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BENEFIT ANALYSIS

KEHEWIN



Preliminary Report

1974

KEHEWIN BENEFIT ANALYSIS

An Experimental Approach

To Development

1972-1973

- A Preliminary Report -

Ovila Gobeil,
Special Assignments
and Review.

October, 1974.

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A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

Kehewin's Chief, Council, Band manager and Band members must be commended for their genuine concern and co-operation in this study. To give out information and to be "analyzed", are seldom interesting prospects.

Jeff Trew of the Program Analysis Division, for his important analytical and research contribution, Robert Brulé of the Financial and Planning Analysis Division for his financial statements, and Andrew Michrowski of Special Assignments and Review and other staff members of the directorate, have been most helpful and encouraging. Special thanks goes to the typist, Brenda King, for her remarkable patience.

As a Benefit Analysis, this study is basically a data base inquiry into the occurrences of the past five years at Kehewin with an emphasis from 1971-72 to 1972-73, the years of intensified development.

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October 1974.

- SUMMARY PAPER -

Kehewin Reserve - Total Community Development

Introduction

The Kehewin Band, since the fall of 1971, has been involved with the assistance of the Department, in the development of the Kehewin Reserve based on the principle of self-determination.

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to provide, in summary, a review of the past three years at Kehewin by examining the development program undertaken and by identifying the effects of the activities chosen by the Band.

Method

The material and information summarized here and found in the main report "Kehewin Benefit Analysis - A Preliminary Report" has been collected from on-site observation, special research studies, interviews of people on and off-reserve and departmental sources.

Kehewin Reserve

The Kehewin Reserve is located in northeastern Alberta, 150 miles from Edmonton and within 20 miles of the two principal towns of the region - St. Paul and Bonnyville. The reserve is governed by a tribal administration under a Chief and Council. In 1973 the Band population was 527 individuals.

In 1971 the Kehewin Band was relying primarily on social assistance for economic support since only five reserve members had regular employment. Kehewin, like many other reserves in the area, was having difficulty maintaining itself as a viable community, both economically and socially.

Background

As a direct consequence of a school strike in September, 1971, and the occupation of the Indian Affairs Regional Office, Edmonton, in October an agreement was reached between the Bands of northeastern Alberta, most notably the Kehewin, Saddle Lake, and Cold Lake Bands, and the Minister, to have the Department provide assistance and funds which would enable the Bands to more actively participate in their own development.

Special advisors from the Department began working with the Kehewin Band in January 1972. However, an understanding was reached with the Saddle Lake/Athabaska District Office that nevertheless, regular IAND local programs would continue to function without interference. Throughout the ensuing development stages contact and co-ordination with other government departments, provincial agencies, industry and the public was developed.

Approach

The approach followed at Kehewin was to work closely with the Chief, Band Council and the Band members and offer them an opportunity to actively participate in and plan various activities for the community. The method that was used has become known as the Total Community Approach. This approach is based on specific value premises, and sound development principles supported by action and evaluation research.

Alternative

It is an exercise in applied research in which all members of the community are assisted individually and collectively to chose their own ways of developing and maintaining their economic, social and cultural independence. The community identifies its own problems and felt needs and plans its own solutions which in a climate of sound advice and confidence favour the development of local leadership and full local participation in the organization and implementation of projects.

Financial Inputs

The development program led to a substantial increase of funding to the Reserve. This included funds from Manpower and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, the provincial government and significantly increased contributions from the Indian Affairs program. By

1973-74 total funds allocated to the Reserve for both operating and capital programs were in excess of \$1 million as compared to \$245,000 in 1969-70 and \$632,000 in 1971-72, the year immediately preceding the development program. The "extra" costs resulting from the intensified development project were \$251,800 for 1972-73 and \$177,600 for 1973-74.

Impact on Administration

The Band now has its own administrative offices and personnel including, in addition to the Chief and Band Council, a band manager, three secretaries, a bookkeeper and a finance administrator.

Impact on Education

The Band has recruited, from its own ranks, a teacher aide, student counsellors and school bus drivers from the bus co-op. A school is being planned which will accommodate not only the children attending regular grade school programs but the building is also intended to be used as a community centre to meet the educational and cultural needs of the total population.

Impact on Social Services

Major initiatives in the social area relating to native involvement in counselling services, communication, a day care centre and recreation

development, were undertaken. Another important activity has been the participation and leadership given by the Band to provincial authorities and the Alberta Metis Association in the joint development of a rehabilitation centre in the vicinity of Bonnyville.

Impact on Economic
Developments

Significant advancement in economic opportunities on the Reserve have come about as a consequence of Band participation in LIP programs and Canada Manpower Training programs and the capital and O & M contributions of the Department. Initially activities centered on a sawmill operation, fencing of reserve lands, a tannery, a handicraft centre and a welding school. These resulted into a weaving industry and a steel fabricating plant. A substantial expansion of the farming and ranching industries, has also occurred.

Impact on Employment

The expansion of activities on the Reserve was responsible for an improvement in employment and income and a reduction in dependency on social services. For example, during the period

Decline in welfare

1969-70 to 1973-74 welfare payments to members on the Reserve declined by 50%; the greater part of this decline occurred in 1972-73 when the full effects of the development program were being felt. Co-inciding with this decline

in welfare payments was an improvement in employment and a shift from part-time to full-time employment among the men and a shift from the home to employment for some of the women. The number of employed persons as a percentage of those available for work improved from 20% in 1970 to 50% in 1974.

Increased Purchasing
Power

The impact of improved employment opportunities on the Reserve and the new economic activities has been reflected in family income levels, purchasing power and the general well-being of Reserve members. Family possessions have expanded to include such items as record players, clothes washers and dryers and freezers in addition to the normal household appliances such as fridges and stoves, T.V.'s and radios found in most homes. The number of cars and trucks owned by Band members has also increased, particularly in the case of newer vehicles.

Other observed Effects
and Psychological impact

Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the experiment in self-determination has been the positive impact it has had on personal and community development in the non-economic sphere. For example the numerous activities

Self - identification

brought the people together in a common cause and enhanced personal self-esteem and community

Pride

pride. The opportunity to remove themselves from the welfare role and pursue worthwhile activities

Work Ethic

in a work - oriented environment, has done much to promote and cultivate the work ethic. The

New Skills

responsibility of administration has brought about the learning of new skills in communications, budgeting, accounting, planning and general management. New skills were developed, options multiplied. Members wishing to leave the community and apply their skills elsewhere may now do so.

Personal Initiatives

The opportunities afforded by the administration and counselling services have provided new and portable skills, employment and income, personal initiative and job satisfaction; the consequence

Productivity

of productivity and industriousness. There has been an expansion in the community infrastructure and with it an expansion of the community's felt -- needs for other facilities and services.

Outside Attitudes

The attitudes of other communities both native and non-native have been affected by the Kehewin experience. The reaction covers the whole spectrum of emotions; from envy among other reserves to pleasure in non-Indian communities that welfare has

been reduced and that the Indian people are productive; from good competition amongst different reserves and a new sense of pride to mixed feelings from some departmental staff about the way the special advisors to the Bands were working.

Some of the results of the experience have not been entirely positive.

Credit - debt

With the improvement in employment and income has come improvement in credit status and the ensuing increase of debt among some band members. Their ability to handle financial commitments is of concern given their limited training in money management.

Alcohol

Though extensive efforts are being made in rehabilitation, alcohol remains a serious problem on the reserve. Drinking habits remain, only the quality and timing have changed.

Industries

As for the two main industries on the reserve, there are still managerial difficulties. These are associated with the fact that as with many industrial and commercial businesses during their

five years or so they are not yet self-supporting.

Community Expectations

The impact of the development experience on individual and community expectations is difficult to assess but it can be assumed that if nothing more, the experience has opened peoples' eyes to what can be accomplished. Only if the developmental process is permitted to mature with related assistance will we know if the experiment in self-determination has been worthwhile in terms of the band members, the larger community and the department. This brings us to the major recommendation of the paper.

Recommendation

It is recommended that the activities undertaken on the Kehewin Reserve during the past three years be monitored over the next three years by a group comprised of representatives from the Band, the Alberta Regional office and Headquarters. Only by following the events at Kehewin, for the next three years at least, will it be possible to fully evaluate the impact the experiment in self-determination has had on the development of the Reserve and its members.

The evaluation will enable the assessment of the self-determination approach as a viable alternative for delivering services to Bands.

PURPOSE OF ANALYSIS

The purpose of this analysis is to assess what has occurred since the fall of 1971 when the Kehewin Band began promoting the principle of self-determination. Two years were spent on a pilot project which was initiated by the Band jointly with Indian Affairs programs (Education, Community Affairs, Economic Development) of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. So far, the project has involved every member of the community and every aspect of community life.

This preliminary benefit study faces the usual problem of attempting to counterbalance the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of analyses. To maintain a degree of qualitative variety, the quantitative determinancy has had to be included. Not all of such determinancy, however, is of the usual "economic cost" nature, due to the globality of the developmental approach taken by the Band and the Special Development Group from wherein so many "intangibles" of human nature were affected. Maintaining an equilibrium between both economic and non-economic factors is seldom an easy task. These factors, though each being unique and specific in nature and structure, nevertheless make up the indivisible whole that any viable and meaningful development process effectively has to be.

This report is not the cost/benefit analysis usually heralded by economists or administrators nor is it purely a socio-cultural structural analysis.¹ It is meant rather to (1) present the rationale of the total community approach

1. As analytical tools, cost benefits have limitations because they measure only what can be measured. In some cases, the social benefits stand very high and must be included because they off-set the input-output ratios. Concentration only on measurable variables and elements for purchase and for sale in the market would not provide an adequate indicator of the standard of living, neither would they give a view of the total situation

to development (Section I); (2) inquire into some of the economic and non-economic benefits brought about during two years of intense work (Section II) (3) establish bench marks indicating what was happening on the reserve prior to the years of intensified development and what were the financial inputs to this involvement during the same period and after during the developing years (Annex I); (4) introduce some alternatives to the development process on reserves (Annex II).

Unfortunately, the reader's evaluation can only be based upon the results given in the present paper.² One must not forget that development is a dynamic process involving people, funds, attitudes, organizations, productivity, and a time sequence. An exact "benefit ratio" is not outlined here but will

(Footnote 1 cont'd)

including such elements as dignity of life, leisure, pride, self-determination and other intangible wants that make up assessment of "quality of life".

The following excerpt from G. Myrdal, an economist of international repute on the subject of world poverty, is significant especially because it could apply to the work of any social scientists "In presenting their concepts, models, and theories, economists are regularly prepared to make the most generous reservations and qualifications -- indeed they emphasize that in the last instance development is a "human problem" and that planning means "changing men". Having thus made their bow to what they have become accustomed to call the "non economic" factors, they thereafter commonly proceed as if those factors did not exist. Most economists do this without offering any apology. Some ensure themselves by stressing that they do not feel competent to deal with these non economic factors. In either case, they commonly fail to explain what the neglect of these factors implies for the validity of their research".

...Myrdal continues: "The very act of clarifying what should be meant by "economic" problems or "economic" factors must, in fact, imply an analysis that includes all the "non economic" determinates. From a scientific point of view, the only permissible demarcation - the only one that is fully tenable logically - is between relevant and less relevant factors". -- The Challenge of World Poverty - 1970 Vintage Book, pp. 11 - 13.

2. The reader is reminded the study reports up to the end of 1973. There are few instances when the writer feeds into the report 1974 data or events for the purpose of clarifying an assumption or underlying an argument.

have to be done at a future date once the development process has had a chance to mature. Recommendations are given in the conclusion section, which, if followed through will allow for a long-term evaluation including a cost-benefit analysis.³

SECTION I - RATIONALE FOR A TOTAL COMMUNITY APPROACH:

The total community development approach is based on very specific value premises without which true development is meaningless. The approach stems from sound development principles and values, action research and evaluation research. All three components, value premises, developmental principles and research are described below. Other alternatives to development are described in Annex II.

A. Value Premises

To work effectively with Indian people on Indian reserves care must be taken to understand beforehand some basic premises of Indian reserve life. Some of our headquarters and regional policies, models and regulations may make sense and lead to valid inferences because the concepts and theories incorporating them are fairly adequate to the realities of our urban centres and our upbringing in an industrialized society. The ways of accepting and doing things has become "second nature" to us. But we presumably take for granted that all Indian people in Canada living on reserves share our "second nature" towards what they often term the "whiteman's way of life". The fundamental deficiency in our approaches is that too easily we make abstractions of attitudes, institutions,

3. With this report a video tape recording of Chief Theresa Gadwa and Mr. Joe Dion, Band Manager of the Kehewin Tribe can be made available upon request from the Special Assignment and Review Directorate, Indian Affairs Program. The tape reflects how these leaders perceive an Indian community and what they think development is within the concept of self-determination.

human behavior, self-images and people. The realities at headquarters and the "second nature" approach in most of our staff are not the realities of most Indian people on reserves and their "second nature", for they too have their own reaction to people, events and things.⁴

In his "Kehewin Village Development" plan, architect Douglas J. Cardinal said in May 1973:

"Any working philosophy upon which an Indian community will be developed must evolve from a very sensitive understanding of the Indian culture, and the life style of the Indian people ... The cultural heritage of the Indians of Kehewin, like that of all Plains Indians, is several thousand years old, and its philosophy of life has evolved through generations of living in close harmony with nature. The Indian life style has been characterized by a constant balance with nature, and by a concept of oneness which is reflected in the close knit nature of their communities, and the Indian tradition of always caring for the sick, the old and the needy among them -- Indian communities like Kehewin today are determined to regain the freedom and dignity of their ancestors; they want to build for themselves a community that reflects their original life style ... and wishes to establish the industries, services and facilities necessary for such self-sufficiency ... All the services and facilities

4. In his paper titled "Indians Planning Their Own Community - January '74' Andrew Michrowski of Special Assignments and Review develops this notion and under 8 categories presents two value belief systems: one for the native people; the other for the "establishment" showing that such systems do exist and influence our "way of seeing things". (Appendix 1)

listed as the elements of a typical Albertan community that the Kehewin Tribe needs will be developed for Kehewin and by the people of Kehewin".

It is the meshing of the old and the new.

According to a survey undertaken during the spring of 1973,⁵ 66% of the Indian students identified themselves as Indians while 69% of the white students identified themselves as Canadians (as compared to English, French, Ukranian, etc...). This should not, however, be interpreted as a measure of animosity and/or discrimination since to the question 'who are the best kind of people', 62% of the Indians and 66% of the white students replied "my friends".

Both groups wanted to know more about Indian culture in school. Another on-reserve survey,⁶ with the main objective to find out more about the community's needs, showed that 88% of the Band members thought there was such a thing as a specific Indian culture different from the white culture.

5. Students from grades 6 to 12 answered 47 questions in reference to the basic attitudes school children may have towards themselves and their peer groups. 521 students under one school board participated of which 70 were native students. According to Mr. Cardinal's staff who were responsible for the survey, the questionnaire reflected the following. Indian children tend to identify quite strongly with the Indian culture and peoples. They have greater faith than the whites in the ability of Indians to handle traditional skills such as hunting and horseback riding. Along with this they seem to see the need for accepting some of the ways of the white culture as shown in their answers to the question "I would like to go to school until I get..." Here a large number indicated that they would like to receive formal education up to grade 12 (42%) and college or university (38% - a lower percentage and ratio than amongst white students). One major difference between Indian children and white children is in the subjects they like in school. A large number of Indian children (84%) said they did not like arithmetic. On the breakdown by sex there were no differences found. Predictably more of those in higher grades had used alcohol.

6. Survey (1973) was completed on the reserve with 122 members (approximately 50% of the band members ranging in age from 16 to 78 years).

Furthermore, out of 14 cultural events and activities often associated with Indian culture, the variables listed most often and identified as part of the Kehewin culture were - sundance, handicrafts and sweatlodge. There was also a significant consensus on what to do about this situation. The main cultural events and traditions should, in this order: be taught to everyone, be practiced and be taught in school. In practice this indicated that provisions should be made for: a gathering place (62%), adequate industries (86%) and a sundance lodge (45%). Again it is the meshing of the "old" and the "new" and knowledge of what should be done.

It is evident from what has been said above, Indians do perceive themselves and their culture as different; they clearly identify their needs; they know how best to satisfy those needs (a gathering place, adequate industries and a sundance lodge).

