Seekaskootch, Day Labour, School Construction Project

A Thesis
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for the Degree of
Master of Education
in the
Indian and Northern Education Program
University of Saskatchewan

by
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Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
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ABSTRACT

The problem in this study was to determine the effects of a day labour school construction project on the Seekaskootch Indian Reserve in Saskatchewan. A review of the literature generated 110 questions related to the effects of a day labour project on a reserve. Seventy-six of these questions served as the basis for depth, key informant, and open-end interviews with Indians and non-Indians associated with the project. Thirty-four of the questions formed a guided interview instrument. All thirty-four questions were directed to a sample of thirty-three band members who had worked on the project. Eight of these questions were directed to a sample of twenty-seven band members who had not worked on the project.

As well as guided interviews, the researcher followed participant-observation procedures to gather data and interpret events. Follow-up interviews and participant-observations were conducted two and one-half years after the initial procedures were applied. The study, therefore, reflects the situation and band members' reactions as they existed towards the end of a three and one-half year construction project, and two and one-half years later. Most of the data reflects the situation in 1975.

The thesis is a case study because it provides an in-depth investigation of the Seekaskootch community. Charts in appendices A, B and C describe the development of the statement of the problem from the literature, the descriptive method of research, and the background to an on-reserve, day labour, school, construction project.
The study found that the untrained and inexperienced labour force was capable of successfully completing the school project. The Onion Lake school was built with no apparent reduction in the quality of workmanship or materials. The project improved some community functions including health services, recreation and transportation. Alcohol related problems or violence in the community did not increase.

The study reports changes in the band labour force, job opportunities, training, local government, school facilities, education and consumer spending. The findings indicate that the project had no effect on social assistance payments, reserve land use, and traditional activities.

The band members were more in favour of day labour after the project than before. They favoured reserve development and Indian language and culture courses in the school program. The band is assuming full control of reserve education. Band members indicated that this work experience will help their future employment prospects on and off the reserve, however, they indicated a preference for working on reserve.

While more expensive than most contract schools, this project was the least expensive day labour built school in Canada between 1966 and 1974. Total costs compared favourably with the average cost for schools built by contract.

The study concludes that the major components of a successful day labour project include the co-operation of the band leaders, a labour force of sufficient size, the co-operation of the supervising government department, and a good project supervisor.

The most important effect of this day labour project was that it was community based in its approach to development. This project was locally conceived, planned and constructed. Having successfully
accomplished this major task, the band is in a position to confidently plan and proceed with its own development.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer gratefully acknowledges the assistance of his thesis committee in the preparation of this study: Professor Aldrich Dyer, chairman, Professors Robert Regnier, Dr. Earle Newton, and Dr. Michael Tymchak.

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Chapter I

THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

A Saskatchewan Indian Chief says: "The single most burning issue facing Indians is finding work and getting off welfare." ¹

The Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians remarks: "... welfare is an insidious disease that is eating away at the moral fibre of my race." ²

Harold Cardinal, former Regional Director of the Department of Indian Affairs, Alberta, contends:

There is no excuse for our people to be in a state of poverty. It is really a decision the federal government has to make - whether to keep expanding the welfare budget to provide a bare existence for our people, or to provide funds for skill training and economic development. ³

Indian leaders are insisting that unemployment and the reliance on social assistance are critical problems to Indians.

Programs attempting to reduce these problems have focussed on two

¹ Chief Miles Venne, Lac La Ronge Band, The Star-Phoenix (Saskatoon) March 7, 1975.

² David Ahenakew, "The Indian and Education" (Paper presented at the University of Saskatchewan, October 17, 1974), p. 10.

³ Harold Cardinal in "And What About Canada's Native People?" Published by the Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples with the assistance of the Gladys and Merrill Muttart Foundation (Ottawa: February, 1976), p. 9. Harold Cardinal was President of the Indian Association of Alberta when this statement was made.
major areas: 1) off-reserve employment and 2) on-reserve employment. Most of the jobs are off-reserve, primarily in urban centres. When Indians move off reserves to accept employment there are often three consequences:

1. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs does not extend the full range of its programs beyond the reserve community. Off-reserve Indians do not receive all the programs that on-reserve Indians do.

2. The Indian moving off the reserve and working off the reserve gives up certain rights under the Indian Act. For example, a status Indian working on a reserve is exempt from income tax whereas an Indian

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4 Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Corporate Policy Group, A Preliminary Survey of Government and Other Programs and Services Relating to Indian Needs (Ottawa, 1975), in the Foreword. Job creating programs are primarily coming from the provincial governments and the federal departments of Manpower and Immigration, Regional and Economic Expansion and Indian and Northern Affairs.

5 Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Education Branch, Assessment-Employment/Relocation Program (Ottawa, 1974), p. 1.


7 "And What About Canada's Native Peoples?", p. 14. "Problems of Native people who have migrated to urban centres receive the lowest priority by governments at all levels. Indian and Metis Friendship Centres . . . are the only programs in existence on any large scale for urban Indians." The sixty-odd centres are funded by the Department of the Secretary of State.

8 Canada, The Indian Act, R.S., c. 149, s. 1, Bill No. 79 passed 17 May 1951.
employed off reserve is not.\(^9\)

3. Due to a lack of education and/or skills, transportation problems, lack of housing, fear of the loss of federal benefits, low wages and lack of mobility, the off-reserve Indian has trouble finding decent employment.\(^{10,11}\)

The question facing the Indian who wants to work is whether to remain on the reserve or to leave. This dilemma is further accented in a native position paper:

The fact that Indians express preference for city slum over reserve or northern outpost is eloquent testimony to how bad the home situation has become.\(^{12}\)

Band councils are expressing their preference for on-reserve employment programs.\(^{13}\) A government study concludes that Indian dependency on social assistance can be reduced by the expansion of employment

\(^9\)Canada, Department of National Revenue, Taxation, Interpretation Bulletin IT-62, August, 1972, p. 1. Issues related to the taxation of Indians are based on Section 87 of the Indian Act. However, the Department of National Revenue has interpreted the meaning of "property" in Section 87(b) to include income earned on reserves. Consequently, Indians working on reserves don't pay income tax.

\(^{10}\)Assessment-Employment/Relocation Program, p. 3.

\(^{11}\)D. S. Stevenson, Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Employment (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1968), pp. 5-12.

\(^{12}\)National Indian Brotherhood and the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, A joint presentation to the Senate Committee on Poverty, in "And What About Canada's Native Peoples?", p. 9.

\(^{13}\)Assessment-Employment/Relocation Program, p. 2.
activities on reserves. Other articles support the statement that one method of reducing social assistance in a community is to introduce employment to that community and develop an active labour force.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Conceding that on-reserve employment is favoured by the Indian leaders and the government, the following question is posed:

What are the effects of a day labour school construction project on the Seekaskootch Reserve community?

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14 Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Special Assignments Review Group, Keheewin Benefit Analysis - An Experimental Approach to Development 1972-73, by Ovila Gobeil (Ottawa, 1974), p. v.

15 The Star-Phoenix (Saskatoon), January 31, 1976. In an article, the Department of Northern Saskatchewan anticipated that its social assistance payments would be less than the budget allotment due to more job opportunities, more government economic support and more social services staff helping the unemployed.

16 The Star-Phoenix (Saskatoon), January 30, 1976. In an article, it was stated that the Ile-a-la-Crosse labour pool project found that as a major employing capital construction project neared completion, men were laid off and unemployment insurance and social assistance costs in the community rose.

17 Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Schedule of Indian Reserves and Settlements (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972), p. 221. Seekaskootch Indian Reserve, number 119, is 88 miles northwest of North Battleford, 3 miles north of North Saskatchewan River; National Topographical System (N.T.S.) 73 F/12 W and 73 F/13 W; at 53° 42' N, 109° 53' W. Saskatchewan. The Seekaskootch reserve is adjacent to the Macaoo Indian Reserve No. 120, which is partly in Saskatchewan and partly in Alberta. Band members from both reserves comprise the Onion Lake Band. Both reserves are administered by the Saskatchewan regional office of the Department of Indian Affairs. The Seekaskootch Reserve School is named the Chief Taylor School. In this study the Seekaskootch Reserve community includes both the Seekaskootch and Macaoo Reserves.
THESIS QUESTIONS

The author responds to the stated problem by gathering data and information on the following thesis questions. Each thesis question is made up of sub-questions which are posed in the review of the literature. Some references suggesting the thesis questions are included.

What are the effects of the project on:

1. community functions? (Farrell, Deprez and Sigurdson)
2. employment opportunities? (Ginsberg, Manpower and Immigration, Ahenakew, DNS, Crowe, Indian Affairs, Kehewin)
3. the Band labour force? (Bone, Kehewin, Canada Manpower, Hawthorn, Buck)
4. manpower and on-the-job training? (Bone, Kehewin, Canada Manpower)
5. local government? (Kehewin, Deprez and Sigurdson)
6. social assistance payments? (CASNP, Wolcott, Deprez and Sigurdson, Hawthorn, Kehewin, DNS)
7. school facilities? (F.S.I., Korchinski)
8. local control of education? (N.I.B., F.S.I., Buck, Hawthorn, Wolcott, Kleinfeldt, Price, Kirkness and others)
9. education programs? (Ile-a-la-Crosse, Romanow, Leask, Kirkness, Price)
10. language and cultural education? (Anderson, N.I.B., Ahenakew, Patterson, Deprez and Sigurdson)
11. the traditional activities of the band members? (Venne, Anderson, Deprez and Sigurdson)
12. reactions to development? (Kehewin, Hawthorn, Deprez and Sigurdson)
13. reserve land use? (Hawthorn, Land Use Policy, Indian Affairs)
14. consumer spending? (Deprez and Sigurdson, Korchinski, Kehewin)
15. How does this school compare in quality and in costs with other Indian schools built by day labour or under contract during the same time period? (Indian Affairs, The Saskatchewan Indian, Francis, Mykolajczuk, D.P.W.)

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms used in this study require precise definition:

Indian - An Indian is a person who, pursuant to the terms of the Indian Act, is entitled to be registered as an Indian. 18,19,20

18 Canada, The Indian Act, R.S., c. 149, s.2., 1951.

19 "And What About Canada's Native Peoples?", op. cit., pp. 2 + 15. The above legal definition of an Indian refers to a Status Indian, Disenfranchised Indian, or Treaty Indian, or Registered Indian. This person is a member of an Indian Band and holds certain rights under the Indian Act and the treaties. He/She holds their father's treaty number until they are 21 years of age, at which time they receive their own number. When an Indian marries, his wife receives his number and treaty status irrespective of her racial origin. When an Indian woman marries a white man or non-status Indian, she loses her own Indian status as do the children of the union. The Native Council of Canada favors a new definition of "Indian" based on blood quantum to be worked out by Native people themselves through research and genealogical studies.

20 Ibid., p. 2. Non-status Indians have relinquished or lost Indian status for various reasons.
Band - Herein refers to the body of Indians called the Onion Lake band. Members of the band may live on or off the reserve, as long as their name appears on the Onion Lake band list held by the registrar of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.\\(^{21}\)

Band Council - The council of the band consists of a chief and councillors. One chief is elected per band, and one councillor is elected for every one hundred members of the band. The number of councillors may not be less than two or more than twelve. The Onion Lake band has one chief and eleven councillors.\\(^{22}\)

Reserve - This refers to the land designated by the federal government for the people of the Onion Lake band. This land is called the Seekaskootch Indian Reserve.\\(^{23}\)

Social Assistance - Grants of money paid to unemployed band members unable to support themselves financially.\\(^{24}\)

Department - The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

Development - The social, economic, community and educational programs that the band considers meaningful towards achieving its goals

\\(^{21}\) The Indian Act, op. cit. In the Indian Act, a band is referred to as a body of Indians for whose use and benefit in common, the federal government serves as trustee, holding lands and money.

\\(^{22}\) Ibid., s. 74 (2).

\\(^{23}\) Ibid., s. 18 (1). In the Indian Act, an Indian Reserve is a parcel of land held in trust by the federal government for the use and benefit of the respective band(s) for which the lands were set apart. There are 561 separate Indian communities, known as bands, in Canada. These bands are located on 2,300 reserves. The Canadian Indian - A Brief Outline (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1973), p. 3.

\\(^{24}\) Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, The Canadian Indian - A Brief Outline (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1973), p. 16.
of independence and self-determination. 25,26

Employment - The situation where band members are working on the school project for wages or salary.

Labour Force - The group of band members who are employed or available for employment on the school project.

Day Labour - The use of the local Indian labour force in the construction of the Seekaskootch School. 27,28

Federal Day School - The Seekaskootch School is a federal day school. This is a school located on an Indian reserve in accordance with the treaty agreements. 29

Joint School - A school built on a cost-sharing basis between the federal and provincial governments. It is located off-reserve and

25 Ibid., pp. 18-19. Development must be viewed in terms of what the Indian people see as development.


27 The alternative to day labour is the procedure of calling for tenders and awarding contracts. Indians have been constructing their own buildings for many years, but what is different in recent projects is the size of the project and amount of money involved. Major capital projects are ones which generally exceed $250,000 and require technical expertise and ongoing co-ordination provided by a government department. Letter from G. K. Gooderham, Acting Director, Education Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa, November 28, 1974.

28 Interview with Myroslaw Mykolajczuk, architectural engineer, Indian Schools Branch, Department of Public Works, Saskatoon, November 14, 1977.

has both Indian and non-Indian students.  

The Project - The construction of the Seekaskootch Reserve School is referred to as the project.

DELIMITATIONS

The results of this study do not reflect the reactions of all Onion Lake band members, but only those living on the Seekaskootch Reserve at the time of the study. Observations made may relate to other day labour projects in Canada; however, the purpose of this research is not to generalize beyond the Seekaskootch community level.

The interview results reflect the situation as it existed prior to the completion of the school project and two and one-half years after the project was completed.

LIMITATIONS

The research methodology selected for use in this study imposes certain limitations.

1. Replies to questions reflect subjectivity.

2. The interpretation of the response and the recording on the interview guide by the researcher increases the element of subjectivity.

3. The difficulty in getting a representative sample limits the reliability of the guided interview procedure.

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30 Ibid.
ASSUMPTIONS

The author assumes that when interviewing people, they honestly attempt to recall and assess the effects of the school on their own lives and the life of the community. The author also assumes the following:

1. The statistics and information gathered from governmental, Indian, and other sources are accurate.
2. The questions are similarly understood by all persons interviewed.

JUSTIFICATION

Two policy decisions, by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and the National Indian Brotherhood, have given reason for this study.

1. The Department has adopted a policy which permits Indian bands to construct major capital projects on reserves, including schools. The Department feels that day labour construction has a positive effect on a reserve community. These effects include income, training and the acquisition of construction skills.
2. The Brotherhood has expressed its desire for Indian bands to accept responsibility for local major capital projects. Some

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31 Letter from G. K. Gooderhan, loc. cit.
32 Kehewin Benefit Analysis, loc. cit.
33 A Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of Indian People, op. cit., pp. 3-7.
bands\textsuperscript{34} have accepted the responsibility and are providing the manpower to construct schools on their reserves.

Information is limited regarding the effects of day labour construction. An understanding of these effects will assist other Indian bands in considering whether or not to undertake major construction projects of their own. Similarly, government policy makers will be better able to assess the impact of their day labour policy.

This study will provide information regarding the effects of one day labour construction project on a Saskatchewan Indian Reserve.

\textbf{SIGNIFICANCE}

It is timely that this study is conducted during a period when Indian leaders are requesting more development on reserves. The leaders feel that local economic development will keep Indians in their communities.\textsuperscript{35}

Recent statistics show an increasing rate of migration off reserves, due mainly to the lack of an economic base in the community and consequently very few jobs. If more jobs are created, the Indian leaders contend, Indians will stay on their reserves.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{34} Many bands in Saskatchewan, including Sandy Lake, Big River, Onion Lake, Little Pine, Moosomin, have local day labour projects.

\textsuperscript{35} Star-Phoenix, \textit{op. cit.}, January 28, 1978, p. 28, column 1-3. These issues were discussed at an All Chiefs Policy Conference of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, in Regina.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
Another important trend is the increasing acceptance of responsibility by Indian bands for control of their education. The construction of an educational facility by a band provides the needed jobs and involves the local people in the educational future of their community.

Day labour development is significant to Indians because it permits them to live on the reserve and have a job. It also gives them the opportunity to help build the school, gain some experience and training, and perhaps have more pride in their school and in themselves.

37 National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Ottawa: N.I.B., 1972), pp. 5-6. This is the official statement of the N.I.B. and the Government of Canada vis-a-vis Indian Education in Canada.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Many government and private studies discuss the general areas of economic, social and educational development. ¹ Some of these address themselves to the development of Indians and their reserves. ² From the broad areas noted above, a selection of literature is presented relative to the development of the statement of the problem and thesis questions. The chart in Appendix A also describes this development of the problem.

The chapter is organized into four parts:

1. Introduction
2. The Dynamics of Development
3. Indian Involvement in Non-Traditional Enterprise
4. Background to the Seekaskootch reserve and school project. ³

¹The studies, articles and papers noted in this study comprise a small portion of the number conducted by governments and private industry.

²A number of the above studies come from the Department of Indian Affairs and Indian bands and Associations.

³Paul Deprez and Glenn Sigurdson, The Economic Status of the Canadian Indian: A Re-examination (Winnipeg: Centre for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba, 1969). The titles to the middle two areas are taken from this source. The titles are also used in Kehewin Benefit Analysis, loc. cit., Some of the sub-titles within these areas are also taken from the Kehewin study.
THE DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Development is the process whereby growth, differentiation or evolution occur by successive changes. 4 Dynamics refers to a continuous and usually productive activity of change. 5 The Dynamics of Development refers to the continuously changing forces of a community as it grows and differentiates.

A Theoretical Basis for Community Development

According to Farrell, community development is the development of functions that can be stated as essential in order to have a community. These are (1) an economic base to provide the people with a means of obtaining a living, (2) educational functions, (3) health care functions, (4) recreational functions, (5) religious functions, (6) transportation functions. 6

Farrell says that the economic function is the most fundamental. If people continue to live in a community where there is no economic base, or no developed economic base, the result will be high unemployment.

Deprez and Sigurdson state that the solutions to problems on reserves require breakthroughs in all areas including social, educational,


5 Ibid., p. 259.

6 R. M. Bone, ed., Community Development - An Exploratory Meeting (Saskatoon, Sask.: Institute for Northern Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 1974), p. 11. These remarks were made by Glen Farrell of Extension Division.
psychological and economic. They cite two methods of approaching the problems:

1. The bottleneck concept. This concept suggests that there is one component of the reserve problem that prevails. Therefore, advances must be made in this component before progress may be made in other areas.

2. The vicious circle concept. This concept contends that progress is equally important in all components, with no component dominant. Advance in one area alone is not sufficient. 8

Deprez and Sigurdson state that government policy supports the bottleneck concept. Education is seen as the precondition to (1) enlightenment, (2) out-migration and eventual integration, and (3) employability. 9

Farrell also supports the bottleneck concept. However, he sees the economic functions as most important.

Deprez and Sigurdson argue that this is an oversimplification and community development must consider that:

1. Indians are not a homogeneous group with similar socio-economic problems. The situation is one of specific cases requiring specific solutions.

2. It is not sufficient to educate and train for employability without looking at the employment opportunities available and the economic potential of the community.

3. On some reserves there is very little economic potential. This may be due to a lack of resources, geographic isolation or declining employment in traditional activities.

4. The present day expansion of resource development activities provides a potentially new economic and employment dimension to Indian communities. 10

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7 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 7.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
10 Ibid., pp. 8-10.
The above discussion suggests that a case study is appropriate since the effects of development are unique on each Indian reserve. The case study method provides an in-depth look at one such community. Appendix B shows the position of the case study type of research in the descriptive method used in this study. Farrell lists the critical functions and Deprez and Sigurdson state factors which influence community development. This study addresses all of these.

Employment

Ginsberg states that, "human resources are the key to economic development." He cites unemployment as a national "scourge" which prevents people from a proper upbringing. A person's social adjustment is affected by unemployment since, "human beings require an opportunity for expression through work . . ." Ginsberg suggests that unless "disadvantaged" groups receive similar opportunities as the more advantaged, they will continue to accomplish less.

What they need are extra services, special help, so that they can truly achieve an approximate equality with the more favoured sectors of society.11

Canada Manpower provides special Manpower services to welfare recipients and unemployed residents of lower town Ottawa. The philosophy underlying their program is that, "unemployment is not an isolated problem; it has roots in family, behavioural or personal problems."12


12 Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Canada Manpower Program, The Employment Service - Summary Highlights (Ottawa, 1975), p. 15.
Ginsberg agrees when he says:

With a high level of employment many problems can be solved; without it most problems become intractable. The most important single domestic challenge is to increase the number of jobs available. Even the number of mental patients is sensitive to the employment index: in good times marginal people find it possible to keep jobs. The problem set out above relating to youth, minority groups, older people, cannot be solved unless employment is at a high level.13

Indians are a minority, economically disadvantaged group. If they must obtain their services from government departments as all other citizens do, there is little chance that they will meet the non-Indian on an equal footing. Special programs through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and private industry must give hiring priority to Indians when the work is near the Indian communities. Federal, provincial and local governments and private industries contend that they are creating more jobs for Natives in or near their own communities.14

Chief David Ahenakew states that "... there are a number of legal provisions that require the federal government to extend services to Indians throughout Canada not only on reserves."15 He adds:

Unemployment runs at 80% on some reserves ... on the average Indians who are employed earn less than $2000.00 per year. There is an almost complete lack of economic development on and around the reserves.16

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13Ginsberg, op. cit., p. 9.

14The term "native" is used here because off-reserve settlements may include status and non-status Indians and Metis, all of whom may identify themselves as Natives.

15David Ahenakew, "Either You Govern or You Don't," The Saskatchewan Indian, November, 1977, p. 73. Ahenakew's remarks were made in a speech to the All-Chief's Conference in Saskatoon in October, 1977.

16David Ahenakew, "You Must Recognize the Indian Fact in Canada Too!," The Saskatchewan Indian, November, 1977, p. 3. This statement was made in a speech to the task force on Canadian unity held in Regina in October, 1977.
Later, this chapter cites specific development projects on and off-reserves. Federal government departments contend that they are concerned with employing Indians in the north and in their home communities. Some departments are staffing their manpower and personnel services with Indians, who may appreciate the employment problems of other Indians.

Following widespread criticism, the hiring practices of the Provincial Department of Northern Saskatchewan were investigated by the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission. Questions were raised as to


18 A Preliminary Survey of Government and Other Programs and Services Relating to Indian Needs, loc. cit.

19 Assessment-Employment/Relocation Program, loc. cit.

20 "And What About Canada's Native Peoples?," op. cit. The federal departments include Regional Economic Expansion, Central Mortgage and Housing, Manpower and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, Secretary of State, Indian and Northern Affairs.

