Papago for the school children. Our chairman thought it would be a good idea if we help her out from our community funds, since it will be for the good of the children and the community to read (1969: 5).
The committee started to carry out activities which met maintenance needs. They were attempting to meet their own expenses.

On our SCF committee we need two more members. The chairman said it would be best if we had more members to help us especially if we are going to be having food sales (1969: 5).

Above is another example of the committee's tendency to expand its organizational base. Many of the committees of this type on the reservation had this tendency.

The members of SCF and I met and decided how to take care of the children who have received their checks already. On the 25th of August we took the seven children to Sears and Globe where they bought their clothing and school supplies (1969: 7).

These treks into clothing stores by the committees and the enrolled children has come to be a common practice in communities which have the Save-the-Children Federation program.

The SCF committee had food sales on October 3 and 4th during the St. Francis feast. I only help on October 4th, the profit was pretty good.

I had a community meeting with the people. (Forty-one people were in attendance). I tried to explain the SCF program taking up a project in the community to help the livestock (1969: 8).

Because of the drought conditions which existed on the Papago reservation during the summer of 1959, the Save-the-Children Federation made available a large sum of money for range development projects to assist the endangered cattle industry. Here the local committee served as a conduit for the development funds. Later the Bac Stockman's Association of San Xavier participated in the range development projects.

The committee came to be involved in still other projects and events in service to the community.
Under the 5GF we are planning to give a Halloween party for all the children and sponsor a dance for everyone. This will all take place on October 31st, 1969, because there is another dance on November 1st, 1969. We took the plan through two district meetings and had it finally approved. Our reason was to try to entertain all the children and keep them from going to the homes and ruining things as was brought up at previous meetings. Everyone agreed (1969: 9).

By February of 1970 the community development worker was able to report that the San Xavier Save-the-Children Federation Committee had forty-seven children sponsored.

Significantly the San Xavier SCF Committee is now attempting to develop a building fund with the aid of the district council to finance construction of a building for the district's preschool children.

The SCF community club, as an aspect of social organization introduced into Papago communities from the outside, has become an important organizational component of many Papago communities. In some communities the committee serves as the primary political organization. In other communities, such as San Xavier, it is an auxiliary problem-solving organization. It is significant that the committees strengthen the communities that possess them.

**Conclusion**. In summary, certain important elements of the preceding case should be pointed out. The community development worker was sensitive to the realities of district politics; she consulted with the leadership of both of the most important organizations in the district as well as meeting with both organizations. There was no manifestation of opposition from these organizations; instead the leadership gave public support to the worker's proposal. The worker spent a great deal of time learning how this particular program operates, what its
structural and procedural requisites are. Because of this she was able to instruct other members of the community in the program's operations. These brief journal entries give sufficient evidence that the community development worker was presenting a wide range of development possibilities to the committee for their consideration. Alternatives were being considered by the committee and choices of priority were being made. This account also provides evidence that special-purpose organizations such as a SCF committee tend to expand their range of activities beyond that initially anticipated. As the organization discovers new uses and functions its structure undergoes appropriate changes. In this case one of the new uses was independent fund raising, and the committee expanded its organization to include additional cooks for food sales.

The North Villages Community Center

This case study is concerned with the construction of a building for the common use of an entire region of the reservation. It involves the formation of the organization which was responsible for the building and the problems of organization formation and resource procurement for development.

The North Villages are a group of six villages in the northern part of Sells district of the Papago reservation. They are Nolic, Santa Cruz, Rincon, San Luis, Vainom Keg, and Kaihon Kug. The community development worker surveyed the area in 1967 and found that there are only fifty-two individuals in residence. Santa Cruz, the most isolated of the villages, is essentially deserted. Vainom Kug and Kaihon Kug have only one or two families each. The villages have difficulty in
maintaining viable community organizations; a more thorough study may indicate that this was related to the reduced population in the area. At the beginning of the community development program there didn't seem to be any useful or reliable way of mobilizing the communities to deal with their problems. When the community development program began its recruitment of workers the Office of Economic Opportunity staff invited the region to select a worker. This invitation was extended through the district councilman. The North Villages had difficulty selecting a worker, but the brother of the councilman was finally chosen. He had a great deal of difficulty in relating to the people of that area, and there were numerous misunderstandings concerning the role of the worker as well as the purposes of the community development program. At this time the region had not been organized nor had the worker initiated any development projects. Things were at a standstill. The following minutes are from a meeting held at Nolic in March of 1968. They indicate the nature of the misunderstandings that the people of this area had at the time. The meeting is remarkable because of progress that the people of the region have since made in clearing up many of the misunderstandings they had in taking the initial steps of getting organized and in defining some of their needs. The central figure at the meeting was Juana Lewis, a member of the OEO board of directors, who had come to the meeting to explain the Save-the-Children Federation.

Present were these community people: Nolic, Santa Cruz, Rincon, San Luis, Ironpipe Stand, Box Stand. Meeting was called to order by Juana Lewis.

Juana- I got the impression that you all know why I am here tonight. So I am coming right down to the point.
Discussion on the SCF community program. Juana explained the program and how to go about appointing a committee to be in charge of the two programs, SCF and SCF community program.

A. Form your committee for SCF.
B. Fill out applications of your children and mail them as soon as possible.
C. Indicate that these children are under the new Community program.
D. Have meetings often and plan on your projects.
E. Plan on how your going to use your community funds.
F. Have committee train on how to handle funds and how to handle bookkeeping.
G. Keep all important records.

There is more but we'll come to more as we go on.

As you know Robert Pablo is your community development worker and he is responsible of doing this SCF, informing you on how the program is, and meeting with you to discuss and plan. I don't like to do like I am taking his place, because I can't do that. I asked Robert why he hasn't started anything on this program and he tells me that the reason why he hasn't done anything is because you people don't come to the meetings he held. Is this true?

San Luis- Yes, this is true, but Robert never came to let us know about the meetings, his brothers do this and also never tell us anything your telling us now. We feel you should come and explain the program to us, we are very interested in what you are telling us.

Nolie- What is Robert? What is his position, what is community development and who appointed Robert? Is it like a Village Councilman? We feel we are at fault for not knowing all this because we were away at the time to Cottonfields.

Juana- Like I said Robert tells me you people never come to meetings and only five people were present as I understand. Let me see how many of you people were at that meeting where Robert was choseg.

Juan Pedro- I was there, when we appoint Robert.

Richard Cruz- I was there too.

Jose Wallace- Me too.

Mary Frances Lopez- I was there too.
Sarafina Lopez: Me too.

Pablo family: We were present too. We understand a C.D. worker is like a village councilman.

Juana: Let me correct you people. Robert Pablo was appointed by these people understanding that he is to be like a councilman, a C.D. worker is a person who is to work with his people seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day. He is paid a hundred and fifty dollars every two weeks by the CEO. In our case there are seven communities in which our C.D. workers should cover. A C.D. worker is to work with his community to develop the community.

For instance:
A. Holding meetings and ask his people what they need to do.
B. Finding help from outside resources.
C. Help his people planning community projects.
D. Assist aged people on getting assistance from welfare and so on. Let me give you some examples on what other communities are doing.

Nolie: Can we tell you what we see and hear what's going on in other communities? Rebuilding homes after storm, cleaning and fixing cemeteries, rebuilding roads and so on. We wonder who is doing these things and when it will be our turn. Why don't we get a C.D. worker?

Juana: Robert is your C.D. worker and you can do the same as other communities with you helping Robert and he helping you. You've got to work together to do these things. Robert can't do it himself and people can't do it without a guide. It's got to be both the community and the C.D. worker.

People: We would help if we know that he is there to help us. When we meet, it's always so short and many things aren't explained.

Juana: Robert how many times did you hold meetings since you were appointed C.D. worker or should I say after your training?

Robert: Three times.

Juana: I think that is why you never done anything in this community. You've got to hold meetings and get the people to come. Make sure they understand that this is a community meeting, that they are all invited to attend.
People- Robert never told us that women are to come too. We like what's being said from you and we want you to help us in our community planning and projects. We like to start but we don't know how to begin, or where to start and what to do. We also feel that we should appoint a new C.D. worker since Robert didn't do much.

Nolic- let's ask Robert if he feels he can do the job if we help him along.

Robert- No answer.

Juana- I can't really say much on that it's up to the community and its people. If you feel that's what you're going to do, it's up to you people to recommend a person you think can do the job. It's time you do something, I can't always be here. I am busy with other things.

People- Being our first time to hear some things like this about community development we feel we have to think it over.

Juana- Are you going to appoint your committee members for SCF program? If so let's do it. I feel that you should and I like to ask the people if they give me permission to assign three of my children to this community. You people know that I am from here and always Nolic my home. I spend my summers here. My children like it and call it home.