Within any approach, value premises are clearly mandatory. Yet these values do not inhibit development and well being. Furthermore, being what they are, logically they should be accounted for in the cost of carrying out development. It is by neglecting these fundamental premises that projects and programs eventually fail.

B. Theoretical Basis to the Approach:

A theoretical approach is as sound as the value premises upon which it is based. The basic principles behind the Total Community Approach have been tested again and again. The techniques used could be different and should be different as they relate to the value premises, the demographic and ecological factors and the people concerned with the process of development

itself. Denis Chatain's paper on "Task Force for Action Research in Socio-Economic Development Using the Total Community Approach" (Appendix 2) outlines at some length what development encompasses and how it might best be tackled.

With the risk of over-simplifying, the main elements to consider when applying the Total Community Approach are as follows:

First, dealing with people, their needs and their problems by deciding from the top down and through "compartmentalization" is not conducive to true development. Rather a total community involvement commencing at the "grassroots" level and evolving upwards must be considered in the process. This implies that much of the footage appropriately termed "red tape" must be cut.

Second, it is of tantamount importance for the people at the grassroots level to be actively and continuously involved in all matters shaping their destiny for the obvious reasons that the three following factors and related sub-factors must be respected:

- (i) Space (with its geographical, climate, ecological restrictions and potential);
- (ii) Time (appreciation of the "right time to do the right thing"; the effective timing of sequences of events, choices and decisions; it is the respect of the social structure);
- (iii) Intensity (how fast things happen and how much at a time as related to value system, identity, functions, etc.).

Third, it must be remembered that assisting a person to find employment, irrespective of how rewarding or satisfying, fulfills only one part of the individual's basic needs. As already stated, of possibly greater relevancy, varying in degree with the person concerned, are his (or her) social, health, cultural, leisure and spiritual requirements. All of these must be simultaneously catered to as well -- individually, collectively, and on a community-wide basis if the desired viability is to be maintained. "Political, spiritual and cultural pride, albeit vital to the goal of overall viability, are not likely to be achieved when only a job is found".⁷ It is the total man - total community concept.

Fourth, in initiating the whole developmental process which is one of confidence and respect, it is also imperative to distinguish what has been labeled the "culture of poverty" (which is more than living poorly) and what can easily be called the "welfare culture". Psychologically and sociologically these two realities are "ways of life" and may be applicable to both rich and poor alike. They destroy or maintain pride, self-confidence, initiative, ambition, responsibility and motivation,⁸ all of which are crucial in the development process.

Fifth, from the outset, it is essential that flexibility becomes the password. A community must continue to progress from the assistance or situations it finds itself in. The moment it decides "to give it a try" a whole variety of processes take place. Action-research is then justified (as explained on page 10) as development comes into being. If confidence is to grow and people

7. Denis Chatain "Task Force For Action Research in Socio-Economic Development using the Total Community Approach". pp. 12-13, (Appendix 2)

8. As applicable to the native people of Canada, the expressions "welfare" and "Treaty and aboriginal rights" must not be confused nor are they interchangeable.

are to succeed in development, government and other agencies wishing to be involved must be flexible so as to respond effectively with specialized staff, proper budgeting, no pre-defined outcomes in purely economic terms and within time limits open to negotiation and therefore to change.

Sixth, since the development process involves the whole community, many projects and/or programs will be initiated. It is important to realize that the development process does not close off the option of members wishing to leave the community and applying their skills elsewhere. Rather it expands individual choice; it does not limit it. As mentioned elsewhere in the report, the process (i.e. the agreed-upon activity) dictates the nature of training and not vice versa.

Lastly and as a conclusion, the ultimate goal is socio-economic viability. Viability occurs when in a simultaneous and a complementing way economic development takes place with social development (taken in its broadest definition). In so doing a community can go as far as their human, fiscal, industrial and natural resources permit them to do so.

C. Action and Evaluation Research

Action and evaluation research are both essential elements in development under the Total Community Approach. They are part of the theoretical framework and the developmental process.

Both are tools for management at the local "grassroot" level as well as in government. (Appendix 3).

They differ mainly in purpose but complement each other in the securing of the goals chosen by the community involved in the process.

Action-research refers to research activities which are an integral part of on-going social (taken in its broadest sense) and economic projects or programs. Action-research must be essentially participatory and have the flexibility of community life itself. It has built-in monitoring procedures and feedback mechanisms either to compensate for unwanted or unplanned deviations, or again based on new information (feedback) to promote better ways of achieving its end.

Evaluation research forms the base for action-research and for good planning at the operational and especially at the strategic planning level. It does more than totalling inputs of a program or underlining the efficiency with which these inputs are used. In addition it is evaluative in measuring and/or relating the relative value of programs in meeting community needs. In fact, evaluation research can assist management to respond appropriately and can tell if action/programs are responding adequately to both objectives of the project/programs and the needs of the people under such project/programs.

In conclusion, evaluation research rectifies or changes the course of action while action-research pre-tests this course and assures its continuity. Both are complementary while each has its specific role to play.

SECTION II - RESULTS AND IMPACT OF THE PILOT PROJECT:

The results obtained after two years of intense involvement in the community of Kehewin are subject to that particular time frame. As such, they are valid because they depict the present situation. The ground work has been done. The community has proven its ability to cope, on a daily basis, with the many difficulties and diverse situation affecting their lives.

This section is divided under two headings: the economic benefits; and the non-economic benefits. Placing a value judgement on every activity or fact of the community is not intended here. In this context "benefits" mean the things or events which the community is now profiting from in the sense that they give them employment, pride, joy of living and an opportunity in decision-making and problem-solving. These are the factors which make up a "quality of life".⁹

A. Economic Benefits Attained:

1. Economic Options and Projections

Job opportunities on the reserve are a very recent phenomena. Prior to 1971 there was only one full-time job in administration (from June) and four part-time jobs driving school buses. While the Chief and Councillors had a very specific role to play in the community and meetings were held, it was difficult for them to "take over" programs, to organize their community as they wished. No salaries were attached to their jobs. There were

9. Many analysts have tried their hands in defining 'quality of life'. It is an important issue to be concerned with. One of the most interesting paper comes from, the Centre for Settlement Studies, University of Winnipeg, Manitoba which suggests 10 components of quality of life in a paper titled "The Quality of Life of Native People: a discussion paper - a research and development prospectus." December 1972, Riffel, Burelle, Kelly.

a few men working for farmers on lands adjacent to the reserve, others were on construction sites and some were participating in seasonal work like picking sugar beets in Southern Alberta.

One clear distinction must be made between full-time and part-time employment. Government and industry relate employment to man-years or man-months. Production, promotions and efficiency are often appraised according to these measurements. The same process is too often applied indiscriminately to Indian employment on-reserve. One must ask if at the outset, industries and employment on Indian reserves are similar to industries and employment in urban centres. Is progress, productivity, creativity and training important and real only, or mainly, when a certain number of man years is reached and established? Many Indian men were "fully" employed while fishing, hunting, chopping wood and "doing some odd jobs" (i.e. other seasonal work). Working when jobs are available is often equated to full-time employment. Being "steady" at a job also constitutes full-time employment (i.e. working in forestry, five or six months a year; picking sugar beets two months of the year plus some seasonal work with local farms; or working two days a week every week of the year). Part-time work is definitely seasonal work or "contractual" work whereby the labourer commits himself for one short job at a time. To understand the situation better, Table 1 shows what has happened since 1968 in the field of employment. People are now working in administration, in the weaving factory, the steel fabricating industry, in the cattle and farming business, the rehabilitation centre, and in the recreation field. Others have seasonal work off-reserve either fishing, trapping or farming. Some

get their income from more than one source at a time which explains the high employment of 1972 and 1973 as compared to the work force potential (Table 2). Others live off the reserve, even though for the years of 1972-73 there was a sharp drop in off-reserve living.

TABLE I - TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT BY YEAR (1968-1973)

	1968	*3 1969	*3 1970	*3 1971	1972	1973
Administration	Nil	Nil	(June)	5	7	8
Weaving					30	22
Welding						15
Ranching	8	N/A	N/A	N/A	18	18
Farming	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	20	20
Recreation	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1 + 6 ¹	1 + 6 ¹
Social Services	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	14	10
Fishing	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	2
Trapping	20	25	N/A	N/A	10	10
Farm Labourer	15	14	14	2	3	3
Bus Services			4	4	4	4
General Labour (seasonal work) *2	29	30	33	36	-	-
Education Services		2	2	2	2	2
Other (construction, sawmill, maintenance)				1	52	35
TOTAL	77	-	-	-	169	156

*1 - One full-time recreation officer and 6 others for summer activities.

*2 -- Typical seasonal work - having two jobs at the same time for many; others taking summer employment down south; or construction. 1972 and 1973 figures are included in the other sources of income i.e. sawmill, construction, maintenance.

*3 - Since many figures were not available for 1969, 1970 and 1971, totals are not given.

TABLE 2 - POTENTIAL WORK FORCE (1969-1973)

	<u>(1969-70)</u>	<u>(1970-71)</u>	<u>(1971-72)</u>	<u>(1972-73)</u>	<u>(1973-74)</u>
65 and over	11	10	11	12	13
15 and under	214	207	213	202	205
Students 15-21	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>
TOTAL	245	236	244	230	236
Female potential work force	64	70	79	90	96
Male potential work force	<u>74</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>90</u>
TOTAL	138	149	169	186	186
Total on reserve population	383	385	413	416	422
% increase or decrease in work force since 1969-70	-	6.8%	21.6%	29.7%	21.6%

There has been a clear increase in job opportunities on the reserve. Seasonal work on or off the reserve, however, has diminished with the way to earn a living dramatically changed. One of the most notable observations from table 1 is the increasing diversity of employment after 1971. Of interest is the significant decline in the number of farm labourers. There was a shift from off-reserve work to on-reserve employment opportunities. Theoretically this poses a problem. What would happen to the workers if there was an extensive lay-off on the reserve? Would the seasonal workers of 1970 and 1971 be forced onto the welfare list or would the seasonal work still be available to them? With on-reserve job opportunities opening up in 1972-73,

it could be argued that some good workers came back on the reserve. This may be so, but facts show that many welfare recipients were also drawn into the active labor force. In addition, an active female labor force was created. One can see the importance of good follow-up once a community, like Kehewin, has started to grow so that the initial investment in money, time and personnel is not wasted through a futile exercise.

According to a survey¹⁰ held on the reserve such things as welfare and bank loans changed drastically since 1971 as shown in Table 3 and Table 4.

TABLE 3
WELFARE COSTS AS RELATED TO SALARIES EARNED

	<u>Welfare Costs</u> (\$000)	<u>% increase</u> <u>(decrease)</u>	<u>Salaries</u> <u>Earned</u> (\$000)	<u>% increase</u> <u>(decrease)</u>
1969-70	98.9			
1970-71	109.3	10.5%	6.0	
1971-72	124.7	14.1%	45.0	650.0%
1972-73	34.7	(72.2%)	288.0	540.0%
1973-74	48.2	38.9%	300.4	4.3%

The total decrease in welfare since 1969-70 is 51.3%.

10. The survey completed by George John of Kehewin included 80 males and 51 females for a total of 131 respondents which covers 53% of Kehewin's on-reserve population from age 15 to 65. The survey gave data on employment, sources of income, education levels, home improvements and community participation.

TABLE 4

USE OF BANK LOANS AND CREDIT BY YEAR

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
Loans						
Outstandings	--	1	2	1	5	10

The major points of interest are the significant decline in welfare cost and the substantial increase in the number of loans outstanding to individuals. Financial security brought about by work makes credit easier to obtain.

As shown in Annex I, under the subtitle "Financial Input into the community" page 8, none of the present industries, after two years, can totally support themselves financially. They are still subsidized by government grants or from outside sources. However, many Canadian industries receive government financial support. Over a period of time, grants, redeemable grants, and loan monies are extended to many of them. Annex II, on pages 3 to 5, mentions DREE's \$30,000 per job created and the kinds of money spent elsewhere to stimulate the economy. It also refers to C.I.D.A.'s forgivable loans to developing countries. Kehewin, too, has received grant monies but has borrowed and will continue to do so. Still the inputs into Kehewin have not equalled that which is accepted elsewhere. The industries have just started to market their product. A full-time manager has been hired for the weaving industry which is being organized as an

Indian Company with legal entity.¹¹ It was managed previously by the Band Chief and Council. As for the steel fabricating industry, it is also negotiating its final agreement.¹² Two years has been a very short time for these industries to show any marginal profit.

Sales are still low but it cannot be over-emphasized that these industries have just started, using local labour, going through training programs (including training in bookkeeping and in management) and coming to grips with the necessity of forming legal entities so as to deal with potential buyers and interested parties. This has meant hiring expert help from the outside and negotiating agreements. In this context, it cannot be forgotten that this reserve has never "experienced" industry before. Every step is a new discovery, an additional experience, and leads to better understanding.

Outside the potential profits of these two industries and the earnings of the workers employed on the reserve and/or receiving an income through some other work as shown in Table 1, page 13 other organizations have been successful as well. Funds were raised through bingos, entertainment and rodeos. The monies were put into recreational activities (day camps for the youth, sports equipment), religious events and to better organize Indian Days on the reserve.

-
11. The weaving industry is presently known as "CREE-ACTIONS" - orders worth a few thousand dollars are being honoured e.g. 6,000 yards of weaved yarn, shawls, etc...
 12. Agreements have been signed. Other steel products are planned besides garages; have tenders for 83 double and 43 single garages.

2. New Long-Term Economic-Related Skills and Concerns:

Since employment has increased on the reserve and provided better incomes to many adults, other problems affecting family and community life have surfaced. Presently, the main concerns stimulated by the presence of employment and better income can be summarized as follows:

a) Management Skills:

As Chief Theresa Gadwa stated more than once, "things happened so quickly ...". New skills were needed to head short-term social and economic projects. Because of the approach taken in development, many projects in different fields of activities promoted a new awareness of individuals' capacities as leaders, and as organizers. Skills in office work, as labourers, in construction, in the social realm, in communication were developed. Many, however, quickly realized that managerial skills were lacking.

Not enough was done to develop the potential in this field.

The community is now stabilizing its economic and financial foundations, and managerial skills must be further strengthened even though there have been marked improvements.¹³

13. A letter from Harvey Allen, DIA Financial Adviser, to the Band Administration May 21, 1974 state as follows: "I was most pleased to receive a copy of your financial statements for the month of April 1974. You and your staff are to be commended on the prompt preparation of these statements...Your statements were prepared and your books balanced more promptly than any other administration than I know of to-date..."

Many young managers need further help and professional guidance. What has been accomplished by some members in the last few years has benefitted the tribe and will be the foundation upon which Kehewin will grow and flourish.

b) Budgeting:

The Band, under the leadership of the Band Manager, Joe Dion, prepared, for two consecutive years, well balanced programs and budgets. They purposely presented these to the Department under one cover. Unfortunately, at that time the Department's financial system and organizational structure was ill-prepared for this integral approach in budgeting.

The point here to underline is the fact that the leaders of Kehewin were thinking of their community as a whole, as a living unit. Their way of presenting their needs in "Total Budget" form reflected that fact and not ignorance about the bureaucratic system and its need of systematization. They were seeing the process through different eyes. It also reflected their understanding of development. Seeing one's community as a living unit is absolutely fundamental in development for reasons of continuity, viability and self-determination.

As for family budgeting, there are problems. At the beginning (spring 1972) some members of the community resented the idea of having counsellors discuss budgeting with them. Their reaction was: we know what to do -- It is our money. Unfortunately, the service was discontinued. At present many now admit their lack of skill in this all-important field.

3. Financial Skills: Improvements and Difficulties:

The surveys taken on the reserve indicate that the people are becoming more selective in their buying. They bargain. However, they share budgeting problems with the rest of Canadian families as indicated below. Some of the higher-income groups would now welcome some advice as they have learned by experience that money quickly disappears on products of little practical use.

Insurance companies are welcoming an on-reserve^{elect} although, the number of policy holders is still minimal. As for car insurance, it is compulsory in Alberta.

Individual loans have greatly increased. From no loans in 1968 to 10 in 1973 as indicated in Table 4 page 16. Workers holding a regular job have no real difficulties in applying for and receiving a loan. Some receive credit on appliances, furniture, and luxuries such as television sets, carpeting, etc. According to a survey conducted with local businessmen,¹⁴ the Kehewin creditors in general are paying their bills regularly.