21 The Star-Phoenix, op. cit., March 17, 1976. Criticism from Indian and Metis groups regarding the high rate of unemployment in Northern Saskatchewan were directed towards DNS. This Star-Phoenix article attributes a number of these comments and criticisms to organizations, as follows: The Metis Society cited the DNS "shadow position policy" as not being fruitful. The policy was intended to train northerners alongside skilled personnel with the intention of having the northerner eventually take over. DNS stated that this project was too expensive. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians stated that the governments of Manitoba and Alberta were hiring more natives than Saskatchewan. The Northern Municipal Council criticized DNS for hiring natives on a short-term basis when there was an urgent need for long-term employment positions.

22 The Star-Phoenix, op. cit., June 9, 1976. The Prince Albert Branch of the SHRC conducted the investigation.

Note: The researcher acknowledges that daily newspaper articles are not primary sources of information. However they are useful in this study for the following reasons: (1) they provide current information
whether the Department was showing prejudice in not hiring local native people to work for the Department. The Department replied with statistics supporting its native housing policy.  

An article reported the hiring policies of private industries operating in northern areas of Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba. The article summarizes a report which suggests approaches, if any, that some companies are taking in employing Indians in their home communities. The report concludes that there will be continued use of skilled non-Indian labour in projects in or near Indian communities. Indians usually employed as labourers will increasingly be trained to work in skilled jobs.  

directly related to employment in Saskatchewan, (2) they are used in this discussion to generate questions, and (3) they raise issues and alternative viewpoints. Chapters IV and V do not discuss specific organizations or organization policies since these newspaper articles may not fully present the organization's views.

23 The Star-Phoenix, June 10, 1976. Figures released on April 1, 1976 by DNS reported the following: 1,945 employees, 500 of these were permanent jobs, 100 others were "virtually" permanent. The remainder of the jobs were "labour service employees." The article stated that 920 of the 1,945 jobs were held by natives (47%). Only 16 percent of the 500 permanent jobs were held by natives. In an earlier article (Star-Phoenix, March 17, 1976), DNS stated that natives comprised up to 50 percent of the temporary work force and up to 25 percent of the permanent work force.

24 The Star-Phoenix, March 18, 1976.

25 Ibid.

(a) Syncrude. Regarding its hiring for the tar sands oil extraction plant at Ft. McMurray, Alberta, a Syncrude community relations co-ordinator stated that Syncrude "... will discriminate in favour of hiring and training native people. If the company is challenged by a human rights commission, the president is ready to defend the policy." He contended that Syncrude employed Indians in the positions of Native Development Specialist, Native Counsellor, Cultural Trainer, and Recruitment Officer. He said, "Industry has a responsibility to assure the
Some native groups and communities are organizing themselves to assist local people to obtain local jobs.  

The Ile-a-la-Crosse Co-operative Industries Ltd. labour pool compiled a listing of the local labour force and provided a contract service between their client/employees and the employers. Initial success with the Co-op were later reduced due to shortages of employers and work in the area. While only providing jobs for temporary periods, the Co-op approach facilitates the hiring of local people when an employer prepares to work in the north.

training of northern peoples to lessen the gap between skill levels and needed skills in industry." Syncrude stated that it would offer any native a letter of intent to employ if the person attends an educational facility for skill development. About fifty letters were given out in 1976. The article claims that by 1978, 2,400 workers will be required at Ft. McMurray. Syncrude claims to work with the native employment group called Native Outreach, and to hold cultural orientation seminars for all employees.

(b) Amok Ltd., a northern uranium company. The director of administration and personnel provided no statistics on the hiring program but expressed his company's intent in "co-operating" with natives.

(c) Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, Flin Flon, Manitoba. The Native Co-ordinator employed by H.B.M.S. reported that in the near future natives from Pelican Narrows and Sandy Bay, Sask. would be employed. She stated that between 20 and 60 persons would be hired. The Company planned to assist the natives in matters related to communication with management, discrimination, managing money, and dealing with landlords.

(d) Gulf Minerals Company. A spokesman stated that the Rabbit Lake training center is for natives and non-natives. The company uses training on the job and the labour force commutes from their home sites to the work site.


27 The Star-Phoenix, January 30, 1976. This Co-op was organized in May, 1975 when a $3.7 million school was started in this community of 1200 people. The Co-op hired the workers, paid their salaries, and contracted their work out to the school project. Fringe benefits were paid by the project contractor. The Co-op was non-profit with administration costs being paid by a grant from the Department of Northern Saskatchewan. As the school project was phased out, unemployment increased. As demand was reduced, the Co-op phased out the training opportunities component to its
According to Crowe, co-operatives serve an important function in northern communities. He states:

The idea of sharing, of local groups dealing with fishing, native handicrafts, hunting or house-building, is close to the old native way of doing things. Unlike other businesses, the whole aim of the co-op is to help the members, their families, and their communities, and the results of co-op effort are open for all to see.

... co-ops have offered northern native people a chance to deal with modern business matters in a partly native style, using their own language.28

The concept of working together is a key element of the co-op function and the day labour approach to construction. The use of the native language may also encourage some natives to come forward and seek employment.

Job Opportunities in the North (J.O.I.N.) is an employment registry scheme designed to match northern people with northern jobs. The program is administered by a northern employment committee with members representing the Saskatchewan government, Indians, non-status Indians and Metis.29 An article reports the views of the Northern Contractor's Association:

Despite the efforts of northern contractors to get contracts from DNS, Project Management Branch, Department of Highways, and

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29 The Star-Phoenix, November 20, 1976.
Saskatchewan Forest Products, northerners are not getting a fair and equal opportunity to participate in the physical development of the north.\textsuperscript{30}

These contractors see southern firms with southern manpower winning bids when they believe the government should be giving more to northern native contractors.\textsuperscript{31} The Canadian Council for Rural Development recommends that locally relevant approaches to economic and social activities be stressed in Canada's mid-north.\textsuperscript{32}

In summary, the literature vis-a-vis Indian employment on and off reserves describes a number of policies and programs intended to facilitate the Indian's entry into the labour force. The discussion raises questions relevant to the construction of the Seekaskootch school:

1. What concept of community development (i.e., the bottleneck or vicious circle concept) is supported by the Chief and Council?
2. What recruiting and hiring strategies were used?
3. How did the local community assist in mobilizing the non-working labour force?
4. What is the status of schooling, health services, recreation, church services and transportation within the community?
5. What federal and provincial government agencies are operating on the reserve or for the band members?

\textsuperscript{30} The Star-Phoenix, November 4, 1976. These results are attributed to Mr. Louis Regan, a contractor from Green Lake, Saskatchewan.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.

The numbers of all questions generated in Chapter II correspond with the question numbers indicated on the chart in Appendix A. By answering these questions, the researcher addresses the thesis questions and the statement of the problem.

Labour Forces and Mobility

While the federal government states that it is developing resources, Ahenakew argues, "... the strategy of the federal government is to force people off reserves by deliberately refusing to support development on reserves."\(^{33}\)

However, all communities do not have the natural resources or manpower to be self-sustaining. As a result, either the self-supporting regions must be enlarged to an efficient size or the labour force must be mobile.\(^{34}\)

The three most common types of labour force arrangements are local day labour, the townsite system and the commuter system.\(^{35}\)

With the commuter system, a company hires employees in towns near the worksite and flies them in to the site for a set period of time. The company flies them out to their homes for time off. The main advantage is that the employee's family remains in the home environment. The disadvantage is that it is very expensive to the company.\(^{36}\)

\(^{33}\) David Ahenakew, "Either You Govern or You Don't," loc. cit.

\(^{34}\) Canadian Council on Rural Development, op. cit., pp. 7-21.

\(^{35}\) R. M. Bone, op. cit., pp. 1-7.

\(^{36}\) Ibid., pp. 3-4. The remarks concerning townsite and commuter systems were made by John Keily of Gulf Minerals of Canada at the Institute for Northern Studies meeting.
With the townsite system, a company moves employees and their families into residences at the work site. The advantages are that the employees live near their work and the company is spared the commuting expense. The disadvantage is that it creates problems for families unaccustomed to isolated or northern living.  

According to Wise, of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, "... the employment of local Indians rather than southern peoples was, from the company's point of view, a better situation." This use of the local Indian labour force in the construction of a major capital project is the day labour method of construction. A number of prerequisites are listed in order for the day labour method to be utilized. These are: a labour force of sufficient size, good management, and the co-operation of community leaders.

A day labour project has a minimum of sub-contracts and a great deal of training on the job and job variety. In the case of an Indian reserve project, a federal department may provide the design, technical expertise, on-site management, ordering and purchasing of materials, experience, and funding. Projects are generally co-ordinated between the band and either the Department of Public Works or the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Appendix C shows the governmental and

37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., p. 6.
39 Ibid., p. 8.
40 Letter from G. K. Gooderhan, op. cit.
41 Interview with Myroslaw Mykolajczuk, op. cit.
Indian organizations and processes leading to a day labour school construction project.

The manpower for a day labour project need not be restricted to the reserve male labour force. The literature suggests that training programs and opportunities for employment should permit women to work at all types of jobs in northern development. The Kehewin study states that a reserve development project shifted the female labour force from the home to employment outside the home. Women assumed both part-time and full-time employment. Canada Manpower contends that it must facilitate the re-entry of women into the labour force. Employment levels must also be improved since women tend to fill low-paying occupational positions. One problem with the townsite system is the lack of stimulation and things to do for the workers' wife and family. Traditionally, the female's role in the workforce has been in a supportive role to the male's work. These tasks have included cooking and cleaning bunkhouses. Companies may employ women in office duties.

The above discussion generates basic questions relevant to the thesis question, "What are the effects of the project on employment opportunities?" This is also elaborated in Appendix A. The questions generated are:

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42 R. M. Bone, op. cit., p. 7.

43 Kehewin Benefit Analysis, op. cit., p. 46.

44 The Employment Service - Summary Highlights, op. cit., p. 20.

45 R. M. Bone, op. cit., p. 7.
6. What opportunities for Indian employment exist within the off-reserve community near Seekaskootch?

7. What are the human and natural resources of the reserve?

8. To what extent has the Chief and Council co-operated and shown leadership in the school project?

9. What was the style and effectiveness of the project manager?

10. What was provided vis-à-vis design, technical expertise, management, the order and purchase of materials, and funding?

11. To what extent did the female labour force participate?

Questions asked in the guided interview include:

Q30. Do you think that having worked on this project will help you get a job somewhere else? If yes, where?

Q31. If another building is constructed on the reserve, would you be interested in working on it?

Questions prefaced by "Q" are included in the guided interview. The guided interview is discussed in Chapter III and included in Appendix D.

In order to bridge the gap between traditional activities and new jobs, Deprez says that social assistance must be provided.46

Social Assistance

It is an oversimplification to say that by increasing jobs in a community the welfare or social assistance payments to that community will decline. The following factors may delay this decline, cause no effect to be shown, or increase the welfare totals:

46 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
1. the high Indian birth rate
2. the number of young Indians entering the labour force
3. the desire on the part of many Indians to combine traditional cultural activities with temporary periods of employment.\textsuperscript{47}

Indian parents are entitled to receive the same subsidy types of income as all other Canadian parents. These include family allowance payments, based on the number and ages of children, unemployment insurance, and compensation benefits. Whereas these are generally not sufficient to support a family in a city, they do provide barely enough for some Indians on reserves.\textsuperscript{48}

Direct welfare payments are also made to both Indians and non-Indians. According to Wolcott:

The only difference between relief obtained by Indians through an Indian agent and the assistance available to non-Indians through the provincial welfare department is in the flexible and generally lower scale the Indian agents use in granting relief benefits.\textsuperscript{49}

However, he states that a more standardized scale for all welfare payments is now used.

Wolcott adds,

The management of funds, particularly in connection with handling and distributing welfare monies, seems to be an occupational hazard among Indian agents.\textsuperscript{50}

Pressures by a Band on an individual may cause rules and regulations to be overlooked. Some bands are now distributing their own welfare payments

\textsuperscript{47}"And What About Canada's Native Peoples?," \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 12-14.


\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 52.

\textsuperscript{50}\textit{Ibid.}
instead of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Mismanagement of funds may make welfare statistics unreliable.51

Deprez prefaces his analysis of Indian welfare statistics with the comment, "We have been strongly advised that the reliability of the welfare and employment information contained in the community fact sheets is not above question."52 He notes that the trends derived from the information over two years suggests some consistency. He concludes his remarks with: "It is on the assumption that some broader statistical analysis is better than none that we herein state our conclusions."53

According to Hawthorn:

Ready provision of welfare grants and ancillary services to unemployed and indigent families may have encouraged people to remain in idleness rather than to look actively for work or to stay on a job.54

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provides welfare benefits for Indians, often without accompanying economic development programs. As the above quote suggests, the problem now is to overcome the reliance on welfare so that people will take advantage of new economic development projects. A new program must overcome "... widespread apathy, resignation and lack of motivation among the people it is attempting to develop."55

51 Ibid.
52 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 16.
53 Ibid.
55 Ibid., p. 31.
Hawthorn suggests that the principles inherent in day labour provide the counteraction to the above tendencies. Although he does not use the term day labour, he describes the concept:

... help people to help themselves ... arouse and mobilize the latent or unused energies of people ... by inducing them ... to undertake projects on their own that will contribute to their economic or social betterment.\textsuperscript{56}

Hawthorn's position is that welfare payments will be reduced by the expansion of employment opportunities in Indian communities.

In the Kehewin study, a community development program is cited as cause for improvements in employment and income and a reduction in dependency on social services. There were shifts in employment patterns, for men, from part-time to full-time jobs and for women, from the home to employment.\textsuperscript{57}

A Star-Phoenix article stated that social assistance payments by the Department of Northern Saskatchewan would be less than the amount budgeted. Bowerman attributed this to increases in "... job opportunities, government economic support, the number of social services staff dealing with the problems of the unemployed and fitting them into the job market."\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{57} Kehewin Benefit Analysis, op. cit., pp. 42-45 and pp. v-vi. The study contends that during the period 1969-1970 to 1973-1974 welfare payments to members on the reserve declined by 50%. Most of this decline occurred in 1972-1973 when the full effects of the development were being felt. The number of employed persons as a percentage of those available for work improved from 20% in 1970 to 50% in 1974.

\textsuperscript{58} The Star-Phoenix, January 31, 1976. The 1975-1976 social assistance budget was $2.2 million. The total payments were expected to be less than $1.8 million. In 1973, 1,118 households were dependent on welfare. In 1976, the figure was 638. This was a 43% decrease. Welfare
The above discussion raises questions concerning the disposition of social assistance payments at Seekaskootch, as follows:

12. What demographic changes occurred in the reserve labour force during the project?
13. What types of subsidy income are received by band members?
14. What were the welfare total payments for the years that the project was operating?
15. How many band members were on welfare?
16. How were welfare payments administered?
17. What was the job situation vis-a-vis part-time and full-time employment for men and women?

The Kehewin study states that "success" is:

. . . . measured by the social studies and increased happiness on the reserve.
. . . . families getting up in the morning together.
. . . . happy children on school buses.
. . . . new leadership emerging to take their rightful place in community affairs.
. . . . families growing together and fixing up their homes and gardens.
. . . . the knowledge that the people of Kehewin will never settle for welfare again. 59

Deprez states that besides social assistance other important needs are, "Education and manpower training . . . . to prepare the Indian for a new social and economic milieu." 60 This suggests an important relationship exists between training, education and the construction of a new school.

Payments from January to October 1973 totalled $2.3 million; for the same period in 1975, $1.07 million. Ted Bowerman is the Minister of DNS.

59 Kehewin Benefit Analysis, op. cit., p. 61.
60 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
Education and Economic Development

There are two sections in this chapter dealing with education -- (1) Education and Economic Development, and (2) Indian participation in Indian education, reactions towards schooling, and Indian control of Indian education.

According to Hawthorn, maximum economic growth in Canada will only be achieved by a combination of education and a comprehensive manpower program. Indian bands do not enjoy adequate levels of either priority. Hawthorn says there are two functions of education vis-a-vis economic development.

1. it provides the essential technique and know how for most jobs.
2. it instills discipline and work habits required by employers.

Economic under-development is due primarily to two factors which Hawthorn feels exist in depressed Indian communities. These are:

1. The educational levels of their members are low.
2. The graduates leave the communities. These may be the most intelligent, educated and enterprising members.

However, he notes that as bands reach a higher level of development, more of the skilled and trained band members living off the reserve return. Education, here, refers to education in a broad sense including in-school programs, upgrading, special vocational, technical and professional training.

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62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
According to Korchinski, Saskatchewan on-reserve school facilities have not been upgraded due to the government policy of joint schools, stemming from the 1950's. However, following the *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy paper in 1972, more improvements were initiated on reserves. With limited funds, the improvement since 1972 has not been widespread. Korchinski says that the Saskatchewan region's school construction budget will be increased by about $1 million from 1977-78 to 1978-79. He credits the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College report for convincing Indian Affairs headquarters in Ottawa that the increased expenditures are required.\(^65,66\)

The official policy of the government and the Indian associations regarding Indian education in Canada, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, specifically requests the construction of modern and fully equipped schools on reserves.\(^67\)

Off-reserve schools in Indian communities are also being improved.\(^68\) The Department of Northern Saskatchewan states in articles that with growing skilled local labour forces it will bring schools in the north

\(^65\) *The Star-Phoenix*, January 28, 1978, p. 28; February 22, 1978, p. 1; February 25, 1978, editorial. The report referred to is *Our Children Are Waiting*. Emil Korchinski is the Director of Operations, Saskatchewan Region, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Regina.

\(^66\) Robert Regnier, and Peter Legg, *Our Children Are Waiting* (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, 1977), vols. I and II.


\(^68\) *The Star-Phoenix*, January 10, 1976. The principal of Sandy Bay School reported that poor facilities hampered the school program. Improvements to the facilities were reflected in an improved school program.
up to the standard of those in southern Saskatchewan by 1980. 69, 70

In an article an executive of the Northern Area Teachers Association suggests two consequences due in part to improved school facilities.

Largely as a result of better programs, coupled with improved facilities, we see more student interest in the schools and a declining drop out rate. 71

The hopes that student interest will be augmented, drop-outs reduced, and community attitudes towards education improved, are expressed by the chairman of the Ile-a-la-Crosse school board in an article.

People in the community thought the old school was not doing any good since it had a high drop out rate. With the new addition and the programs that will be offered, it is hoped more high school students can be convinced to complete their education. 72

The school drop-out rate is a factor in economic development since it influences the number of persons in the labour force. As older children drop out they may be looking for the same job as an adult who supports a family.

Being unemployed and out of school predisposes a person to violent activity. Romanow, in discussing violence in northern settlements, said: "Solutions to the problem lie in two areas. First some indigenous

69 Ibid., April 1, 1976. The Director of Continuing Education Branch, DNS, said that northern communities now have sufficiently large labour forces generally prepared for employment. The Branch was considering specific kinds of preparation which the groups require.

70 Ibid., November 24, 1975. In an article the chairman of the Northern School Board remarked that the Board has requested $9.4 million to begin a five year school upgrading program.

71 Ibid., October 29, 1975.

72 Ibid., January 30, 1976. The chairman was Vital Morin.
economic activity. Second, alcohol abuse."\textsuperscript{73}

Leask also emphasizes the critical importance of a successful school to an Indian community. "A school is a major influence in the community. It is important in the whole environment."\textsuperscript{74} Leask’s comments are directed to Saskatchewan educators working in Saskatchewan Indian communities.

The above raises relevant questions:

18. What is the policy of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs regarding pre-training and on-the-job training for reserve economic development projects?

19. To what extent does the Department of Manpower and Immigration participate in placing Seekaskootch Indians in employment?

20. What training programs are available through Manpower and Immigration?

21. What other agencies provide training opportunities for Seekaskootch Indians on and off reserves?

22. What are the educational backgrounds of the project employees?

23. Did off-reserve band members return to Seekaskootch to work on the project?

24. What is the history of education on the reserve and joint schools off-reserve?

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., March 24, 1976. Roy Romanow is the Attorney-General of Saskatchewan.

\textsuperscript{74} Opinion expressed by Joe Leask, Saskatchewan Regional Director, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, in an address to the annual convention of the Saskatchewan Indian Teachers' Local at the Holiday Inn, Saskatoon, October 13, 1977.
25. What educational facilities existed on the reserve prior to the project?

26. What facilities did the school project provide?

27. What has been the effect on attendance, age/grade distribution and drop-out rates?

28. Has the project affected police activity on the reserve?

29. What range of educational services are offered on the reserve?

30. What is the situation vis-a-vis off-reserve migration of school graduates and workers?

Questions are generated for the interview guide:

Q29. (a) Would you be interested in taking more training?
     (b) If yes, in what area?

Q28. (a) Have you ever taken a trade, technical course, or upgrading course?
     (b) If Yes, or Partially
     What was the course?
     Where did you take it?
     How long was it?
     Did you finish it?
     Did you get financial assistance? If yes, from where?

Education and development are changing the lifestyles and traditions of native peoples. The following describes the impact on an international perspective:

As Norway looks increasingly to its northern frontiers for land and mineral resources, grazing land diminishes and Lapps forsake the old ways for new occupations.
At home talk is all about reindeer and mountain life and at school everything is books and modern Norwegian society.
Traditional Lapp occupations can no longer support the population growth; advanced education with a vocational emphasis has become a necessity.75

75 Sally Anderson, "Norway's Reindeer Lapps," National Geographic CLIII, No. 3 (September, 1977), 366-68.
The literature describes specific cultural changes brought about in the face of development.

**Culture and Economic Development**

The situation of the Norwegian Lapps is similar to the Indian situation in Saskatchewan. The Lapp article exemplifies a culture in transition:

... Masi, for its new look pays a stiff price. Long established customs are in peril. Especially for the reindeer Lapps, those who migrate with the herds, cultural and economic forces are reshaping their way of life.

... Lappish programs must be wedged into a full Norwegian curriculum.

... Lapp culture is not stressed in the schools and young people often do not learn to value their own heritage. 76

Saskatchewan Indians are similarly concerned about "customs ... in peril," Cree programs in the curriculum and culture in the schools.

The Norwegian government, like the Canadian government, has provided financial subsidies for requalifying training when traditional pastimes will not support people. Back-up sources of income such as handicrafts, tourism, harvesting native resources, will preserve and encourage some cultural activities and create employment. School curricula may be modified, and time off may be given to children so that they can join their parents on the trap line. 77

**Indian Control of Indian Education** raises similar issues regarding preservation of the language and culture and educating so that Indians may work and compete with non-Indians on an equal footing. 78

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76 Ibid., pp. 365, 368-371.

77 Ibid., p. 379.

78 Indian Control of Indian Education, op. cit.
A statement by Canon Edward Ahenakew provides insight into the difficult transition which is being expected of the Prairie Indian:

Imagine a people, who had lived and roamed over this great Northwestern land, breathing in the freedom of the prairie at every breath, their will never called into question, kept within bounds only by the teaching and exhortations of the old men of the nation, knowing most exactly the ways of the country, skillful in all things pertaining to the making of a livelihood, conquering the necessarily hard conditions under which they lived, feeling manhood that coursed through their physical bodies; such a people must love freedom as their God-given animal, the noble bison, did. They must resent anything that tended to bring that freedom to naught, or even to restrict it -- it were unnatural if it were not so.79,80

Ahenakew describes a problem for the Indian who is striving for cultural fulfillment and is witnessing increased development and restrictions on his traditional lifestyle.