People- We give you permission to assign your children here. Let's wait till our next meeting then we'll form committee. That will give us time to think about some nominees (North Villages 1968: 1-3).

At a meeting scheduled a few days later the people selected a Save-the-Children Federation committee. Previous development opportunities for the region were also discussed. The community then decided to select a new community development worker. With the committee's growth in effectiveness it became crucial to the basic political organization of the North Villages region.

The replacement worker worked very closely with the new SCF committee. One of the large projects which the new committee worked on was the construction of a community center for the region. His reports from
this initial period indicate some of the difficulties he and the com-
mittee had in achieving their goal of building the community center.
The following entries are from Community Development Program, Sells,  
Arizona.

We haven't had a community meeting for the past four weeks.  
Since we don't have a community building and yet the weather  
is getting cold now. We have $200.00 coming from the SCF, but  
that's not enough to build our community building. The  
[community work crew] will make the adobe bricks, also build the  
building whenever we get ready and have enough materials (1968: 6).

The building had been mentioned in reports as a possible project  
some three months before. In the rather long planning period the com-
mittee and the community development worker attempted to devise a  
strategy which would lead to the construction of the building.

We need to build our community building, but we haven't the  
materials to use, such as lumber, roofing paper and all  
the other materials that go with building a house. One  
person suggested that we build one for temporary until we  
get enough funds to build a much more better one. We just  
have $200.00 coming to us from the SCF since we just got  

There were many sources of help exploited in getting the com-
munity building built. The worker had to have a working knowledge of  
all these resources. Also, he was required to keep the committee in-
formed of the use of these resources throughout the project.

The community building project proceeded slowly through the  
next months.

The ground is being cleared for the community building  
site. The people of the North Communities worked out  
the plans on starting the community building. Our  
problems have been trying to raise funds, so that we  
can start (1969: 10).

The committee and the community development worker had to manage  
the project carefully. They used a wide range of extra-community
resources with which they were previously unfamiliar. These resources included both agency and tribal departments.

The community work crew is clearing the ground for the communities' center. The committee will meet tomorrow night here at Nolic. The meeting will be about the building of the North Communities Center.

The roads department of BIA will finish off the grounds for our community center. They will run the graders over where the building will be and clean it up.

I also got in touch with Mr. Westerman of housing improvement program to get some information on the prices of building materials for the community center. We got a door frame and a door from the tribe (1969: 11).

This was the first time that the building was referred to as the North Communities Center. When the building was complete a sign with that name was placed nearby.

On the 23rd of February we held our community meeting here in Nolic. All the communities were present. The location of the building of the center was approved by all the communities. The building will be 18 x 30 but an additional building will be put up later on.

The fund raising committee was chosen. They are preparing for a food sale this afternoon, possibly in Sells or Big Fields (1969: 12).

The committee began its own fund raising projects to assist in meeting the expense of the community building. This is another typical example of how the committee prototype is modified to achieve community goals. The new fund raising committee was made up of the best cooks in the community, as most of the fund raising activities were limited to door-to-door or rodeo food sales. Many Papago SCF committees actually elected official cooks for their fund raising operations. The new fund raising committee is an adjunct component of the North Villages committee.
It is clear that the committee had developed two functions: policy making for the entire construction program and fund raising for the completion of the project. They were less active in the actual construction of the project. This responsibility was left up to the community development worker and the community work crew. The workmen were members of the committee also.

The roads department has completed leveling off the grounds for our communities center. This is a great help to our crew and the people of North Communities.

We need to haul adobe bricks for the community building. This is one of the purposes for fund raising. So we can furnish the gas, whenever we request a truck from the tribe (1969: 12).

As noted in the introduction, the adobe bricks were furnished by various villages in the North Communities area, proof of the supposition that the committee came to be a nucleus around which a new regional political organization developed. A vehicle was needed to haul bricks from villages some five miles away. In a way, the contribution of bricks was more symbolic than crucial in that the number of donated bricks was usually small and arranging their transport was difficult.

The community work crew is building a fence around the community center site. We bought some lumber from Indian Oasis Trading Post. This lumber is for the community building. I am trying to ask for some barbed wire from the Tribe, they are not giving out any more, since they don't have enough. This was supposed to be used for the communities' building fence.

We need to haul the adobe bricks. This is from San Luis [to] here in Nolic. We need to haul it to the community center site.

I'm working on getting some materials for our building. So far the community work crew has put up the door frames and window frames. On April 7th we are going after the roofing materials in Tucson [at the lumber company].
The North Communities Women Club and the SCF committee are working on getting the materials. Committee meeting is on the 2nd of April. The main topic will be on communities center.

The Indian Oasis School are willing to let us use one of their trucks on the 7th of April. This will be used to haul material from Tucson. We also received our communities fund from the SCF. The area representative came on the 28th of March. She just wanted to see how the building was coming along.

Rita and two other committee members went to town and bought a few lumber (1969: 13-14).

The above reports indicate again the tremendously diverse range of resources used in the construction of the building.

During the next few weeks the efforts of the various committees continued. The people made significant progress toward finishing the community building. Work on other community projects was also undertaken.

I have been working closely with the Community work crew. Our communities project is sure moving slow. We just have three men working. One of them just quit and the other one's in jail in Sells. We are working on the building. We are just about half way through with it. We hope to finish it real soon.

The people of North Communities are all working together on this project. This is by helping out whenever the Fund Raising Committee plans to put on a food sale. We have put on food sales at the Sells Junior Rodeo and in the Vaya Chin Rodeo. They help out in the planning.

Mr. Enos Listo will transport some materials which we are buying in Tucson on the 17th of May. Mr. Listo will use his own pick up truck to haul the lumber, plywood, 2 doors, 2 windows and roofing paper (1969: 14).

Work on the community center went along slowly because of the drought conditions which existed on the reservation at that time. Most of the workers were involved in attempts to save the lives of the livestock. Also the community had difficulty in acquiring the materials that they needed.
In the past two weeks our main project was feeding the cattle and also working on the communities center. We need to pour in the cement for the floor and plaster the outside walls. The inside walls are already painted with that paint we got from the surplus.

We don't have enough funds to meet the cost of completing our communities center. This is one reason why it's been going so slow. No date has been set for completion.

We are trying to complete our community building. We need to put in the floor and plaster the outside walls. I have been working with members of the community crew and also with members of the community club. We have bought some cement with the community fund. All we need now is the cement mixer, we figure we'll have some volunteer help when we start pouring in the cement for the floor.

We need a larger water tank for the community center. So we can store more water. That way we don't have to haul water every day. This is what we need, especially now that we use a lot of water (1969: 14-15).

The community development worker was fired by the community toward the end of September. The meeting at which this occurred was held in the nearly complete community building. The community was for the most part satisfied with the quality of his work, indeed they were fond of him and concerned about his welfare. Nevertheless they fired him because of some of his irresponsible actions. The committee carried on their projects, and in November of 1969 the North Villages Community Club "put up" a formal dedication of the completed building. In addition to the community members the invited guests included the chairman of the Papago Council, director of Papago OEO, superintendent of Public Schools, director of the community development program and the area representative of the SCF. The guests admired the building, with its fresh coat of plaster and new drapes. After speeches by the guests and a festive banquet, there was a dance which lasted all night.
Conclusion. The community club contributed in several ways to the independence of the North Villages region. The effects of this organization on the region include first, the establishment of a group of community members who are recognized by the community as a legitimate group for achieving community defined goals. A second effect was the creation of organizational roles and the establishment of procedures associated with these roles, such as calling a meeting, reaching a group decision, and replacing individuals in roles. A third effect was the creation of more effective power bases for the region. Because the group is organized they can better exert pressure on those who control resources, in this case the Bureau of Indian Affairs Roads Branch and the Public School. Once the resources are acquired the group can gain sufficient organizational capacity to allocate effectively these resources appropriate to a specific goal. The fourth effect was that the group acquired a planning and management function, that is to say, the leaders can make decisions, delegate work, allocate resources in a way which supports and accelerates development. There are many decisions in any development project which if avoided will cause significant delay. The existence of a group solved this problem. Decisions were made as the need arose. Yet a fifth effect of the regional organization of North Villages was that the group served as a corporate body to hold title to the equipment used in regional projects—wheel-barrows, hand tools, and a pick-up truck. Individuals in the area own tools and other material, but these are not always available for community use.
Ali Chukson Range Development Projects

During the summer of 1969 the Papago reservation was subjected to a severe drought. The range conditions deteriorated to the point that many head of cattle died. Thomas A. Segundo, Chairman of the Papago Council, after consulting with Jack Williams, Governor of the State of Arizona, requested that Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States designate the Papago Reservation as a disaster area because of the severe drought which threatens to destroy the Papago cattle industry, the basis of their economy and way of life (Papago Tribe 1969: 1). Rainfall records showed a little over two inches for the first six months of the year, which was only sixty per cent of normal (Papago Tribe 1969: 1). Official tribal sources estimated that over 1000 head of cattle had died by the first week of July, 1969. Seventy per cent of the range water holes had dried up. The water holes, called charcos, that still contained water were dangerous for the weakened, hungry cattle. Animals would wade into them to drink and get bogged down in the mud, dying as they struggled to get out. The author counted over seventy dead cattle at one charco.