14. Details of this survey are given on page 37 as it refers mainly to non-economic benefits.

A few are getting deeper and deeper in debt. Because of their income and full-time employment, bank notes are extended, stores extend credit; this practice, linked with poor management and a lack of budgeting, is dysfunctional for the worker and jeopardizes his chance for financial success.

4. Internal Re-cycling of Cash:

A final point of interest is the present attitude on Kehewin towards the development of basic services. Some individuals are preparing loan proposals for a gas station, laundromat and small restaurant. When these spill-overs occur some economic interest will have been sparked. But for those proposals to become projects, - advice, encouragement, flexibility are needed.

B. Non-Economic Benefits Attained:

Non-economic benefits could also be termed "intangibles" in contrast to "tangibles" often referred to in quantifiable reports or studies. The term should not be taken to mean that the phenomena are unreal, or that the consequences are necessarily unreal or intangible.¹⁵ On the contrary, intangibles are just as omnipresent as the tangibles. The perspectives are different and hence so must be the methodology of the analysis.

This part of the results of the pilot project attempts to: (1) present the dynamics of the Kehewin community through a comprehensive activity list; (2) show the results of a survey conducted with the principal businessmen of the area depicting their attitudes towards Kehewin's development;

15. Notes on incorporating social factors into a Cost Benefit Analysis of Development Programmes for Welfare Recipients" - April 1970 - Paul C. Whitehead.

(3) illustrate what have been some of the benefits to the individual members of the band, their assets, their individual buying power, their social behavior patterns; and (4) underline some side effects of the development process. By doing so it is hoped that the results of the pilot project will clarify some statements on the development process itself and will further research in this field.

1. Kehewin's New Dynamics:

- (a) The only dynamics meant to be outlined are the activities which have been handled by the band members in the past six years (Table 5). These activities do not show the group dynamics and sub-social structures i.e. the numerous meetings, the stresses, the worries, the discussions and negotiations, the jealousies, the indecisions. These were real issues and were difficult to cope with, but they are not listed here. There were numerous unknowns, but nevertheless the people were determined. The people themselves said, they would "make it". By then, other Bands were applying pressures on Kehewin without fully realizing it. They were influenced by what was happening because they were also encouraged by the Development Group of the Indian Affairs Program to develop their own human and physical resources.

TABLE 5

Activity List - Over a Five Year Period

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Chief	1	1	1	1	1	1
Council Members	4	4	4	4	4	4
Administration	IA control		Bd. Mgr.	Bd. Manager Secretary Office Mgr. Welfare Off.	Bd. Manager Secretaries (3) Office Mgr. Bookkeepers (2) Welfare Officer	Band Manager Secretaries (3) Finance - Admin. Bookkeepers (2) Welfare Officer
Cultiv. Land	220 acres	664 acres	N/A	N/A	2,000 acres	2,000 acres
Tame Past.	360	100	N/A	N/A	415 acres	815 acres
Farmers	(5) Band owned limited farming - machinery				(20) band machinery sold to farmers	(20) machinery - individual ownership
Cattle	Band herds - 150 head			Cattle Coop	Cattle Coop (380)	Bd. rotating herd program (691)
Housing	(57)				(67)	(68)

TABLE 5 - ACTIVITY LIST (CONT.)

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Educational Services	Sch. Comtee	Sch. Comtee Kinder. Teacher aid (2)	Sch. Comtee Kinder Teacher aid (2) Bus Coop	Sch. Comtee Kinder. Teacher aid (2) Bus Coop Employ. & Relocation	Sch. Comtee (new school promised) Kindergarten Teacher aid (1) Student couns. Teacher (1) Bus Coop School Lunches Adult educ.	Sch. Comtee. Kindergarten Teacher aid (1) Assist. student couns. Teacher (1) Bus Coop Money used for other educ. Adult educ.
Social Services					Soc. Couns. Serv. Family Couns. Homemakers Day Care Centre Cult. Advisors Rec. Dir. Legal Aid Sanitation Summer Camps Yr. Book Comtee. Night watchman Newsletter Talent shows workshops rodeo	Keh. Couns. Serv. Day Care Centre Advisory Board Rec. Dir. Youth Worker Sanitation Summer Camps Night watchman Newsletter Sweat lodge Keh. Village Develop. Plan Rehab. Centre (off-reserve) workshops rodeo
Economic Services					Eco. Dev. Centre Sawmill Oper. Handicraft Cen. Tannery Welding Sch.	Quonset Renov. Fencing Constr. Weaving Ind. Tannery Steel Ind. Housing Renov. Water Treatment Plant.

From the time development started at Kehewin, other reserves across the country showed some concerns. For some, by promoting development on their reserve, Kehewin was jeopardizing their rights: for others, what was happening could also happen at home. In fact, they wondered why the "district" could not do the same things on other reserves as what was going on at Kehewin.

So the district office was being influenced by the many questions coming in from different reserves. It was receiving requests from the other bands of the area for advice, services, monies ... and explanations. It was a healthy competition.¹⁶

Table 5 is meant to illustrate some observational variables on local controls (variety of jobs and responsibilities) and of new skills being developed on Kehewin since 1968. It does not show either the problems Kehewin had with departmental officers at all levels, the misunderstandings and the involvement of other federal departments such as Manpower and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, Secretary of State and the Provincial Departments. (cf. Annex I part 4 page 8). The "activities" listed speak for themselves but should be held in the context of this report. To understand better the

16. Competition is necessary in the development process. Unfortunately because of "territorial aggression" whereby one person feels very strongly against anything or anyone setting foot on "his" turf, some actions were taken to discredit what was occurring on Kehewin either by refusing advise and encouragement or rising bands against each other. This method can be very effective when tensions are high and the future uncertain.

socio-economic integration of these activities, Doug Cuthand's "History of the Human Development of Kehewin Reserve", Appendix 4 is recommended. The reader is also invited to look at Kehewin's year book of 1972 (Appendix 2). It pictures the attitudes and the enthusiasm of the Kehewin people.

It can be inferred from Table 5 that important qualitative differences of activities are present in Kehewin. There is greater community participation with definite social outputs as well as the long-run socio-economic implications. Also evident is that there is an opportunity of choices. This is most important in any dynamics. The advantages the worker has are as follows: he learns new skills and establishes his confidence right at home; his family life is not disrupted and he can make a living; he is no longer upon welfare; he is not up-rooted; he feels secure; he develops his talents and his personality; he can leave to work elsewhere if he desires; he is prepared for new challenges. In such a context, relocation is unnecessary. Eventually an individual may wish to relocate alone or with his family but he will have acquired some basic life skills besides work experience. However, before any such move occurs, he has rendered great service to his home community.

Something else happened in Kehewin. The activity list shows what is happening but it does not show how it was done. Even the Band's organizational chart (Table 6) does not depict the life on the reserve. No Chart, Table or Diagram can do that. As for the

community assets, they have increased substantially (Table 7) and the band administration is better equipped technically than before (Table 8) to handle future involvements.

Some critics are using the terms, "recycled welfare" for what is happening on Kehewin. It is an argument difficult to substantiate at any length. True, the present income picture shows virtually no income being generated by economic activity as seen under Section II, Part A, "Economic Benefits Attained" page 10. However, it should be noted that negotiations have taken place and orders for production are being filled. It can also be argued that "infra-structure" are being established. Psychologically and socially, the people are prepared to move away from the transitional stage.

Kehewin has just started to take upon itself the departmental programs responding most to their needs and are now moving towards new ones, a stage which reflects appreciation of advice rather than directives.

Only after another three years or so, will it be possible to establish (and so it is believed at the moment) whether we have only "recycled welfare" on Kehewin or whether Kehewin is really on its way as a viable Indian Community.

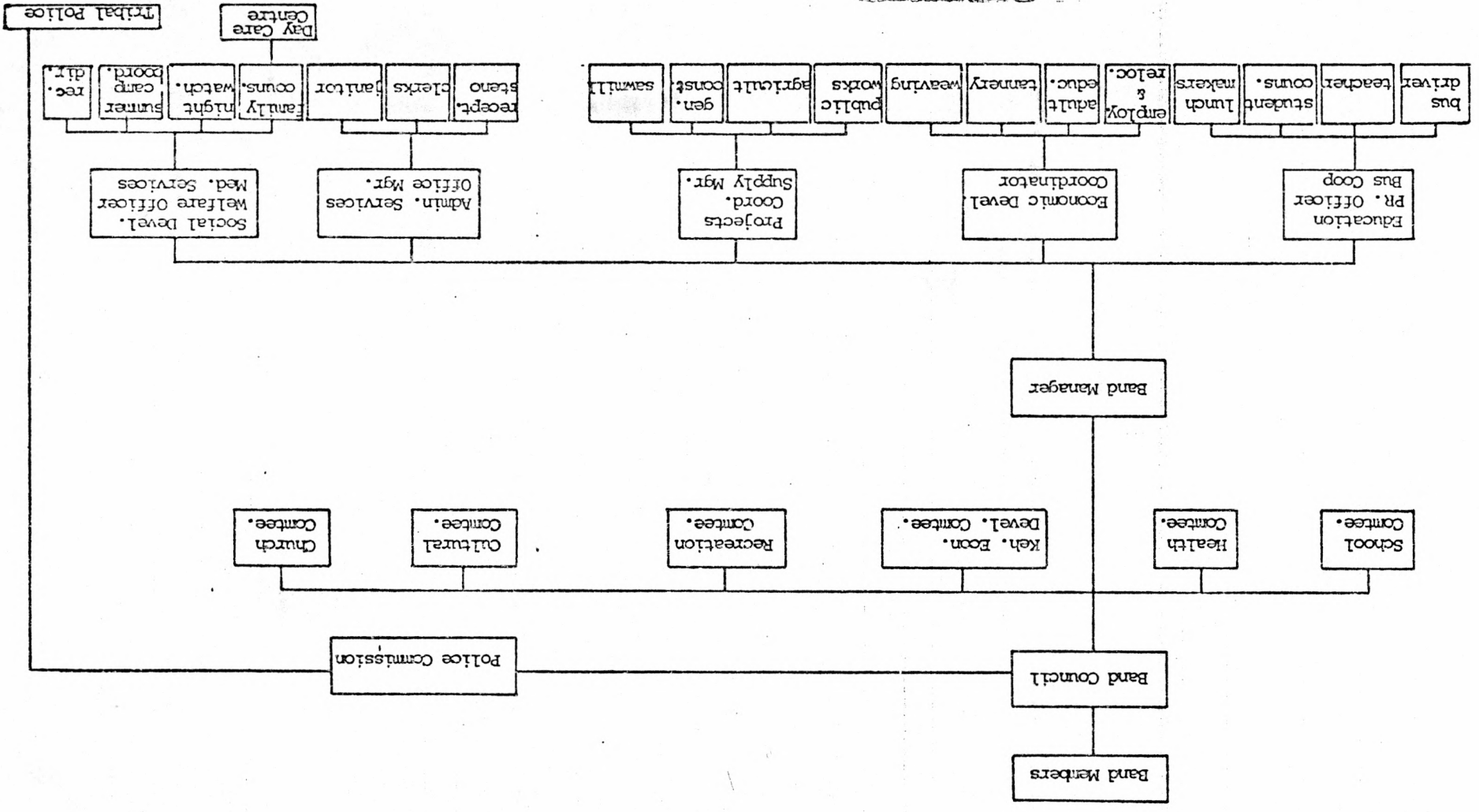


TABLE 6

TABLE 7

Fixed Assets of Band

Band Office #1 (renovated 2 storey bldg.)* ¹	tannery* ¹
Band Office #2 (renovated school bldg.)* ²	weaving factory - 1973
Kindergarten school* ¹	steel industry - 1973
Library	Quonset Building* ²
recreation - equipment	warehouses* ¹
baseball diamonds* ³	community hall - 1972
rodeo grounds* ³	shelter for school
skating rink (lights)	children - 1972
one church with rectory	sawmill and
one chapel	a few '000 ft. lumber

Note: *1. Buildings erected in 1952
*2. Quonset bought, moved onto the reserve and renovated for the steel industry.
*3. New services complete with bleachers, confectionery and ticket booths.

TABLE 8

Fixed Assets: Kehewin Band Administration.

- Facilities: 2 buildings
one storey renovated building with running water, furnace, etc.
one old school with approximately \$3,500 worth of renovations.
- Equipment and Supplies:
 - desk
 - secretarial desks
 - swivel chairs
 - other chairs (stacking, etc.)
 - tables
 - filing cabinets
 - filing racks
 - storage cabinet
 - office supplies
 - typewriters
 - adding machines
 - projector and screen
 - dictaphone
 - gestetner
 - rental items: Xerox 1000
Postage Meter
Cheque Writer
Coke Machine
- Kehewin Band Counselling Service:
 - desks
 - secretarial desk
 - chairs
 - filing cabinet and filing rack
 - typewriter
 - tape recorders
 - office supplies
- Drops-In Centre:
 - coffee tables
 - T.V. & radio
 - armchairs and couches
 - toaster
 - percolator

(b) Before closing this chapter, the subject of education should receive brief mention. Kehewin has experienced satisfaction and aggravation at the hands of its school committee. Of all the activities mentioned in Table 5, this committee is the only one which has existed since 1968. The struggles, because of educational matters, have been many. The latest, a school strike from September to November 1971, resulted in a promise: Kehewin would have its school. It sparked a community development plan centred around a school complex; it provided the impetus for socio-economic development. "Having one's school" means more than controlling the present formal education program. It must also respond to the psychological, socio-cultural needs of Indian students.

A study¹⁷ was initiated to identify, where possible, the performance levels of Kehewin students in terms of pass, failure or withdrawal. A corresponding number of non-native children (114) were selected on a random basis to act as a control group against which attendance and performance of the native children could be compared.

Briefly the data gathered (Appendix 6) showed that:

1. Kehewin students are older than their non-native counterparts.
2. Kehewin students have poorer attendance records than non-native students.

17. Data were gathered by Jeff Trew, Indian Affairs in February 1974 from the records and files of the Bonnyville School Board. Included were the records of 117 Native and 114 non-native students from 1967-68 to 1972-73.

3. Attendance in 1972-73 was equal to or poorer than that in 1969-70 or 1970-71, comparable years. There is no indication that development has brought about improved attendance. Attendance in 1972-73 was improved over 1971-72 a strike year but was not improved over the comparable years of 1969-70 and 1970-71.
4. The failure rate (failure being the student who repeats a year or enrolls for the second year for the same course) of Kehewin students is twice as high as that for non-native students.
5. The withdrawal (the student who enrolls but does not finish the school year) or dropout rate (the student who does not enroll and has not graduated), for Kehewin students is three times as high as for non-native students.
6. Significant decline in enrollment of Kehewin students occurs between grades 8 and 9. Interestingly this also coincides with the school leaving age of 16, a fact which is presently being studied in more detail by the people in the educational field.

Tables 9 and 10 give the age/grade distribution of students enrolled in 1967-68 in grades 1 to 12. It also shows the average age for each student for each grade expressed in terms of years and months. The diagonal line represents what is expected of a student assuming that at grade 1, the student is 6 years old and will progress satisfactorily one grade for

each additional age year. Anyone falling on or below the line is progressing at the expected rate or is younger for the grade than expected. Those above the line are not progressing at the expected rate either because of late school enrollment or failure and are older for the grade than expected. The farther above and to the right of the diagonal, the farther removed from normal progression. Only 31% of the native students are in their expected grade (56% for the non-native students) and 68% of them are in a grade lower than expected for their age. (30% for the non-native students). As for those students in a higher grade than expected the results were 3% for the native student as compared to 14% for the non-native students.

The same trend existed and is even more pronounced for the older members of the community.¹⁸ Table 11 suggests a history of school failure. Of the majority of individuals surveyed, from age 15 to 65, 50% left school at or before the school leaving age of 16. It is evident from the diagonal line that the greatest majority of present and former students were not progressing at the expected rate. Most of the figures are above the line with the greatest number concentrated around 15 and 16 year olds.

Native students exhibit a poorer school performance; the higher the grade, the poorer their attendance with a significant decline in enrollment between grade 8 and grade 9.

18. A survey completed by George John of Kehewin included 80 males and 51 females for a total of 131 respondents covering 53% of Kehewin's on-reserve population from 15 to 65. The survey gave data on employment, sources of income, education levels, home improvements and community participation.