Deprez and Sigurdson attempt to systematically analyze the Indian value orientation and implications for economic development. They develop two positions and a number of corollaries for each, as follows:

1. The Romantic Position

The economic, social and cultural traditions are so strong within Indian society that no Indian is willing no matter how strong the outside pressure may be, to give up his economic inheritance (hunting, fishing, trapping) or his social and cultural traditions.

(a) The Indian band is a society where the lives of the individuals are determined by a very strong communal sense whose ultimate value is sharing.

(b) Indians desire material goods for their utility not for their own sake.


(c) Due to the tempo of the traditional economic activities, the Indian cannot be expected to function within a disciplined and structured work situation.

(d) To direct the Indian into an occupation unrelated to his traditional employment is to impinge upon his cultural integrity.

2. The Imperialistic Position

The Indian must recognize the futility of the present situation and prepare himself for the economic opportunities available only in the external society.

(a) Since traditional activities are limited, Indians must be prepared to accept employment in industrial activities.

(b) The Indian must be prepared to leave his reserve in order to find more productive employment.

(c) Culture is an obstacle for the acculturation of Indians. There is no sentimental attachment to the reserve or preservation of the culture.

(d) The onus is on the Indian to develop attitudes and skills to enable him to adapt to the new social and economic milieu.81

Deprez and Sigurdson point out the range of attitudes regarding culture and economic development. Indian participation in decision-making regarding their future demands development with cultural sensitivity.82

Statements by Chief David Ahenakew and the National Indian Brotherhood support the view that development on reserves must be a priority issue of the government.83,84


82 Ibid., pp. 12-13

83 David Ahenakew, "Either You Govern or You Don't," loc. cit.

84 National Indian Brotherhood, A Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of Indian People, loc. cit.
According to Chief Venne, "It is impossible for any northerner to live solely on fishing and trapping anymore and new jobs such as housing construction and wood harvesting are not readily available." According to Chief Venne, "It is impossible for any northerner to live solely on fishing and trapping anymore and new jobs such as housing construction and wood harvesting are not readily available."85

The National Indian Brotherhood and Chiefs Ahenakew and Venne appear to support Deprez and Sigurdson's Imperialistic Position and the first two corollaries. However, to the second corollary they would likely add that on-reserve productive employment is the Indians' objective.

Questions are raised regarding the effects that an economic development project may have on the culture of the reserve.

31. What effect does the project have on traditional activities?
32. What cultural education activities take place?
33. Does the project have an effect on these cultural activities?
34. How is the curriculum modified to include culturally relevant information?
35. What are the band members' reactions to reserve development?
36. Whose idea was it (a) for a school, (b) for a school built by day labour?
37. Did the project provide an opportunity for people to speak Cree on the job?
38. Were job related instructions given in Cree?

The guided interview questions include:

Q32. On the job, did you speak English and Cree, just English, or just Cree?
Q33. When you first heard about this project, did you think that

85 The Star-Phoenix, March 7, 1975.
it was a good idea to build the school using local people?

Q3. Now that the school is finished, do you think that it was a good idea to use the local people in the construction?

The literature has discussed the effects of development on the educational and cultural activities on a reserve. Indian participation in community development is encouraged but little has been said regarding the effects this may have on the individual person. The changes in individual benefits while participating in a non-traditional activity need to be considered.

INDIAN INVOLVEMENT IN NON-TRADITIONAL ENTERPRISE

Introduction

In part two, traditional Indian activities and community development are discussed. The transition from traditional livelihoods to contemporary activities has evolved through changing government policies and thrusts by Indian people for more control over their future.

This section of the review of the literature briefly traces the historical development of Indian activities from European contact to the present. It discusses the literature regarding Indians as employees and shifts in a number of individual benefits to Indians as a result of employment.

A Brief History of Indian Employment Activities

Indian people have traditionally relied on hunting, fishing and trapping for their subsistence. Some Indians have taken up farming, gardening, and ranching to support their traditional pastimes. Respect for nature is an Indian value that has allowed them to proudly survive
for thousands of years. The land has provided the Indian with food, clothing, shelter, customs, legends, and medicines. 86

With European migration to the west, Indians hunted, fished and trapped in fewer waterways and over fewer acres. Early legislation restricted general areas for Indian use and non-Indian settlement. 87 During the period of Canadian Confederation, and the signing of the treaties, many Indians gave up their full-time commitment to traditional activities. They began developing skills that were required to work beyond the borders of the reserve. 88

Correspondence from the period 1847-1885 describes government attempts to educate, train, employ and integrate Indians. It also makes reference to the use of the local labour force in reserve development. Three examples are as follows:

1. The Commissioners responsible for the conduct of Indian Affairs recommended to the 1846 Legislative Assembly of Canada:

That the Indian be employed, as far as possible, in the erection of buildings, and in the performance of their services for their own benefits. . . . 89

86 Hope MacLean, Indians (Ottawa: The Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples, 1976).

87 Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Policy Planning and Research Branch, The Historical Development of the Indian Act (Ottawa, 1975), p. 11.

88 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

2. Following the signing of a number of treaties between Her Majesty and the Indians, the government viewed school construction as a means of ameliorating government-Indian relations. The government hoped to appease the unhappy Indians who had been removed to reserves by introducing training to their communities. In 1878, a confidential letter from Colonel Denis to Sir John A. Macdonald reported:

The undersigned regards the state of affairs in the Territories in relation to the Indians and Half-breeds as calling for the serious consideration of the Government... further measures should be adopted to convince them that the Government is desirous of fulfilling its obligations to them in the utmost good faith.

The only way to obtain this desirable result would appear to be by means of industrial schools...

The expense of such schools would be trifling compared with the value of the results which would be obtained from them.

Denis contends that Indians are mechanically able and capable, and more opportunity should be made available for them to demonstrate their proficiencies.

3. Sir John A. Macdonald stated in 1885 that the Indians were capable of undertaking and successfully completing a number of major projects:

They pay their own taxes, they make their own bridges and roads, they build their own school houses; they carry on the whole system in their own way, but it is in the Indian way, and it is an efficient way.

During the Confederation period, the government policy was to protect the Indians and their lands from occupation by white settlers. As the white population increased, pressure was put on the government to

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reduce the size of some of the lands set aside for Indians. The government dispossessed the Indians by reducing land protection in the Indian Act and by signing treaties. 92

The government attempted to reduce the Indian population and force assimilation by encouraging enfranchisement, or the giving up of one's Indian status. However the Indian people exercised their independence and individuality and began making more and more decisions regarding their future. Most Indians rejected enfranchisement and began uniting to assert their claims to aboriginal rights. 93, 94

Deprez and Sigurdson state that a meaningful change in lifestyle and development must come from within the individual. All Indian communities are not at the same stage of development and each community must decide for itself when it is ready for non-traditional activities. 95

The 1975 Indian and Eskimo Affairs program annual report sums up the present situation:

The Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program does not so much administer programs as it assists native populations in running their own affairs. For several years now, the main thrust of the Department's efforts has been to promote and support native self-determination, at a rate and in a style suitable to the needs of the people. Consultation with native leaders is thus central to the Program's work. 96


93 Ibid., p. 168. 94 Ibid., p. 170.

95 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 11.

In summary, government policy statements cite the need for Indian control of their own fate. However, either the actions of the government or the economic situations in which the Indians found themselves often worked against the Indian's attempts for full independence.

The Reserve as an Economic Unit

Hawthorn says it is inappropriate to make sweeping generalizations about the economic potential of reserves due to the different resources available to different bands. 97

A government publication notes six different Indian linguistic and cultural areas across Canada. 98 Each areas has different traditional activities and is developing different, new indigenous activities due to the labour force and the environment.

Another publication notes that following the near extinction of the buffalo, Prairie Indians had to adapt themselves to new conditions. Agricultural assistance was provided to make Indians farmers on their reserve lands. Many became successful, however, a growing reserve population and the limited size of reserve lands restricted the number of farmers and the size of farms. 99

Some bands have chosen to derive income by leasing their lands to non-Indians for ranching operations. Bands may sell or lease reserve land by making a surrender and having it approved by the Governor-in-Council.

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97 Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 54.

98 Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), pp. 3-4.

99 The Canadian Indian - A Brief Outline, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
The purpose and effect of a surrender is the voluntary release by the Indians of an interest in land so that it may be used by others. 100,101 Prior to a construction project on a reserve the land to be built on is generally surrendered by the Band for the purpose of the construction.

The management and development of reserve lands has not functioned under a uniform set of rules for two primary reasons:

1. the variety of customs and traditions, experiences and desires of the over 556 Indian bands in Canada
2. the underlying residual interests of the provinces.

The majority of reserves are too small to provide an economic land unit for the band. Some bands have sufficient land with high revenue potential to produce a viable economic base for its members. 102

Deprez and Sigurdson say that it is not sufficient to just take an inventory of the reserve when considering its potential. The reserve as an economic unit must be considered in a broader regional context where the reserve can work along with off-reserve communities. 103

However, a government paper contends that there are a number of problems in trying to integrate activities between reserve and off-reserve communities. These include:

100 Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Submission to the Task Force on a National Land Use Policy (Ottawa: Indian-Eskimo Affairs Program, July, 1975). The researcher assisted in the writing of this policy paper.

101 The Indian Act, op. cit., pp. 4264-4266. Sections 37-41 deal with surrenders.

102 National Land Use Policy, op. cit., p. 10.

103 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 9.
(1) Where Indian reserves are close to urban centres there is pressure on the band to develop the lands. The Indians may want to maintain land resources for future needs of the band.

(2) Since Indian reserves are isolated from provincial jurisdiction, they are not subject to provincial/municipal land use control. Consequently, provincial and municipal planning authorities don't usually consider reserve lands in their planning.

(3) The Indian people anticipate a shortage of reserve lands. The government has taken a position of not increasing reserve lands awaiting the settlement of land claims. Meanwhile the increasing Indian birthrate is pressuring some bands to maintain their lands as open areas.104

Land resources are a significant factor in the economic future of Indian people on reserves. Conservative estimates place the value of reserve lands in billions of dollars. Pressures for reserve development come from Indians and non-Indians, however, the extent to which bands seek economic return from their land resources is strictly a local decision.105

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs classifies the Indian bands of Canada into four general types when discussing the economic potential of reserves. These classifications are:

(1) an urban band -- a band which owns land contiguous with a center of 10,000 or more people.

(2) a semi-urban band -- a band located within a commuting distance of 40 miles with good all weather roads available.

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104 National Land Use Policy, op. cit., pp. 11-12. Many years of slow progress has brought some Indians an unexpected return. Their lands are sometimes the only significant parcels of land close to the urban center; for example, Capilano Reserve near Vancouver.

105 Ibid., p. 24.
(3) a rural band -- a band over 40 miles from a centre with at least one road to that centre.

(4) an isolated band -- all other bands.\textsuperscript{106, 107}

According to these classifications, the Onion Lake Band is a rural band. Statistics regarding the Onion Lake classification are provided in Chapter IV.

The above discussion on the reserve as an economic unit and reserve land use issues raises questions regarding the Seekaskootch reserve.

39. What planning has taken place regarding future development on the reserve?

40. What agricultural and other project potential exists?

41. To what extent do non-Indians use reserve lands?

42. What land use controls are followed in reserve development?

43. Does the band co-operate with off-reserve authorities to co-ordinate on and off-reserve development planning?

44. Are nearby municipalities making demands on reserve lands for open space needs?

45. Are reserve development plans in conflict with policies of off-reserve agencies?

46. Do off-reserve land use policies conflict with the traditional livelihood of native people?

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., appendix B.

\textsuperscript{107} Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, \textit{Economic Classification of Indian Bands in Canada} (Ottawa: Development and Evaluation Unit, September, 1973).
Indians as Employees

Hawthorn describes a number of generalizations, made by non-Indians, concerning the characteristics of Indians as employees in non-traditional jobs. Favourable generalizations include the Indians' ability to learn new jobs rapidly, to work under poor working conditions and to outperform non-Indians in a number of tasks if the Indian stays with it long enough. 108

Hawthorn cites two difficulties that hinder the Indian's ability to establish himself in the labour force: 1) inadequate education and training, and 2) discrimination from non-Indians. The most frequently raised behaviour problem concerns the abuse of alcohol. Other unfavourable generalizations refer to reliability, motivation, carefulness, use of money, punctuality and dependability. 109

Colonel Denis, in his 1878 report to MacDonald, states that, "Indians have a natural bent in the direction of mechanical work in which, with a moderate degree of instruction, they would become proficient." 110

Deprez and Sigurdson argue that Indian employers must be flexible and sympathetic. Indians cannot be expected to perform to the standards of experienced employees when the Indians don't have the experience. 111

The Kehewin study notes some Indian reactions towards part-time, full-time and steady employment:

109 Ibid.
110 The Historical Development of the Indian Act, op. cit., pp. 64-5.
111 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 12.
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 5 or 6 months per year; picking sugar beets 2 months per year, plus some seasonal work; or working 2 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.\(^{112}\)

The above asserts that employers must expect changes in the Indian labour force that they might ordinarily not expect with non-Indian workers.

Specific employers elaborate on their experiences with Indian workers:

A Gulf Minerals spokesman says that they would rather see an Indian employee reside in his own community. This is preferred because:

1. he is near his family.
2. he doesn't have to work a set schedule.
3. he can return to his trap lines, fishing, hunting and continue to be a productive worker.\(^{113}\)

Keily notes that some communities force Indians into a rigid routine. Indians get the same benefits and disciplinary measures as non-Indians.\(^{114}\)

Wise cites two problems of non-Indian labour forces going into northern communities. Southerners usually want to work fifty or sixty hours a week, make a lot of money and leave the community. The native people want to work fewer hours and take time off to hunt. This conflict

\(^{112}\) Kehewin Benefit Analysis, op. cit., p. 12.

\(^{113}\) R. M. Bone, op. cit., p. 5. The spokesman for Gulf Minerals is John Keily.

\(^{114}\) Ibid., pp. 5-6.
creates administrative and union problems. A second factor is the cost of getting a southerner to the job. While the Indians may quit or not be punctual, it is still more economical to hire Indians than commute a southern labour force. Wise concludes that, "... the employment of local Indians rather than southern peoples was ... a better situation." 115

Canon Edward Ahenakew describes the work attitude of the prairie Indian:

The Prairie Indian is lacking sadly in what is generally called 'stick-to-it-iveness.' He dislikes any work that has in it an element of plodding; he is not good at sustained effort, but desires quick returns. He will put forth almost super-human effort when an object that he desires is within view, but when his work has its only reward somewhere beyond the horizon, and to get it means the exercising of much patience, he is liable to continue in a most apathetic way, if indeed he does not give up altogether. 116

In view of the above generalizations concerning the performance and reaction of Indians engaged in non-traditional employment, questions are posed:

47. How do the project supervisors assess the rate of task learning and skill acquisition by the local labour force?

48. To what extent was alcohol abuse a factor on the project?

49. What jobs were most liked and disliked by the workers?

50. What arrangements were made by the employer to accommodate traditional or other activities of the workers?

115 Ibid. Tom Wise works for the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

51. What standard of work quality was expected by the foreman?
52. What was the turnover in the labour force?
53. What kinds of work were available, in terms of full-time, part-time and steady?
54. What reasons were given, if any, for a preference for day labour?

Questions included in the guided interview are:

Q8. What was your job on the project?
Q9. Did you do any other jobs on the project? If yes, what other jobs did you do?
Q10. How long did you work on the project?
Q11. (a) How many hours a week did you work?
    (b) Did you work overtime? Yes ____ No ____
Q12. Before coming to work on the project, how many different jobs did you have in the previous five years?
Q13. Did you have a job just prior to coming to work on the school?
Q14. If yes, approximately how much money were you earning from the job, per month?
Q15. Do you like a job with responsibility?
Q16. What type of work do you like doing least?
Q17. What type of work do you like doing the most?
Q18. Was transportation to and from work a problem for you?
Q19. How did you get back and forth between where you lived and worked?
Q20. How did you feel about the project supervisor?
Q21. If you did not like him, why not?
Q2. Do you think that the people on the reserve wanted a new school or was it something that Indian Affairs or another agency thought you needed?

According to Zentner, the government is abrogating its responsibility to Indian people and imposing change upon them too quickly. He states:

Given opportunity, so the governments thinking seems to run, the Indian will forthwith seize the initiative which has for so long been denied him and henceforth manage his affairs with vigor and dispatch. At best this view would appear to rest upon an altogether unwarranted optimism concerning native skills and motivations.  

Responses to the above questions relate to the effects of the government's policy of day labour and the reactions of the Indians to their day labour contract.

Shifts in Consumer Patterns

According to Deprez and Sigurdson, it is inevitable that a transition from traditional activities to modern pursuits heightens social and psychological upheaval. They note that efforts to increase the productivity of an Indian community must be balanced by the desire to minimize the personal disturbances. They add that these problems will be reduced if the workers have the motivation to acquire material goods and the skills required to generate these material goods.

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118 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., pp. 34-37.
119 Ibid., p. 11.
Korchinski adds:

Through community and economic development the standard of living on reserves will have to be raised to a level where modern conveniences and technologies, common in the non-Indian society, are utilized and perceived as essential and acceptable.\textsuperscript{120}

The Kehewin study found that with an increase in reserve development and employment there was a corresponding increase in home improvements and the purchase of consumer goods. Under a welfare system it is very difficult to spend money on anything but the bare essentials.\textsuperscript{121}

Other changes in consumer spending noted in the Kehewin study are:
1. improvements in people’s homes and yards.
2. the purchase of household furniture and appliances, new vehicles and animals.
Also improved are budgeting and the efficient handling of money. Drinking patterns change from daily to weekend drinking. With more money and transportation people can shop around and purchase better quality merchandise, or higher quality alcohol.

The general conclusion from Kehewin is that following a community development project, people are generally more aware of budgeting, the use of money and shopping for better buys.\textsuperscript{122}

Kehewin notes an increase in individual pride and respect for the community independence. People are satisfied and glad that their own

\textsuperscript{120}Emil Korchinski, "Social Determinants of Rural to Urban Mobility Among Indian People as Compared to Non-Indians," January, 1968, p. 29. This paper was obtained through the Research Reference Service, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa.

\textsuperscript{121}Kehewin Benefit Analysis, op. cit., p. 49.

\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., pp. 49-55.
community assumed the responsibility and completed the tasks. 123

The above poses questions relevant to this study.

55. What, if any, changes in consumer behaviour are noted by local merchants and the RCMP detachment?

56. Do teachers and nurses see any changes in dress, nutrition, health care or punctuality for school or appointments?

57. Are people glad (proud) that the day labour method was used?

Guided interview questions are:

Q23. When you receive your pay cheque, do you plan or budget how it will be spent?

Q24. If you budget, did you do so before working on the school project?

Q25. Did you spend more money after you started working on the project? Did you save more money?

Q26. After starting work on the school project, did you spend more, less, or the same amount of money on the following:

- food
- livestock
- machinery
- vehicles
- car or truck or snowmobile
- gifts
- tools
- household furniture and appliances
- liquor
- cigarettes

Q27. a) Where do you spend most of your money?

b) If off-reserve, where do you spend most of it?

Q22. How did you feel about the pay?

Q1. Why do you think the school was built using the local people instead of hiring a contractor to do it all?

123 Ibid., pp. 54-55, 60-61.
Indian Participation in Indian Education

The above describes the impact of employment and the construction of a project on a reserve. Rev. Canon Edward Ahenakew traces the impact of a new school in terms of the participation of the local Indians in its operation. He says:

Running a day school was the reverse of the residential school. The day school was bringing the parents and others within the sphere of influence of which the school is the centre. 124

The people would have to learn self-respect, not follow blindly the leadership of a neighbouring reserve. 125

As helpers came and went, each was imbued with this determination to succeed, the vision of a successful school and work in the reserve. Each in turn contributed to the development of the work. 126

According to Ahenakew, the pride and self-respect which people have may be affected by their participation in a school project. He adds that the community school concept is strong and the individual's determination to succeed is enhanced.

Hawthorn feels that Indian culture is strengthened by the following:

1. the use of the native language in the school.
2. locally relevant curriculum materials.
3. improved communication between teachers and Indian parents.
4. the participation of Indian parents in school activities.
5. more understanding and interest by non-Indian teachers and administrators. 127

125 Ibid.
126 Ibid., p. 62.
127 Hawthorn, op. cit., part 2, pp. 5-8.
The Indian Control of Indian Education policy paper states the range of issues vis-a-vis Indian education in Canada. These include:

1. Local control. Education is a local responsibility. Depending upon the wishes of the Indian community, it must have total or partial authority, with provisions for complete authority.

2. Native language and cultural education opportunities must be provided on demand.

3. Indian representation must exist on provincial school boards which have Indian students enrolled.

4. More Indian teachers, teacher aides, and councillors must be trained.

5. Facilities. School facilities must be adequate and up to the desires and standards of the local people. This may be for a residential, day or joint school. Substandard schools must be upgraded at the federal government's expense.

6. Integration. The degree and rate of integration between Indian and non-Indian communities is up to the local Indians.

The Indian Control of Indian Education policy paper stresses local control and decision making in all matters. However schools are generally run by non-Indians and the local people leave it up to the "professionals" to make decisions regarding the program.

According to Wolcott, Indian parents want their children to live at home and attend a local school, just as non-Indian parents do. If a provincial school is not close by then a school should be available on

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128 Indian Control of Indian Education, loc. cit.
Kleinfeldt suggests other advantages of a centrally located school on an Indian reserve. These include:

1. A central school holds a community closer together. Children from different parts of the community will get to know each other.

2. A central building, as opposed to portable classrooms or different schools, increases the frequency of interaction between students, teachers and parents. She says that this is important for the effective education of Indian children.

3. A central building may be better equipped than scattered facilities. Audio-visual equipment is more easily moved between classrooms than between buildings.

4. Security is facilitated in a centrally contained facility.

5. The community may use the facility for other events.

Wolcott cites poor school facilities on reserves in British Columbia. He says the problems extend to poor standards of school cleaning, and disagreements over when the cleaning must be done.

Price contends that Indian people don't really know what is happening in a modern school. Most adults have little formal education themselves and don't take an active role in their children's school programs. He notes the poor attendance of parents at parent teacher meetings.

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129 Harry F. Wolcott, op. cit., p. 68.

130 Judith Kleinfeldt, "Effective Teachers of Eskimo and Indian Students," School Review (February, 1975), 301-344. The author developed the above five points based on Kleinfeldt's article.

131 Harry F. Wolcott, op. cit., p. 77.
Kirkness agrees that getting parents involved is a problem and she suggests ways of encouraging their participation in schools. With the growing acceptance of responsibility by Indian band school committees it is important that more members of the community familiarize themselves with the operation of a school.