Spent the evening at Joaquin charco in Baboquivari district, east of Topawa. Reports had come in that many cattle had died there. We loaded up around sundown, with barbed wire, posts, and some tools. When we arrived we counted about seventy dead animals in various states of decomposition. Spent the next four hours stumbling over the carcasses in the dark trying to string a fence to keep the thirsty animals from dying in the mud. Pulled one cow out with the jeep but it died (van Halligen 1969: 17).

In addition to the lack of rainfall many of the pumps and wells were in disrepair.
In response to the drought and requests by cattlemen the Tribe organized a relief program. Hay, water, water troughs, veterinary supplies, and fencing materials were made available to stockmen and communities. The community development program played an active role in the relief operations. The staff, with members of the Papago tribal staff, was involved in planning various aspects of the relief operation. This included a request for funds from the federal government. The community development workers served as liason between the stockmen and the relief program staff. They informed their communities what services and materials would be available from the relief program, and informed the relief program staff of the conditions of the range, water supply, and livestock in their areas. Many of the workers assisted by repairing wells, driving water and feed trucks, supervising work crews, and managing some of the regional hay distribution centers.

The Papago Tribe was able to carry out successfully the drought relief program using funds from private sources as well as from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Funds were used to purchase the supplies and services which were made available to the communities. Getting the funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs was difficult. It required a great deal of political and public pressure.

There were no federal funds available at that time for range development projects on the community level. The Bureau had expressed interest in range development but had not received allocations sufficient to carry out anything but a very small program. It was not until the involvement of the SCF that financial support for community-centered range development projects was made available. Dallas Johnson, director
of the American Indian Program of Save-the-Children Federation, after consultation with Thomas A. Segundo, chairman of the Papago Council, attempted to raise money for the purpose of assisting the drought relief program. He was successful in raising $40,000 initially. After some delays it was decided that the distribution of the funds would be coordinated locally by the community development program. The money was to be distributed to communities and other organizations to finance projects which would improve the cattle industry.

There was a general planning meeting in Sells on September 23, 1969 attended by Segundo, Johnson, thirteen community development workers, and various staff members of range, health, and education programs. Discussion at this meeting covered the standards by which the funds would be awarded to the communities.

The project must be something the community feels it needs.

A project involving a large contribution from the local community (self-help) would receive some priority.

The project should benefit a fairly large number of the people in the community.

The number of people who assisted in the planning would also carry some importance.

Projects which yield an economic return would receive priority consideration.

The project involving a relatively small amount of funds would necessarily receive some priority consideration because of limited funds (Papago Drought Fund 1969: 1).

Since the availability of funds had already been discussed at an earlier meeting of the workers, various workers were able to ask about project ideas that their communities had discussed. A few days after the meeting, the community development staff, after consulting with the SCF staff,
issued "Guidelines for Requesting Funds" (Papago Community Development Staff 1969). This document was distributed to all community development workers, community health representatives, and Papago councilmen. In addition the guidelines were discussed at various community worker meetings, district, tribal, and village council meetings. The guidelines follow:

1. All Districts, Villages and Cattle Associations are eligible to apply for funds.

2. The funds should be used for projects which the whole community feels that it needs.

3. The community should participate in the planning and carrying out of any project.

4. Proposed projects for other than range and well improvements will also be considered.

5. In order to receive S.C.F. funds the community or organization will have to submit a proposal to S.C.F. Proposal forms will be available for the Community Development Office, C.H.R. Office, Tribal Office, Tribal Herd Office, and the Extension Service.

6. The information needed in the project proposals will have to include the following:
   a. Name of community.
   b. Community population.
   c. Number of people who will benefit from the project.
   d. The project plan.
   e. Budget for the project.
   f. Name of community coordinator for the project.

7. The projects will be considered for funding by a review board. They will consider the following factors:
   a. Self-Help aspects of the project.
   b. The innovativeness of the project.
   c. The number of people benefitted by the project.
   d. The amount of community participation in the planning of the project.
   e. The possible economic return to the community from the project.
   f. The technical soundness of the project.
   g. The cost of the project (Papago Community Development Staff 1969: 1-2).
In addition to the guidelines the staff issued a list of range development resource personnel who could assist the communities in technical aspects of project development. The list contained individuals from the tribe, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Public Health Service.

During the week of November 17, 1969 Dallas Johnson and his staff reviewed the large number of applications which had been submitted for funding. Most of the applications fit the criteria which had been set up for the funding process. Representatives of the review board met with most of the communities that had applied. The following table (Table 10) shows the projects that were funded.

The community of Ali Chukson was one of the first to submit proposals for consideration. The community development worker had immediately met with his community when he heard of the opportunity for community funding. They requested funds for three projects. The first was the construction of a fence around a deep charco so that the access of the animals to the water could be controlled. The project was also to contain a roping corral to be used for branding, cutting, and medicating operations during round-ups. In addition a loading chute was to be constructed to facilitate marketing. The funds requested were $93 for the purchase of wire. The community people were to cut the posts. The second project was the rehabilitation of an old dug well. The proposal notes, "Put stock water well back in operation of which is in great need for cattlemen who operate along the mountain side, many people other than community will benefit from this well" (Ali Chukson Community 1969a: 1). The third project required funds "... to bring down water supply for cattle from high in the mountains to the foot of the mountain. Two
Table 10. Projects Funded by the Drought Relief Program of 1969.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anegam</td>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>$2,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cababi</td>
<td>Water well</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Rabbit</td>
<td>Working corral</td>
<td>700.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chui Chu</td>
<td>Cattle trap, holding corral, charco</td>
<td>386.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Tucson</td>
<td>Water well repairs, fence charco</td>
<td>1849.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ali Chukson)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choulic</td>
<td>Tractor, weed control</td>
<td>2260.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manger Dam</td>
<td>Community building</td>
<td>400.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covered Wells</td>
<td>Water system</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisinimo</td>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>1714.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sil Nakya</td>
<td>Community building</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresnal Canyon</td>
<td>Community building, water system</td>
<td>1600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerwo</td>
<td>Community building</td>
<td>950.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowlic</td>
<td>Well repairs, water pump, charco</td>
<td>1090.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Simon</td>
<td>Water tank</td>
<td>583.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohath</td>
<td>Pasture, corral, water well, cattle chutes</td>
<td>1728.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Xavier</td>
<td>Water pump, chain saw, weed burner, water</td>
<td>1311.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tank cover, cattle chutes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Komelic</td>
<td>Pasture</td>
<td>2000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaka, Ventana,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaya Chin</td>
<td>Pasture</td>
<td>3000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Komelic</td>
<td>Community building</td>
<td>600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sells</td>
<td>Basketball court</td>
<td>527.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Fields</td>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hickiwan</td>
<td>Scale corral, water pump, fencing, roofing</td>
<td>1578.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nollic</td>
<td>Windmill and tank</td>
<td>125.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoa Pitk</td>
<td>Pasture improvement</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaya Chin</td>
<td>Educational supplies</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$18,201.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and one half miles of pipe is needed for this project and a 2,000
gallon storage tank is necessary" (Ali Chukson Community 1969b: 1). Of
these projects two are complete. The last has yet to be started.

The planning of the projects was carried out by the people of
Ali Chukson largely in community meetings. District leaders and resi­
dents of Topawa were informed of the project plans because of the impact
they would have on the entire district. Ali Chukson and Topawa are the
largest communities in Baboquivari District. The community requested
funds for all the projects they discussed. No other projects were con­
sidered at that time. The first project discussed was the critical well-
rehabilitation project. The water it would make available would permit
cattle to range into an area of improved forage.