TABLE 9
 Distribution by Age & Grade of Native Students
 Enrolled in Fomnyville District Schools
 in September 1967

Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Total	Average Age Year - Month
1	14	6															21	6 8
2	1	4	9	6	1												21	3 6
3			8	8	2	1											19	9 4
4				4	7	3											14	10 5
5					1	1	4	4									9	11 8
6						1	1	4	3								9	12 4
7								1	1	4	2						8	14 4
8									2	2	3	2	1				10	15 4
9											3	1					4	15 6
10													1				1	17 3
11																	0	17 3
12																	1	17 1
Total	1	15	10	17	18	12	9	9	6	6	8	3	3				117	

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TABLE 10
 Distribution by Age & Grade of Non-Native Students

Grade	5	10	10	15	15	21	14	15	8	8	8	5	4	1	Total	Average Age Year - Month
1	5	10	1	1											17	6 6
2		3	10	7	1				1						22	8 0
3			2	15	4										19	8 8
4				1	7	6									14	9 9
5					1	6			2						9	10 9
6						1	6	1	1						9	11 3
7						1	4	2	1						8	13 1
8							1	5	2	1					10	13 11
9								2	2	1					4	14 8
10									2	2					1	15 6
11										1					0	
12															1	20 0
Total	5	15	15	21	14	15	8	8	5	4	1				114	

Other facts on failures, withdrawals, transfers and rate of progression of students is summarized in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Disposition in 1970 of Native and Non-Native Students enrolled in 1967-68 (Grades 1 - 6)

<u>Disposition in 1970 of Native Students enrolled in 1967-69 (Grades 1 - 6)</u>							
	<u>#</u> <u>Enrolled</u> <u>in 67-68</u>	<u># of</u> <u>Failure</u>	<u># of</u> <u>Withdrawals</u>	<u># of</u> <u>Transfers</u>	<u>#</u> <u>Advanced</u>	<u># Who</u> <u>Repeated</u>	<u># in</u> <u>Sch. '70</u>
Total	93 (100%)	32 (34%)	13 (13%)	1 (1%)	48 (52%)	44 (47%)	77 (83%)
<u>Disposition in 1970 of Non-Native Students enrolled in 1967-68 (grades 1 - 6)</u>							
Total	90 (100%)	17 (19%)	4 (4%)	15 (17%)	54 (60%)	21 (23%)	67 (74%)

This incidence of transfer among the native student population was very low during these 3 years as compared to non-native students (1% and 17% respectively). However, the withdrawal rate was much greater (three times as high) among the native students; practically half of them had fallen at least one grade behind and one third had failed at least once.

It is not a coincidence that Indian communities wish to control the education of their children.¹⁹ The case in point applies not

19. According to the Director of the Blue Quills School, Alberta, which started operating in 1970 under the complete control of Indian Administrators and professionals, the attendance and performance rate of students have improved considerably: less failures, greater enrolment, less withdrawals. (A report from the school is forthcoming). In 1974, the school reports only 5 drop-outs. The teachers are beginning to take joy in seeing students moving from one grade to another year after year.

only to the Kehewin students but to most Indian students across the country. Our study is one of many others showing similar results.

The developmental approach on Kehewin has facilitated the community coming to grips with its "educational" problems but it did not, according to this study, improve school attendance as was first hypothesized. The problem of school failures still exists.²⁰ Admittedly the problem is complex but there will be failures and withdrawals as long as "education" does not correspond to the cultural and felt-needs of school children and students of all age.

To conclude on Kehewin's dynamics, the new life on this reserve manifest itself through a revival of traditions, a stronger economic base to cope with the new active labour force, a well balanced social program and a projected school complex where education will not only encompass typical academic subjects and grades but also knowledge about Indian people and traditions through live-in processes, adapted curriculum, applied knowledge, leisure time for creative thinking, recreation and community involvement.

20. Many "educators" and other administrators restrict "education" so much that a distinction must be granted between learning and education. A learned man is not necessarily an educated one. It is not the intention of this writer to dwell on this subject; neither will he comment on how students progress, fail or become slow learners proportionately to what "teachers" expect of them -- (the PYGMALION effect has been scientifically demonstrated in Europe and the United States -- "Psychologie # 50, Mars 1974). Of course, the same could be true for development as it is a learning experience. As stated in the report, without confidence and trust, development is not possible.

2. New Attitudes in surrounding Non-Indian Communities:

A survey of 90 businessmen of the surrounding communities was undertaken. The main purpose was to decipher significant trends of attitudes as expressed by business-minded people about the Indian worker, borrower, creditor and consumer, of Kehewin. Table 13 and 14 show some of the results. For detailed information concerning methods of approach and variables used, Appendix 7 should be consulted.

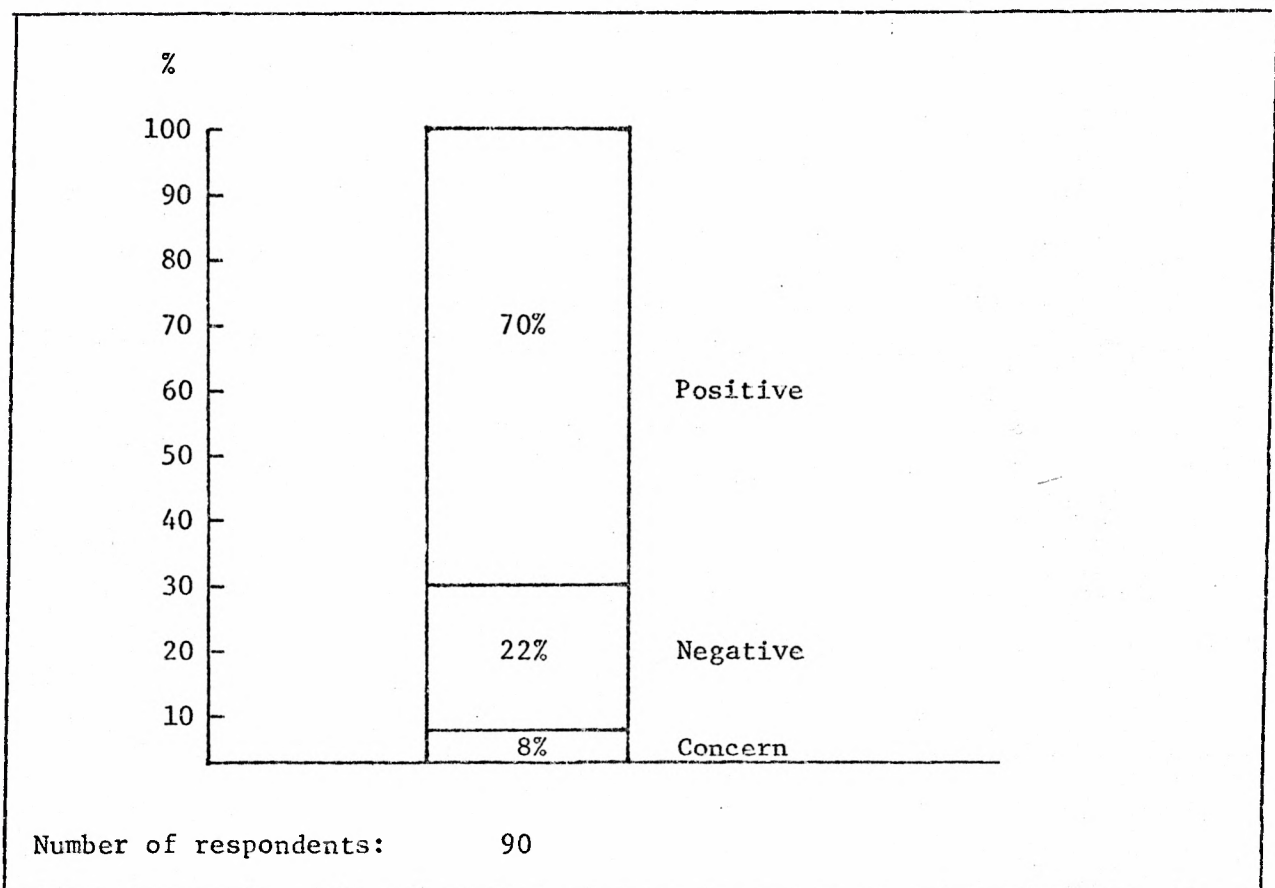
Three types of responses: Positive, Negative and Concern were manifested.

A response was accepted as Positive when the attitude towards Indians from Kehewin was heard to be encouraging and supportive, underlined by a keen observation suggesting good rapport and co-operation. A response was categorized as Negative when it was non-complimentary, non-supportive, damaging, or expressing a sour note such as: "They (the Indians) should know better; they do not want to work; they will never make it". The response Concern was highly related with the Positive but since it added a special interest and expressed ways and/or means to improve the conditions and situations of the Indian community or well being of the individual, it was set aside as significant.

As can be see on Table 13, of the Total responses (90), 70% were favorable to the Indian individual they dealt with. This attitude overshadows the negative response by 48%.

TABLE 13

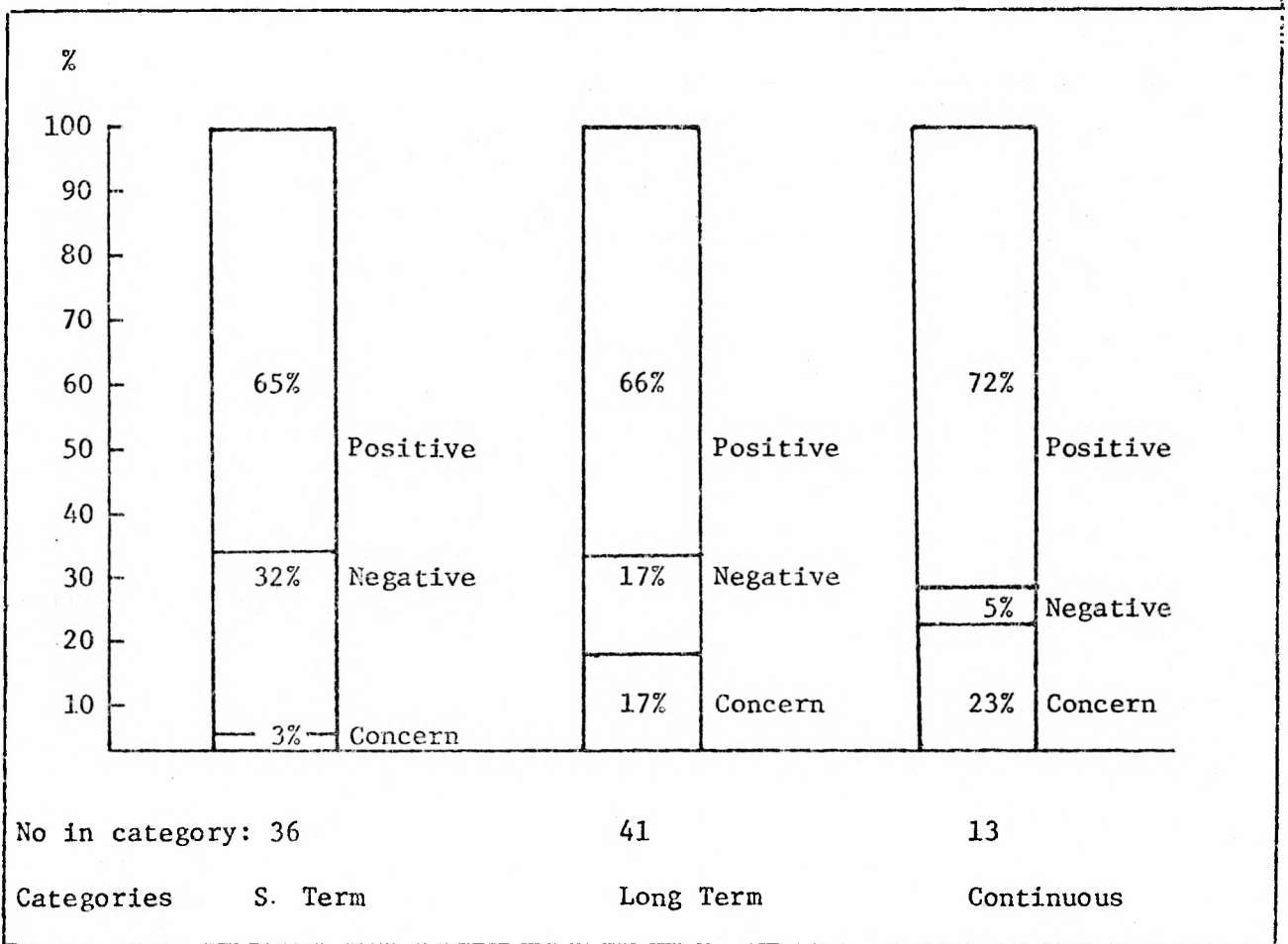
Response of Businessmen towards Kehewin Indians (1974)



However, Table 13 has the most relevance when related with the interviewees themselves. For the purpose of the survey the business enterprises were divided into three categories (Table 14) according to the type of involvement and relationships they had with the Band members.

TABLE 14

Responses to Businessmen as Related to (categories)
Type of Relationship with Kehewin Indians (1974)



These categories are defined as:

Short Term (ST): no deep financial or personal commitments by either party e.g. small grocery store, drug store, shoe store, etc.

Long Term (LT): extends into deeper financial or personal commitment involving usually a contract and consequently monthly payments; forms a long-term joint association e.g. banks, insurance and finance companies, auto dealers, etc.

Continuous (CONT): one which is constantly available and constantly used, e.g. public services, social services such as schools, hospitals, churches, Federal and Provincial services, doctors, lawyers, dentists, etc.

The Positive responses in Table 14 remain approximately at the same level (percentage) in all categories indicating consensus among businessmen and a fairly high degree of receptivity. The varying elements are in the Negative and Concern levels which are inversely proportional as the dominant Positive response increases, with the Concern response becoming the most interesting element in the survey.

In the ST category, limited Concern exists for the "customer" and what he does after he leaves the store or what he is when he enters it. The feelings recorded represent more a "for or against" situation than anything else. The Negative response is high,

holding practically one third (1/3) of the responses of the category with the remaining two-thirds to the Positive level. In this category sales and ready cash are the essential components of the business. Going by the figures, the businessmen of this category either appreciate the customers as they are or accept them because they help maintain their businesses in operation.

The Long Term category, shows a different picture. Both Negative and Concern responses share the same emphasis, with 17% of the responses each. Assessments of individuals and situations are evident. The financial commitments of the businessmen of this category are greater and long-termed. To be viable, these businesses must gamble, tolerate and understand the social and economic situation more than any other. Not surprisingly, their Concern is in the financial field; how best to assess and to recommend so that loans and economic growth benefit their enterprises. That is one of the reasons why they are still in business. Also, the face-to-face encounter is often infrequent which favours good relationships with both parties being at their best.

In the Continuous category, the Positive responses increases from 66% to 72% with the Negative response percentage dropping to 5% and the Concern response rising to 23%. In this category we have people involvement, with individuals and the community as a whole interacting constantly. People are involved through the churches, schools, social workers, medical services, public services, etc. The nature of the contact is very different from that of the other two categories and so is the frequency of the visits.

In summary, the attitudinal survey showed the non-Indian community to be generally favorable to the Indian person and the Indian community. It also expressed increasing concern at different levels of commitment. It can be recognized, however, that the concern for the well-being and betterment of the Indian people by the white sector seems to be dependent on the buying power of the individual and not on his self-determination as a person and member of another community. Also, the survey does not indicate what is planned by the businessmen to help the Indian individual and community achieve their goals.

3. Shifts in Individual Benefits:

What has transpired in Kehewin in the last few years is significant. It is not a matter of the economic benefits which must be considered here but rather the changes in the community which have affected its individual members.

a) Income - Social Assistance and Employment:

Social Assistance -

The trend in social assistance has been based on another set of principles. Table 15 shows a projected increase from 1970 to 1974 of 39%. However, in actual cost, there is a significant decrease thus permitting the band to use the "savings" for community projects. (\$91,456 in 1972-73; \$90,071 in 1973-74).