One area where local people have assisted the school program is in the development of locally relevant curricula.

Sindell and Wintrob state the issue:

... schools have generally not adapted their programs to serve local needs. Thus students have not been prepared to take advantage of the economic opportunities available in their region.

Indian Control of Indian Education demands that language and culture programs be available on demand. It is expected that when requested, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provide funding for the hiring of an instructor. Fitting language and culture subjects into the school program is the responsibility of the band school committee working with the superintendent of education and the principal. Bands may have to decide which subjects are deemphasized to allow the

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134 Ibid., p. 164.


136 Indian Control of Indian Education, loc. cit.
inclusion of local curricula. Native curricula materials are available for use in schools.\textsuperscript{137} The problem of meshing local culture into the curriculum is a general one as cited earlier in the Lapplanders' situation in northern Norway.\textsuperscript{138}

Price suggests that local people should become teachers, administrators, teacher aides and make guest appearances in the classroom.\textsuperscript{139}

The researcher contends that Indian participation in the construction of the school itself will increase interest and knowledge in reserve education.\textsuperscript{140}

The increasing number of day labour construction projects suggests that Indian bands are accepting the responsibility for on-reserve construction.\textsuperscript{141} The next section, Examples of Day Labour Projects, describes specific day labour projects.

The above poses relevant questions.

58. What kinds of jobs are band members assuming in the operation of the school?

59. Do band members indicate feelings of pride over the way the school was built?

\textsuperscript{137}Sources of native curriculum materials include: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, provincial Indian associations, the National Indian Brotherhood, provincial departments of education, provincial non-status Indians and Metis societies, individual bands, schools, and teachers.

\textsuperscript{138}Sally Anderson, "Norway's Reindeer Lapps," \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{139}Price, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{140}Observations of the author while residing and teaching on the Ahtahkakoop Indian Reserve, Saskatchewan, September to June, 1976-77.

\textsuperscript{141}See "Examples of Day Labour Projects," p. 61.
60. What is the band administration's attitude towards language and culture programs?
61. What programs are offered in the school?
62. Who instructs the language and culture programs?
63. What special training or information is made available to non-Indian teachers?
64. What is the status of other schools on the reserve or joint schools affiliated with Onion Lake?
65. What are the facilities of the school?
66. To what extent does the school committee participate in the development of the school program?
67. On what occasions do band members visit the school?
68. Who participates in the school program development?
69. What are the equipment resources of the school?
70. How does the school design accommodate handicapped people?
71. Is security a problem? What security measures are taken in the school?
72. What problems have developed with the design or construction of the school?
73. What is the frequency and attendance at parent-teacher meetings?
74. What Indian curriculum materials are used?
75. What academic program changes are made to accommodate cultural curricula courses?
76. To what extent do band members perform teaching, administrative and visiting functions in the school?

The following questions are included in the guided interview:
Q4. Do you think that the people on the reserve should be able to use the school for other purposes besides teaching the children.

Q5. What sorts of things do you think the community could use the school for?

Q6. Who do you think should decide what is taught in the school?

Q7. What would you like your children to learn about in school?

Examples of Day Labour Projects

A statement by Sir John A. Macdonald indicates that Indians were constructing their own schools as early as 1885. This may be cited as an early example of a day labour policy. However the day labour project discussed in this study is a much more complex undertaking than in 1885.

As defined, the term day labour is generally used to describe the use of the local labour force in major capital construction projects which exceed $250,000.00. Projects of this size generally require the involvement of either the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs or the Department of Public Works for technical assistance.

The literature includes specific examples of construction projects which fit the above criteria.

Sturgeon Lake, Saskatchewan band members are completing work on an auditorium/gymnasium facility on the reserve. An article states that:

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142 Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 11th Victoria Journal 126, May 4, 1885, loc. cit.

143 Letter from G. K. Gooderham, loc. cit.

144 Ibid.
One of the major pluses in this project is that the men of the reserve are gaining experience in construction trades by actually building the complex, thereby putting them in good stead for useful employment later. 145

An article describes the construction of a $428,000.00 sports complex and a $105,000.00 commercial complex on the Kahkewistahaw Indian Reserve in Saskatchewan. The local labour force is providing the man-power. 146

An article states that the La Loche Local Community Authority, in Saskatchewan, has received a grant of $431,000.00 towards the construction of an arena and multi-purpose facility. Although this is an off-reserve project, it is employing Indians from nearby reserves. The article states: "A product of local initiative, the project will attempt to maximize the use of local materials and labour." 147

The Sweetgrass band in Saskatchewan has successfully built a million dollar school on the reserve. The band formed the Sweetgrass Construction Company and is now constructing a $700,000.00 community recreation centre. 148

A report by Francis is a comparative analysis of costs involved in Indian school construction. These projects are by contract or by


147 "Funds Provided For La Loche Arena," The Saskatchewan Indian, VII, no. 12 (December, 1977), p. 45.

day labour. The day labour projects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Construction Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Poplar Hill Reserve, Ontario</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>school, teacherages and site development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Big River Reserve, Saskatchewan</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>school, teacherages and site development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. St. Theresa Point Reserve, Manitoba</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>school, teacherages and site development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Wassagamach Reserve, Manitoba</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>school, teacherages and site development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Saddle Lake Reserve, Alberta</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More information on these projects and a comparison with the Seekaskootch project is given in Chapter IV.¹⁴⁹

Since the completion of the Seekaskootch school project, the reserve labour force has been active in other day labour projects. Construction has begun on a multi-purpose administration complex which includes a new health clinic, child care centre and band administration office.¹⁵⁰ The reserve labour force is also constructing a curling rink. Band leaders hope that these projects will generate interest, create jobs, reduce welfare, and improve the recreational opportunities for young

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The questions generated by this review of the literature form the basis for the thesis questions and the stated problem. This thesis answers these questions and discusses the responses in terms of the literature. Appendix A provides an overview of the development of Chapters I and II.

BACKGROUND TO THE SEEKASKOOTCH RESERVE AND SCHOOL PROJECT

Chief Seekaskootch signed Treaty 6 on behalf of his people in 1876. With respect to education, Treaty 6 said:

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made, as to Her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.152

The above quotation serves as the legal basis for the provision of on-reserve schools by the federal government. Day schools are schools located on reserves in accordance with a Treaty agreement. The Seekaskootch reserve school is a day school and is an example of the federal government's position to continue honouring the Treaty agreements.

Chief Macaoo, who lived with his people on the lands west of Chief Seekaskootch, also signed Treaty 6.153,154

151 "Onion Lake Leaders Back Curling, Office Facilities," The Saskatchewan Indian, VII, no. 9 (September, 1977), p. 18.
153 Ibid.
For the Seekaskootch Reserve, acreage estimates vary from 38,291
acres\textsuperscript{155} to 38,400 acres.\textsuperscript{156} Estimates for Macaoo acreage range from
14,501\textsuperscript{157} to 14,080.\textsuperscript{158} All of the Seekaskootch reserve is located
within Saskatchewan. The Macaoo reserve is mostly in Alberta, estimated
at 9,013 acres to 9,030 acres, and partly in Saskatchewan, estimated at
5,038 acres to 5,050 acres.

The reserves' natural resources and economic potential are ela­
borated in Chapter IV in the section entitled reserve land use.

The idea for a school project was raised and discussed for ten
years prior to the start of construction.\textsuperscript{159} In 1962 the Onion Lake
band Council set aside a parcel of land for the future construction of a
new school. This land was centrally located near where three reserve
roads meet and close to other recreational and cultural facilities.

In 1964, the band submitted an official Band Council Resolution
(B.C.R.) requesting construction of a new school to the Department.
Indian Affairs officers in North Battleford informed the band that school
facilities in Lloydminster would be best for the Onion Lake band mem­
bers.\textsuperscript{160}

\textsuperscript{155} Schedule of Indian Reserves and Settlements, op. cit., p. 42.

\textsuperscript{156} Geographic Board of Canada, op. cit., p. 522.

\textsuperscript{157} Schedule of Indian Reserves and Settlements, op. cit., p. 42.

\textsuperscript{158} Geographic Board of Canada, op. cit., pp. 522-23.

\textsuperscript{159} This section is based on interviews with Onion Lake Band mem­
bers and Department of Indian and Northern Affairs officers, August, 1975.

\textsuperscript{160} Interviews with Superintendent of Education, Indian Affairs,
North Battleford, August, 1975, and Onion Lake Band Manager.
In 1964, plans were being developed and discussed by provincial and federal politicians of the area to build a bridge across the North Saskatchewan River. This bridge would link, on a year round basis, Onion Lake and other small non-Indian communities with Lloydminster. Lloydminster is thirty-three miles from Onion Lake by ferry or sixty-five miles via Marwayne, Alta., or fifty-five miles via Frenchman Butte, Sask.

The mileage difference between travelling to Lloydminster by ferry or by another route is so great that it affects the feasibility of commuting students from Onion Lake on a daily basis. Departmental and band officers stated that it would be cheaper to bus students via a ferry to Lloydminster and buy the services there than it would be to build a new school at Onion Lake.

Without a bridge the Lloydminster plan was not feasible due to the excessive commuting distance via Alberta or Saskatchewan and due to the inconvenience of the ferry not operating during break-up and freeze-up in the spring and fall.

The bridge plan seemed to eliminate the Departmental concerns. However, the bridge plan also had problems, the major of which was funding. According to Onion Lake band members, the province of Saskatchewan hesitates to finance a bridge because most of the residents on the north side of the river are Indians living on reserve lands and therefore a federal responsibility. The federal government hesitates to

161 Ibid.
162 Ibid.
163 Interviews with the Onion Lake Band Manager, Chief, and Councillors, August, 1975.
add funding because the lands on both sides of the river are provincial lands. The province of Alberta will not contribute because the ferry and likely bridge crossing are in Saskatchewan. However, the roads leading both to and from the ferry on opposite sides of the river run along the meridian and are jointly maintained by Alberta and Saskatchewan, except for the portion running through the reserve which is federally financed. Furthermore, both provinces contend that since they presently have bridges on their respective sides of the meridian, a third bridge is not necessary.164

The bridge plan has never materialized. Throughout this period of controversy over the bridge, the Onion Lake band members and Chief and Council were continually trying to convince Departmental officers that a new school on the reserve was required.165

In 1972, the Department informed the band that it was prepared to construct a new school on the reserve if the band would be willing to provide the labour force from its membership.166

The objectives of the Department in advocating this day labour method were:

1. to introduce employment to the community.
2. to reduce social assistance payments.
3. to provide training for the band labour force.
4. to more directly control the funding and operation of the project.167

164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
166 Ibid.
167 Interviews with the project supervisor, Superintendent of Education, North Battleford, and Director of Continuing Education, Ottawa, August, 1975.
The Chief and Council accepted the proposal because they wanted a new central school and they saw the day labour aspect of the project as creating jobs and opportunities for the men of the reserve.\textsuperscript{168}

Finally, to control funding, number four above, Departmental officers decided to keep the construction under their own authority instead of delegating funds and operating decisions to the Department of Public Works. This meant that Engineering and Architecture Branch of Indian Affairs would provide the technical expertise rather than D.P.W.\textsuperscript{169}

In June, 1972, work was started on phase one of the three phase school. The phases of the project were as follows:


Phase II - Home economics and industrial arts complex

Phase III - Gymnasium and library.

At the official opening of the school in October, 1975, phases II and III were ninety-five percent completed.

Following the completion of the school itself, the project supervisor returned to Regina and project activity ceased.\textsuperscript{170} Funding for the project terminated. However, in May, 1978, the landscaping, paving and fencing were not yet completed. Negotiations were then underway to have the project "finished."\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{168} Interview with Onion Lake Band Manager, Chief, and Councillors, August, 1975.

\textsuperscript{169} Interview with project supervisor, Superintendent of Education, North Battleford, and Director of Continuing Education, Ottawa, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{170} The project supervisor was an invaluable contributor to this study. He is Mr. Gerry Pitzel, D.I.N.A., Regina.

\textsuperscript{171} Personal interviews with the principal of Chief Taylor School and Superintendent of Education, North Battleford District, May, 1978.
In summary, the Onion Lake band requested and took steps to have a new school for a period of ten years. When the bridge plan was continually shelved year after year, the Department proposed to build the school by day labour. The band agreed and the three-phase school was constructed between June 1, 1972 and October, 1975.
Chapter III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this study is to describe the effects of a local day labour school construction project on the Seekaskootch community. To realize this objective the author follows a holistic approach to the research. With a holistic approach, the researcher discusses each thesis question and the statement of the problem in terms of their effects on the community. This approach is taken in order to show the interrelationships among the questions.

Appendix A traces the development of the statement of the problem from the literature. The researcher selected the descriptive method of research for this study. According to Gay, this method is most appropriate for obtaining data by guided interviews, and reporting it in terms of a case study. According to Gay, four parameters of the descriptive method of research are the case study, participant-observation, survey, and guided interview. These are discussed in this chapter.

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2 Ibid.
THE CASE STUDY TYPE OF DESCRIPTIVE RESEARCH

According to Deprez and Sigurdson, the effects of development are unique on each Indian reserve. Gay states that the case study method of descriptive research provides an in-depth look at a situation. Since this study is an in-depth look at development on one reserve, the case study method is selected. A case study is a holistic study of a particular situation.

Two problems with case studies are an observer bias and a lack of generalizability. Observer bias is discussed later in this chapter. Since the case study deals with one situation, it has limited generalizability. However, the discussion of the results in terms of the literature may increase the generalizability of the findings.

Three advantages of the case study are:

1. It is useful for a holistic understanding of a community.
2. It is useful for generating hypotheses for further research.
3. Case studies may be compared.

The following elaborates the methods and procedures used in the fieldwork and the analysis of results.

Selection and Gaining Access to the Community

The purpose of this section is to set down theoretical perspectives and operational procedures followed in the preparation for fieldwork.

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3 Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., pp. 8-10.
4 Gay, op. cit., p. 137.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
The Seekaskootch reserve project was selected because of the following facts:

1. The reserve is a rural community, not directly accessible with a large, urban center due to the North Saskatchewan River. Traditional activities are preserved and a large development project is a new venture.

2. The reserve has a history of a variety of on-reserve school programs. The community has had denominational day schools, a residential school, and active missionary educators. Education is an important priority of the band.

3. The band and Department of Indian and Northern Affairs are co-operating and working well together. The band is interested in assuming more responsibility for programs and projects.

In mid-June, 1975, the researcher requested permission to conduct the study. This was eight weeks in advance of the fieldwork. The researcher telephoned Chief Alex Harper and band manager Arsene Cardinal. Permission was given, by telephone. The researcher also obtained permission by telephone from Emil Korchinski of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

**Research Considerations to Control for Language Differences**

According to Langness and Egerton, language "... provides a window into the emotional and intellectual world of the people and their culture."\(^7\) In theory, the closer a researcher and a study consider

\[^7\text{Robert B. Edgerton, and L. L. Langness, Methods and Styles in the Study of Culture (San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp, 1974), p. 17.}\]
language differences, the closer the study comes to seeing the world as the cultural group under study does. Accordingly, the researcher asked the Department to provide funds for a Cree-speaking band member to act as a research assistant. The Department agreed. The Chief and Council selected a woman for this position. She performed the following functions:

1. She assisted in the guided interviews. All the respondents spoke English, however, she sometimes introduced the researcher in Cree. A few respondents asked questions in Cree about the interview and she replied.

2. She provided background information on the people interviewed.

3. She assisted in the selection of key interview persons.

4. She assisted in contacting people for interviews.

5. She located people and directed the researcher to band members' homes.

She contributed to the study by translating, establishing contacts, reassuring interview respondents, and providing information.

Theoretical and Operational Perspectives on the Fieldwork

Responses to the sub-questions are based on information from on-reserve and off-reserve sources. These sources include:

1. guided interviews

2. information from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs files

3. information from the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College and

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8 Ibid.
the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians

4. published and unpublished materials

5. participant-observation.

This chapter discusses the participant-observation, guided interviews, and sampling procedures.

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION

The theory supporting this type of descriptive research is that by living as a member of a community and participating in the local activities as the local people do, a researcher is in a better position to understand and interpret the behaviours of the community members.\(^9\)

Gay cites other perspectives on participant-observation research, including the following:

1. It increases the researcher's sensitivity to the lifestyle of the community.

2. It is natural. The behaviour is viewed in the context in which it naturally occurs. For example, the band members went about their business as they normally do. The researcher became less and less an unfamiliar face in the community.

3. The information appears as part of ongoing life in the community rather than as part of a study.

4. It creates a small amount of disruption to the lives of the people being studied.

5. It usually introduces no instrument between the fieldworker and the people in the study.\(^{10}\)


\(^{10}\)Ibid.
In this study, the researcher recorded and developed a further understanding of the reactions and activities of the bandmembers by note taking, discussions with the research assistant, reflections on similar observations in other Cree communities, and pursuing the interests of the respondents during the guided interviews. If the researcher's note taking made the respondents uneasy then only key words were recorded and a complete interview summary was written immediately after the interview.

Gay cites limitations to participant-observation research, including the following:

1. it is very dependent on the kinds of events witnessed and the personality of the researcher.
2. it is very difficult for other researchers to duplicate, confirm, or evaluate the research.
3. it is subject to reactivity. There are two elements to the problem of reactivity. First, what is the effect of the researcher upon the people and the phenomenon being studied? Second, are the perceptions and reactions of the researcher accurate?11

The following factors assisted in controlling for the problems of reactivity:

1. The presence of the Cree-speaking bandmember with the researcher facilitated:
   (a) the establishment of relaxed interview situations.
   (b) the discussion of the researcher's perceptions with her and the consideration of her point of view.

2. The researcher's experience of having lived for one year on a similar Cree reserve gave him some information and experience to increase his understanding of events.

As well as teaching for one year on the Ahtahkakoop Reserve, the

11 Ibid., pp. 30-42.
researcher spent thirteen days on the Seekaskootch Reserve gathering data and observing the bandmembers' activities. While the participant-observation period on the Seekaskootch Reserve was limited, the participant-observations of a similar community for a longer period assisted in understanding and interpreting the Seekaskootch activities.

The questions generated from the literature are also answered by means of guided interviews.

INTERVIEWS

The purpose of an interview is to generate data and information from conversations. Interview procedures are distinguished from one another by the degree to which the questions are structured, the intensity and duration of the questioning and the formality or informality of the procedures.

A formal interview is straightforward and sometimes stiff and awkward. Edgerton and Langness suggest that in cross-cultural interviewing:

... formal procedures with standard questions, asked under specific conditions, may be misinterpreted so that the answer given may not refer to the question that the researcher thought he was asking.

With guided interviewing, listed questions are introduced during the conversation and not in rapid-fire succession.

The researcher respects that Indian people often pause during

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12 Edgerton and Langness, op. cit., p. 42.
13 Ibid., pp. 42-44.
14 Ibid., p. 42.
15 Ibid., p. 44.
conversations to reflect upon what they have said or think about what they will say. It would be inappropriate and disconcerting to have these pauses interrupted by rapid-fire questioning. The researcher attempted to sense when an answer was being formulated or when the response was completed and the respondent was ready for another question. The researcher structured the interviews by asking each respondent the same questions. Most interviews took fifteen to thirty minutes, as designed.

Interviews were held in the band administration office, the school, work-sites, private homes, and the researcher's car.

Four types of interviews were used: open-end, key informant, depth, and survey interviews.

Open-end Interviews

After all the questions on the interview guide were posed, some respondents with particular knowledge, interest or expertise wished to elaborate further on some aspect of their experience. Sensing this, the researcher posed very general, open-end questions to permit the respondent to pursue whatever was of interest to him. 16

The researcher also used this type of interview with the reserve nurse, R.C.M.P. constables, government officers, the chief, and the principal.

Key-informant Interviews

Some community members are better informants about the community than others. Key-informants provide detailed or specialized information. Edgerton and Langness contend that key-informants require a good personal

16 Ibid., p. 44.
relationship with the researcher in order to freely give out information.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 33-36.}

In this study the project manager, principal, research assistant, band manager, chief, and government officers in Ottawa, Regina, Saskatoon, North Battleford, and Lloydminster all served as key-informants.

**Depth Interviews**

A depth interview is one where a confiding informant talks at length on a subject that may touch upon strong emotions and deeply held values. Some subjects, such as welfare, alcohol abuse and quality of workmanship, are very sensitive and not easily discussed. Probing into these areas may create aberrations and mistrust between the researcher and the respondent.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 36-37.} In a depth interview the researcher may ask sensitive questions and probe more deeply without fear of jeopardizing his relationship in the community. The researcher carefully includes depth interview sensitive information in this study. The issues of using sensitive information and confidentiality are discussed later in this chapter.

Depth interviews were conducted with the project manager, band welfare administrator, and the research assistant. Depth interviews usually depend upon a key-informant relationship.\footnote{Ibid.}

Each of the above types of interviews describes strategies and procedures for interviewing. The following discussion relates to the scope of the interviewing and selection of the respondents.
**Systematic or Survey Interviews**

This type of interviewing attempts to assure representativeness by sampling. The purpose of sampling is to select a number of respondents as representative of the whole. Each person in the sample is asked the same questions from the guided interview instrument. The purpose of a survey is to collect data by interviewing a sample of people selected to accurately represent the population under study. This type of interviewing assumes that for the purpose of any generalizations, the sample selected is representative.  

Two important considerations in selecting a sample are that:

1. the sample is large enough so that all relevant characteristics have a chance of being selected.
2. the individuals in the sample are selected by a probability of falling into the sample, or by their membership in a certain category of people.

With probability sampling, the researcher must state the exact probability of each person in the universe of being selected. If each person in the universe has the same chance of being selected then random probability sampling applies.

In this study neither method was possible. The researcher could not determine which bandmembers were presently living off the reserve or when they would return. Neither the band nor the Department could provide an exact current census of the reserve population. Some former employees on the project were no longer living on the reserve. In addition, the rough and muddy road conditions prevented visits to remote areas of the reserve. Without accurate information regarding the number of people in the community, probability sampling procedures were not

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20 Ibid., pp. 44-46.  
21 Ibid.
Two other methods of achieving representative sampling were employed.

1. Expert Choice. With this method the researcher reports that the sample is representative but provides little or no detailed explanation of how the choice was made. The Kehewin study used expert choice representative sampling.  

2. Quota Sampling. With this method the researcher decides beforehand what characteristics the sample should have then finds samples to fit these criteria.

The researcher selected expert and quota samples by listing responses to the questions:

1. Who can tell the most about the functions about which the facts are required?

2. Whose views have or have had the greatest influence with the group of workers on the project?

Three samples were identified. As many people as possible were interviewed until the researcher felt that a representative sample had been obtained.

The three samples were:

1. Bandmembers who worked on the school construction project.

   population - 137; sample - 33

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22 Kehewin Benefit Analysis, op. cit.