To assist in the planning process the community development
worker suggested that a village development planning committee be se­
lected. The community elected four men in addition to the worker to
serve on the committee. The four men were divided equally between the
areas of Ali Chukson, the so-called upper and lower villages. One of
the four is the foreman of the community work crew. This group has
worked on various development projects including housing, and community
sanitation. The committee is a supplement to the community decision
making organization. Its members are readily available to discuss
problems related to development. This relieves the community develop­
ment worker of some of his responsibility. As the worker pointed out,
"Whenever a problem comes up, I sit down with them and discuss it" (van
Willigen 1970: 5). When the drought funds were made available the
village development planning committee was able to sit down with the
Save-the-Children Federation representatives and negotiate the details
of the Ali Chukson grant.

When the funds were in hand the community decided that the
charco fencing project would be first because it was the smallest and
easiest. The project was carried out by volunteers at the request of
the community development worker. There were no technical aspects that
the work crew could not handle and they requested no technical assistance.
The individuals who volunteered were cattle owners. The men who carried
out the project were responsible for planning specific aspects of layout,
the allocation of materials, and the supervision of construction methods.
When completed the project was imposing. It fenced an area of about two
acres. The workmanship was superb and the design was quite complex so
that the project would serve a number of purposes. The completed pro-
ject is viewed as a district possession: at least, the district chairman reportedly is of this opinion. It is being used by the district
round-up organization under the supervision of the range bosses from
Topawa and Ali Chukson. With the charco's permanent water supply the
project is very useful for rounding-up and working the cattle. Although
there are no planned, regularly scheduled sales contemplated, buyers
come from Sells to the corral by appointment to purchase cattle.

The second project was much more complex technically and logis-
tically. The project site was located in the foothills of the Baboquivari
Mountains off a crudely maintained trail. It was difficult to get there.
The plan itself was complicated. It involved pulling the pipes out of a
well, replacing the pipes with new ones, installing a pump and engine,
laying and burying a pipeline up the side of a canyon, installing a 1,500 gallon storage tank and two large watering troughs at the top of the canyon, and equipping the tank and troughs with the necessary pipe and valves.

The project was carried out by a crew made up of volunteers and Tribal Work Experience Program workers. The general plan was developed by the village, but the specific details of execution were worked out on the spot by the work crew and the community development worker. The tribal well maintenance department assisted the crew in installing the pump and engine and the community development program supplied transportation to move the men and materials. The work crews camped out at the project site Monday through Friday. During the week groceries were brought up to them. They supplemented this food by hunting.

By the time the project was completed another drought had set in. The project was described a "lifesaver." Animals congregated there because of the water, and feed could be easily delivered to them. Currently there is one person who goes up there a few times a week to run the engine and fill the storage tank. The village provides the gas for the pump engine and the man's motorcycle. The people of the village are discussing a more permanent arrangement.

One of the problems which developed during the process of completing the project was the question of ownership. The charco project was clearly the property of the district because everyone with cattle had used the water hole prior to fencing. A relative of the community development worker who owned a large number of cattle was of the opinion that when the well was put back into operation the living relatives of
the people who originally developed the well would claim it as their own and restrict its general use. Relatives of the original owner still live in the village. The planning committee agreed to support the position of district ownership if a conflict emerged. The committee will consider writing a public statement to reinforce the district's ownership rights, and to help assure free public access to the water.

Some dissatisfaction developed over the project. Although they were supposed to be district or village projects there was the feeling among some people that the work benefited only cattle owners and had little to offer the poorer people. As a result all the people who volunteered for the project were cattle owners. None of the opposition was publicly aggressive, but as the worker noted "... you hear it in the air."

The community is now planning to carry out additional projects with funds from the Save-the-Children Federation drought fund.

The case illustrates certain basic ideas about community development. Although the projects were largely initiated and planned by the community, the execution of the projects was almost totally the responsibility of people whose interests they served; i.e., the cattleowners and the community development worker. The development of communities through behavior that is purely self-serving is rarely discussed in the literature which focuses instead on the value of cooperation. However this phenomenon is clearly disclosed in Erasmus' remark that "Natural mutual aid is not cooperation for cooperation's sake; it derives from pragmatic motives which accept Gesellschaft satisfactions as the situation changes" (1968: 69). It is interesting to note that the only persons
who volunteered for the construction of the community basketball court in the same community were two high school students who liked to play the game.

An important aspect of this case is the method of project funding. The method permits both the extra-community agencies and the community itself to structure the development goals. The extra-community agency defines the area in which it wants development to occur, in this case range and water development. It defines criteria for funding and establishes and communicates funding procedures. Within the constraints dictated by the extra-agency, community choice of development goals are maximized. The community is able to select projects which it feels have priority and are within the community's technological capacity. The extra-community agency is able to stimulate development in the area of its concern. The cost of development is shared by both entities thereby allowing more extensive support for development.

Other Activities of Community Development Workers

Housing Development

As has been suggested, particularly by Joe Chico's journal, the community development workers have been active in housing development. Since the inception of the program they have assisted in the construction of approximately 250 units of housing. Most of these were carried out with the support of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' housing improvement program. One district has funded its own program. The workers there proposed to the district chairman that the council make money available to purchase building materials for the community work crews to use in
house construction. Forty thousand dollars was allocated by the council over a period of a year. Most of the houses have been constructed with adobe block walls, although framed lumber, sandwich construction, burnt adobe, concrete block, and rammed earth have been used as well. The biggest obstacle to development in housing is the shortage of funds in the existing programs.

Adult Education

Community development workers in conjunction with volunteer teachers have initiated four village-level adult-education programs. To minimize transportation difficulties classes have been held in village facilities. Course content which included basic and high school level materials were largely a product of teacher-student negotiations. The classes have been successful. Teachers reported stable or increasing attendance during the course of the semester.

Welfare Referral

Although personal service relevant to welfare referral has not been stressed in the formal training of workers, they have been actively involved in it. The increase in Papago use of welfare is substantial. In December of 1967, shortly after the beginning of the Papago Community Development Program, the Bureau Social Services Branch had a caseload of 99 individuals. By October 1969 the caseload was about 350 (Papago Agency 1969: 1). Community development workers assist by giving community members information about welfare eligibility, by showing the people how to apply for welfare benefits, and by assisting community members in gathering the proper documents to present to the welfare officials.
Domestic Water and Sanitation Programs

The community development workers have worked with the United States Public Health Service Sanitation Department on a limited number of projects in which wells for domestic water were drilled, pipelines laid, and sinks and toilets installed. These projects have been carried out with the financial support of the federal government under the provisions of Public Law 86-121.

Extension Education

Working in conjunction with the Cooperative Extension Service of The University of Arizona, the community development workers have implemented various extension programs. Some of the workers, with the help of extension agents, have established 4-H Clubs in their communities. Others have been able to establish homemaker's clubs. In addition to these activities, the workers have assisted in the acquisition and planting of over one-thousand peach, plum, and apricot trees and grape vines.

Miscellaneous Referral Services

The community workers refer community members to a wide range of other services. These include voter education, legal services, Red Cross, public health services, the Emergency Food and Medical Services program, Surplus Commodity Food Program, Papago Credit Union, Veteran's Administration, and the Social Security Administration.

Summary of Community Development Worker Activities

From the perspective offered by an individual worker's journal, three selected case studies, and summaries of the other services.
supplied by community development workers we gain some understanding of their role performance, their attention to the principles of community development, their response to the resources which became available, and their involvement in activities which were not initially stressed in the program.

Aspects of Community Development
Worker Role Performance

When we consider the activities abstractly, certain attributes of role performance assume major importance. A primary function of the community development worker's role is communication. Important sources of information were community development worker meetings, training sessions, community development staff counseling (see Chapter 5), consultation with various other agency personnel, staff memoranda, tribal council meetings, district council meetings, and officials of tribal government. Information obtained from these sources was communicated to workers' communities through individual consultation (home visits), community meetings, district meetings, and meetings which the worker himself "put up," referred to by some workers as "C.D. meetings." The workers in turn derived responses from communities' membership, often questions of interpretation to which as a communicator he had to provide answers. If the worker could not supply the answer directly he brought the source of information into direct contact with the community. Workers often invited the speakers they heard at a community development worker's meeting to meetings in their communities or districts. Most workers were effective communicators. Some were not. Deficiencies included a
worker's reluctance to speak out at meetings, not understanding information adequately enough to communicate it in an effective way, communicating information to only a portion of the community because of the existence of factions, a predilection to use information to influence people politically, i.e., playing favorites, general inefficiency, and lack of time. Some workers would withhold information about a new project with which they had insufficient time to get involved.