There are still many individuals receiving supplements but these supplements are smaller now because the total amount paid in salaries

TABLE 15

Social Assistance - Projected Percentage Increase

Over A Five Year Period

Showing Substantial Decrease In Actual Cost (1969-1973)

	<u>1969-70</u>	<u>1970-71</u>	<u>1971-72</u>	<u>1972-73</u>	<u>1973-74</u>
<u>Projected cost of social assistance</u>					
(1969-70 state of affairs remaining stable)	\$98,941	\$108,759	\$117,843	\$126,130	\$138,271
% increase (annual)	--	9.9%	8.4%	7.0%	9.6%
Total percentage increase from 1969-70	--	9.9%	19.1%	27.4%	38.8%
Actual Social Assistance Cost	\$98,941	\$109,329	\$124,716*	\$34,674	\$48,200
Funds Redistributed into Other Band Programs	--	--	6,783	(91,456)	(90,071)
*The increase in actual cost in 1971-72 is a result of a 14.4% increase in the work force over 1970-71.					

increased as man-years increased (Table 16). The nature of the work force (Table 17) have also changed considerably.

TABLE 16

SALARY EARNING GENERATED BY NEW PROGRAMS (1969-1973)

	<u>1969-70</u>		<u>1970-71</u>		<u>1971-72</u>		<u>1972-73</u>		<u>1973-74</u>	
	MY \$000's		MY \$000's		MY \$000's		MY \$000's		MY \$000's	
BAND ADMINISTRATION		1.0	6.0	3.0	19.3	4.5	27.3	5.0	30.7	
COUNSELLING & COMMITTEE WORKERS				1.0	5.8	1.5	14.9	3.0	21.5	
WEAVING AND SEWING FACTORY						11.5	39.4	13.0	43.6	
WELDING & STEEL SHOP								18.0	74.8	
ECONOMIC - SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS						44.0	182.9	34.0	101.9	
EMPLOYMENT & RESEARCH				1.0	6.5	1.0	7.5	1.0	7.5	
MAINTENANCE				.5	1.5	.5	2.9	1.0	6.0	
BUSSING (Co.op)				<u>1.5</u>	<u>11.9</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>14.4</u>	
TOTAL SALARIES EARNED		<u>1.0</u>	<u>6.0</u>	<u>7.0</u>	<u>45.0</u>	<u>64.5</u>	<u>288.0</u>	<u>76.5</u>	<u>300.4</u>	
AVERAGE EARNINGS PER MAN-YEARS OF EMPLOYMENT			\$6,000		\$6,425		\$4,465		\$3,927	

TABLE 17

Nature of Labour Force Involvement by Year (1968 - 1973)

	<u>Employed</u>			<u>Unemployable</u>	<u>Housewife</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Unknown Status</u>	<u>Total Survey Respondents</u>
	<u>Full</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Total</u>					
<u>Male</u>								
1968	17	39	56	2		58	22	80
1969	14	44	58	2		60	20	80
1970	15	45	60	2		62	18	80
1971	38	28	66	2		68	12	80
1972	42	24	66	2		68	12	80
1973	45	25	70	2		72	8	80
<u>Female</u>								
1968	2	1	3	2	26	31	20	51
1969	1	5	6	1	26	33	18	51
1970	2	6	8	1	27	36	15	51
1971	13	15	28	1	12	41	10	51
1972	13	17	30	1	10	41	10	51
1973	13	18	31	1	8	40	11	51

The category 'unknown status' contains those individuals who are students, those who are unemployed and those who did not report labour force status. In 1973 out of 131 respondents 101 were employed, 3 were unemployable, 8 reported themselves as housewives and 12 were students. The remaining 7 individuals were either unemployed or did not report labour force status.

Employment-History and Psychological Impact:

In 1971 among men there was a noticeable shift from part-time to full-time employment. This became even more accentuated by 1973. As for the women, the shift was made from the home to employment outside the home with an increase into the part-time and full-time employment categories (Table 17). Table 1, p. 13 gives us the type of employment by year. Again full-time employment does not necessarily mean continuous employment but rather steady employment (i.e. a man works every year as farm hand for three months of the year or works 52 week a year but only two days a week. This is particularly true for the years 1968 to 1971).

We have brought the attention of the reader to group and community dynamics which are always present when development occurs. How did the new goals set by the on-reserve members affect employment? How was the idea of working at home for their families and community perceived by the workers? The fact of reaching concensus and deciding to move ahead together, "changed" the community. Let us go back to data completed by a band member with a survey reaching 131 respondents from age 15 to 65 (Appendix 8).

Once the table of employment had been completed from the data sheets it was most surprising to find what we thought was a gross error in our data. Most employed individuals replied they had started to work "full-time" in 1971, on such things as weaving, tanning, recreation and counselling. General labour

was also very high, remaining constant at 35 from 1971 throughout 1973. However, it is known by fact that both weaving and tannery, recreation and many counselling jobs were made available only in 1972. Why then was it reported in 1971?

Checking back with the interviewer and other members of the band, we realized that the main impact left with the individual band members was employment.

It was in the late fall of 1971 and January of 1972 that a very large number of band meetings, group dynamics, etc. had been held. It was the period of great decisions for the whole tribe. It was the period of the strike, strife and promises. Psychologically, people started to work then.

Looking at Table 18, as taken from the data sheets, the information under 1971 and 1972 looks the same, both with a total of 94 and 96 respectively. The item "labourer" stayed relatively stable. The main shift was from off-reserve to on-reserve work with a definite decrease in farm labourers. No distinction was made in this table between full-time and part-time employment as understood by the respondents. This distinction is made in Table 17 but with the same discrepancy. Even the projects under LIP, WOP, and other programs were not easily identified as such even if the Department of Manpower and Immigration had inputs of \$248,700 in 1972-73 and \$65,700 in

1973-74. It was work which was offered to them and that is what they wanted.²¹ Since the decision to go ahead had been taken in 1971, that year became their starting date.

TABLE 18

Sources of Income by Year (1968 - 1973) Irrespective of On-Reserve and Off-Reserve Work (Survey Sample: 131)

<u>Employment</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
Fishing						
Farming	4	4	4	4	2	2
Steel						7
Weaving				4	13	17
Tannery				9	3	1
Administration				2	2	2
Counselling			1	1	2	6
Office Work	1	2	2	3	5	6
Health				1	1	-
Social	1	1	1	1	1	1
Recreation				1	1	-
Bus Driver			1	3	3	3
Truck Driver	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carpentry	3	5	5	5	4	4
Labourer	29	30	33	36	34	35
Farm Labourer	15	14	14	1	1	-
Reserve Projects				2	2	2
LIP				4	4	-
Other & LIP				4	6	10
Other	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>
Total Employment	59	64	68	94	96	101

These attitudes towards employment and occurrences are most manifested amongst the women of the reserve.²² Like the

21. The survey on the reserve (131 respondents) also permitted the interviewees to give comments about what was happening on the reserve. Out of 31 observations, 14 (45.2%) referred to work as a way to get off welfare. A typical answer went as follows: "I have great pride supporting myself and my family. I find out its better to be working that to be in line asking for a hand out. I hope as long as I live I won't be on welfare". Other comments referred to youth (12.9%), consumerism (9.7%), education (16.1%) and change (16.1%). "Ever since the people started working people have improved their ways of living".
22. The Indian women have demonstrated on many occasions and throughout Canadian Indian history tremendous work capacities and great ingenuity. They have been most often the driving force behind changes and great events.

men they have never considered themselves as "unemployed". However, with the tannery, handicraft centre and finally the weaving,²³ there was a shift in their self-perception from housewife to full-time or part-time employment. Table 17 shows this shift very clearly.

b) Buying Power - New Assets:

Not only is leadership emerging to fill the new needs on the reserve, but the people are purchasing more consumer goods and the homes show improvement. (Table 19 and Table 20).

TABLE 19

Other Commodities As Per Head Of Family (Ratio 1:2)

	<u>Heads of Family Interviewed</u>	<u>T.V. (RATIO)</u>	<u>RADIO (RATIO)</u>	<u>RECORD PLAYER (RATIO)</u>	<u>APPLI-ANCES (RATIO)</u>	<u>WASHER (RATIO)</u>	<u>DRYER (RATIO)</u>	<u>FREEZER (RATIO)</u>
1968	56	1:2.3	1:2.2	1:18.7	--	1:5.6	--	--
1969	56	1:2.1	1:2	1:11.2	--	1:5.6	--	--
1970	56	1:1.8	1:1.8	1:9.3	--	1:4.7	--	--
1971	56	1:1.4	1:1.4	1:4.3	1:7	1:3.1	--	--
1972	56	1:1.2	1:1.2	1:3.5	1:5.6	1:2.3	1:28	1:56
1973	56	1:1.1	1:1.1	1:3.5	1:5.6	1:2.1	1:18.7	1:28

Under the welfare system where people lived from cheque to cheque on bare essentials, such basic things as furniture,

23. To follow closely what happened with the women labour force a brief study "Kehewin Weaving Industry" -- Jeff Trew, 1974 (Appendix 9) should be reviewed as it shows the employment trends, absenteeism, production and management difficulties.

clothing and house repairs were neglected. Doug Cuthand (Appendix 4, pp.46-47) summarizes this process well.

"Among the many outward signs of the new found prosperity are the basic improvement in people's homes and yards. Such items as curtains, fences, carpets and aluminum doors which are taken for granted in white communities are now becoming more commonplace. Several homes even contain sewer and water systems."

"The people can now afford to purchase new or better vehicles. The result is that they are keeping them in good shape so they can be traded in instead of junking them. Derelict car bodies are now a thing of the past...even local car dealership are now unable to sell cheap older cars -- these must be shipped somewhere else."

"Steady incomes have encouraged lending agencies to cast a more favourable eye on the Indian customer and the result is seen in the new vehicles (Table 21) and furnished homes on the reserve."

"A number of young people have invested their earnings in farming operations and those farmers already in operation have steadily

expanded. The cattle industry has boomed (Table 22). In fact, the farming activity has reached a point where it will be necessary to survey out individual farms plus land for a band farm."

"In a recent survey conducted on the reserve, 80% stated that they would like to see a store and gas station established on the reserve. Another 60% stated they would like to see a coin laundry. This indicates a growing awareness in the people over purchasing power and an increased awareness of commerce on the reserve."

TABLE 20

Home Services

	<u>Sample Size</u>	<u>CISTERN</u>		<u>TELEPHONE</u>		<u>BUNGALOW TYPE*</u>	
		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1968	30	0	0	2	6.5%	21	70 %
1969	31	0	0	2	6.5%	22	71 %
1970	34	0	0	4	11.8%	25	73.5%
1971	39	5	12.8%	5	12.8%	32	82.1%
1972	42	22	52.4%	5	11.9%	38	90.5%
1973	42	23	54.8%	6	14.3%	38	90.5%

*There has been a shift from older housing to bungalows since 1968 with the majority of the new homes being made available since 1971. However, according to our on-reserve survey, 50% of the 131 respondents (age 15 to 65) indicated that they were living with relatives. It would appear that there is a housing shortage of at least 12 units (21 respondents with children living with relatives). The need may in fact be as large as 20 to 25 units considering (1) there are those living with relatives who have no children (41 respondents) but are of adult age as well as senior individuals and (2) there are the few remaining sub-standard forms of housing presently being used for accommodation. More attention should be given to housing as it is such a complex component of any society reaching far beyond a roof and supporting walls.

TABLE 21

Number Of Vehicles As Per Population Figures (Ratio 1:2)

	<u>CARS</u>	<u>TRUCKS</u>
1968	1:10	1:31
1969	1: 8.2	1:31
1970	1: 8.7	1:32.8
1971	1: 6.9	1:262
1972	1: 5	1:18.7
1973	1: 5	1:18

TABLE 22

Increase In Number Of Cattle

	<u>Cattle Owners</u>	<u>No. of Cattle</u>	<u>Total No. of Cattle</u>	<u>% Increase From 1968-69</u>
1968-69	8	150	150	--
1969-70	9	184	184	22.7%
1972-73	Indiv. owners 18	180		
			380	253.3%
	Revolving herd 13	200		
1972-74	Indiv. owners 18	326		
			691	460.7%
	Revolving herd 13	365		

c) Modifications In Individual's Social Behavior:

More time should be dedicated to this theme as it reflects the reasons for which people live. It is most difficult to monitor and to study such essential issues as pride, self-expression, aggressiveness, willingness/resistance to change. An individual will fight and work for something he (or she) believes in. Given a chance and trust, strengths and values never before believed to exist are discovered. All these issues are essential in the development context because they reflect:

- (i) identity and the inner feeling of accomplishing something worthwhile;
- (ii) knowledge of information required, where it can be obtained; courage to say what has to be said, what is wanted, and why it is wanted;
- (iii) determination to fight off problems and their repressing difficulties;
- (iv) the desire and inner strength to assess priorities while keeping a balance between the old and the new.

These realities are still present in Kehewin. They are present in many Indian communities across the country. They should be encouraged to grow and should not be crushed by ignorance, fear, jealousy and apathy.

To grasp these realities as they relate to the welfare system and to sense what it feels like to be on your own, successfully acquiring knowledge and prospering culturally, socially and economically, the reader should take the time to see and hear a video-tape recording of Mrs. Theresa Gadwa and Mr. Joe Dion since this report is about their community and their tribe. They tell of their experiences and what they feel is essential for a community like Kehewin in order to achieve self-determination. (This VTR is available upon request from Special Assignments and Review, Indian Affairs, Ottawa).

4. Other Side Effects:

There is no doubt that change did occur in Kehewin over a very short time. Some extra monies were spent in the community. In fact, some may believe that everything was done too fast and at too great a cost. From what has been reported so far, are such statements correct? Are the critics well informed?

Independent of any contradictory views, there have been some side effects to the development process using this Total Community Approach.

a) Alcohol:

Drinking patterns on the reserve changed from quasi-daily drinking to weekend drinking. At one point, because of employment, there was just as much drinking than before though the quality of liquor consumed had changed.

However, A.A. is very active on the reserve and plays a central role in the counselling services. It is the most stabilizing factor on the reserve. With the involvement of the Provincial Government an Indian and Metis rehabilitation centre just off the reserve is being organized and is controlled by Indian and Metis administrators.

b) Drop-Outs:

School age adults dropped out of school because work was available at home in 1972. A Band Council Resolution stopped this; all students leaving school even if 16 and over, could not get work on the reserve without having lived there for one year.

According to the recent surveys more young adults and older people want to get back to school. Adult education courses are popular. In 1973, 13 adults were following night courses twice a week at the high school. The long-awaited school will soon be built and is planned to be the nerve centre of the community.

c) Loans:

Because of steady employment, loans are easier to get. However, because of a lack of personal knowledge in financial matters, budgeting skills and home management, some workers are getting deeper into debt.²⁴ It is a learning process but advice and/or

24. According to our data, mathematics is one course disliked by 87% of the Indian students as compared to 48% of the non-native students. A few questions arise: Are value judgements on financial matters by native and non-natives so different? Is mathematics related to economic and administrative interests? Is mathematics that important to understand our industrial and consumer-type society, for family budgeting, loans, band administration, etc...? Is a dislike for mathematics a manifestation of a dislike for things related to mathematics?...

"down to earth" courses should be offered to help alleviate the situation before it gets out of hand and discouragement or the failure syndrome sets in. 25

d) Animosity and Territorial Aggression Dynamics:

In some cases, envy by other Bands is apparent. This attitude is normal and understandable. It can even play a favourable role if orchestrated properly by district and regional staff. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. There is no reason, however, for departmental staff to stifle what is happening on any one reserve or to incite rivalry among several reserves against each other. That is not development.

The flexibility worked out in the Total Community Approach by the departmental officers who had the mandate of this action-research in socio-economic development admittedly provoked uneasiness at all levels of the program. Many methods and techniques were employed to incur district and regional involvement. In the main, these failed. But if they failed it was not because of the bands and the Indian people. It was an unresolved internal problem intimately related to the structural and operational principles of the department. Bands should not be jeopardized in their legitimate desires for a real development process. If Bands are now more aggressive (in the positive sense) how can the department best respond? That is our main pre-occupation. This

25. A case in point: one individual decided a typewriter was needed to more successfully finish a course. A pay cheque was due that afternoon. The individual went to a loan company in the morning, borrowed money, bought the typewriter and went back in the afternoon to cash the cheque, repayed the loan ... and the service charges.

report shows one way to respond. Only by sustaining on a regular basis "normal" efforts through genuine counselling free of internal jealousies, uncalled-for petty political pressures, and flexible regulations will it be possible to know if the Total Community Approach to development was worthwhile or not.

CONCLUSION

The first part of this section of the report consists of summarizing what occurred in Kehewin in the past few years.

The second part is a recommendation for continuous monitoring and evaluation of the Kehewin process for the next three years.