23 Edgerton and Langness, op. cit., p. 110.

24 Leo Demesmaker, Writing for Results (Ottawa: Bureau of Staff Development and Training, 1972).
2. Bandmembers who did not work on the school construction project. This includes the Chief and Council, and other adult bandmembers.

population - 245; sample - 27

3. Non-Indians who have a relationship with Seekaskootch bandmembers either on or off the reserve.

sample - 15

The information reported in Chapter IV was obtained from the above three samples by depth interviews, key-informants, and participant-observations.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GUIDED INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Earlier in this chapter, the characteristics and strategies of the interviewing procedures were described. A guided interview procedure was selected as best for gathering the information to answer many of the questions generated from the literature. These questions were arranged to form a guided interview instrument. The guided interview method was selected because the respondents might not be able to write responses, and the researcher wanted to ask all respondents the same questions. By this method, the respondents gave oral responses, with translation available, and the researcher did the recording.

All the questions on the guided interview are generated from and noted in the review of literature in Chapter II. The guided interview questions help standardize the interview, since all people in the samples
are asked the same questions in the same way. 25, 26

Before entering the field the researcher reviewed all of the questions generated from the literature. After considering the nature of the questions and the individuals with some knowledge of the area, lists of questions for specific people were drawn up. For example, questions related to violence were listed for the R.C.M.P. constables, the Chief and Band Manager, and the principal.

The questions generated for the guided interview instrument itself were arranged according to the sample they were intended for. Not all of the questions were appropriate for all three samples. For example, questions related to previous job training were not directed to the non-Indian sample.

The following questions, from the guided interview instrument, were directed to the sample indicated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 to Q34</td>
<td>Bandmembers who worked on the project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1 to Q7 and Q33</td>
<td>Bandmembers who did not work on the project.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Guided interview questions were not directed to the non-Indian sample.

In the discussion in Chapter IV, sub-questions and thesis questions related to the same area are discussed together. The sources of


the information are noted. Specific individuals are not normally identified with the information they gave. The confidentiality of the responses was assured each respondent at the beginning of the interview. It was hoped that this would encourage honest replies and reduce anxiety.

The introduction to the guided interview has the following objectives:

1. It tells the respondent who the researcher and research assistant are.
2. It tells the respondent that the Chief and Council and Department have approved the study.
3. It tells the respondent the purpose of the guided interview.
4. It establishes a personal relationship of confidence and understanding between the researcher and the respondent.
5. It assures the respondent that his responses are confidential and will not be directly attributed to him.  

The instrument was pre-tested on five Indians, three of whom were Cree speakers. The purpose of the pre-testing was to determine whether the questions stimulated the respondent's co-operation, were in satisfactory order, and were understood by all respondents.

Based on the responses from the pre-test guided interviews and the researcher's experience, alternative responses were listed for each question. The purpose of this was to reduce the amount of recording time during the interviews. If an unanticipated response was given, the

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27 Institute for Social Research, op. cit.

28 Ibid.
response was recorded on the interview guide. The anticipated responses are included with the interview guide and the introduction to the interview in Appendix D.

At the end of each interview the respondent was asked if there was anything else he felt was important and would like to add concerning the school project or any of the questions. The interview was terminated with a reassurance of confidentiality and a thank-you.

Validity of the Questions

Construct validity was used to measure the validity of the questions posed in the review of the literature, thesis questions and guided interview instrument.

The questions were suggested in notable studies (Hawthorn, Deprez and Sigurdson, National Indian Brotherhood, and Kehewin). Before doing the fieldwork the interview guide was screened by Indian and non-Indian officers of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs at headquarters, Ottawa, regional office, Regina, and district office, North Battleford. The author of the development analysis conducted on the Kehewin reserve participated in the review of the interview guide, as well. The Chief and band administrator of the Seekaskootch Reserve reviewed and approved the questions prior to the interviews.

It was the general evaluation of these experts that the questions posed addressed themselves to the problem stated.

Reliability of the Research Procedures

The procedures used in this study are similar to those used in the Kehewin Benefit Analysis. These procedures include interviews with Indians and non-Indians and a review of the Department of Indian and
Northern Affairs' files.

The interviews and file search were conducted in August, 1975 when the project was on the verge of completion. Post-interviews were conducted in May, 1978 to indicate a degree of agreement and/or change over two and one half years. The reliability of the study is supported by the post-interviews, using the same instrument, on a sample drawn from the same population as the interviews conducted two and one half years earlier. As well as post-interviews, demographic data and participant-observations were updated in May, 1978.

Controlling for Biases

In this study there are three biases requiring control. These are:

1. Systematic error.

2. Observer bias.

3. Cultural bias.

Systematic error is a bias in a certain direction which may occur when non-random probability sampling procedures are followed. To control for this, as many interviews as possible were conducted and post-interviews were conducted two and one-half years after the first interviews.

Observer bias is an inaccurate perception of behaviour caused by aspects of an observer's past. To control for this the researcher generated questions directly from the literature and not from his own


30 Ibid., p. 127.
perceptions. He also solicited the views of the Indian research assistant on the researcher's findings and conclusions.

Cultural bias is a bias that is attributable to a researcher interpreting the behaviour of another cultural group in terms of his own culturally-based perceptions.\(^\text{31}\)

To control for cultural bias, the researcher attempted to record the bandmembers' reactions as precisely as they were stated. Pre-testing the questions on Cree-speaking Indians and discussion of findings with the research assistant assisted in controlling culturally based perceptual biases.

**Perspectives on Confidentiality and Interpretation**

By having the privilege to conduct this research on the Seekaskootch Reserve, the researcher has developed a close and friendly relationship with the Onion Lake bandmembers. They have allowed this fieldwork to be conducted and the thesis to be written.

While it is important to maintain objectivity and report the findings, care is also taken not to unintentionally or accidentally hurt feelings or misinterpret events. The bandmembers were extremely co-operative and supportive. It would be unfair to reflect negatively on an individual or the band if there is a remote possibility that it is not completely accurate. The results and conclusions of this study are part of the public reputation of the Seekaskootch community.

In Chapter IV the researcher reports and discusses the information necessary to answer the questions and address the statement of the

\(^{31}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 10-13.}\)
SUMMARY

Chapter III has three major thrusts:

1. perspectives on the study design.

2. the preparation for fieldwork.

3. operational perspectives on the fieldwork.

The case study type of descriptive research is suitable for the holistic approach to the research. A discussion of the interrelationships between the responses to the sub-questions and thesis questions provides the response to the statement of the problem.

The following chapter provides the information and discussion to address this problem.
Chapter IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports and discusses the data obtained in the field-work.

In discussing the statement of the problem, the researcher distinguishes between the effects attributable to a new school on the reserve and the effects attributable to the method by which the school was built. The distinction is necessary so that specific advantages, disadvantages and implications of the day labour method of reserve school construction may be considered.

COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS

To determine the status of health services, the researcher interviewed two nurses and a community health worker. They were employed by the Department of National Health and Welfare and worked on the reserve. They stated that the most immediate need to improve health conditions on the reserve was to have more counselling, particularly in the area of medication and treatment, making appointments and reporting for them, and alcohol abuse.

The nurses stated that some individuals who worked on the school reported medical problems quickly and followed treatment carefully. The nurses suggested that these people took better care of themselves to avoid missing work.
Regarding recreational functions, the principal and band manager reported that the reserve has a wide range of programs and facilities. The community centre, curling rink and rodeo grounds were all built by the local people. The centre and rodeo grounds were completed prior to the commencement of the school project so many of the men did have experience in carpentry and general construction. The conclusion reached by those interviewed was that the building of recreational facilities assisted in establishing the confidence and skills necessary to assume larger and more complex construction tasks.

To suggest the status of transportation functions on the reserve, the researcher asked the working sample whether or not transportation to and from work on the school was a problem for them (see Table 1). The majority of workers stated that transportation to and from work was not a problem for them. If the workers could get to the village, they could get a ride to work with another worker. The workers indicated that they travelled to work primarily by motor vehicle or by walking (see Table 2). In conclusion, the band members did not cite transportation difficulties as a major factor in remaining employed.

Table 1

Transportation as a Factor in Workers
Getting to and from the Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes, it was a problem</th>
<th>No, it was not a problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>75.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=33
Table 2
Transportation Methods Used By Band Members
to get to the Worksite
n=33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Drove a motor vehicle</th>
<th>Got a ride with someone</th>
<th>Walked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>36.37</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>45.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Romanow suggests that employment may reduce violent activities on a reserve.\(^1\) The researcher was interested in determining whether the project affected these activities.

According to RCMP constables at the Onion Lake detachment, only one violent crime was reported between 1972 and 1975, the years of the project. The increased income into the community has resulted in more vehicles on the reserve. The RCMP stated that the risk of motor vehicle or firearm offences was higher since some band members spent their increased income from the project on these items. In conclusion, the police stated that violent activity neither increased nor decreased during the project.

The project supervisor and the RCMP stated that since men could not work properly if alcohol was being overly used, the working band members drank less during the week. Some drank more on weekends. In conclusion, the building of the school did not increase alcohol related problems

\(^1\)Romanow, op. cit.
or violent activities in the community.

The band leaders stated that the planning for the reserve's development is taking into account all the community development functions. The leaders therefore supported the vicious-circle concept of community development, as elaborated by Deprez and Sigurdson.²

THE BAND LABOUR FORCE

Human Resources

The reserve's exact population totals for the start of the project in June, 1972 and completion in August, 1975 are not available. Statistics are available for the approximate mid-point of the project. As of December 31, 1973, Department statistics report the total reserve population to be 1299³ (see Table 3).

Table 3
Onion Lake Band Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On-reserve</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>1099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-reserve</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>1299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to a Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College paper, a reserve's labour force is made up of all people between the ages of

²Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 7.

³Information from the Onion Lake Band list and North Battleford District Office statistics, December 31, 1973.
sixteen and fifty-five. This information is not available for 1973 but is for December 31, 1976. To account for the three year difference, the 1976 Departmental totals include all band members nineteen to fifty-eight years of age. These people were between sixteen and fifty-five on December 31, 1973.

Table 4

The Onion Lake Band On-Reserve Labour Force Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>199</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On December 31, 1973, the Onion Lake band had a potential labour force of 381 people (Table 4). This group may be sub-divided into the following categories:

1. men and women sixteen years of age and over who were attending school on the reserve.

2. women who stayed home with their children. These women may or may not have been interested in working.

3. men and women who were employed on the reserve, in jobs not related to the school project.

4. non-active members of the labour force. These were people who had not recently worked nor were actively looking for work.

5. men and women who wanted to work and were unable to find work.

---

4Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, Socio-Economic Profile of Saskatchewan Indians and Reserves (Saskatoon, Sask.: S.I.C.C., 1975), p. 2.
This represents the unemployed labour force who were available for work on the day labour project.\textsuperscript{5,6}

Precise population figures for each of the above five categories are not available. Based on information from 1973 district office statistics\textsuperscript{7}, the researcher compiled the following estimates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 and 3</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population statistics provided by the above source and separate statistics elaborated in Table 4 suggest that the Onion Lake labour force population was approximately 381 or 382.

In summary, there were approximately 381 band members living on the reserve and between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five on December 31, 1973. Assuming that students, employed band members, some women with children, and some non-active band members would not be available for work, the potential labour force is estimated between fifty and one hundred percent as follows:

\textsuperscript{5}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{6}Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, \textit{Registered Indian Population by Age, Sex, and Residence for Bands} (Ottawa, 1976), pp. 2440-48.

\textsuperscript{7}Statistics given to the researcher by the District Superintendent of Education, North Battleford District, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, August, 1975.
If fifty to one hundred percent of category two and four people were available, the potential labour force is estimated at between two hundred and three hundred band members.

Over the three and one-half years, 137 different people worked on the project. The range was from one and one-half weeks to two years, with most workers staying from one and one-half weeks to six and one-half months. Table 5 indicates the extent to which the labour force turned over during the three and one-half year period. The term of employment time does not necessarily mean that the employee worked for that long without interruption. For example, a total time of six months means that the employee worked for a total of six months between June, 1972 and October, 1975.

Twenty-three people worked for a period of time exceeding six months, over a three and one-half year period. Of the remainder, fourteen people worked for a few months at a time but not exceeding six months, during the three and one-half years, and five people worked for a total of a few months during the complete construction period.

---

8 Seekaskootch project pay list. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, October, 1975.
Table 5

Length of Time Employees Worked on the Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Term of Employment</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 6 months</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 9 months</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 12 months</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 15 months</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 18 months</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 21 months</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 24 months</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{23} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the above accounts for forty-two persons out of a total of 137. The remaining ninety-five people worked for a total period of less than three months over the entire construction period.

Table 6

Male and Female Workers During Each Year of the Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 reports that more people worked in 1974 than any other year.\(^9\) In 1974 there were over three times as many workers as in 1972 and 1975 and almost twice as many as in 1973. Many people were hired for short term jobs. Many of these people quit or were layed off due to shortage of work or the completion of their work assignment. This high turnover rate is not a negative reflection on the band members since there were busy and quiet periods in the construction. In addition, the supervisors could only train and observe so many people at one time. The supervisors found it easier to hire and train a few individuals at a time. If possible, these people could then supervise other band members. In Table 6, one man who might have worked for one week in each year of the project is counted in each yearly column. Table 7 provides a different perspective on how many people worked during one to four years of the project. Each column in Table 7 represents the following:

1 year - the number of names which appeared on the paylist any number of times but only during 1 year of the project.

2 years - the number of names which appeared on the paylist any number of times but only during 2 years of the project.

3 years - the number of names which appeared on the paylist any number of times but only during 3 years of the project.

4 years - the number of names which appeared on the paylist any number of times and at least once during each of the 4 years of the project.

\(^9\)Ibid.
Table 7

Total Number of Names Which Appear on the Payroll at Least Once During Each Year of the Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 Year</th>
<th>2 Years</th>
<th>3 Years</th>
<th>4 Years</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 indicates that five men and no women worked at least part of each year of the project. Seventy-three of the 137 workers have their names on the paylist during one, and only one, of the four years. In some cases a man worked more during one year, for example six months, than a man who worked for one month each of the four years.

According to Table 7, twenty-two women and 115 men worked on the project. The women filled cleaning and painting jobs. The project supervisor stated that the women were better painters than the men. Most of the female workers appear in the statistics of the last two years of the project when interior jobs were required.

Women were not employed in jobs requiring training. The project supervisor described a difficulty in hiring women. When a workman's task, for example a carpentry assignment, came to its conclusion, the supervisor was faced with the dilemma of whether to reassign the carpenter to the cleaning or painting work or laying him off and hiring a woman for the job. The supervisor tried to be fair in this regard and judged each case on its own merits.

According to band officials, off-reserve band members did not
return to Seekaskootch to work on the school project. There was no indication that band members employed elsewhere quit their jobs to work on the school project.

In one instance Indians from a nearby reserve were brought in to complete an assignment. This occurred prior to Christmas, 1974 when it was necessary to have the gymnasium roof completed before the holidays. According to the project supervisor, local people were not available. Band officials were not in favour of this since it was a Seekaskootch reserve project. Under the circumstances the band permitted the outside hiring.

**Employment Opportunities**

In August, 1975, the researcher interviewed the manager and an officer of the Canada Manpower Centre (C.M.C.) in Lloydminster. These people have worked with the Onion Lake band members. They stated that communication between Canada Manpower and the band office is directed through the band office secretaries and the welfare officer. They cited a problem with the very few telephones on the reserve. Manpower notifies the band office when job opportunities arise and it's word of mouth from there to interested band members.

Canada Manpower and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs sponsor upgrading courses (basic training skill development course) on the reserve. For Canada Manpower upgrading courses, the band member applies to go, C.M.C. accepts or rejects applicants, and the C.M.C. Training Program pays the student's tuition and allowance.

Canada Manpower also administers the manpower mobility regulations, for which Seekaskootch residents are eligible. Under these regulations,
an individual may be assisted to relocate, to work in another area.
Indians or non-Indians apply to C.M.C. to get work and financial assis-
tance under the program. To qualify, the individual must be prepared to
move to a job of at least six weeks duration.

According to Canada Manpower officers, Onion Lake band members
have not used the mobility program for three main reasons:

1. They must move to the nearest area where work is available.
   This is Lloydminster, and many are not interested in moving there.

2. The person must be trained before moving. Most Indians are not.

3. Many Indians do not want to move away from, or commute from
   the Seekaskootch reserve because of the difficulty associated with taking
   the ferry across the river at certain times of the year.
   In addition, Indians have experienced problems in finding accommodation
   in Lloydminster due to high rents and shortage of rooms. Others have
   expressed concern over their responsibilities on the reserve, such as
   farming and family obligations.

As described in the section dealing with training, some Indians
have used the Canada Manpower Centre programs. However, the C.M.C. could
not elaborate on how the Indians succeeded in their work or training
placements. The C.M.C. office in Lloydminster may hear by word of mouth
what has happened to Seekaskootch band members placed, since so few are
placed. If the person is in a training institution, the C.M.C. office
located in the training centre may notify the C.M.C. office in Lloydminster
since it was the placing office. According to C.M.C. Lloydminster, the
training institution may send marks or a report to the C.M.C. Lloydminster
office. However, there is no formal follow-up procedure being used and the
C.M.C. office could not provide statistics regarding their placement of Onion Lake Indians.

Educational Backgrounds of the Workers

The purpose of this section is to discuss whether a trained labour force is necessary for a major construction project.

While a person's background is often a factor in their employability for a certain position or line of work, the project supervisor followed a different principle. He stated that a person's attitude and effort were better predictors of a good worker than just prior training and/or experience. This statement was repeated by the project supervisor of the band administration complex presently being built on the Seekaskootch reserve by day labour. Some bandmembers had previous training and experience and were excellent workers. Others developed a variety of skills in different jobs by their perseverance.

The band manager noted that the band has operated several construction projects, including their housing program. There were, therefore, bandmembers with carpentry and other skills.

Economic Activity on the Reserve

During the school construction period a number of other activities were taking place on the reserve. Table 8 is a summary of the economic activity on the reserve between 1972 and 1974. This information is based on interviews with band leaders and the project supervisor, and information from Departmental files in North Battleford, Regina and Ottawa.

The band manager stated that there were other jobs, as well, related to the operation of the school, nursing station and stores. The total, therefore, is not complete. The range of positions and available
Table 8
Economic Activity Summary
1972-1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project or Type of Work</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Workers Over the Course of the Year or Duration of the Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>programs to improve and renovate the band hall</td>
<td>1972-74</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summer student employment assistance program</td>
<td>1972-74</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth employment assistance program</td>
<td>1972-74</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>construction of a cattle shed and barn</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farming and ranching</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arts and crafts</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forestry</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surveying</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunting, fishing and trapping</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housing construction</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>band government</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>installation of 10 miles of fence</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demolition of the R.C. residence</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logging and sawmill operation</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>209</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
totals do show the interest of the band leadership in generating jobs on the reserve, the variety of jobs that band members may find available to them, and the areas of skill development to which workers are exposed.

In 1978, on-reserve positions for a secretary for a drop-in centre, back hoe operator, gravel truck driver, program co-ordinator, and summer jobs were advertised at the band office. The band administration complex was also under day labour construction.

Job Variety and Preferences

The working sample indicated the kinds of work performed on the project (see Table 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>general construction work</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpentry</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>painting</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drywall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bricklayer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blocklayer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carpentry, painting and general construction work were the most prevalent.

Aside from this major job, twenty-one workers, or 63.6 percent,
said that they had performed more than one job on the project. Twelve workers, or 36.4 percent, would not identify with jobs other than the principle job noted in Table 9.

Having been exposed to one or more jobs on the project, and with experience, the working sample was asked what their job preference would be. The purpose of asking this question was to determine whether the training and the project were addressing the employment interests of the bandmembers. Table 10 indicates that carpentry was the most popular type of work.

Table 10
Prefered Types of Work as Indicated by Working Band Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Work</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklaying</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drywall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A variety of jobs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three people who indicated another job preference stated that bookkeeping, beadwork and childcare would be their choice while two people could not state a preference.

The workers were also asked what kind of work they liked doing
least (see Table 11).

Table 11

Least Preferred Types of Work as Indicated by Working Band Members

n=33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Work</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't dislike any</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarring</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concrete mixing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone picking</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labour work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>office work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranching</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machine work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most unpopular type of work was "don't know," followed by "don't dislike anything." The researcher interpreted these responses to suggest "don't care," indicating that just having a job takes priority over the kind of job. The working sample indicated their orientation towards steady employment (see Table 12).

The sample indicated that they had worked from one to five different jobs in the previous five years. The average number of jobs per worker was 2.76. Considering the seasonal and short duration of many jobs on the reserve, an average of 2.76 jobs over a five year period does not seem excessive. Many workers indicated during the interview that their
jobs over the previous five years had been interspersed with periods of unemployment and social assistance. Many of these people showed dedication to a task by returning time and again to ranching or housing operations after being laid off or quitting.

Table 12
Number of Jobs Held by Workers in Five Years Prior to the Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage of Sample</th>
<th>Number of Jobs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>36.37</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>30.30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The working sample bandmembers indicated their employment status prior to working on the project. Twenty-three had been employed (Table 13).

Table 13
Pre-project Employment Status of Working Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>employed</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unemployed</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The twenty-three pre-project employed stated that their average monthly salary before the project was between $200.00 and $800.00 (Table 14).

Table 14
Pre-project Employed Members of the Working Sample - Pre-project Earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Salary</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wages on the school project were reported to be between two dollars and four dollars per hour. Calculated for a 160 hour work month, salaries would range from 320 dollars to 640 dollars. For those who were employed before the project, working on the school could bring less income at the outset and more after the training period than they earned at their previous job. The job supervisor tried to remove himself from the actual paying of employees to avoid having to advance money and keep records. The workers were paid directly from the Department in Regina. The paycheques arrived by mail every Friday.
Further to the above questions, the working sample was asked whether or not they wanted a job with responsibility (Table 15).

Table 15
Working Band Members Reactions Towards a Job With Responsibility
n=33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefer a job with responsibility</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefer a job with responsibility</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>94.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer a job without responsibility</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They overwhelmingly preferred a job with responsibility. The project supervisor stated that trained and untrained workers assumed responsibility for tasks and performed them well. Many of the workers approached their tasks patiently and cautiously. The project supervisor demanded that the quality of workmanship not be sacrificed due to inexperienced workers. The workers, in turn, assumed the responsibility for completing the task to the satisfaction of their supervisor.

Employment Prospects after the Project

Schools on the reserve attempt to give the child the knowledge and skills to live on the reserve or to live and compete successfully off-reserve. According to the project supervisor, a day labour project develops skills that may be used for employment on or off the reserve. The acquisition and development of skills on the project may affect the

---

10 Philosophy and objectives, Onion Lake Schools, Appendix F.
bandmembers assumptions and expectations towards employment after the school project. Tables 16 and 17 report the workers' perceptions of whether their experience on the project will help them get a job somewhere else and if so, where.

Table 16
The Workers Perception of Whether Project Experience Will Help Further Employment Prospects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, it will</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, it won't</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over eighty-one percent of the sample stated that project experience will help their future employment prospects.