In the Papago situation the very act of communicating is fraught with political implications. As was indicated in Chapter 3 one of the primary functions of tribal councilmen is to act as a communication link between the Papago council and the district-village organization. In this sense this role-attribute of the community development workers was complementary to that of the councilmen and at times in conflict. It is clear that in communities having a rather high dependence on extra-community resources information relating to resource exploitation is crucially important. In the Papago case, its importance is increased by the general lack of access to information resulting from the language barrier, illiteracy, the almost total absence of relevant mass media such as newspapers and radio, and the lack of numerous parallel political communication links. It is quite clear that an individual with private sources of information concerning resource exploitation procedures can become very powerful politically. This is not to say that community development workers fostered their own political power through the control of information which they drew from their association with the program; it does, however, indicate a problem with which the program's administrative staff has had to deal. The fact that during the first year of
the program 83 per cent of the workers were nominated for political office indicates the extent of the pattern. This phenomenon can be best explained as a community attempt to superimpose formal political roles over the communication functions traditionally associated with these roles. The program's board of directors, with the recommendation of the staff, promulgated a policy which restricted community development workers' political activities. The program staff, in an attempt to dilute this source of power, as a matter of policy made the information available to other parallel communication systems (see the introduction to the Ali Chukson range development case in this chapter).

A second important function of the community worker's role was that of expedition. The worker as expediter obtained or assisted the community to obtain the components necessary to carry out goal-oriented activities. Such components include plans, time, manpower, political sanction, technical information, and materials. To do this the community development worker used his information about resources and whatever influence he and the program's popularity were able to muster. The worker as expediter is most clearly illustrated in the North Villages case study.

A third function of the community development worker's role was as community advocate. He represented his community's position vis-à-vis available resources, services, and also in political disputes. This attribute is not clearly revealed in the journal or case studies, but it is particularly important in housing development programs. As is to be expected, virtually all resources used in community projects had limited availability. In the housing improvement program of the Bureau of
Indian Affairs (Chapter 7) the inventory of unfilled applications averaged at least 150 at any given time. Of these only a limited number could be filled as funds for material purchases became available. The workers as advocates for their communities had the responsibility to see that their projects were given a reasonable share of what was available. Because of the importance of this resource in the priority systems of the communities, even workers who were successful in getting a large share of their applications filled were subject to community criticism. Two workers, members of a rather wealthy district, were able to solve the problem by successfully requesting that the district council allocate a large sum of money for housing development within the district.

Generally the problems of allocation and the resultant competition reflects the inability of the housing and community development staff to devise a scheme to deal with the deficiencies related to insufficient funding in housing development. Either to provide more materials or to protect the field workers from this source of criticism the staffs encouraged the communities to establish a ranked list of priority projects, implying that the projects would be completed as the materials came to be available. Most communities did this, presenting a list of eight to fifteen homes for which they desired materials. Even workers who did well, however, were able to get materials for only three or four houses and were thus subject to criticism.

Other activities where community advocacy was an important factor were the distribution of feed program during the 1969-70 drought, well maintenance activities, the Bureau of Indian Affairs road maintenance program, emergency food allotments, the distribution of donated used
clothing and Christmas presents, the range development program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the domestic water development projects of the Public Health Service.

Community Development Worker's Attention to the Principles of Community Development

A perusal of the community development worker reports and other documents authored by the workers indicates that the abstract ideas of community development did not dominate their thinking and activities. The journal, included above, is a clear indication of this, especially because it records the period immediately following the first training sessions and is punctuated by the elaborate in-service training sessions, all of which dealt systematically with the abstractions of community development. In his journal Joe Chico notes only a passing concern with issues suggestive of the abstractions, e.g., "not pushing the people around" (1967: November 11, 1967) and "getting the people to understand" (1967: December 6, 1967). Clearly this is a distilled reference to a rather complex system of abstract goals and principles (see Chapters 4 and 5). The apparent lack of concern is further supported by community development workers' responses when queried about their problems in carrying out their responsibilities. The workers tended to focus on the omnipresent problems of poor transportation, insufficient resources, and lack of communication. The following statements are from the reports of various workers in response to the question "What were your problems in the last two weeks?" All statements are from Community Development Program, Community Development Reports.
The problem I had was getting a truck to haul some adobes. The information I need to better meet the needs of my community is roofing (1969: 2).

BIA and CD Director need to get together in order to better inform the communities of what to expect in the way of Housing Improvement Program (1969: 2).

I need some tools for the community don't have any money to buy some (1969: 3).

Tools that the TEFP might need in going around the houses fixing the roofs. Also transportation the same way (1968: 1).

These things are needed to meet the better needs of our community. Two hand saws, some boards for the church (1969: 3).

My problems are right now is money to pay for wiring the Co-op store and need some information about where to get some chairs and a desk for the CD office in the village (1968: 5).

I have all kinds of problems, sometimes its less, and sometimes it goes way up. Tools is one of them. Transportation is another one. My people don't speak up in our meetings, and after they've come out of the meetings- then they can sure talk and whenever some of them get drunk, that's when they'll really talk (get after me) (1969: 5).

I think the problem we have is in getting the TEFP workers. Two of the men who applied have not gone to the employment office, yet (1969: 6).

The view which we have presented here, that the community development workers did not seem concerned with theoretical abstractions, should not be interpreted to mean that the abstractions were merely given lip-service by the workers and the staff and then were summarily abandoned. Even a superficial analysis of program activities indicate the workers' general resistance to unilateral decision making, to working independent of community organization, and to other notions antithetical to community development abstractions. It should be pointed
out that such acts are also antithetical to ideal Papago political traditions. Virtually all authoritative sources maintain that the Papago decision making process consistently operates on a consensual basis (see Chapter 3). One might say that many of the salient components of the community development ideology are images of the Papago political ideal. There have been projects which were carried out without community involvement in decision making, and predictably the workers involved got into difficulty which led either to reformulation of a worker's approach or his termination by the community.

Community Response to Resources

The community development process as it is represented in the literature (see Chapter 2) usually stresses that development should proceed along the following course: definition of need by the community, planning a strategy which will resolve the need, acquisition of resources appropriate to the strategy, and project execution. We find that this process is substantially modified in practice. Although examples of the ideal are obtainable, the more usual pattern is somewhat as follows: communities do indeed define needs, but the priorities they establish are quite general; and the actual development and execution of a project is stimulated not so much by the priorities but by the opportunities that resources permit as they become available. A community development worker learns of a resource, that is to say, he learns what it is, how to get it, its duration, its prerequisites, and its limitations (what it can't be used for). The worker, usually in conjunction with his community, devises plans to exploit the resource. The ultimate form of the
plans are conditioned by community priorities as they are originally defined. Both the San Xavier and Ali Chukson projects are typical examples. Only in the North Villages case do we have an example of the ideal: a clear preliminary statement that a community center had priority, the subsequent development of a plan, and a search for appropriate resources. The North Villages had a felt need for a community center. They initiated the supportive developments such as the Save-the-Children Federation community program and the fund raising sub-committee, and they successfully carried out the plan. But neither San Xavier nor Ali Chukson clearly expressed a set of priorities which included the projects reported. They did, however, respond favorably to the development opportunities afforded by an available resource about which information had been supplied. And we can say they developed felt needs for the project's results. We can conclude that slavish adherence to the community development rhetoric, such as the classic ideal community development process, will inhibit a community's ability to exploit resources of benefit to it. Poor, economically marginal communities must be opportunistic to survive. This position is supported by both the experience of the community development program and Papago ethnographic data (see Chapter 3). These conditions will remain as long as communities have an inadequate resource base, as long as the applicability of available resources from outside the community remains relatively specific (see Chapter 7), and as long as the institutions which control resource allocation policies and procedures remain politically unaccountable to the communities planning for development.
Community Development Worker Involvement in Activities Not Originally Stressed in the Program Planning

The initial planners of the program did not stress personal service, that is, individual assistance in things such as welfare; legal and medical referrals; voter registration; transportation; emergency food allotments; wood cutting; social security; Veterans Administration referral; and assistance in employment. The original program proposal does state, however, that "... the community development program is designed to reach out to those Papagos who live in the widely scattered communities that have been selected to participate in the program" (Papago Community Action Program Staff 1966: 2). One might assume that personal service is implicit in reaching out, which may indeed be the reason for its existence. In any case it became so significant a component in program operations that personal service vis à vis the goals of community development can be viewed in terms of both its liabilities and its assets. The primary limitation is that it consumes large amounts of time. A worker could develop a large enough clientele to keep him active for an entire work week, thus rendering the achievement of community goals through his actions impossible. These activities also tend to increase individual dependence on extra-community institutions, e.g., the community development program. The assets of personal service are not limited. For example, a worker by giving service to individuals builds rapport which in turn improves the worker's effectiveness. A community development worker who didn't postpone the major thrust of his activities to assist a fellow villager would be criticized as being
ungenerous and wrong-thinking. This alone made staff objections a bit academic. In addition, individual acts of personal service often played a major role in achieving community goals, as for example assisting an individual in enrolling in the Tribal Work Experience Program so he could become a member of a crew working on community projects. In practice, the program staff, being somewhat inconsistent, counseled workers to not get bogged down with a large number of personal service functions while at the same time it provided the workers with educational memoranda and workshops to improve their knowledge of such things as welfare, veterans benefits, and social security so that they were better able to provide such services.