A. Summary of Findings:

(1) Principal agent of changes:

Let it be recognized that very little would have been achieved on the Kehewin reserve without the desire and efforts of the Kehewin community. They were and will continue to be the principal agents of their own destiny.

(2) A process:

The reader may question the rationale of the Total Community Approach. This approach is a process and does not in itself represent an objective. The approach made it possible to use welfare monies differently; to apply in part DREE's concept of employment; to use on-the-job training within the reserve by receiving and co-ordinating other departments' monies; and to cut across departmental lines and Departmental Branches, negotiate funds, pool resources, plan and implement projects in Response To Felt Needs while setting socio-economic foundations for Indian community life on the reserve.

(3) Employment opportunities:

The approach expands individual choices through many job opportunities and community involvement. Thus members wishing to leave the community and apply their new skills elsewhere may do so. Options are multiplied. Alternatives exist.

(4) Long-Term Economic Basis:

Some changes in Kehewin are economic in nature. The present industries as well as the farming and ranching enterprises cannot at the moment be self-sufficient. Understandably, as is the case with most industrial and commercial businesses during their first five years at least, the Reserve enterprises are not as yet self-supporting financially. Therefore, the type and duration of related assistance demands specialized considerations just as any off-reserve, non-Indian economic venture would.

The new activities have influenced some social outputs in the community and have as well, long-term economic implications.

(5) Total Involvement:

The other changes are in the social field. "Social" here includes the education, health, recreational, cultural and political domains. In fact, it can be stated the people of Kehewin saw their community as one entity; they did put aside their differences and worked for something far larger - the well-being and the personal identity of every member of the Band. There are now administrators in many social activities, alcohol-abuse counsellors, family counsellors, teachers' aides and student counsellors, job opportunities, etc.

Doug Cuthand summarizes well what is occurring:²⁶

"Kehewin is on its way, not because of any government heroes or individuals concerned with their own self-interests ... Success in this case need not be measured by factories and material wealth ... It is not seen on the balance sheet of an Indian Affairs ledger ... It is measured by the social studies and increased happiness on the reserve. Success is the fact that 20 people came out New Year's Eve for an A.A. meeting. Success is families getting up in the morning together ... it is happy children on school buses ... it is new leadership emerging to take their rightful place in community affairs. Success is families growing together and fixing up their homes and gardens. But most of all success is the knowledge that the people of Kehewin will never settle for welfare again."

(6) Use of Development Process:

It may well be that the alternative of leaving Indian communities to develop their potential by using the development process as described in this report is worth serious consideration. Cultural differences do exist and should be respected. There are great costs to society in forcing natives into its mainstream. Why

26. Doug Cuthand "Human History - Kehewin Reserve" 1974 - pp. 46 - 47. (Appendix 8).

increase and perpetuate long-run social and economic costs such as unemployment, alcohol abuse, illness, prisons and dependency. The unemployment figures on Indian Reserves range from 60% to 98% with social assistance totalling 52 million dollars, and 21 million being spent in economic development. Alcohol abuse rates high among social problems. Over 50% of the deaths caused by fire and 95% of child neglect cases are alcohol related; there is 80% incidence of alcohol in all crimes resulting in jail terms. The Indian population accounts for 7% of the total Canadian inmate population at a cost of 5 million dollars per year. Certainly monies could be spent differently. It seems justifiable now to spend a few extra dollars in initial outlays to allow native people to develop their own economically viable communities on their own cultural base.

(7) Value premise:

As pointed out there is more to development than just jobs. There are many ways to get a job done. What is produced and expected is not the same as how it is produced or performed. Cultural differences do exist. Indian communities may strive to excel in one domain but they may do so for the sake of encouraging new work habits that could provide social benefits to the community.

With that value premise in mind the different approaches will be combined and new and better ones adopted because they relate to needs and projected goals of the community itself.

B. Recommendations:

Two major recommendations follow from this report:

1. Every year for the next three (3) years, a benefit analysis be carried out. There are two teams who could take over this responsibility. Either the Saddle Lake/Athabaska District Office, or a team composed of representatives from both Headquarters and the Alberta Regional Office.

Because of the different degrees and level of involvement, the second evaluation team is recommended. The Alberta Regional Office should take upon itself to evaluate on a yearly basis what happens to Kehewin and how the reserve is achieving its goals. They are in close relationship with the Saddle Lake/Athabaska District, and have access to the Band's activities and involvements. The Assistant Regional Director (Community Affairs) should be the chairman of the team. The other members of the evaluation team should be, as suggested, a representative from each of the Financial and Community Affairs Branch from Headquarters.

It is also advisable that any evaluations of Kehewin activities be authorized by the Band Council. Furthermore, it is strongly suggested the Band Council also control the research design and its implementation.

For the purpose of continuity and some form of standardization, at least the following variables should be monitored if not evaluated. A reference is made to the Tables of this report where such variables were monitored.

- (1) annual budgets: changes and allotments;
participation of other federal and provincial
department or agency; (in Annex I, Tables A-2,
A-7, A-8)
- (2) employment trends at the industries, adminis-
tration, farming, ranching and the social field
(social, educational and recreational) (Tables
2, 17, 18, 16, 3, 4)
- (3) inputs and outputs of the industries;
- (4) social changes (field of health, culture, law
and recreation); any other activities and/or
involvements (Table 5)
- (5) evaluation of attitudes (general) towards work,
the community, the surrounding towns ...
- (6) education - attendances, success, adult education
(Tables 9, 10, 11, 12) other problems;
- (7) community improvements; (Table 7)
- (8) home improvements; (Tables 19, 20, 21)
- (9) Departmental involvement: type and intensity
of the involvement.

The monitoring and evaluation of these variables need not be extensive. But it cannot be over-emphasized that only by following the events on Kehewin for the next few years will it

even be possible to know what this Reserve went through and how successful it was in acquiring new skills, self-determination and greater independence.

2. By the end of fiscal year 1976-77, a cost benefit analysis be implemented to help the management of both Indian Affairs and the Band assess the results as far as inputs and outputs are concerned, the efficiency and adequacy of the involvement and the whole process of development itself in Kehewin. This cost benefit analysis four years after the inception of the intensified development process of the years 1972 and 1973 would
 - (1) reflect the direction the pilot project is going (knowing its history through the present report and subsequent years of evaluation as described under the first recommendation)
 - (2) show the socio-economic inputs and restraints;
 - (3) indicate the costs of the project on both a quantifiable and qualifiable basis;
 - (4) present other alternatives to the project or recommend its approach. In fact, a complete evaluation would show clearly the value of the investment and the costs incurred on Kehewin; it would also show the benefits derived thereof at the "economic" and "social" levels.

October 1974.

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ANNEX I

CHARACTERISTIC AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF KEHEWIN (1971-1974):

A DESCRIPTION NARRATIVE

This section is an introduction to the Kehewin Reserve and its people. The information given here will be brief but will refer to Appendices where some topics are more fully discussed. Therefore, bench marks are mainly established in this section.

1. Geographic and Demographic setting:

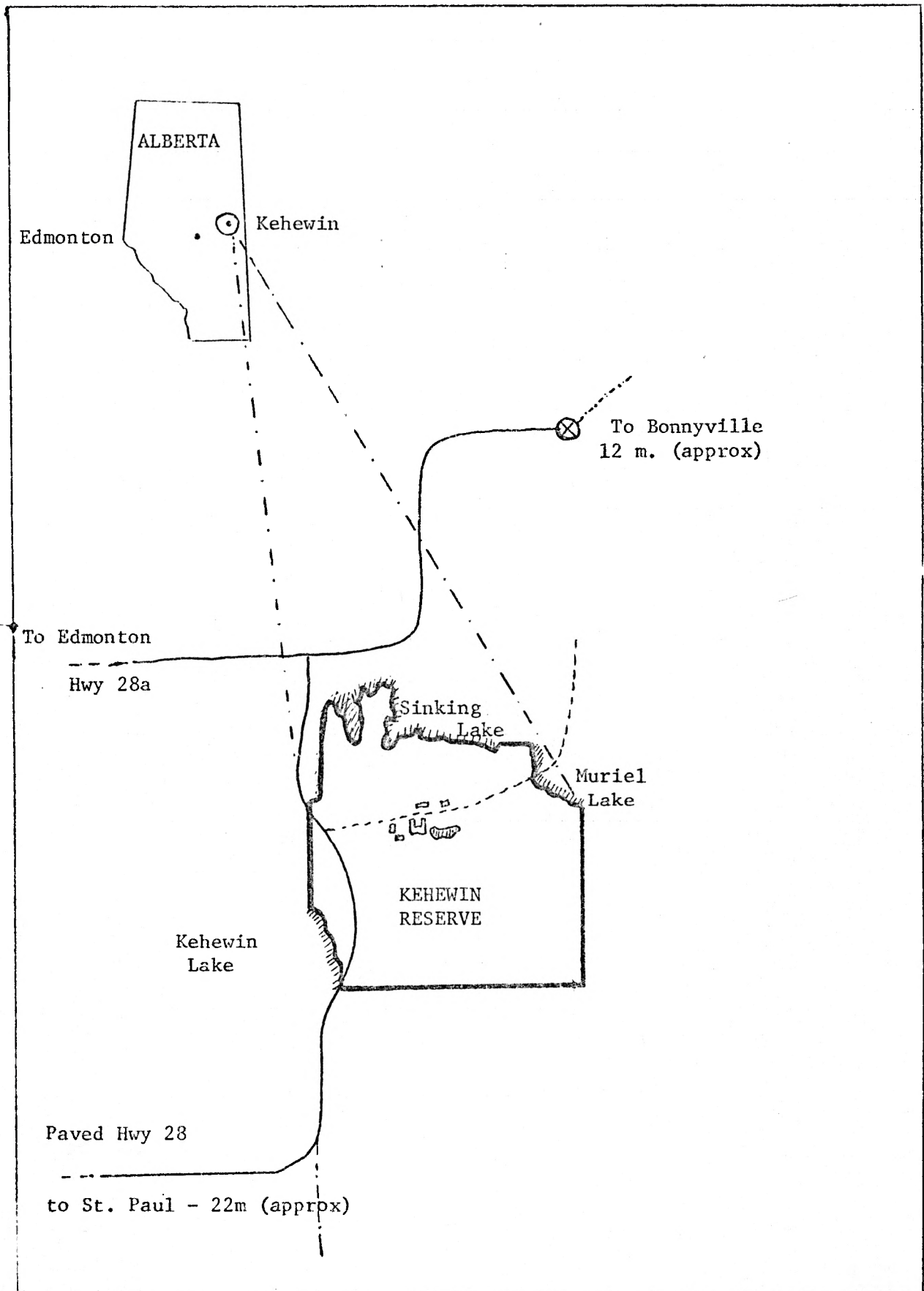
(a) Location

Kehewin Reserve 123 is located approximately 22 miles E.N.E. of St. Paul, Alberta, and 150 miles N.E. of Edmonton in the Municipal District of Bonnyville, No. 87 (Township 59, Range 6). It is accessible by paved highway #28. (Diagram 1).

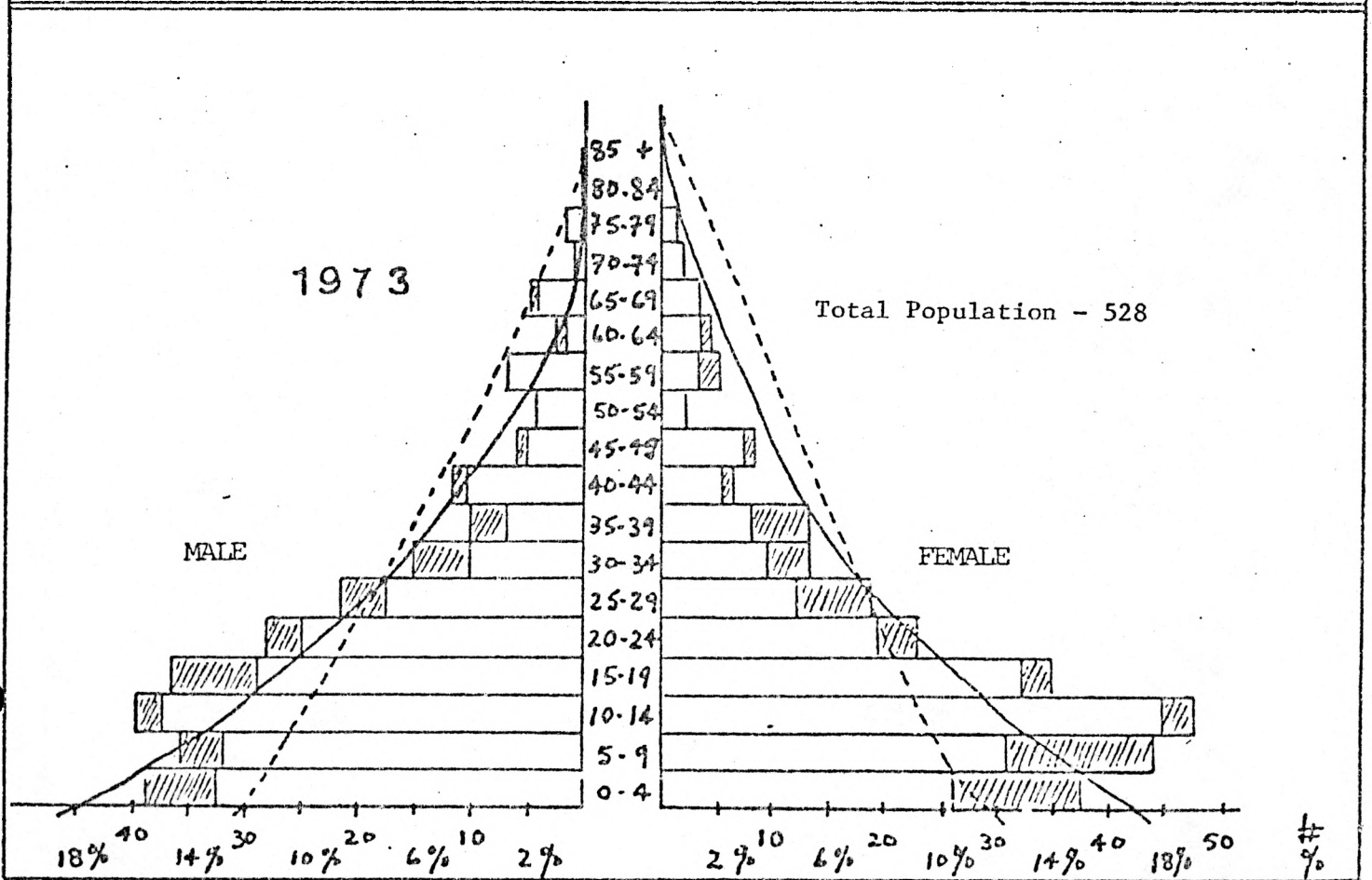
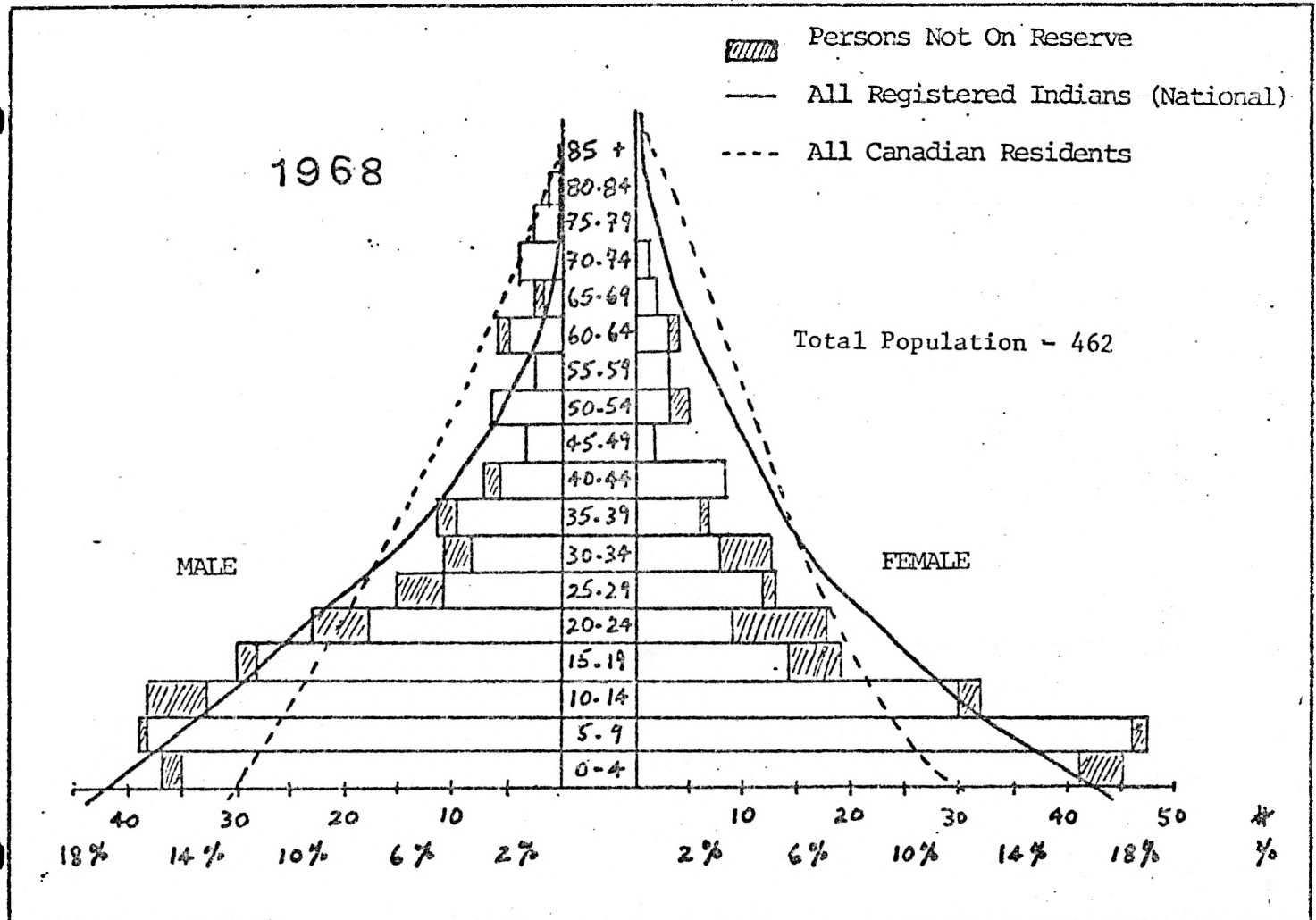
(b) Population