Table 17
The Workers Perception of Where Their Employment Skills Might Be Used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on-reserve only</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>off-reserve only</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on and off reserve</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tables 16 and 17 indicate that the bandmembers anticipate using their skills both on and off the reserve. When the interviews were conducted plans were not completed for the band administration complex presently under day labour construction. In spite of the difficulty of obtaining local jobs, the workers stated that they could use their skills on-reserve. No workers indicated that jobs were only off-reserve.

The working sample was asked if they would be interested in working on another building project on the reserve, if one were available. Table 18 indicates that over ninety-six percent of the sample would like to work on another day labour project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interested</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>96.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not interested</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, most jobs are off-reserve but Indians would prefer to work and use the skills in their reserve community.

Working Schedule

The working sample stated that forty hours was the usual work week (Table 19).

At very busy periods overtime was available. The supervisors and workmen worked out a system whereby they worked four nine-hour days and
four hours Friday morning. This arrangement permitted the workers to go to town, cash their cheques and shop on Friday afternoon.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours Worked</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 hours</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>96.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other than 40 hours</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recruitment and Supervision

Hiring was done by the project supervisor based on the recommendations of the chief and council. The band leaders were thus actively involved in mobilizing the labour force. The aim of the recruitment was to give the maximum number of bandmembers the opportunity to work on the project.

The project supervisor and band leaders cited difficulties in recruiting and keeping workers on the job. Shortage of materials forced the supervisor to lay men off. When foremen quit work, the supervisor could not train and observe as many men by himself. Consequently, workers were layed off. Locating enough people to do a certain task at a certain time proved difficult. Men quit before they were trained and some men refused to return to work after they had been layed off.

In conclusion, the project supervisor stated that recruiting and maintaining a labour force in accordance with the supplies, supervision and assignments were his major concerns on the project.

The abundance of these problems limited the amount of time the
project supervisor could assess the individual needs, skills and performance of workers. The supervisor stated that he did not have the time to be overly concerned with employees' personal needs. He was extremely patient under difficult circumstances.

In summary, with so many staffing, training and construction problems, the project supervisor could not conduct complete assessments. Evaluation difficulties also created some employee dissension over wages.

Wages

Some employees stated that they deserved a higher salary due to their performance on the project. The project supervisor stated that he did have difficulty establishing rates of pay for different individuals. Over eighty-one percent of the sample stated that the wages were adequate (Table 20).

Table 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workers' Reactions to Their Salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salary was O.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salary insufficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these workers stated that wages were not sufficient at the beginning of work; however, they accepted the $2.05 hourly wage because they were being trained on the job. After learning the job, many employees contended that this rate was not high enough. Some men who worked for a few months and were conscientious about attending work obtained raises to
around $4.00 per hour.

According to the Saskatchewan Construction Association, off-reserve, untrained labourers would have earned approximately $6.50 per hour in 1975. However, this hourly rate would be subject to taxation. In 1972 off-reserve labourers earned about $5.00 per hour. Compared to these totals, the day labour rate is less but it is also income tax exempt. Therefore the project worker's net pay is slightly less than the off-reserve workers, depending on the latter's income tax deductions.

Some workers suggested that the pay scale be linked to some performance criteria. They suggested that these criteria include attendance standards, knowledge, rate of learning on the job and success in performing tasks. Some workers did not like the uncertain manner in which raises were distributed. Employees usually had to raise the pay issue with the project supervisor to obtain higher wages. Some workers contended that they were as deserving as others who got raises.

In summary, pay raises were not given, generally, but rather, individually, and usually after the employee's request.

The project supervisor agreed that the above were issues. He stated that general raises would not be fair to workers who worked more or less than the others. He agreed that more initiative should be taken to more fairly remunerate deserving employees. However this requires more supervisory staff.

In spite of the above issues, one hundred percent of the working sample stated that the project supervisor was "O.K.," "liked," or "a good man." This sentiment was also expressed by the band leaders.
The project supervisor was responsible for all aspects of the project including ordering materials, manpower selection and dismissal, supervising all work, dealing with everyday staffing and construction problems, and on-the-job training.

According to the project supervisor, his most time consuming and frustrating responsibility was in the area of training. The project supervisor instructed the workers in all aspects of the job. The frustration was generated when newly trained workers quit work just at the point when they could train others. The project supervisor stated that he was primarily looking for men who were "trustworthy, reliable and willing to learn."

According to the supervisor, the best workers were generally those who had previously worked for the band on the pre-fabricated housing project.

The policy of the Department is to provide training and employment to unemployed employable Indians living in Indian communities on work assignments which will be of benefit to the communities. The long term objective of this policy is to improve the community's capacity to develop more permanent employment and economic enterprises. Funds for training generally come from the funds allocated to the bands for capital, operation and maintenance, and social assistance.

In the Seekaskootch project, paid training-on-the-job was provided. Some workers had federally funded training prior to the school

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11 Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Band Work Guidelines, Ottawa, March, 1976.
project. Some band members went on training courses during the course of the project and returned to work on the project. Most of the working sample indicated that they had taken some training prior to working on the project (Table 21).

Table 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>taken some training</th>
<th>no training</th>
<th>percent with training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>69.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over sixty-nine percent of the sample indicated that they had taken a trade, technical or upgrading course. Table 22 indicates the kinds of training backgrounds that the Seekaskootch Indians took with them to the school project. Aside from basic upgrading, most of the training has been in carpentry. This may be attributed to the need for good carpenters to work on the reserve pre-fabricated housing program. The researcher does not suggest, in Table 22, that the band members received credentials for the training indicated. Table 22 does not reflect whether the respondents actually completed the course or considered it complete when they decided to leave.

The sample indicated that they would be interested in taking more training (see Table 23). The areas of interest for further training were stated as being carpentry, counselling, welding and upholstery.
### Table 22

The Working Sample's Previous Training Background

*n=23*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Taken</th>
<th>Course Location</th>
<th>Time Spent on Course</th>
<th>Course Completed</th>
<th>Course Paid for By</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>6 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>1½ years</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prince Albert</td>
<td>2 months</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>8 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vermillion</td>
<td>10 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgrading</td>
<td>Onion Lake</td>
<td>6 weeks</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cando</td>
<td>10 months</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>D.I.N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>D.I.N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onion Lake</td>
<td>8 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onion Lake</td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lloydminster</td>
<td>2 months</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>D.I.N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onion Lake</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>D.I.N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boilers</td>
<td>Duck Lake</td>
<td>9 days</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing</td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>6 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>6 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>6 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Management</td>
<td>Lloydminster</td>
<td>6 weeks</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prince Albert</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>D.I.N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>Prince Albert</td>
<td>2 months</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blocklaying</td>
<td>Moose Jaw</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Services</td>
<td>Prince Albert</td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>2 months</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>C.M.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: C.M.C. - Canada Manpower Centre; D.I.N.A. - Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
Table 23

Workers Interest in Taking Additional Training

\( n = 33 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>interested in further training</th>
<th>not interested</th>
<th>undecided</th>
<th>percent interested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>87.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The project supervisor could not generalize as to whether trained or untrained individuals were better workers. However, he felt that a trained, conscientious worker was more valuable than an untrained, conscientious worker.

In summary, the effects of the project were to provide training on the job and to allow previously trained people to practise their skills. In conclusion, the day labour aspect of the project was responsible for introducing training and skill development opportunities to the working band members.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The purpose of this section is to discuss whether the day labour project has affected local government activities on the reserve. The researcher was interested in determining the involvement of the local government in the project planning and major activities since the project. Local government, in this study, refers to the elected chief and council. They have authority over the reserve community and the responsibility for operating programs.
As indicated by band council resolution, the idea for a new school clearly arose from the Seekaskootch local government. The suggestion to build the school by day labour came from the Department and the band accepted the responsibility for providing the manpower. This was the single largest capital construction project for which the local government had ever assumed a major responsibility.

The local government co-operated and showed leadership in the project by working with the Department in the design and construction schedule, by recruiting trained workers and social assistance recipients for the project, and by assisting the project supervisor with his manpower requirements.

Since the school project, the band has built a curling arena and a band administration complex. The project supervisor of this latter project reported that the band leadership has been most co-operative in recruiting manpower.

The band leaders reported that future reserve projects will be built by day labour. They reported that the reserve has the manpower and expertise to construct its own facilities.

In conclusion, the project has involved the local government in planning and operationalizing a major construction project. Since the school project, the local government has gone on to organize and be responsible for more major projects. The effects of the project were to increase the activities of the local government and to affect their outlook towards future reserve development.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

The researcher could not obtain statistics regarding the number of
welfare recipients during the years 1972 to 1975. However, the fiscal year totals in Table 24 show that social assistance totals increased over the years of the project.

Table 24
Welfare Totals to Band Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Payments</th>
<th>Percent Increase Over Previous Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>$360,000.00</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>474,375.00</td>
<td>31.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>512,201.00</td>
<td>7.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>660,510.00</td>
<td>28.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social assistance totals may not accurately represent the effects of the project since the number of young adults becoming eligible for welfare may exceed the number of jobs created. In addition, social assistance funds may be used for other band programs; a family may receive more income from social assistance than from working and welfare payments may be used to supplement earned income or unemployment insurance benefits. Considering all of the above factors, precise statistics are required in order for the researcher to state specific conclusions regarding the effects of the project on social assistance.

Regarding the operation of the welfare program, band leaders and Departmental officers reported that the welfare program was well administered. They stated that the welfare administrator, being a band member, is in a good position to know if individuals are earning more than they should. He also knows which people are particularly in need of funds.
The researcher concludes that the decentralization of welfare funds to the band is a good method of getting the money into the hands of the people who need it.

Over ninety-six percent of the working sample indicated that they would rather work than collect social assistance (Table 25). Many of these people volunteered reasons as to why they preferred working, including being paid every Friday, having less leisure time to spend the money, not having to be interviewed regularly by the welfare administrator, and feeling good about themselves having a job.

Table 25
Working Sample Stated Preference for Work or Social Assistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefer Work</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>96.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer Social Assistance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following work on the project, many band members had no alternative but to return to welfare. Table 26 indicates that fifty-one percent of the sample were unemployed after the project.

Over fifty-six percent of the post-project unemployed were receiving social assistance after the project (see Table 27).

The project supervisor stated that most of his workers had been welfare recipients before coming to the project. Some of them had been receiving unemployment insurance following work on the ranching operation or the pre-fabricated housing project, and some received unemployment
insurance supplemented by social assistance.

Table 26

Employment Status of Working Sample Immediately After the School Project

\( n = 33 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27

Source of Funds for Unemployed Members of the Working Sample

\( n = 16 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SCHOOL FACILITIES

Regnier and Legg have written a comprehensive summary of federal and band operated school facilities on Saskatchewan Indian Reserves.\(^{12}\)

This book, entitled Our Children Are Waiting, includes a resume of facilities on the Seekaskootch Reserve. The summary and assessment dealing with Onion Lake is indicated in Appendix E. The only incorrect statement in the

\(^{12}\) Regnier and Legg, op. cit.
appendix summary is the date of construction of the Chief Taylor School. The project was started in 1972 and completed in 1975, not in 1974 as indicated.

The project supervisor stated that the project took longer to complete due to training on the job. By taking longer to build, the school operated in reduced facilities for an extended period of time. However, with the completion of the school, the effect of the project was to greatly increase the educational facilities of the community.

LOCAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION

According to the principal, Onion Lake band members take an active part in the direction and operation of their schools. The principal meets monthly with the school committee and interested band members. The principal stated that he received excellent co-operation from the parents and school committee. Parent-teacher meetings are called at least twice a school year and are attended by thirty to forty parents.

School committee meetings are attended by the chief, councillors, the principal and vice-principal, and Indian Affairs superintendent and counsellor. These meetings are held to discuss:

1. departmental funding for adult education and post-secondary programs,
2. funding for cultural and linguistic programs in the school,
3. budgeting for equipment and supplies,
4. enrolment projections and manpower needs for the following school year,
5. funds for the completion of the school grounds, driveway, parking lot and outside equipment,
6. issues related to bussing,
7. the transfer of responsibility and funding from the Department to the band.

This last area is receiving increased attention. The band has expressed its desire to take over the complete operation of the school. When this occurs, the teachers, principal and vice-principal, and support staff will become employees of the band rather than employees of the Department.

Table 28 indicates the reactions of the band members regarding who should be responsible for developing the school program. In asking the questions, the researcher did not state the options.

Table 28
Responsibility for Developing the School Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-working sample</th>
<th>working sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The province</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Indian Affairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Principal and teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Parents and local Indian people, band council</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Don't know</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 3 and 4 together</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty-seven percent of the non-working sample and thirty percent of the working sample supported the idea of the band members and teachers
and principal developing a school program together. Twenty-nine percent of the non-working sample and thirty percent of the working sample stated that the local people and parents should decide. Clearly, both samples rejected the idea of an Indian Affairs operated school. No one suggested that the churches should be deciding what is being taught in schools. In May, 1978 the people were very strongly in favour of local control as indicated by the band's present thrusts to assume complete control and operation of the school.

The samples were asked what the instructional orientation of the school should be (Table 29).

Table 29

Instructional Orientation of the School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-working sample</th>
<th>working sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social skills</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian culture and languages</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academic subjects</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>48.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how to get a job</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occupational work and trade work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two samples did not agree as to whether Indian language and culture or academic subjects should be the major orientation of the school program. However, the two samples strongly agreed that the two major
orientations should be the above. Almost seventy-five percent of the non-workers and over eighty percent of the workers placed language and culture or academic subjects as their first two choices. One worker definitely did not want Cree culture courses taught in the school since the children should receive this training at home. He felt that time spent on these subjects would reduce the time for academic subjects. Another worker felt that Cree and culture had a place in the school curriculum since many parents do not teach these to the children. The researcher noted that all of the classrooms have Indian culture and language related pictures and posters. Language and culture are taught to the students as well as the full provincial curriculum. There are two full time Cree instructors.

Local people are filling the majority of positions in the overall operation of the school (Table 30).

Table 30
Teaching and Support Staff: Onion Lake Schools - 1977-1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Non-Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal and Vice-Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cree Instructors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Aides</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance Man</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Maintenance Man</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Bus Drivers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Counsellor</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{29})</td>
<td>(\frac{0}{15})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the information provided during interviews in May, 1978, there are nearly twice as many Indians as non-Indians working in the operation of the school. Considering all of the positions listed in Table 30, Indians occupied 65.91 percent and non-Indians 34.09 percent. However, Table 30 also indicates that most of the fully qualified teaching staff are non-Indians. Teacher aides and Cree instructors, while considered as staff members, do not have teacher education to the extent of the classroom teachers.

In conclusion, the band has developed from expressing its desire for band participation in education, as stated in 1975, to taking steps towards complete band control in 1978 or 1979. Since the school project, the band has constructed other facilities by day labour. The project appears to have enhanced the band's self-confidence and initiative. As one band member stated, "If we can build the school, we can run it too!"

EDUCATION PROGRAMS

According to the principal, Seekaskootch students have usually received their secondary and specialized education off the reserve. Students have usually attended institutions in Paradise Hill, North Battleford, Prince Albert or Lloydminster. However, with the construction of the new school, students could stay on the reserve and receive their full high school education. According to the principal and band manager, more students are in grade twelve this year than in recent years. They attribute this and other increases in attendance to the fact that the higher grades are being offered on the reserve. They anticipate an increase in the number of high school graduates in this and succeeding years as well.
Band members stated that very few non-Indian children, even living in rural areas, must live away from home in order to finish high school. Indian parents feel no less concerned about their children living away from home at a young age.

Problems related to students attending joint schools, or attending crowded or inadequate facilities, may be reflected in age-grade distributions. Some of the factors that were reported by the principal as creating over agedness in relation to educational progress among Indian students are late beginning, irregular attendance, language problems, cultural differences, inappropriate methods, inappropriate materials, and parent disinterest.

Statistical information on age-grade distribution is not available for every year of the project. However, Table 31 shows trends before the new school was in operation and towards the end of the project when the school was operating.

In Table 31 the kindergarten figures are not used in calculating the averages. Since these children are new entrants, the age is more easily controlled. Kindergarten correct age children are five years old.

An overview of Table 31 suggests that:

1. the average overage percentage was less after the students were in the new school,

2. the average underage and correct age percentages were higher after the students were in the new school,

3. in two of the eight grades the overage percentage increased,

4. in one of the eight grades the underage percentage decreased,

in two grades the underage percentage remained the same, and

5. in three grades the correct age percentage decreased.
### Table 31

Percent of Student Overage, Underage, and Correct Age Among Onion Lake School Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>K</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>Average 1-8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19.23</td>
<td>27.42</td>
<td>60.49</td>
<td>62.16</td>
<td>63.41</td>
<td>72.73</td>
<td>72.77</td>
<td>75.86</td>
<td>56.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.32</td>
<td>32.40</td>
<td>57.37</td>
<td>78.38</td>
<td>62.07</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>64.71</td>
<td>70.73</td>
<td>53.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Underage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23.08</td>
<td>27.42</td>
<td>9.88</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>8.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26.42</td>
<td>15.49</td>
<td>13.46</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Correct Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>57.69</td>
<td>45.16</td>
<td>29.63</td>
<td>35.14</td>
<td>36.59</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>23.53</td>
<td>24.14</td>
<td>34.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62.26</td>
<td>52.11</td>
<td>29.17</td>
<td>18.92</td>
<td>31.03</td>
<td>46.15</td>
<td>31.37</td>
<td>29.17</td>
<td>37.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The principal and vice-principal attribute this overall levelling of the age-grade statistics to:

1. an increase in parental encouragement for the children to attend school,
2. the new improved facilities,
3. the realization by younger students that they can complete their senior matriculation on the reserve,
4. more variety of school programs, and
5. better school programs due to improved facilities and equipment.

The principal reported that the drop-outs have been very few in 1977-1978. Statistics were not available since some of these students were attending other schools and some were thinking about coming back to the Chief Taylor School. He stated that previous senior matriculation graduates have tended to stay off the reserve, where they received their education. He thought, however, that with graduates now coming from the reserve school more would stay and try and find work on the reserve.

The principal stated that attendance was generally about seventy-five to eighty-five percent per month. He noted that the attendance and drop-out rates are difficult to interpret. Families move to different reserves and back to Seekaskootch. Children are often out of school for a week or longer and then back in school. He felt that jobs on the reserve were stabilizing more of the population and Cree and culture programs in the school were helping to keep children interested.

According to the band manager, principal and vice-principal, the education program in the school attempts to equip the students with the skills to seek further education and/or employment off-reserve and the
skills to live and work in the reserve community. The student may then select and be prepared for either lifestyle. The philosophy and objectives of education on the Seekaskootch reserve are elaborated in Appendix F.

The band manager stated that students in school should begin to see more opportunities for themselves for employment. He cited job opportunities in construction work, band and school administration, school support services, and transportation as increasing on the reserve. He stated that the school committee was looking at schooling as a step to jobs and progress.

One area of the school program that has improved is the availability of Indian language and culture curriculum materials. Indian teachers have been creating their own materials and using materials developed by the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College.

Further to community use of the school, the samples were asked whether the school should be used for community activities other than the teaching of the children (Table 32).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 32</th>
<th>Reactions Regarding Community Use of the School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-working sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most of the people in each sample stated that the school should be used for purposes other than just teaching the children. Some who said no or were undecided stated that they didn't want people "wrecking," "damaging," or "dirtying" the school. Some expressed concern over equipment being taken or misplaced and then not being available for the children and the teachers. The people who stated that the community should be able to use the school stated that it might be used for adult education, recreation, meetings and social activities (see Table 33). The least preferred activity was "social" and most preferred were adult education and recreation.

Table 33
Sample Suggestions as to Community Activities in the New School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>non-working sample</th>
<th>working sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult education</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meetings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socials</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recreation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the above responses were given in the 1975 interviews, many community activities have taken place in the school, including exercise classes and games in the gymnasium, adult upgrading, visits by the Lakeland library, University of Saskatchewan classes in English, school
committee meetings, parent-teacher meetings, and an Indian culture course.

In summary, the effect of the school project has been to improve school facilities on the reserve. Improved facilities have resulted in better attendance, an improved age/grade distribution and fewer drop-outs. The community has taken advantage of the building by using it for community activities. In-school programs have improved with more space and better equipment.

In terms of the day labour aspect of the school, the researcher contends that the band members have more pride in the school because of the way it was built. This was shown by the concerns expressed over adults misusing the new school. The band members appeared very knowledgeable of the school facilities. This may be attributable to the fact that they built it themselves.

Not only have band members constructed the school but, in 1978, were filling the majority of positions in its operation. The band is assuming full responsibility for control of reserve education as elaborated in *Indian Control of Indian Education*.

Interviews in 1978 revealed that the reserve community is receiving a full provincial education program and Indian culture and language courses. For the first time, Seekaskootch reserve children may fully complete their senior matriculation on the reserve.
LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The purpose of this section is to discuss the effects of the school project on language and culture in the community.

Interviews with two past-principals of the R.C. and A.C.C. schools revealed that the band sometimes discouraged the use of Cree in the school. Most children on the reserve have traditionally learned their language and customs at home. The band leaders have stated in the past that if the children were going to learn to speak English, then use of Cree at school would have to be controlled. This ruling did not put down the Cree language; it was intended as a measure to encourage the children to become bilingual. However, some parents have not continued to speak Cree at home and to teach their children the language. More families have televisions in their homes now, and more children are reading English books. With these changes, the band has reinstated the Cree language and culture components of the curriculum.

According to the band manager, the jobs that band members have had off-reserve have required the use of English. On the reserve, workers have been able to speak Cree on their jobs. Since the school project supervisor is a non-Indian and does not speak Cree, the researcher asked whether or not the project served as a forum for the speaking of Cree. Over ninety-six percent of the working sample stated that they spoke Cree and English on the job (Table 34). The project, therefore, did provide a forum for the speaking of Cree. The project manager stated that all instructions were given in English but more experienced workers assisted others by giving explanations in Cree.
Table 34
Language Spoken on the School Project
n=33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cree only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cree and English</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>96.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the principal, children may speak Cree or English in the schools. Time allotted to curriculum subjects is slightly reduced to accommodate the Cree language program. No single subject time is reduced for the Cree program. Teachers may reduce time in whatever subject is most convenient for the Cree class.

The library contains many Indian periodicals and books. The teachers interviewed stated that students are encouraged to follow an Indian or local theme in their assignments.

The school has many Indian pictures, murals and crafts on display. The new school also provides a facility for adult language and cultural education.

Since the project, some of the workers trained in the project have worked to improve the reserve's pow wow grounds.

In conclusion, the project has affected the reserve language and culture by providing another forum for the speaking of Cree. This occurred during construction and now in classroom instruction. More Cree culture courses are taught in the new central school than in the other reserve schools before the project. In addition, the day labour aspect of
the project created a bilingual working situation on the reserve.

**THE TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES OF BAND MEMBERS**

According to Looking Back\(^{13}\), farming and stock raising have been the chief occupations on the reserve. Some band members have supplemented their agricultural incomes by hunting, trapping and fishing.