As for the reaching-out aspects of assistance, the staff in certain instances attempted to limit them because they tended to make workers subservient to extra-community programs and agencies and to jeopardize seriously the workers' accountability to the community.
CHAPTER 9

THE REALITY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Administration of a community development program is a complex mixture of the abstract and the concrete, the idealistic and the pragmatic. As an administrator the focus of one's thoughts and activities changes precipitately from the abstract ideological aspects of development, such as community self-determination and democracy, to practical considerations of resource allocation, personnel management, program budget, and maintenance of transportation. An effective administrator has to rapidly adapt his problem-solving abilities in ways which are consistent with community development abstractions to deal with the daily, seemingly inconsequential minutiae of management. He is also required to reduce these same abstractions to practical schemes for action.

The conclusions to follow here are straightforward. They are derived from a single individual's experience as a student of community development and anthropology and from his participation in the administration of a community development program. There is no attempt to deal with the problems of the workers and communities per se. Their problems concern us only insofar as they reflect and relate to the issues with which a program administrator must deal. In addition, where appropriate we will attempt to make policy recommendations for the Papago community development program.
Our concluding discussion will be organized on the same basis as the dissertation itself. We have considered the usefulness of community development theory in program administration, the influence of certain aspects of the Papago situation in the quest for development, the validity of the original program plans, the importance of decentralized worker selection policies for achieving program goals, the implications for community development of certain resource allocation policies, and the nature of the workers' activities themselves.

Community Development Theory

Community development theory has had an impact on the original design of the Papago community development program, the program's training procedures, the thinking of the program's administration, and the activities of the workers. We would like now to discuss the limitations of community development theory in the context of this particular program.

Inconsistency of Basic Assumptions

The existence of a program expressly designed to stimulate and support development in Papago communities is at variance with the basic concepts of community development, such as community self-determination and cultural relativism. The very existence of the Papago community development program implies that Papago communities are impotent, that they cannot achieve development alone. Although the actual development procedures of the program are supposed to be activated by the communities' felt need to develop, the "need" for this program is derived from the inadequacy of the communities' feelings about the urgency to
develop. This "inadequacy" is defined by persons other than the communities' members. The situation is further complicated by the fact that most of the projects stimulated by community workers were carried out with resources from organizations outside the communities. These resources were available before the communities expressed a need for them. This was an anticipation of the needs which were later to be "felt" by the communities. In order to exist, the program had to generate its clientele's felt need for the program itself. There is no evidence that the program's administration ever grappled with this basic contradiction. Neither is this issue dealt with in the literature. As Erasmus points out, "Never obvious and seldom discussed in Community Development literature is the question of whose felt needs are involved if those supposedly 'felt' by the subjects need developers to make them felt" (1963: 65).

Incompleteness of Community Development Theory

As Sanders so capably notes:

A review of the literature shows quite clearly the active formulation of a body of theory at the practitioner's level. This is found in community development handbooks, case studies, evaluative reports, and training materials. Its focus is upon "getting the job done," upon what works and what does not work. This practitioner's theory is set forth in lists of principles which frequently, upon closer examination, prove to be a mixture of policy statements, objectives, procedures, as well as empirically validated generalizations (1953: 3).

As we have suggested, community development theory is incomplete. It is incomplete insofar that it cannot account for all the phenomena relevant to development. In order for theory to be of any significance in the practice of community development it should address itself to
all relevant factors which must be considered for development to be
achieved. Community development theory would be more complete and
therefore more useful if it included references to the basic ideologi­
cal assertions, principles, procedures, and means of development. A
discussion of these aspects of development follows.

**Ideological Assertions.** Ideological assertions are highly
abstract assumptions about the nature of things upon which subsequent
actions are based. They are often stated as values and beliefs, and
their acceptance tends to be *a priori*. Specifically, ideological as­
sertions are related to developmental action in such a way that they
provide rationalizations for action and constant reference points for
conceptualization which serve to increase the consistency of the action.
An example of an ideological assertion follows:

Movement towards such goals, of course, rests on a couple
of fundamental assumptions (or better, expectations) in
which I happen to have a very strong faith: 1) that human
traits are such that progress can be made towards the reali­
zation of human dignity, and 2) that the natural order
(physical nature) is such that with greater knowledge and
skill, human beings can turn it progressively to the service
of social goals (Holmberg 1953: 13).

**Principles.** Principles are general statements concerning the
effects of action in a developmental context. They are in a sense
predictive in that they suggest what will or will not occur if a cer­
tain action is followed. An example: "Development agents must have
thorough knowledge of the main values and principal features of the
client community's culture [for the project to be a success]" (Good­
enough 1963: 22).
Procedures. Procedures are models for action. They are specific statements concerning the course of developmental action. There are innumerable procedures in even the simplest developmental activities. A statement of procedure provides sufficient information about developmental processes to allow uniform replication of a course of action with anticipation of the outcome. Some procedures focus on objects and technical processes such as building a house or constructing a water system; others deal with the manipulation of roles and with situations such as forming a committee or reaching a decision in a village meeting.

Means. Means are the media of developmental action; they make implementation of procedures possible. As the most concrete category, means can be regarded as the keystone of developmental action. Clearly the existence of adequate and appropriate means permits a community or individual to execute goal-oriented procedures. In addition, the nature of the available means conditions action and, consequently, the results of action. The category "means" contains a wide range of diverse elements including implements, facilities, materials, media of exchange, manpower, and various types of knowledge.

When one accepts the responsibility of administering a program designed to effect community development, he faces a wide range of problems. The range of these problems is reflected to a large extent in the four categories discussed above. The point which should be made here is that in planning and administering serious community development one has to deal with phenomena in all of the aforementioned aspects in order to accomplish it.
Program Plans and Goals

In Chapter 4 we discussed the original plans and goals of the program and found them to be based on generally accepted premises of community development theory. After program field activities began there arose a concern with the more concrete factors in development, such as technical procedures and resources. This reorientation could be seen in the content of the training sessions and the community development worker meetings. Despite this reorientation the major deficiency in the program proved to be inadequate provision of the means for development. Our experience shows that there is nothing faulty about the community development approach for village-level development if it is coupled with an adequate investment procedure. We have to regard as naive the assumption of community development theory that all one needs is cooperation. Cooperation is not an end in itself. It is a means, an important means to achieve a wide range of goals defined by communities as desirable and meaningful. It is patently clear that development of any type, whether it is to have tangible or intangible results, requires an investment procedure calculated to achieve the desired results. The importance of this is emphasized when we consider the needs which Papago villagers express. They do not speak of needing cooperation or strengthened community organization except as it is relevant in supporting or achieving more tangible goals. At the same time they express unequivocally many very tangible needs, such as housing improvements, domestic water developments, and range improvements. What, then, is the responsibility of a developmentally oriented program designed to assist communities both in defining goals and in
achieving them? We have to conclude that resources must be accounted for in program plans and operations if the ideological aspects of development are to be carried to their logical and concrete conclusions. One needs the means at the appropriate time, in the proper amounts, and under conditions which encourage subsequent development. The means, as we have indicated in Chapter 7, are best derived from within the community if community development, in the sense of improving a community's self-image and independence, is the ultimate goal.

Unfortunately, Papago villages are undercapitalized; appropriate subsidies are required to achieve the goals which Papago villages have defined, goals which far outstrip the resources which can be generated within village and district organizations at this time. The concluding point is that the abstract considerations of self-determination, decentralized decision making, and felt needs without practical means of implementation, are little more than rhetoric. Even if rigorously applied they are inadequate to achieve the goals of the Papago people. Development requires investment, money, and the things money will buy. Without the means, real development is elusive, an intangible mirage to be chased across the desert. There are series of solutions to this notable deficiency of the program.

If tribal and district organizations are interested in developing the smallest political units of their constituency, they should invest a given amount in development at the village level as they acquire funds from mining and other enterprises. Sif Oidak district, for example, invested large amounts of funds in village-level housing improvement with significant results. Investment of this type would
serve to coalesce the Papago political hierarchy by increasing the effect of district and tribal government activities on the basic unit of the system, the village. Village people would undoubtedly have a greater interest in the affairs of the other components of the hierarchy as a result. Presumably as tribal and district organizations exerted a greater influence on village affairs through increased spending on village development, village people would show an increased tendency to actively participate in tribal and district affairs. This would significantly strengthen the tribal and district organization.