The community is laid out in a non-townsite fashion with families settling generally in the same general area of the reserve as their relatives or immediate family. The present (1973) total band population is 527 persons (264 males, 263 females) under a Chief and Council, and with Band Administration. Graph 1 relates the 1973 population to the 1968 figures. As in the case of many other Indian communities in Canada, the Kehewin Reserve is slowly controlling its population growth. However even if this growth is similar to the all Canadian registered Indians level (as represented by a solid line in Graph No. 1) the Kehewin growth is still greater by about 8% to that of the all Canadian residents

Diagram 1 - Kehewin Reserve



GRAPH NO. 1 -- KEHEWIN: COMPARATIVE POPULATION PYRAMIDS



growth level (as represented by the dotted line on graph No. 1). Furthermore, as in many other reserves of Canada, the next 15 years will bring to the labour pool a much larger work force and the present needs will increase. Looking at the population projections (Table A-1) for Kehewin we find that for 1976 and 1981, there is a projected high of 589 (303 males and 286 females) and 681 (348 males and 333 females) individuals respectively as compared to the 1973 Total reserve population of 528 individuals (265 males and 263 females). 45% of the present population are 14 and under.

TABLE A-1
POPULATION PROJECTION BY AGE-GROUP TO YEAR 1981

AGE			
65 +	14	14	14
45-64	39	51	56
35-44	42	44	62
15-34	191	219	270
0-14	242	256	272
PROJECTION YEAR	<u>1973</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1981</u>
TOTAL MALES	265	303	348
TOTAL FEMALES	<u>263</u>	<u>286</u>	<u>333</u>
TOTAL POPULATION	528	589	681

Many new family units will be formed and more housing will be needed.

Such a rapid and important increase will affect the on and off reserve employment trends, the annual budgets, the Band Administration and its socio-economic programs and projects. Good planning will be needed and continued support from outside sources will be a necessity.

2. Physical Characteristics of the area:

The 29,415 acre reserve touches on three lakes: Kehewin Lake, Sinking Lake and Muriel Lake. The topography is mainly that of parkland of low hills and rolling prairie, with spruce, poplar and bush willow. The soils are black, degraded black, grey wooded and very fertile.

3. Community accomplishments:

a) Socio-economic and political conditions prior to 1972: Background Conditions:

Communication lines between Kehewin and some other bands, and the Saddle Lake/Athabaska District and the Alberta Regional Office had broken down with the advent of the school strike of September (1971) and the sit-in at the Regional Office of October 30, 1971. These events ended in November 1971 with meetings between Kehewin's Chief and the Minister and the ensuing development projects at Kehewin.

The Indian Association of Alberta was a strong political force during this time; however, Mr. Harold Cardinal's resignation in December 1971 was felt as a significant loss by some bands.

Kehewin was dominated by characteristics of a 'welfare culture'. 98% of the people were receiving social assistance with only 6 reserve members having regular employment. The reserve and the Indian political 'climate' were very tense up to and including December 1971.

Kehewin, as many other reserves, was having difficulties maintaining itself as a community; there were problems of poor community organizations; alcoholism was high; health standards were poor; there were no organized sports, no rodeo, or Indian Days; 'outside' interests were at their minimum. There was little enthusiasm, especially noticeable among the men to go ahead and do things; association meetings and regular gatherings were infrequent, and consensus concerning community wants was not apparent. Conditions were more of a passive acceptance than anything else. A breaking point was reached when some children were sent back home from school because their clothes were not clean. For the mothers, slough water was not acceptable anymore. The school children were ordered by Council to stay home. The strike was on.

In summary, Kehewin was not viable as a community; it could not respond adequately to the requirements and expectations of its people for a number of reasons, many of which were beyond their control.

b) General approach taken by the community: since 1972

As a result of a Winnipeg and Ottawa meeting between the Minister (Mr. Chretien) and the ex-Chief of Kehewin, Gordon Youngchief, more stable ties between the Band and Ottawa were formed. A Counsellor, Gus Dion, made a proposal to the effect that the people wanted to work for their living: "We want work, not welfare". The Minister agreed. The delegation returned to the reserve to get total agreement from the people. A door to door visit was initiated so as to have a 100 percent support for what the Counsellor had said. Requests for better water facilities and the building of a school received approval at this time.

In the following weeks, the Assistant Deputy Minister sent a development officer to see if the Band members were still unanimous in their decision to voluntarily go off welfare. Several band meetings culminated with a petition in support of the resolution voting for work instead of welfare. Band meetings were also called to decide if the community wanted the Task Force's assistance as advisors. It was so agreed.

In January 1972 the advisors began to assist in getting projects operational by advising the Band Council and Band Manager, Joe Dion. Submissions to Manpower and other Departments, and the organization of many social projects took place during this intensified development period. A social development officer was assigned to help on a live-in basis.

The District Office had been consulted while the school strike was going on and an understanding was reached with the District Supervisor that work could be done with the Band and with the Chief and Council. It was also agreed that if extra funds were raised or unique programs were undertaken, the balance of the District programs could still continue without disruption - both financial and operational. By summer, a co-ordinator was brought in to deal with the many aspects of development that were taking place in Kehewin and with some other Bands of the area where the Task Force had been asked to help out. Throughout the development stages, contacts, and co-ordination increased with other government departments, industries, universities, and allied agencies. Meetings and discussions with consultants increased in such fields as industry, communication, agriculture, cattle ranching, education, recreation and administration. Band officials consulted a number of sources in carrying out or planning projects. These included: the National Museum; the Farm Credit Corporation;

Parks Canada; Manpower; Statistics Canada; Treasury Board; National Health and Welfare; Industry, Trade and Commerce; Provincial Government; Departments; Secretary of State; Regional Economic Expansion; Alberta Indian Development Services; National Film Board; Indian Associations; Youth and Recreation (Alberta).

Generally speaking, projects operated on the principle of delegating authority to committees and work teams under the leadership of capable individuals.

The Band Council now increasingly acts as its own advocate in negotiating with Departmental and non-Departmental organizations. It is capable of articulating its demands and applying pressures for action at District and Regional levels in a direct manner. Council members are aware of the approaches to use and where the sources of help are located. In their present demand for assistance, they have the ability to discriminate specific avenues of approach, and indentify economic from more social concerns.

c) Financial inputs into the community:

The purpose of this chapter is to establish for further reference what have been the financial inputs into Kehewin in the past five years.¹

Since 1969-70 the total amount of money invested into the Kehewin Band for both operating and capital expenditures increased by 320% (Table A-2). Inputs from Manpower and Immigration were substantial in 1972-73.

1. Financial inputs (from D.I.A., National Health and Welfare, Provincial Government) into the bands, data on the potential work force, welfare costs, operational and capital cost, increase in services and utilities... of the past five years are listed in a paper: "Five year Economic Profile - Kehewin Band, Alberta - 1974" - Robert Brule, Financial and Management Branch, - Appendix 11.

TABLE A-2

FINANCIAL INPUT BY MAJOR SOURCES

(in \$000's)	<u>1969-70</u>	<u>1970-71</u>	<u>1971-72</u>	<u>1972-73</u>	<u>1973-74</u>
Indian Affairs and Northern Development					
Operating	198.2	231.8	416.0	500.1	677.7
Capital	25.0	41.5	185.4	187.6	238.8
Manpower & Immigration				248.7	65.7
National Health & Welfare					17.0
Provincial				<u>4.1</u>	<u>5.0</u>
Sub-Total	223.2	273.3	601.4	940.5	1,004.2
Administration					
(indirect)	<u>21.3</u>	<u>27.3</u>	<u>30.1</u>	<u>28.2</u>	<u>29.9</u>
TOTAL	<u>224.5</u>	<u>300.6</u>	<u>631.5</u>	<u>968.7</u>	<u>1,034.1</u>

Standards can not be kept constant from year to year and it is not feasible to make abstraction of normal growth. Kehewin would have had their budget increased from year to year if only because of population growth and new household units. In fact, in 1969-70 the Department of Indian Affairs managed nine (9) programs while today there are more than twenty-six (26). Just this fact alone has increased budgets, changed policies and attitudes.

The majority of the programs are now managed by the Band itself with Band members filling in the positions. To inquire what Kehewin would

have accomplished without the support from "outside" sources is difficult to say. The help is now an event of the past but the impact is an ever present reality.

In 1969-70 formal on-reserve employment programs did not exist. There was fishing, hunting, seasonal work and some farming and ranching with welfare as the main source of income.

The work force distribution (Table A-3) reveals that in a five year

TABLE A-3

WORK FORCE DISTRIBUTION

(A) Male Work Force as related to full-time employment.

	Potential Work Force (Male)	Employed Full-Time	% Employed as to work force	% Increase in Employment since 1969-70
1970	74	14*	18.9%	
1971	79	15*	19.0%	7.1%
1972	90	38*	42.2%	171.4%
1973	96	42	43.7%	200.0%
1974	90	45	50.0%	221.4%

(B) Full-Time Employment compared to number of heads of family -

	<u>Head of Family</u>	<u>Employed (full-time)</u>	<u>% Employed</u>
1970	75	14*	18.7
1971	81	15*	18.5
1972	84	38*	45.2
1973	86	42	48.8
1974	89	45	50.6

* Information based on survey prepared by Band Member and Departmental Statistics.

Employment full-time from 1968 to 1971 should not be considered as continuous employment (2,000 man-month) but rather steady employment i.e. individual works every year as farm hand for 3 months or works 52 weeks a year 2 days a week.

period (1970-74) the number of males in full-time employment increased from 14 to 45 which is an increase of 221%. Compared to the male potential work force (Table A-4) 50% are working in 1973-74.

TABLE A-4

MALE POTENTIAL WORK FORCE

	<u>1969-70</u>	<u>1970-71</u>	<u>1971-72</u>	<u>1972-73</u>	<u>1973-74</u>
65 and over	11	10	11	12	13
15 and under	214	207	213	202	205
students 15-21	20	19	20	16	18
female population*	<u>64</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>96</u>
Total	309	306	323	320	332
Possible Work Force					
(Male only)	<u>74</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>90</u>
Total on reserve					
population	383	385	413	416	422
% increase or decrease in work force since 1969-70	-	6.8%	21.6%	29.7%	21.6%

The work force have stabilized somewhat but according to population projections (Table A-1), there will exist a larger work force in the years to come. Fifty percent of the population is under the age of 16. Also it must be noted that the female population must now be accounted for in the labour force. In fact, the number of females fully employed increased from two to thirteen which is a 650% increase over 1968. What happened was an intensive job creation program which in 1972-73 soared to 110 employee or 76.5 man-years generating at one time \$300,400 in operating costs. (Table A-5).

TABLE A-5

SALARY EARNING GENERATED BY NEW PROGRAMS

	<u>1969-70</u>		<u>1970-71</u>		<u>1971-72</u>		<u>1972-73</u>		<u>1973-74</u>	
	<u>MY</u>	<u>\$000's</u>	<u>MY</u>	<u>\$000's</u>	<u>MY</u>	<u>\$000's</u>	<u>MY</u>	<u>\$000's</u>	<u>MY</u>	<u>\$000's</u>
Band Administration			1.0	6.0	3.0	19.3	4.5	27.3	5.0	30.7
Counselling & Committee Workers					1.0	5.8	1.5	14.9	3.0	21.5
Weaving and Sewing Factory							11.5	39.4	13.0	43.6
Welding & Steel Shop								18.0	74.8	
Economic - Social Development Programs							44.0	182.9	34.0	101.9
Employment & Relocation					1.0	6.5	1.0	7.5	1.0	7.5
Maintenance					.5	1.5	.5	2.9	1.0	6.0
Bussing (Co.op)					1.5	11.9	1.5	13.1	1.5	14.4
Total Salaries Earned	-		<u>1.0</u>	<u>6.0</u>	<u>7.0</u>	<u>45.0</u>	<u>64.0</u>	<u>288.0</u>	<u>76.5</u>	<u>300.4</u>
Average Earnings per Man-Years				\$6,000		\$6,425		\$4,465		\$3,927

Welfare cost were affected. For the period 1969-70 to 1973 (Table A-6) the percentage of heads of family interviewed (56) whose main source of income was from employment, increased from 29% in 1968 to 63% in 1973.

TABLE A-6

MAIN SOURCES OF INCOME BY PERCENTAGE - HEAD OF FAMILY (SAMPLE SIZE: 56)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EMPLOYMENT*</u>	<u>TRANSFER PAYMENTS ETC.</u>
1968	*29.3%	70.7%
1969	*23.3%	76.7%
1970	*24.2%	75.8%
1971	*55.9%	44.1%
1972	61.7%	38.3%
1973	62.5%	37.5%

* Employment full-time from 1968 to 1971 should not be considered as continuous employment (i.e. 2,000 man-month) but rather steady employment e.g. an individual works every year as farm hand for 3 months or works 52 weeks 2 days a week.

Consequently, at the same time the number on welfare decreased from 71% to 38%. The projected cost of welfare regardless or not of the on-reserve development is shown in Table A-7.

The \$90,071 decrease in social assistance cost in 1973-74 from projected levels should not be interpreted as "savings" but rather as a new source of funding for community employment programs. What was "saved" by having people "out of welfare", was redirected into programs affecting the community.

TABLE A-7

COST OF WELFARE

PROJECTED COST AND ACTUAL COST

	<u>1969-70</u>	<u>1970-71</u>	<u>1971-72</u>	<u>1972-73</u>	<u>1973-74</u>
Projected cost of welfare if 1969-70 state of affairs had remained stable	\$98,941	\$109,329	\$119,715	\$129,172	\$142,735
Less allowance of 2% for emigration off reserve	-	(750)	(1,872)	(3,042)	(4,464)
Total Projected Social Assistance Cost	\$98,941	\$108,559	\$117,843	\$126,130	\$138,271
% increase (annual)	-	9.9%	8.4%	7.0%	9.6%
Total % increase from 1969-70	-	9.9%	19.1%	27.4%	38.8%
Actual Social Assistance Cost	<u>\$98,941</u>	<u>\$109,329</u>	<u>\$124,716*</u>	<u>\$ 34,674</u>	<u>\$ 48,200</u>
Funds redistributed into other band programs	-	\$570	<u>\$ 6,873</u>	<u>(\$ 91,456)</u>	<u>(\$ 90,071)</u>

*The increase in actual cost in 1971-72 is a result of a 14.4% increase in the work force over 1970-71.