Looking Back reports that many band members obtained good implements and livestock. Incomes were supplemented by selling surplus hay to off-reserve farmers and by cutting fuel wood.

In the northern part of the reserve many families have depended almost entirely on hunting, fishing and trapping for their livelihood. Looking Back reports that Onion Lake band members have traditionally been good woodsmen, but with pulpwood shortages on the reserve many men have gone further north, off-reserve, to continue work in the pulpwood industry.

Some of the band members told the researcher that they did not prefer farming work because of the long hours and low pay. They indicated that construction type jobs on-reserve were preferred due to the higher income and more regular hours.

On the project, band members were expected to work regular daily or weekly hours. When workers wished to go hunting, trapping, fishing or wood cutting, they had to resign from their job on the project. In some cases they just left work without notice.

The project supervisor on the administration complex stated that he made no concessions for workers to participate in outside activities.

\(^{13}\) Looking Back - A History of Our People, op. cit.
If workers did not report to work then they should not report back to work. He stated that the workers have to decide between working on the project and other pastimes. He stated that the workers can pursue traditional activities on their own time.

According to the school project supervisor, the high turnover in staff indicated an orientation towards part-time employment among some workers. He suggested that some workers' experience with seasonal types of work did not predispose them to the regular work routine required on a construction project. While he could not tolerate irregular attendance, he would rehire good workers who had left for periods of hunting. The supervisor stated that he had to know what his labour force would be in order to plan the work. He informed the workers that they were committed to the project once hired and if they planned on irregular attendance then they would have to leave the project.

According to the project supervisor, the day labour aspect of the project may have restricted some band members' traditional activities to non-working hours. However, band members did not raise this issue with the researcher or the project supervisor. In conclusion, the day labour project did not affect the traditional activities of band members.

REATIONS TO DEVELOPMENT

The band manager reported that the development of community functions is good for the reserve. He stated that it will keep people in the community and will give the people facilities and opportunities for activities.

The band manager indicated that there was a strong desire by the council and many residents to pull the community closer together for
educational purposes. He reported that the band council wanted the
school built on some central ground, neither Roman Catholic nor Anglican.
The school's location at the center of the reserve is near other activity
centres such as arena, pow wow grounds, curling rink, rodeo grounds,
administration complex, health centre, and group homes. As an indica­
tion of the community's support for day labour, the researcher requested
the band members' reactions to the day labour aspect of the project (Table
35).

Table 35
Reactions to Building the
School by Day Labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When the Plan Was First Announced</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agreed</td>
<td>Disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working sample n=33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>84.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-working sample n=27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>85.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upon Completion of the School</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agreed</td>
<td>Disagreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responses</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working sample n=33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>90.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-working sample n=27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both samples were more in favour of day labour after the project than they had been beforehand. The percentage in agreement increased over the construction period in both samples.

The respondents who disagreed or were undecided about the day labour aspect of the project when it was first announced cited the length of time it might take to build the school by day labour and the quality of workmanship as their main concerns.

Respondents indicating a favourable first reaction stated that the young people might be motivated to stay in school since the school is located on the reserve, the band might raise its self-identity by undertaking such a major project, and jobs would be created.

Following the project, the disagreed and undecided respondents cited the length of time the project took as their major contention with day labour. Those in agreement cited job creation, increases in pride and more school graduates as their reasons.

The researcher contends that all of the above reactions are related to fostering opportunities for working and living on the reserve and developing pride in the reserve community. Some respondents stated that Seekaskootch was their home and their reserve and it was the place where they wanted to live and work.

Over ninety-six percent of the working sample and ninety-two percent of the non-working sample stated that the idea for the new school came from the band (Table 36).

The researcher asked the samples for their reasons as to why the school was built by day labour. The purpose of asking this question was to determine the perceived objectives of the day labour aspect of the project from the band members' point of view. No options were offered to the
respondents.

Table 36
Source of the Plan to Build a New School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of the Plan</th>
<th>Working Sample</th>
<th>Non-working Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>responses</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onion Lake Band</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>96.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Affairs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The samples stated that the first objective of the day labour aspect of the project was to create jobs (Table 37).

Table 37
Perceived Reasons for Building the School by Day Labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Working Sample</th>
<th>Non-working Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>responses</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create Jobs</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>81.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Training</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generate Pride in the Community</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In conclusion, the new school served to bring the Roman Catholic
and Anglican Church of Canada communities together in a central school. The band members strongly supported the construction of the school and the manner in which it was built. The samples indicated that development of this type was good, mainly because it created jobs.

RESERVE LAND USE

The purpose of this section is to discuss the effects of the project on present and potential reserve land uses.

A government publication cites the Seekaskootch land as primarily suited for farming, ranching and wood cutting¹⁴ (Table 38).

Table 38
Seekaskootch Reserve Land Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Use</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Percent of all Reserve Lands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>9898</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>14140</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>2828</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>1414</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28280</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the band manager, the band derives income from its beef herd, hay fields, and oil rights. Many off-reserve ranchers have asked to lease the reserve lands as pasture. However, the band prefers

¹⁴ Indian Reserve Facts and Figures, Program Statistics Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa, December 31, 1976.
to keep its hay fields for its own herds.

The band, with its grader, maintains the roads which run through the reserve. For the school project, it was critical that roads were maintained to allow the delivery of building materials.

The major conflict between on-reserve and off-reserve development is the issue of the bridge. The band manager indicated that a bridge would facilitate the entry of Onion Lake Indians into the Lloydminster labour force. He stated that a bridge would assist on-reserve development by making the Seekaskootch community more accessible. The band manager stated that since development was mainly concentrated along the east-west highway, the northern or more remote areas of the reserve would remain good hunting, fishing and trapping areas. The school is the major central facility in the new developing reserve center.

In conclusion, the project did not affect the reserve land use programs. The band continued with its ranching and farming programs during the school project.

While the day labour aspect of the project attracted former farm and ranch workers, the band manager reported that this was not a problem to these band operated programs.

CONSUMER SPENDING

The school project brought a lot of money into the community by way of salaries. The purpose of this section is to discuss the effects of the project on spending and saving patterns of the workers.

Each working sample respondent stated whether he spent more, less, or the same while working on the project compared to before working on the school, on each of nine items (Table 39).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>spent more money</th>
<th>spent the same money</th>
<th>spent less money</th>
<th>spent little before and during</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>respondents</td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>respondents</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48.49</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trucks, cars</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gifts</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>45.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>livestock</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21.21</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tools</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>81.82</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machinery</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The respondents indicated that more money was spent on each of the items selected. Over eighty-one percent spent more on tools because all hand tools used on the project had to be owned by the worker. Some workers misplaced tools and ended up paying for two or three sets. The project supervisor supplied the tools and made deductions from salary. Over sixty-nine percent spent more money on food and forty-eight percent spent more on alcohol. The items of least interest before and after the project were machinery and livestock.

In summary, most of the band members spent more money on food. Some band members indicated that more money was spent on each of the items identified.

Sixty-nine percent of the workers indicated that they spent most of their money off-reserve (Table 40).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Workers Who Spent Most of Income On or Off-reserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>responses</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on-reserve</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>off-reserve</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>69.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the reserve there was one general store, a pool hall and a service station.

Seventy-three percent of the off-reserve shoppers said that Lloydminster was the site of most of their purchases (Table 41).
Table 41

Location of Most Off-reserve Purchases

n=23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lloydminster</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>73.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Battleford</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby Towns</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With more motor vehicles operating on the reserve, the band members had more access to the shopping centres. They could search out lower prices and better buys in off-reserve stores. The on-reserve store was more convenient but also more expensive with less selection. Since most of the additional income was spent off-reserve, the project increased the band members spending off-reserve more than with on-reserve merchants.

The working sample stated whether or not they continued or initiated any budgeting or saving practices on account of the increased income from the project (Table 42).

Approximately one-half of the working sample indicated that they budgeted their earnings. A similar number indicated that they did not. The portion of the sample that did budget their project earnings stated whether or not they had done so before the project (Table 43).

Table 43 indicates that five workers, or fifteen percent, budgeted before and during the project; nine workers, or twenty-seven percent, began budgeting practices while working on the project; sixteen workers, or forty-eight percent, did not budget during the course of the project.
Table 42

Budgeting Practices of Working Sample

n=33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do some basic planning or budget</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not plan or budget</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 43

Budgeting Practices Before the Project

n=16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>did budget</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did not budget</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The working sample stated whether they spent more money after working on the project (Table 44).

Fifty-seven percent of the sample stated that while making more money by working on the project, they spent more money. Thirty-six percent stated that while earning more money they spent the same amount or less than before the project.
Table 44

Amount of Money Spent After Working on the Project
Compared to Before the Project

n=33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about the same</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, the sample stated whether or not they had saved more money during the project than before the project (Table 45).

Table 45

Saving Practices During the Project Compared to Before the Project

n=33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saved more</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saved less</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saved the same amount</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirty percent of the sample stated that employment on the project resulted in an increase in financial savings.

In summary, the interviews conducted in 1975 revealed that more
money was spent on a number of items, most of additional income was spent on food, the increased amount of money spent on alcohol was not reported as a problem in the community, most of the workers shopped off-reserve in Lloydminster, some workers developed budgeting practices with an increased income, and more money was spent and more was saved with the increased income.

A general store merchant in Paradise Hill stated that during periods of employment, the Onion Lake band members were in a better financial position to shop and pay cash, rather than charging their purchases. The number of outstanding accounts in his store was reduced. The supervisor of the band administration complex project stated that financial counselling must accompany a day labour project. He stated, from experience, that many workers spent every cent they earned. He said that he shows workers that they need not spend all of their paycheque on food, alcohol and other items. He encouraged his men to open bank accounts and have money to show for their work after the project.

The vice-principal stated, in 1978, that many of the reserve houses have been fixed up since the growth of employment opportunities on the reserve. He felt that band members, given experience with earning and dealing with money, spend money to improve their homes and lifestyles.

PROJECT COST COMPARISON

The purpose of this section is to compare the cost of the Seekaskootch school with the costs of other reserve schools built by day labour or contract during the same time period. By making this comparison the study may suggest financial implications of a day labour project on a reserve. All cost information is from a Department of Public Works
Compared to other day labour built schools (see Appendix G), the Onion Lake project has the lowest cost per square foot.

Appendix G also describes three schools designed by the Department of Public Works and constructed on reserves by private contractors. While the Onion Lake school is larger than each of these projects, it was built at a lower square foot cost.

Table 46 summarizes the square foot and adjusted costs of the schools included in the Francis study.

Table 46
Summary of Comparative Costs of Schools Built by Contract and Day Labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number of schools</th>
<th>average actual sq. ft. cost $</th>
<th>average sq. ft. cost adjusted to 1974 $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>schools designed</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by DPW or DINA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and built by contractors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schools designed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by DPW or DINA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and built by day labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The summary shows that schools built by contract are generally less expensive than schools built by day labour. However, the $39.32 square foot cost of the Onion Lake school compares favourably with the adjusted 1974 square foot cost of schools built by contract.

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15 Francis, op. cit.
The researcher concludes that a day labour project can be built at a cost comparable to a school built by contract. The impact of the project in terms of jobs created, income, and other effects as elaborated in this study are benefits that may be generated at a relatively low cost.

The Francis study indicates that the Onion Lake school was the most financially economical day labour project in Canada between 1966 and 1974. The researcher attributes this to the efforts of the band labour force, the support, leadership and co-operation of the band administration, the dedication and commitment of the project supervisor, and the co-operation of the Departments of Indian and Northern Affairs and Supply and Services in facilitating the funding and delivery of materials to the project.

QUALITY OF MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION

In this section, the researcher reports the views of the project supervisor, band manager and school principal and vice-principal regarding the school materials and how they are lasting.

According to the project supervisor some areas of the design could have specified more durable materials. For example, he stated that the use of plaster board over studding in hallways is not sturdy enough considering the rough treatment that walls sometimes get from school children. He stated that, overall, the building compares favourably with DFW designs constructed by contractors.

Materials were acquired by the project supervisor through the Department's office in Regina and the Department of Supply and Services. At times, this method was not very efficient. Some materials were not received for up to two months after they were supposed to arrive. The project
supervisor suggested that the construction supervisor should have up to ten percent of the total projected cost of the project in purchasing authority. This would permit flexibility in allowing the supervisor to order locally when materials were short or delivery was delayed.

The principal and vice-principal cited problems with the rugs in the school. They felt that the rug underlay and seams created ripples in the carpeting. They stated that the rug in the library was glued to the floor and was easier to roll audio-visual carts on and easier to maintain. The principal and vice-principal stated, in 1978, that the school building requires larger storage areas, a larger seating area in the gymnasium, and more boot racks close to the exits to keep the school clean.

They stated that the landscaping and playground aspects of the project were still not completed. Paving in the parking lot and entrance way and fencing had not been attended to. At the time of the May, 1978 interviews, negotiations were taking place to have these components of the project completed.

The band manager stated that once the project supervisor left the location in October, 1975, it was difficult to get work done on the school. Band and school leaders stated that the project should have been seen through to completion.

The project supervisor stated that an Indian Affairs supervised day labour project has some advantages over a project supervised by Public Works. He stated that an Indian Affairs project has a shorter start-up time for construction and greater flexibility in utilizing personnel and resources at district or regional levels. The project supervisor noted that Indian Affairs can more readily change its own design, construction or materials than can DPW. He added that Indian Affairs has the expertise
and experience in designing Indian schools, in a style with which Indian people can identify. The project supervisor stated that Indian people may prefer to work with one Department, Indian Affairs, rather than with three, Indian Affairs, Public Works and Supply and Services. He stated that this project shows that Indian Affairs has the expertise to design and supervise a day labour construction project.

In conclusion, the day labour method was not reported as a reason for errors in construction or quality of workmanship. The material and construction shortcomings that were stated are due to design or purchasing errors and not attributable to the labour force.

**SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS**

1. Some community health functions improved during the course of the project.

2. The construction of recreational facilities established skills and confidence in the local labour force to assume larger and more complex construction tasks.

3. Transportation was not a factor in band members remaining employed or leaving the labour force.

4. The reserve development is taking into account all the community development functions.

5. No increases in alcohol related problems or violent activities, at work or in the community, were reported.

6. The band leaders support the "vicious circle" concept of community development.

7. Canada Manpower did not provide an adequate job referral program.
8. Approximately 381 band members comprised the labour force on December 31, 1973. The potential labour force is estimated at between 200 and 300 band members.

9. The effects of the day labour project on the reserve labour force includes the following:

   a) it provided employment for 137 band members.
   b) it provided an employment opportunity for those people who wanted to work.
   c) it created a certain amount of frustration among the band members due to the high turnover rate.
   d) it permitted some people to receive unemployment insurance benefits after being laid off.
   e) females worked but not in jobs receiving training.
   f) it provided training for some band members.
   g) it allowed individuals to develop, practise, and refine a variety of skills.
   h) it improved the employment potential of many band members.
   i) it introduced some band members to the work force for the first time.
   j) it develops skills that may be used for employment on or off the reserve.
   k) it showed confidence in the local labour force by relying almost entirely on their manpower.

10. Project planning has involved the local government.

11. Band members spoke Cree and English on the job.

12. Carpentry was the most popular type of work. The most unpopular type of work was "don't know."

13. The average number of jobs per worker in the previous five years was 2.76.

14. Band members stated that project experience will help their future employment prospects.
15. Band members preferred to work and use their skills in their reserve community.

16. Recruiting and maintaining the labour force and maintaining the delivery of building supplies were the main problems of the project supervisor.

17. Determining salaries and employee assessments were problems for the supervisor.

18. The Indians stated that Indian language and culture programs and academic subjects should be the major orientation of the school program.

19. The band is assuming full control of reserve education.

20. Band members were more in favour of day labour, after the project, than before the project.

21. The project did not affect traditional activities.

22. Most band members supported reserve development.

23. The project did not affect the reserve land use programs.

24. Most workers reported that the additional income was spent primarily on food and home improvements.

25. Some band members initiated budgeting and savings practices.

26. A day labour project can be built at a cost comparable to a school built by contract.

27. The Seekaskootch reserve school was reported by Francis to be one of the most financially economical day labour projects in Canada between 1966 and 1974.

28. The untrained labour force did not appear to reduce the quality of workmanship.

29. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has the expertise to design and supervise a day labour project.
Chapter V

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the major findings of this study and to state conclusions. To strengthen the generalizability of the findings from this case study this chapter includes a discussion of the major findings in terms of the literature. This chapter also includes recommendations for further research and recommendations regarding the use of day labour. The purpose of these sections is to assist those bands contemplating a day labour project.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
IN TERMS OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this discussion is to review some of the major findings in this study and to relate them to the literature.

This study supports the statements of Deprez and Sigurdson¹ and Farrell² that community development requires progress and change in all the community functions. The study supports these authors in saying that community development requires an educational system relevant to local jobs and needs, job opportunities for school graduates, improvements in health care, improvements in recreation and transportation, and parental

¹ Deprez and Sigurdson, op. cit., p. 7.
² Bone, op. cit., p. 11.
support and participation in the education program. It is a "vicious
circle" with no single function being able to singularly lead a community
into better days.

The study supports the views of Ginsberg\(^3\), Canada Manpower\(^4\) and
David Ahenakew\(^5\) citing the need for more job opportunities all over the
reserve and particularly in the operation of the school. By controlling
the school, band members will be assuming the responsibility for the
relevance of their children's education.

This study did not find that welfare was reduced with the crea-
tion of jobs in the community.\(^6,7\)

The findings of this study strongly support the view of Wise and
Keily\(^8\) that a successful locally employing project must have a local
labour force of sufficient size, good project management, and the
co-operation of community leaders. The difficulty is in defining what is
a sufficient size, a good manager, and co-operation. The school project
included 137 different workers at various times. The present band admin-
istration project at Onion Lake has used no more than twenty-four differ-
ent workers. The findings of this study suggest that as the band's
experience with major projects increases, the sufficient size of labour

\(^3\)Ginsberg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 8.

\(^4\)The Employment Service, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 15.

\(^5\)David Ahenakew, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 3, p. 73.

\(^6\)Hawthorn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 31.

\(^7\)Kehewin Benefit Analysis, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 42-45.

\(^8\)Bone, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 6-8.
force requirement may be reduced. Perhaps by considering what kinds of employment programs, projects, and labour force problems have preceded a proposed day labour project, project planners may be able to determine whether the labour force is of sufficient size.

The conclusion reached is that a project supervisor must be equally demanding vis-a-vis employee conduct, workmanship, and quality of materials, whether he is on or off-reserve. A further conclusion is that the project supervisor should have experience working with Indian people. He must have some familiarity with those characteristics that Indians have identified with themselves, as elaborated by Canon Edward Ahenakew. The project supervisor must be firm. Knowledge of the characteristics of Indians as employees will permit the supervisor to be fair as well.

The third important requisit is the co-operation of local leaders. The band must want the facility and be prepared to actively take part. This may include involving the welfare officer in the recruiting and hiring process. In addition, one or more band members should be foremen or sub-foremen, working directly with the project supervisor.

The findings of this study support the conclusion that the day labour project created jobs for women. This supports the contentions of Bone, Kehewin and Canada Manpower.

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9 Buck, op. cit., p. 13.

10 Bone, op. cit., p. 7.

11 Kehewin Benefit Analysis, op. cit., p. 46.

No evidence was found that would support the views of Wolcott\textsuperscript{13}, Deprez and Sigurdson\textsuperscript{14} and Hawthorn\textsuperscript{15} that welfare payments were not always used properly. The findings do not support Hawthorn's statement that Indians may prefer to be idle and collect welfare than work.\textsuperscript{16} There was no evidence found of feelings of apathy, resignation and lack of motivation among the band members.\textsuperscript{17}

One of the major effects of the day labour project was that it generated change in the community. The planning and process of this change came from within the community itself. This important effect supports the statements of Deprez and Sigurdson\textsuperscript{18} and the Department\textsuperscript{19} that meaningful development on a reserve only occurs when Indians are prepared for it, want it, initiate it and take the steps to bring the change about.

The findings agree with Deprez and Sigurdson\textsuperscript{20} that the future economy of the reserve is linked with off-reserve communities. In the Onion Lake situation the future economy would be greatly enhanced with the construction of the bridge. It is recommended that the Department, band, and representatives of the two provincial governments attempt to

\textsuperscript{13} Wolcott, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 51-52.
\textsuperscript{14} Deprez and Sigurdson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{15} Hawthorn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. \textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 31.
\textsuperscript{18} Deprez and Sigurdson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{20} Deprez and Sigurdson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 9.
come to an agreement over construction of a new bridge. It is suggested that the band consider committing some of its economic development funds to the bridge construction and the Department assume most of the capital costs. Some capital cost and responsibility for maintenance might be absorbed by the provinces. It is suggested that the Onion Lake band be given the opportunity to provide the manpower for the bridge construction.

Due to the self-determination and local pride factors in a day labour project, it is recommended that no Indians from other reserves or non-Indians work on the project. If a band wishes to permit other Indians to participate, then it is suggested that this be stated before the project starts. The community may feel that it has failed if outsiders are brought in during a day labour project.

The day labour project permitted the band members to learn and develop at their own rate. Trained outsiders may create feelings of inferiority among the local workers if they are permitted to work together. On this point the findings agree with those of Hawthorn and Bone.

The findings of this study support the Kehewin Benefit Analysis findings vis-a-vis improved homes and yards, more purchases of household items, more budgeting practices and shifts from daily to weekend drinking during the course of a community development project.

The commuting and townsite systems as elaborated by Keily are

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21 Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 55.

22 Bone, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

expensive and disruptive. In this project, only the project supervisor established a temporary residence on the reserve. This assisted in keeping the project cost down.

The findings support the views of Gooderham that a day labour project has as few sub-contracts as possible and is co-ordinated by federal government departments.

The findings of this study support the views of Bone and Canada Manpower that women tend to fill low paying jobs such as cleaning and painting rather than other skilled jobs.

Hawthorn states that a project in an Indian community must overcome sentiments of apathy, resignation and lack of motivation. A few individual cases of this emerged in this study; however, as a general statement, it is not supported by the findings. The band wanted the school, they wanted it built by day labour, and they were most co-operative throughout its construction. Many workmen were evaluated as excellent by the supervisors. The high turnover rate is affected by shortages of work and supplies, untrained workers doing skilled jobs and inexperience in the labour force. It would be unjustified to attribute the high turnover solely to the band members.

24 Ibid.
25 Gooderham, op. cit.
26 Bone, op. cit., p. 7.
28 Hawthorn, op. cit.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It is recommended that similar case studies be applied to other day labour projects on Saskatchewan Indian reserves. More generalizable statements may be made regarding day labour if similar case studies are compared to each other and to the literature.

Further, with the band's permission, it is recommended that another community development study be undertaken on the Seekaskootch reserve. A subsequent study might address longer term effects of the project on Onion Lake. In addition, the perceptions of another researcher would help control for observer bias in this study.

It is recommended that an Indian researcher or research team conduct a similar study. The findings, participant-observations and interpretations of an Indian researcher as to the effects of day labour would reflect an Indian viewpoint of Indian economic development.