Federal agencies concerned with Papago development and welfare should review their budgets and prepare to increase the amount which they invest in village development in contrast to their present emphasis on the entire reservation as the unit of action. The suggestion presented here would be to increase the budgets of all programs which have a backlog of development requests from villages which for financial reasons cannot be met. Two examples of this situation are the domestic water system development program of the Public Health Service and the housing improvement program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the same time, all agency programs which have yet to demonstrate a significant and tangible effect on the goals which Papago organizations have defined should be eliminated or reorganized to achieve such goals.

Papago tribal government should initiate a formal plan to increase Papago political pressure on the executive and legislative branches of the federal government for the purpose of increasing federal allocations for village development through all currently existing agencies. In other words there should be a Papago tribal lobbyist in
Washington. The tribal government under the leadership of Chairman Thomas A. Segundo has worked toward this goal over the past two years; the effort should be continued.

The last recommendation is that federal programs which serve village development needs should alter their relationship with villages so that villages may have greater control over resource allocation. A restructuring of the relationships could be undertaken through a program such as community development which has already created the necessary close relations with Papago villages.

The administrative changes and innovations suggested above are calculated to increase the amount of funds available to Papago village development. A question might arise concerning the justification of these funds. The program planners, the staff and the tribal council which sponsored the program made at least one a priori assumption: Papago village development is an important goal. The goal needs no further justification; the village units play a meaningful and crucial role in the continuance of traditional Papago life. These same people regard reservation economic development, district and tribal political development, and individual educational and vocational development not as alternatives to village development, but as complementary to it. In a sense one of the goals of this dissertation has been to investigate the feasibility of the village as a primary locus of Papago development. It is possible to conclude that village development can serve as a useful foundation for overall tribal development. In addition to actual development within the context of the village, the village-centered development strategy provides the institutions with information as to
development needs of the people and with access to village level de-
cision making organization which is necessary for local involvement in
tribal development. It is necessary to add that truly comprehensive
tribal development is most likely to occur when there is complementary
development of the organizations and resources at the tribal and
district levels.

In the past, when people considered the prospects for Papago
village development, there was a great deal of concern with obstacles
to development inherent in the Papago socio-cultural situation, such as
the conservatism of Papago villages or the various cultural proscrip-
tions that inhibit developmental innovations (see Dobyns 1949 for ex-
amples of this type of interpretation). It is possible to contend that
a development strategy which is based on village-selected multi-purpose
workers who are culturally similar to the village to be developed and
who work for the achievement of community defined goals obviates many
of the obstacles to development. In terms of the experiences of the
community development workers, the major obstacle to Papago community
development is the lack of adequate resources. This can be seen in the
projects which, after planned by village organizations, are delayed
because of the deficiencies in money, material, equipment, and technical
assistance personnel. These are obstacles which to a large extent
originate outside of the community itself.

The Papago Situation

The question of economic dependency as an obstacle to develop-
ment was raised in our discussion of the Papago situation. We may ask
whether it is reasonable to try to develop independence in communities which rely on massive subsidies in the form of welfare and government jobs even to maintain a marginal economic existence? We should note here that the extent of the subsidy is indeed large. It appears that at least half of the on-reservation personal income is derived from subsidy in one form or another.

As we have pointed out, the Papagos live in a rather unproductive and marginal area. In order to survive they have had to take advantage of a wide range of economic opportunities both within and outside their area as they became available. Although there is variation in the pattern, Papagos have been highly mobile and versatile as they exploited various economic opportunities. They made annual migrations to areas which were suitable for farming or gathering wild foods. Trade with certain groups was carried out; and from a very early date they sought employment with other groups; first with the Pima farmers of the Gila valley, later with Mexican townspeople to the south in the Altar valley, and with the Anglo ranchers, farmers, and miners in their own area. Their mobility for the purpose of economic exploitation has increased in the last fifty years with the assistance of the outing and relocation programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, a major Papago justification for sending a young family member to a federal or church boarding school is one of economics; there is one less mouth to feed for the family. In both the past and the present it is the individual or family making the decision to take advantage of one of these economic opportunities. It is reasonable to view welfare and subsidies in other forms as simply another economic opportunity, one
which in this marginal environment people are reluctant not to exploit. Papagos are merely following their well-established pattern of economic opportunism, one which has permitted them to maintain their socio-cultural independence. The latter-day subsidies, including welfare and employment in work programs, have increased population stabilization because they do not require migration. It is quite clear that without this form of support the reservation as it is presently constituted economically could not support the number of people that it does. Without economic development the growing Papago population will continue to need subsidies in order to maintain community life. The people of these communities are needed to participate in development toward more independent forms of economic adjustment. Therefore, Papago dependency on economic subsidy is not an obstacle for community and economic development; at this time it is a necessary part of the development process.

Training of Community Development Workers

The most relevant frame in which we can plan and evaluate training is in terms of what workers need to know to achieve the goals of their communities and the program. Community development worker training should fill three basic needs: to work in a context of mutual understanding, to regard oneself as a legitimate occupant of a status-role, and the need to know how to do one's work satisfactorily.

The Need to Work in a Context of Mutual Understanding

One of the major limitations that the program faces is that individuals and members of institutions having working relationships
with the program do not adequately understand its intentions and goals. They particularly do not understand the intended role of the community development worker and the administrative policies of the program. This lack of understanding occurs in two contexts: the village and in dealing with other programs and agencies.

The Village. A major misunderstanding among village members is the community development worker's role. Many villagers recognize the worker as a mere service functionary who can, because he is paid to do so, carry out in a routine manner activities which the community assigns to him and who assists individuals of the community in various personal ways. The communities tend to disregard other components of the community worker's role, components which in terms of the program's goals are more important. One example is his role as advocate of change and as community organizer. Potentially, at least, a community development worker can become a mere community "errand boy" for the village's leaders and citizens. This situation, which seems common to all such programs, retards development of village independence to the extent that the community becomes more dependent because of the worker's services. In extreme cases, the results are antithetical to what are usually regarded as the goals of community development. The misunderstanding develops out of literal acceptance of the community development rhetoric, which stresses that the community is the ultimate determinant of community development activities. This could be interpreted to mean that the community has the right to order the worker about, telling him to do this or that. This is in contrast to the ideal relationship, which is egalitarian, with development activities determined...
through negotiation between worker and community. It is ironic that
an "errand boy" role should be the result of an abstraction intended to
guide the worker away from an autocratic role. Discussions in the
literature of community development of the change agent's role often
imply a cultural dominance on his part.

Another area of misunderstanding which arises in the village
context is in terms of the authority of the community development work-
ner. Often when a worker becomes active in a particular development
area, community members question the nature of his authority. Such
concern on the part of villagers is a product of their previous en-
counters with official representatives of agencies and programs whom
they have found to have the authority to make decisions which can af-
fect village life. Or in the reverse situation, they have encountered
officials who lack the authority to help them and who have to check
with the superintendent, service unit director, chairman, or executive
director. Matters become further complicated when community workers
undertake to assist in the programs of other agencies and were delegated
authority by these programs. It was frustrating to find workers who
would hold back from certain activities because they felt that they did
not have the authority to act in new areas. It was difficult to ex-
plain to people that community development workers had no authority to
control. They had authority only to persuade, educate, and advocate
change.

Problems of misunderstanding of this type can be alleviated
through education of both the workers and their communities. There
should be periodic reviews by the community development workers and
staff of all aspects of the worker's role. Also needed is greater emphasis on educating the communities by encouraging their members to attend community development worker meetings, sending them newsletters, and planning large-scale public meetings.

Other Programs. One of the major misunderstandings which employees of other agencies had vis à vis the community development program concerns the nature of the relationships between worker and administrative staff. The flaw in understanding is derived from outsiders interpreting the community development program's hierarchical structure as an image of those in the outside agencies. They tend to see all structural hierarchies in terms of instrumentality of relationship. Directors direct, and supervisors supervise to see that the director's dictates are implemented, with this sort of relationship going all the way down to the village level. Therefore they view the community development workers as instrumental extensions of the program director. The workers are also interpreted to be legitimate decision makers for the villages they represent. This view is in marked contrast to the community development program's view that administrative relationships are not instrumental, that advice and persuasion take the place of orders. Workers are trained to accept the idea that they cannot speak authoritatively for the village. Because other agency personnel do not understand these differences they have difficulty dealing with the community development program. Perhaps the community development program has the responsibility to educate the personnel of these other programs in the basic goals and procedures of the community development program so that these individuals may respond to the program's
personnel in a way which is more consistent with the ideology of the program.