The purchasing power of the individual workers and heads of family increased. The number of people owning cars increased from a ratio of one car for every ten people in 1969 to one car for every five people in 1973. Truck owners increased considerably from one truck for every 131 people in 1969 to one truck for every 13 people in 1973. In the cattle business the

increase has been from 150 head in 1968 to 691 in 1973. There have been increases also in other assets such as washers, dryers, television sets, and freezers. (Tables 19, 20 21 and 22 of main report).

Furthermore, the intensive development programs on the reserve have not been an "expensive venture". Table A-8 show what "extra" monies were needed for Kehewin to raise itself to the level it presently enjoys.

The table does not, however, consider the many non-economic factors of the development process. Taking 1973-74 as an example, the actual operating cost for Kehewin was \$765,400. By deducting the actual social assistance cost (not the projected costs) and the "extra" financial support coming in from different sources, then adding to this sum what had been the projected social assistance cost, \$587,800 would have been the operating budget for Kehewin in 1973-74 even if there had not been any development program at all. This indicates that only \$177,600 was spent as "extra" expenditures.

As already stated, this extra cost is eminently disassociated from all the other cultural and social benefits; it does not reflect the community's renewed sense of pride and desire to move on. These, too, are essential factors in any developmental process.

TABLE A-8

OPERATING EXPENDITURES - COST RESULTING FROM INTENSIFIED DEVELOPMENT

	<u>1969-70</u> \$000's	<u>1970-71</u> \$000's	<u>1971-72</u> \$000's	<u>1972-73</u> \$000's	<u>1973-74</u> \$000's
I. <u>Actual Operation Cost</u> (See Table A-2)	198.2	231.8	416.0	752.9*1	765.4*1
(a) Input from Actual Social Assistance (See Table A-7)	98.9	109.3	124.7	34.7	48.2
(b) Total Input resulting from Intensified Program:					
Additional Band Admin (Wop, etc.) Cost	-	-	-	15.4	8.4
Adult Education	-	-	-	13.9	-
Training on-the-job	-	-	-	-	54.6
Arts and Crafts	-	-	-	23.6	43.3
Industrial Development	-	-	-	-	76.7
Special Development Group*2	-	-	-	41.7	19.0
Manpower & Immigration	-	-	-	<u>248.6</u>	<u>65.7</u>
TOTAL INPUT	(98.9)	(109.3)	(124.7)	(377.9)	(315.9)
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL OPERATING COST	99.3	122.5	291.3	375.0	449.5
II. <u>Total Projected Social Assistance Cost</u> (See Table A-7)	98.9	108.5	117.8	126.1	138.3
III. <u>Total Possible Cost</u> (according to normal growth without intensified development program; adding the total operating cost with the total projected Social Assistance Cost)	198.2	231.0	409.1	501.1	587.8
IV. <u>"Extra" operating cost</u> resulting from intensified development (The total possible cost from the actual operating cost)	-	.8	6.9	251.8	177.6

NOTE: *1 Includes Manpower, National Health & Welfare & Provincial Grants.

*2 Includes start up costs for weaving factory.

TABLES OF ANNEX I

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ANNEX II

ALTERNATIVES TO DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES ON INDIAN RESERVES

Alternatives are often given in a study to help management or the reader formulate his opinion on what is being presented.

The purpose in this Annex is somewhat different.

First of all, as a preliminary study this report states what happened on Kehewin and why it happened the way it did. No final evaluation can be given as yet as not enough time has elapsed since Kehewin gave itself new goals to achieve.

Secondly, the alternatives presented below are there to help understand better the rationale (Section I p. 3 of the report) of the Total Community Approach in socio-economic development which was used by Kehewin.

A. Welfare

Many excellent reports have been written about welfare policies, welfare cultures and welfare "states". In spite of all the literature on welfare programs we are still promoting welfare attitudes and organizing welfare programs; in spite of all our experiences we are still confronted with welfare problems, still grasping for other "solutions". Are we learning through what is happening? Increasing the demand for labour does not necessarily lead to a better utilization of labour. Increasing social assistance outlays does not necessarily bring the unemployed employable into the labour market.

To emphasize, the following variables are not conducive to self-sufficiency and self-determination.¹ Any programs promoting such concepts are bound to fail.

1. Guaranteeing financial security, regardless of personal or economic productivity;
2. Favouring a conservative approach: making sure controls (over funds and personnel) are well implanted into the projects before inception by the Band or individuals; little motivation to produce and to be creative;
3. Maintaining dependency upon government: the "daddy-o" complex;
4. Encouraging complacency: the "quicksand" effect;
5. Training towards employment over a short time period in fields of little practical use for the individual and his community;
6. Dealing mainly with crises: the crisis complex;
7. Refusing to admit cultural and functional differences amongst people: encouraged by creating false perceptions of social values and standards of living;
8. Being mainly concerned with extensive consumerism with little promotion towards the means of production.

1. Self-sufficiency and self-determination are taken here in their general connotation. No one is really self-sufficient in today's world of inter-dependency. One may work towards and obtain self-determination by being part of the decision-making machinery of our times, with an inherent capacity to adapt, in the implementation stages, these decisions according to one's norms and values.

More variables could be added to this list. Suffice is to say that welfare "systems" are detrimental to individuals and community life as well. They are the antithesis to development processes.

B. Department of Regional Economic Expansion

Another alternative to development is that implemented by DREE.

DREE was created on April 1, 1969, having as its primary goal the reduction of regional economic disparities in Canada. It provides incentive grants (as much as half the capital to be employed in an operation or up to \$30,000 per job created) to most manufacturing and processing industries thus offsetting the initial disadvantages of an industrial investment in areas where additional employment is most needed. Loan guarantees are also available. In 1970, special areas were designated for infrastructures assistance; incentives for manufacturing or commercial projects and social adjustment measures were made available.

In April 1973, the Minister of DREE introduced possible new approaches for joint federal-provincial efforts to stimulate regional development in the slow-growth regions of the country. He suggested a "multi-dimensional approach" which would call "for the identification and pursuit of major developmental opportunities by means of the coordinated application of public policies and programs, federal and provincial, in cooperation where appropriate with elements of the private sector". He was planning more flexibility of staff and financial resources thus increasing decentralization.

COMMENT

DREE has been involved with programs (ARDA, PFRA, FRED, RDIA, and Newstart)² affecting Indians and Metis especially in the mid-northern Prairie Provinces. A large amount of money was spent in just a few years. It is difficult, however, to assess how beneficial some of these programs were to the Indian people mainly because (1) many projects were feasibility studies, socio-economic studies, demographic studies, and surveys; (2) many projects had a completion date for 1971, i.e. were short-term solutions; (3) many projects centered around communication problems, training in social skills, vocational (pre-employment) and motivational counselling; (4) very few projects involved Indian on-the-job training, and of these only three or four actually gave a basis for a long-term solution to unemployment and economic stability (5) very few projects involved a whole community in its planning and implementation stages.

The most profitable investment seemed to be in projects of land clearing and pasture expansion under ARDA.

2. ARDA: Agricultural and Rural Development Act - began in 1962 and are with program agreements until 1975. These include land use, soil and water conservation and general rural development. Costs are shared 50-50 between province and federal government.

PFRA: Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act - Became part of the Department in 1969 - involved especially in water development projects in the Prairie.

FRED: Fund for Rural Economic Development Act - The FRED Act was repealed in 1969 but existing agreements are being carried through to completion.

RDIA: Regional Development Incentive Acts - The development incentives are used to encourage new productive employment in those regions or special areas designated by the Department.

NEWSTART: Four projects were introduced in 1967 to experiment with and isolate effective and efficient techniques and methods of social and human development. Two more projects were added in 1969.

There is no doubt that the people closely associated with the different projects benefited financially. The province and the Federal government have also benefited with a dollar return through personal income taxes and corporate taxes. It is not evident that the smaller communities found a solution to their social and economic problems. DREE addresses itself mainly (and according to traditional economic principles) to the larger sectors of the economy by luring industries and manufacturers to slow-growth areas through incentive monies and infrastructure assistance.

There is no indication at the moment that DREE should abandon its research and involvement in this area. More emphasis could be placed on social adjustments and programs, rural development and community participation! The "multi-dimensional approach" talked about in 1973 will hopefully be put to test. That approach would bring the perspective closer to what we have termed "Total Community Approach" especially if it includes long-term policies involving developmental principles.³

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3. It should be noted that the "extra" funds spent during the intensified development years under the Total Community Approach has not even approximated the \$30,000 for every manufacturing job created as is acceptable under DREE's incentive grants guidelines. With such an investment a dollar return into the economy through personal income taxes and corporate taxes is evident. To describe further the predicament in which many Indian Reserves find themselves, the reader should be made aware of a recent paper 13 July, 1973 promulgated by the National Indian Brotherhood ("Statement on Economic Development of Indian Communities" prepared for the Western-Federal-Provincial Conference on Economic Opportunities, July 24, 25, and 26, 1973). There is reference to DREE incentive programs and also to C.I.D.A.'s (Canadian International Development Agency) 50 years soft loans, interest free, to developing countries. Considering inflation and CIDA policies concerning these grants, these "loans" are grants. The NIB paper concluded: "While civil servants pronounce on whether one reserve or another has the potential for economic development, the dollars which any other region or community would consider essential are denied to the Indian communities. Prince Edward Island, with a population slightly smaller than the Indian population of Canada and a per capita income four times as great (\$2,000/capita for 111,000 people) required a total of 725 million dollars for Regional Development. Compared to these figures, which we do not doubt were based on real needs, the

C. Training and Relocation For Off-Reserve Work

A third alternative to consider is training⁴ the heads of families and other adults of the Indian labour pool for off-reserve work either through up-grading, vocational skills or on-the-job training.

Automatically this has been done whenever an adult showed interest and asked to be trained. Industries and employment opportunities have been mainly situated in urban centres thus directly causing population shifts, encouraging emigration, migration and/or relocation to these centres.⁵

Adding to this factor of attracting labour off-reserve has been a general lack of innovative policies and programs to attract industries on Indian reserves, and/or to stimulate on-reserve long-term employment.⁶ Many labour intensive activities on the reserve are desirable for economic self-sufficiency and for the development of a livelihood independent of welfare payments. Up until now there has been but two alternatives for the Indian people: train and relocate, or train and stay on welfare. There are no other alternatives.

(Footnote 3 cont'd)

total assistance to Indian communities is negligible. Comparisons of DREE funds and grants-in-aid are somewhat misleading. They fail to include equalization payments which bring the provincial treasury up to a national average per capita. Although the low incomes figures for Indian communities might contribute to increased equalization payments going to a province those payments fail to benefit the destitute Indian communities except in the most peripheral ways."

4. "training" in this context encompasses learning new skills, new trade or up-grading.
5. The number of people "relocating" in Canada is quite extensive especially so in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec and the Maritimes. Likewise, Indian populations are affected by this phenomena. But worse of all too many are forced into relocation. By relocation we mean the process by which one is socially and psychologically uprooted from known surroundings to unknown grounds.
6. Foremost in most Manpower training programs is training or retraining individuals in existing manufacturing operations. But the requirements of a new industry starting from scratch are patently different to the training required to augment an existing work force. "A new industry has none of the production momentum or other workers that can be instrumental in training the individual by example or precedent. There will

The pattern is then outlined as follows:

1. Indian adults are trained specifically off the reserve to take off-reserve employment in the field of their training. This is done because there has been almost a total lack of employment opportunity on Reserves. If the employment accepted by the worker is close to home, he will keep his family on the reserve and will commute. Or he will take the training but stay home idle, for the "price" to move off-reserve is more than he can afford at the moment. There are a good number of unemployed on the reserve with school up-grading and vocational training certificates. Definitely, this type of training does not seem to solve the employment problem. Furthermore, training here is dictating the work to be done and not vice versa as the case should be.
2. Some industrial plants favour commuting practices. However, their main worry is a steady work force and production. How to get to work, where to live, how to cope with out-of-industry problems is not of primary concern. So what is the outcome?

(Footnote 6 cont'd)

be saleable products during the training period but with reduced efficiency. Any earnings from such production must be considered as an addition to the organization's working capital rather than a reduction in the necessary funding for the initial operation. It is imperative that the various groups, both Indian and governmental, develop a financing program that will assure continuity for as long as is required to get a new industry into a viable position. It must be recognized that what is involved is a matter of years not months. The funding will be required to assure a sustained training period for not only workers but management, production and fiscal control. To attempt to achieve normal operations with native people with inadequate training on the chance that they may grow into the job and its responsibility is unfair to the potential native manager and is likely to ruin the chances of the industry being accepted as a viable proposition."

Industrial Design Foundation - John B. Brook, Comments from a letter, March 1973, to Jack Tully, Development Group, Indian Affairs.

The worker eventually leaves his family on the reserve and finds residence near his employer. This solution is sometimes suggested or even planned but is detrimental to family life, to personal upkeep and to cultural benefits. There is sufficient testimony to this effect for any policy maker to seriously inquire into other socio-economic solutions.

Relocation has been for many well-intentioned Indian families (not for the industry nor the government agency) a real dilemma. If bringing the Indian people "into the mainstream of Canadian life patterns" i.e. making Indian people live the way "white" people live means relocating them to urban or industrial and commercial centres, we are being naive to say the least. We know how unsuccessful relocation projects have been across Canada (Appendix 12). Relocation can be beneficial only if very specific elements of adjustment are respected. It can not be planned and promoted independently and in isolation of possible on-reserve development and socio-economic viability.

D. Indian Affairs Program and Its Three Branch Approach

Evidently the basic approach taken presently by the Program is an alternative.

To more fully grasp the significance of the Program's three branch approach to Indian problems and activities, we should be able to identify any matters which collectively should properly be the "affairs" of an Indian community. But this identification becomes difficult for the simple reason that a community does not live in a vacuum nor does

it live only one structural and functional aspect at a time independently of all others.

"Education" and "Economic Development" are inevitably major "affairs" of any "community". As one public servant from D.I.A. said in a recent paper (1973):

"The attempt to categorize functions by these same titles commencing with either of the others is equally frustrating. In a very real sense, "Education" should also encompass the entire "community's affairs" plus those of its individual residents. Their "Economic Development", either collectively or individually, is equally dependent upon the other two. While it may be an exaggeration to record that Education, Economic Development, and Community Affairs frequently functioned in isolation from the other two, such a statement can be convincingly documented.

Organizationally the three-specialty approach prevailed at each of these levels: Headquarters, Regional and District levels; the "three pyramid" and the "three pipeline" approach.

Moreover, all three specialties tended to be characterized by one-way flow of policies, directives and information downwards -- from headquarters, to region, to district, to Band's Chief and Councillors -- and finally to the fifth and most important level of all, i.e. to the on-reserve Indian people".

There has been an attempt to modify roles of certain staff members as "advisers". Some attempts are made for local government-type functions and reorganization is given serious consideration. Yet the functional responsibility continues to be recognized and protected, as also, the three approaches and the three (and possible four) scalar levels through which each operates. Administratively, structures are needed but flexibility and strategic planning are long overdue for the socio-economic development of Indian reserves and people.

E. Total Community Approach

The fifth alternative can be labelled as the Total Community Approach.

In the context of what is now the Special Assignments and Review Branch, "Socio-Economic Development" became a formal reality in the Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program during May 1972, with the approval of the Task Force for Action Research in Socio-Economic Development.⁷

"By definition, the Total Community Approach is a research-oriented activity involving all of the people in a community whereby they are assisted to the extent that they desire, both individually and collectively, in a variety of ways of their choice to simultaneously attain and maintain economic, social, political and cultural independence".⁸ This activity must be opened to every aspect of the community so that development becomes an integral part of the livelihood of the community and its eventual viability.

7. The Task force was renamed the Special Development Group several months after its formation. It became the development component of the Special Assignments and Review Group. By the end of the next fiscal year this component will have phased in and transferred all its operations to the Districts where the pilot-projects were initiated.

8. Harry Caldwell's revised edition - "Socio-Economic Development" -- Special Assignments and Review Group, 1973.

This approach is presented as an alternative. The driving principles are believed sound; the techniques of implementation may vary as the rationale to the approach indicates. It was the approach used in Kehewin; its rationale was expounded in Section I of the report and its results formed the basis of the benefit analysis.