Legitimacy of Status-Role

A major function of training is to legitimize a person's achieved status-role. Training increases the worker's identity with the job. He is a community development worker because he was trained as a community development worker. Without regard to actual performance the training process "certifies" the worker as competent and gives him equality with all the other workers. The importance of this function of training is exemplified by the various replacement community development workers who did not always have the benefit of formal training. Usually these individuals went through some type of identity crisis shortly after starting work. The role of the community development worker is purposely ambiguous. A wide range of activities are possible, all being legitimate in the eyes of the administration. Therefore, a new worker is not told what to do and how to fill his time. This leads to problems of identification, especially if the workers are not used to having a job requiring self-direction and self-motivation. Training, regardless of its effectiveness in other directions, can assist the worker in becoming a legitimate occupant of a status-role. It helps him answer the question, "Who am I?"

The Need to Know How to Do Things

It is tautological, but not always adequately recognized, that in order to do a job effectively you have to know how to do it effectively. Most of the formal training sessions stressed the standard
community development rhetoric. Generally, no matter how thoughtful and imaginative a person is, it is difficult for him to act on these abstractions. Therefore, training should provide the worker with knowledge which permits him to act in terms of the program's developmental goals. To use again the four categories which we have indicated in our brief concluding comments on the role of community development thought and theory in the program, the worker needs to accept or develop for himself ideological assertions which are rationalizations and reference points for action. The worker needs to understand the principles of community development so that he can anticipate the effects of his actions. He needs to know various procedures which lead to goal achievement. And he needs to know how to acquire the means of development. It is essential that all four components be dealt with adequately in training.

The actual content of the training should be determined by a wide range of individuals. The workers themselves should request training which they feel would improve their abilities. The program's staff should also plan training with the specific goals of supporting existing activities and stimulating development in new areas. Training ideas should come from outside the program to allow the interjection of new ideas. Personnel of other programs and agencies should be given the opportunity to contribute to the training of the community development workers. They should be made aware of how their association with the program can increase its own effectiveness as well as that of their own program. Further, the format of training used should be logistically simple and in a form familiar to the community development worker.
The current schedule of bi-monthly worker meetings seems to provide the most useful context for most training. The current program administration should strengthen this practice. In addition, the community development workers as individuals should be given the opportunity to attend specialized training sessions as these become available.

Worker Selection

The summary of Chapter 6 adequately reviews the major conclusions in the area of worker selection. We would like to point out that the success of those programs on the Papago reservation having an associated community worker selection policy have established it as an effective device where community self-determination is a program goal. There are limitations, as we have suggested. However, most of the difficulties are generated by poor community understanding of the practice, a problem which presumably could be dealt with through training. One of these limitations is generated by the communities' lack of understanding of program goals prior to the time that they select the worker, resulting in the selection of the wrong worker for the wrong reasons. Another is lack of understanding of their responsibilities to guide and, where necessary, discipline or fire the worker. This could lead to a stalemate between community and program.

In terms of administrative effectiveness, it is wise, in many cases, to assure that the workers are exposed to the communities' will. People in the communities thereby discover that they can terminate the workers' employment. This recommendation is based on what could best be called the "cull" theory of personnel management. If an ineffective
worker is dismissed, chances are that the community, wiser through experience, will select a worker who is more effective. This seemed to be the case in practice except when a worker was replaced who had resigned for personal reasons or who had been promoted.

Resources for Development

There are some significant lessons to be gained from the Papago community development program's experiences with resources. The importance of these lessons is increased when we consider their virtual absence in the literature on community development, supporting our contention that the existing theory of community development is inadequate.

In the analysis which makes up the bulk of Chapter 7, we attempted to show that resource application has certain effects which occur in addition to the primary intended effect. Recognition of the nature of the secondary effects is crucial to a program which is interested in achieving abstract goals such as community involvement and self-determination. Any program of this type should be concerned with the role that concrete resources play in achieving abstract goals.

In Chapter 7 we indicated that although a resource could be both adequate and appropriate in the achievement of a given tangible goal, the manner of application of the resource could either encourage or retard abstract goals. The analysis focused on five components, all of which related to the attainment of abstract program goals. These components include the locus of the institution providing the resources, the focus of application of a resource, its goal orientation, duration,
and the linkages which it had with the particular community organization. It was concluded that the resources analysed differentially aided or retarded the attainment of the abstract goals to which we continually refer. We would like to discuss the practical implications of these findings.

It is reasonable to state that the resource-providing institutions which are concerned with developing Papago communities should review and modify their resource allocation policies so as to increase the degree to which these resources support the abstract goals of community development. Many policies of resource allocation could be so changed at the level of the local governmental agency. Certain policy changes of the desired type have been effected during 1969 and 1970, often in conjunction with the community development program staff. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs housing improvement program's building materials distribution policy changed from a "first come first served" basis, which placed individuals in competition with each other, to a more orderly plan carried out in conjunction with community development workers and which was based on community-determined priorities. This required the people of a community to meet together and determine as a group exactly which individuals within their community had the greatest need for the materials.

In any case, agency officials should be encouraged to reshape policy in this manner. There are many other possibilities for change: all deadlines for use of development funds could be abandoned by contracting the funds to the tribal government; many aspects of resources that are focused on individuals, such as medical services, welfare, and
legal services, could be dealt with on a community basis; and regulations which arbitrarily restrict the use of a resource should be abandoned.

In order for these changes to occur, resource-providing institutions should be aware that the process of resource allocation has multiple effects, some of which are not obvious but which are very important. Administrators should be made aware of the nature and meaning of these effects. If administrators understand the goals of community development, potential for change increases. However, there are obstacles to change. The most important is the traditional role of the governmental bureaucrat. As a manager he has been trained to retain control of decision making processes and therefore feels best qualified to manage the affairs of the community which he "serves." Consequently, the traditional bureaucrat has tended to establish guidelines which restrict a community to goals which he thinks are legitimate and he continues to specify deadlines on the basis of administrative expediency. By assuming these responsibilities he deprives poorly educated, though highly deliberative, communities of a chance to learn and understand the intricacies of using a resource. He tends to bypass communities whose existence he barely recognizes in order to work with a few tractable acculturated individuals. And he has tended to retain the power to allocate and control resources, often the only justification for his employment, thus depriving a community of the right to control what is theirs.
The Activities of Community Development Workers

It is not necessary here to discuss all the activities of the community workers. Instead we would like to consider certain problems which the author faced as an administrator in connection with the workers' activities.

The Service-Development Compromise

The primary goal of the program may be defined as the permanent and beneficial socio-cultural and physical change of a community. In addition, these changes should make it possible for the community to develop at an increasing rate with less assistance from outside. The goal differs from the provision of services and acts of assistance which are temporary and do not increase the community's capacity to change.

As pointed out in the conclusion to Chapter 8, the workers and the program staff came to reach a compromise between service and developmental orientation. If we could carefully analyze the amount of time spent by the workers on these two types of activities we would find that the workers used a large share of it in service activities. Service activity functions to support the position of the worker by making him appear uniformly productive and by building his inventory of reciprocal obligations which later assist him in development projects.

Because of their important supportive role the program came to abandon many of its prejudices against service activities. At first the program administrators, in policy statements and in worker counseling sessions, dissuaded workers from the service orientation, while at the same time assisting them through training to provide services
more completely. It worked well in practice, however inconsistent it seems. It remains true, however, that the service function, no matter how attractive it is to a program's field staff and to their constituency, can neutralize a program as an effective force for development.

The Low-Profile Worker

In order to be a successful worker in the developmental sense, one has to advocate change. This is difficult in that often the advocate is the focus of criticism. One of the most frustrating problems in program administration was the low-profile worker who avoided criticism and controversy by rigorously avoiding advocacy of change while conscientiously carrying out what appeared to community members as his proper job responsibilities. Characteristically, this type of worker took on various routine service function, such as supervising the local work crew, turning in their time, and obtaining their tools and materials. He thus filled his job responsibilities without proposing anything which would increase his responsibilities or his community's opportunity to criticize. This situation was particularly well-developed in communities having a highly autocratic leadership, which are not rare despite generalizations advanced about Papago communities' tendency toward consensus decision making. One major Papago village has had a succession of four workers who demonstrated the low-profile characteristics. The leadership of the village in question consists of a clique of well entrenched government employees who seem to stifle open discussion of development issues.
It is difficult to contend administratively with this phenomenon; it seems so much a part of the worker's general behavior and is understandable in the context in which he works. The best strategy is to assist the worker to be better at the tasks he performs while attempting to pressure him into the more exposed position as an advocate for change.
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