A more detailed examination should be given to the effects of reserve development on each thesis question raised in this study. These issues are extremely important and require a variety of perspectives.

It is recommended that a study be conducted to address relationships between on-reserve secondary education and the development of employment opportunities and community development functions.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE USE OF DAY LABOUR

1. The chief and council must participate in all aspects of design, planning and operation of a day labour project.

2. The band leaders, including the welfare administrator, must assist in the recruiting of band members.
3. The Department supervising the project should facilitate the release of funds necessary for each stage of the construction. The Seekaskootch school is still not completed.

4. The project supervisor must have sufficient authority to purchase local materials. This would prevent the postponement of work when orders are late in arriving.

5. There is a need for more on-reserve counselling before and during a day labour project. These counselling areas include budgeting, nutrition, the use of the medical services health unit and alcohol abuse.

6. Canada Manpower and Departmental counsellors should attempt to find employment for day labour trained band members after the project.

7. Additional salary allowances should be provided for workers once they have been trained. This might reduce the high labour force turnover following the training period.

8. Band members should be given the chance to enrol in off-reserve training programs before and during the construction. Canada Manpower and the Department should follow-up on the progress of Indians training or working off-reserve.

9. A general construction skills course should be held just prior to the start of the project. Band members should be paid to attend. This would provide a basic pool from which to recruit workers.

10. The project supervisor in a day labour project should have at least one assistant supervisor or job foreman. Specific responsibilities should be assigned to the assistant leaving the project supervisor more time to deal with day-to-day issues and working with the band.

11. The project supervisor must appreciate the problems he may be faced with. He must be prepared to work with the band leaders and respect
CONCLUSIONS

Based on the findings of this study, the following responses may be made to the question, "What are the effects of a day labour school construction project on the Seekaskootch reserve?"

1. The project has resulted in improved facilities and opportunities for recreational, health care and educational functions in the community.

2. The project created jobs for band members. Associated with these jobs were improvements in construction work skills, opportunities for on-the-job training, and improvements in worker self-confidence in the performance of construction tasks.

3. Due to a day labour project experience, the band is in a better position to proceed with additional projects. The local government has the experience for future project planning and the band has a trained labour force.

4. The project did not bring about lower social assistance totals.

5. Following the project, the band quickly took steps to have additional day labour projects, for example, the curling rink and band administration complex.

6. Band members expressed feelings of pride and happiness in the way the school was built.

7. The project has affected the in-school programs by improving attendance and the number of graduates.

8. The school provides a facility for adult education. The number of culture related courses on the reserve has increased since the
9. The project created jobs for women.

10. Lack of a trained labour force and tradesmen did not affect the quality of workmanship on the school.

11. The project has given the local government additional confidence in its operations. The band is now taking steps to fully implement the Indian control of Indian education policy.

12. The project has resulted in a school facility with an increasing number of band members working in teaching and support services.

13. The project provided a forum for the speaking of Cree in a working and learning situation.

14. The project did not affect the traditional activities of band members.

15. The project was followed with favourable band reactions towards development and day labour.

16. The project was associated with additional amounts of money being spent and saved by band members.

17. The project resulted in general improvements in people's homes, purchasing power and standard of living.

18. The project did not increase the amount of alcohol used by band members. Drinking patterns shifted from daily to weekend usage.

19. The project resulted in a modern, well-equipped school, of equal quality to other schools on or off reserves.

20. The project took three and one-half years to build. This was considered too long by band members and Departmental officers.

21. The project was a learning experience for the band and the
Department. Both parties consider it to be a successful day labour project.

22. The project cost the same or less than some schools built by contract.

By far, the most important characteristic of a day labour project is its community based approach to development. The day labour method permitted local people to build a community facility that they really wanted. This project was locally conceived, planned and constructed. Having successfully accomplished this major task, the band is in a position to confidently plan and proceed with its own development.
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_______, January 10, 1976.


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_______, March 18, 1976.

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APPENDIX A

A Chart Indicating the Development of the Statement of the Problem from the Literature
APPENDIX B

A Chart Showing an Overview of the Descriptive Method of Research and Specific Types of Descriptive Research Used in this Study
Method of Research

The Descriptive Method of Research

Descriptive research involves collecting data in order to test hypotheses or answer questions concerning the status of the subject of the study. A descriptive study determines and reports the way things are. The researcher has no control over what is and can only study what already exists. p. 123.

The categories of the above method which are used in this study

Self-Report Research
In a self-report study, information is solicited from individuals using an instrument; for example, a guided interview instrument. p. 124.

Observational Research
In an observational study, the current status of a phenomenon is determined not by asking but by observing. p. 136.

The types of research used which fall under each category.

Survey Research
A survey is an attempt to collect data from members of a population in order to determine the current status of that population with respect to one or more variables. A sample may be used to infer information about a population. pp. 124-25.

Follow-up Research
A follow-up study is conducted to determine the status of a group after a period of time. The school project may have immediate effects, shorter or longer term effects, or a combination. The post-interviews in this study serve to follow-up on the effects of the school project. p. 127.

Natural Observation
The behaviours of a community may best be observed as they occur naturally. In this case, the researcher purposely controls nothing and attempts to have no effect on the observed situation. p. 136.

The Case Study
A case study is an in-depth investigation of an individual, group or organization. A case study facilitates a discussion of factors and interrelationships. p. 137.

Procedures used for each type of research

Guided Interviews
This is a conversation designed to produce data and information. They are effective in cross-cultural research. Chapter III provides detailed information. pp. 133-35.

Participant-observation
This is a procedure whereby the researcher takes note of a community's activities by being part of the community. Chapter III provides detailed information. pp. 130-41.

An Overview of the Descriptive Method of Research and Specific Types of Descriptive Research Used in this Study

References:
The page references are from L. R. Gay, op. cit.
APPENDIX C

A Chart Showing the Historical Basis and the Organizational, Bureaucratic and Consultation Processes Leading to a Day Labour School Construction Project
The historical basis for federal schools on reserves.

The organizational and bureaucratic processes involved in a day labour school construction project.

The consultation process and project operationalization.

**References:**


APPENDIX D

The Guided Interview Instrument
GUIDED INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Introduction

Hello, my name is Terry Dooner and this is Claudette Harper. We are conducting this study to find out how you feel about the school project and how you feel about education on the reserve. The comments from you and the other people may help other Indian communities which are considering building their own schools.

Your name will not appear on this interview form and the information you give me is strictly private.

There is no correct answer or wrong answer to any of the questions that I will ask you. The only right answer is what you think.

The Chief and council and Indian Affairs have given us permission to conduct this study. They will receive a copy of the study when it’s finished.

The complete interview will take about fifteen minutes.

If you do not understand a question please do not hesitate to tell us in English or Cree.

Note: Indian working sample Q1 to Q34
       Indian non-working sample Q1 to Q7 and Q33.
Q1. Why do you think the school was built using the local people instead of hiring a contractor to do it all?

create jobs ____; provide training ____; generate pride ____;
other ____; undecided ____

Q2. Do you think that the people on the reserve wanted a new school or was it something that Indian Affairs or another agency thought you needed?

Onion Lake band idea ____; Indian Affairs idea ____; other ____;
undecided ____

Q3. Now that the school is finished, do you think that it was a good idea to use the local people in the construction?

Yes ____; No ____; Undecided ____; Other ____

Q4. Do you think that the people on the reserve should be able to use the school for other purposes besides teaching the children?

Yes ____; No ____; Undecided ____

Q5. If yes, what sorts of things do you think the community could use the school for?

adult education ____; meetings ____; socials ____;
recreation ____; undecided ____

Q6. Who do you think should decide what is taught in the school?

province ____; Indian Affairs ____; principal, teachers ____;
parents, band ____; don't know ____; combination ____

Q7. What would you like your children to learn about in school?

social skills ____; Indian culture, languages ____; academic
subjects ____; to get a job ____; undecided ____; other ____

Q8. What was your job on the project?

general construction ____; carpentry ____; drywall ____;
blocklaying ____; painting ____; bricklaying ____; cement ____;
other ____
Q9. Did you do any other jobs on the project?

Yes _____; No _____; Undecided _____

If yes, what other jobs did you do?

______________________________

Q10. How long did you work on the project?

days _____; months _____; weeks _____; years _____; other _____;

undecided _____

Q11. a) How many hours a week did you work?

over 40 _____; 40 _____; 30 to 40 _____; 20 to 30 _____;

under 20 _____; other _____

b) Did you work overtime?

Yes _____; No _____; undecided _____

Q12. Before coming to work on the project, how many different jobs did you have in the previous five years?

1 _____; 2 _____; 3 _____; 4 _____; 5 _____; other _____

Q13. Did you have a job just prior to coming to work on the school?

Yes _____; No _____; undecided _____

Q14. If yes, approximately how much money were you earning from the job, per month?

response $ _____; don't know _____

Q15. Do you like a job with responsibility?

Yes _____; No _____; undecided _____

Q16. What type of work do you like doing least?

machine work _____; ranching _____; office work _____; labour

work _____; concrete _____; tarring _____; don't know _____;

other _____
Q17. What type of work do you like doing the most?
carpentry ____; bricklaying ____; cement ____; painting ____; drywall ____; variety ____; other ____

Q18. Was transportation to and from work a problem for you?
Yes ____; No ____; undecided ____

Q19. How did you get back and forth between where you lived and worked?
walked ____; got a ride ____; drove a motor vehicle ____;
other ____

Q20. How did you feel about the project supervisor?
liked ____; did not like ____; O.K. ____; undecided ____;
other ____

Q21. If you did not like him, why not?
__________________________

Q22. How did you feel about the pay?
good, O.K. ____; not O.K. ____; undecided ____; other ____

Q23. When you receive your pay cheque, do you plan or budget how it will be spent?
budget or do basic planning ____; do not plan or budget ____;
undecided ____; other ____

Q24. If you budget, did you do so before working on the school project?
Yes ____; No ____; undecided ____

Q25. a) Did you spend more money after you started working on the project?
Yes ____; No ____; same ____; undecided ____; other ____

b) Did you save more money after starting to work on the project?
Yes ____; No ____; same ____; undecided ____; other ____
Q26. After starting work on the school project, did you spent more, less or the same amount of money on the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>more $</th>
<th>same</th>
<th>less</th>
<th>before and after</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>trucks, cars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gifts</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>livestock</td>
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<tr>
<td>tools</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machinery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furniture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q27. a) Where do you spent most of your money?

on-reserve ____; off-reserve ____

b) If off-reserve, where do you spend most of it?

Lloydminster ____; North Battleford ____;

nearby towns ____; other ____

Q28. a) Have you ever taken a trade, technical course or upgrading course?

Yes ____; No ____; partly ____; undecided ____

b) If Yes, or partly

What was the course? ________________________________

Where did you take it? ______________________________

How long was it? ________________________________

Did you finish it? ________________________________

Did you get financial assistance? Yes ____; No ____

If yes, from where? ________________________________
Q29. a) Would you be interested in taking more training?
   Yes ____; No ____; undecided ____
   b) If Yes, in what area?
      undecided ____; area ____

Q30. Do you think that having worked on this project will help you get a job somewhere else?
   Yes ____; No ____; undecided ____
   If yes, where?
      on-reserve only ____; off-reserve only ____;
      on and off reserve ____; undecided ____

Q31. If another building is constructed on the reserve, would you be interested in working on it?
   Yes ____; No ____; undecided ____

Q32. On the job, did you speak English and Cree, just English, or just Cree?
   English ____; Cree ____; English and Cree ____

Q33. When you first heard about this project did you think that it was a good idea to build the school using local people?
   Yes ____; No ____; undecided ____; other ____

Q34. Considering that welfare payments are sometimes about the same as what you would make working:
   a) Would you rather work or collect social assistance?
      work ____; social assistance ____; undecided ____
   b) Are you working now?
      Yes ____; No ____; other ____
   c) If no, are you collecting social assistance?
      Yes ____; No ____; other ____
Thank you for answering these questions. Is there anything else you would like to say about the school project, education, or any other subject you've talked about in this interview?

We assure you that the information you have given us will remain confidential. Thank you.
APPENDIX E

A Summary of Educational Facilities and Enrolment Trends in the Seekaskootch Reserve Schools

The entire summary is used with the permission of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College.

The summary is taken from:

ONION LAKE BAND
ONION LAKE RESERVE
ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL

Grades Served K - 3.

Total Enrolment 122

Staff 6 teachers, 2 associate teachers, 1 language instructor.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS 1 permanent, 1 temporary

Building #1
Wood frame construction on a full basement. Built in 1952. 5,500 sq. ft. on main floor.
Accomodates five classrooms, an office, a resource library, washrooms, storage and staff rooms and a 1,480 sq. ft. teacherage.

Building #2
936 sq. ft. mobile, accomodating a single classroom.
Moved on site 1970/71.

Total Area
10,456 sq. ft.

CONDITION OF BUILDINGS

Fire Report
A fire inspection of this school indicates that there are 17 conditions that require correction including construction of fire rated ceilings and walls.
Building #1

The roof has leaks. The Kindergarten room lacks carpeting.

There is a heavy mineral build up around taps, and washroom fixtures are stained.

"No treatment other than two filter tanks probably for iron." (EHO).

"Recommend fluorescent lights be installed in all classrooms." (EHO).

Plumbing leaks in basement.
Somewhat run down and fixtures are worn.

Building #2

Good condition.

ADEQUACY OF FACILITIES

6 Classrooms

Classrooms are 682, 698, 2 - 704, 720 and 810 sq. ft. 5 Classrooms are below the 725 sq. ft. standard. Kindergarten is 750 sq. ft.

Basement, Gymnasium

2,406 sq. ft. Adequate

Staffroom

216 sq. ft. Adequate.

Library/Resource room

720 sq. ft. Small.
The books are not catalogued, there is no charge out desk, no reading pit, or individual study facilities.
It has about 10 books per full time student. The provincial rate is 16.8.
INFRASTRUCTURE

Sewage

"Raw effluent is discharged into Fox lake, about 300 - 400 feet from the school. This does not meet with the DOE Guidelines." (EHO).

PLAYGROUND

"School yard should be further landscaped, completely fenced and weeded out." (EHO).

Some playground equipment is broken and is a safety hazard.

PROGRAM

Regular Academic

Indian Language Instruction

LAYOUT

The location of the school in different buildings decreases communication, supervising and other efficiencies.

(For Teacherage, Enrolment Projection and Conclusion - see Chief Taylor School, Onion Lake.)
ONION LAKE BAND
ONION LAKE RESERVE
ANGLICAN CHURCH SCHOOL

Grades Served 1 - 4

Total Enrolment 97

Staff 4 teachers, 2 associate teachers, 1/2 language instructor.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS 1 permanent, 1 temporary

Building #1
Wood frame construction on a full basement.
Built in 1954, 3,000 sq. ft.
Accommodates 3 classrooms, a library/resource centre,
a physical activities room, and a teacherage.

Building #2
A wood frame mobile moved to site in 1968.
1,104 sq. ft.

Total Area
Approximately 6,400 sq. ft. 66 sq. ft. per student.

CONDITION OF BUILDINGS

Fire escape door in one basement classroom is nailed shut. Two classrooms require fluorescent lighting.
Furnace not kept in repair, the school has shut down three times in the last year because of failure. The mobile is often very cold.
Fire Report

The fire report cites 18 conditions that require correction. The conditions listed below are the more serious.

All exit areas, the entire floor, storage areas and the furnace room in the main school and the portable all lacks adequate fire resistance ratings. The school also lacks a fire alarm system as required by the Dominion Fire Commissioner.

PLAYGROUND

4 acres.

Overgrown and needs landscaping. Good playground equipment.

INFRASTRUCTURE

Water

"Water softener not being used." (EHO).

Mineral build up around the taps. Water pressure is very low.

Sewage


"Numerous problems with school and residences (teacherages) in past years, sewage pumped into school yard and residence occasionally in past winters." (EHO).

ADEQUACY OF FACILITY

4 classrooms

They are 800 sq. ft., 750 sq. ft., 713 sq. ft. and 651 sq. ft.

2 classrooms are below the 725 sq. ft. standard.
Physical Activities room

621 sq. ft. This room is too small to adequately provide for a Physical Activities Program.

Library Resource

616 sq. ft.

The school lacks a staff room and a teacher work room.

LAYOUT

Layout of classrooms into two buildings is not conducive to a smooth running school.

(For Teacherages, Enrolment Projection and Conclusion - see Chief Taylor School, Onion Lake.)
ONION LAKE BAND
ONION LAKE RESERVE
CHIEF TAYLOR SCHOOL

Grades Served 4 - 11.

Total Enrolment 228

Staff 12 teachers, 2 associate teachers, 1/2 language instructor.

SCHOOL BUILDING

1 permanent.

Concrete block and brick construction, built in 1974.

Accomodates 10 classrooms, a gymnasium, an Industrial Arts room, a Home Economics Lab, a Graphic Arts room, a Library/Resource Centre, staff room, administrative offices, and storage rooms.

CONDITION OF BUILDING

New.

The fire inspector cites 12 conditions that require correction.

INFRASTRUCTURE

"Sewage disposal meets DOE Guidelines, water supply and equipment is maintained and works well." (EHO).

"No incinerator. Land fill needed." (EHO).

PLAYGROUND

Estimated to be 3 acres. Regulations under the School Act designate 6 acres as the appropriate area for between 200 and 300 students.
Area not developed.

"No playground equipment." (EHO).

PROGRAM

Regular Academic
Home Economics
Indian Language
Typing
Physical Education
Industrial Arts

ADEQUACY OF FACILITIES

9 Classrooms

Most classrooms are 728 sq. ft. each. Adequate.
22.8 students per room.

Home Economics

1,400 sq. ft. Adequate

Industrial Arts

1,750 sq. ft. Adequate

Library/Resource room.

1,248 sq. ft. includes librarian work room and storage.

According to the provincial Department of Education, this library is small.
Seminar room - 160 sq. ft.
Library office - 160 sq. ft.
Storage - 200 sq. ft.
Audio Visual Work - 180 sq. ft.
Reading Pit - 200 sq. ft.
1,845 sq. ft. would be the area of an adequate library according to the provincial formula.
Graphic Arts

850 sq. ft. Adequate.

Storage

1,678 sq. ft. Adequate

Staff room

210 sq. ft. Inadequate. Too small.
School lacks a dental and health room, an Indian Language Instruction room, a Guidance Counsellor room, and a curriculum preparation area.

Gymnasium

7,844 sq. ft. Includes storage, stage.

Change rooms

1,000 sq. ft.

TEACHERAGES

16 units.
6 units, 2 built in 1971, 3 built in 1975 and 1 built in 1976 are 1,008 sq. ft. 3 bedroom bungalows.
1976 CMHC appraisal; in new and good to very good condition.

4 - 960 sq. ft. 3 bedroom bungalows built in 1965, 1967 and 1968.
1976 CMHC appraisal; good to very good.

1 - 1,480 sq. ft. - 3 bedroom apt. attached to the school.
1976 CMHC appraisal; fair to good.

1 - 720 sq. ft. 2 bedroom house, built in 1956.
1976 CMHC appraisal: fair.
1 - 936 sq. ft. 2 bedroom house built in 1926. 1976 CMHC appraisal; Structural Soundness, good, other categories; fair.

1 - 1,500 sq. ft. 4 bedroom unit attached to the school. 1976 CMHC appraisal; good in all categories.

2 - trailers; 1 - 552 sq. ft., 1 - 624 sq. ft. 1976 CMHC appraisal; good in all categories except appearance which for the larger trailer is fair.

IN FIVE YEARS

The Band Council has indicated in a Band Council Resolution that it wants to increase Grades served to include Nursery and Grade 12.

Community Use

The Band has indicated that it is interested in having a community library as part of the school.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENROLMENT HISTORY as at October</th>
<th>Grade Spread</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971-2</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-3</td>
<td>374</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973-4</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-5</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-6</td>
<td>441</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRESENT POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Grade Spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 Total, Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 40 41 45 36 50 36 54 44 47 46 50 44 40 36 36 32 33 584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 447</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENROLMENT OCT 76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41 55 84 46 60 58 42 20 23 20 6 12 Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECTED ENROLMENT1.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If Grade Spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Without drop-out, enrolment should rise to 613 by 1981-82. DSE feels that drop-out rate at this school will be insignificant in the future.
CONCLUSION

This assessment indicates that a permanent addition should be built onto the present Chief Taylor school to replace present Roman Catholic and Anglican Church school facilities and to provide for facilities presently lacking at Chief Taylor.

At present, two of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Church school buildings are temporary, one permanent building is run down and all building have poor fire ratings. Both schools lack counselling and Health clinic areas; a physical activities room, a staff-room, a teacher workroom, and the two libraries are inadequate; layout of the school is poor; and neither sewage disposal facilities meet DOE Guidelines.

Chief Taylor school lacks a Counselling area, a health clinic, and Indian Language Instruction Room and a curriculum preparation area. With expansion of the number of grades to be served to include Grade 12 another classroom will be required.

The assessment also indicates that the teacherage trailers should be replaced. When the old school buildings with teacherages are no longer used, those teacherages should also be replaced or renovated. Additional teacherages may be required for an increase in instructional staff within the next five years.
APPENDIX F

Statement of Philosophy and Objectives of Education for Onion Lake Schools
PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

An establishment for education should be utilized:

- to help develop each individual to possess a feeling of
  - self worth
  - confidence
  - dignity

- to help develop an understanding and tolerance of his fellowman

- to develop and foster in the student the academic skills he will need to function well in society.

OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION

- proper use of the Provincial program of studies as a guide with
  sufficient allowances made for Native Studies, e.g., arts and
  crafts, singing and dancing, customs, history, etc.

- more community involvement in the school program
  - school committees
  - P.T.A.
  - curriculum committee
  - teacher aides
  - parent-teacher interviews
  - native speakers
  - alcohol and drug workshop
  - evaluation committee

- improve the motivation and incentive of students to develop
  independent learners.

- improve student attendance.

Principal
D. J. Feist
APPENDIX G


The information in this section is from a report by J. W. Francis, Buildings Advisor, Indian and Eskimo Affairs, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Ottawa, 1975.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Project</th>
<th>Designed By</th>
<th>Type of Construction</th>
<th>Consisting of</th>
<th>Cost $</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sq. Ft.</th>
<th>Actual Cost Sq. Ft. $</th>
<th>Adjusted to 1974 Costs $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Onion Lake School</td>
<td>D.I.N.A.</td>
<td>Masonry and Wood</td>
<td>10 classrooms 85 rooms gym, industrial arts, home econ. Science Lab. Library</td>
<td>1,327,600.00</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>33,760</td>
<td>39.32</td>
<td>39.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big River School</td>
<td>D.I.N.A.</td>
<td>Masonry and Wood</td>
<td>10 classrooms Kindergarten, Gym Industrial Arts, Home Econ., Science Lab. Library</td>
<td>1,534,000.00</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>36,490</td>
<td>42.03</td>
<td>42.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wassagamach Man.</td>
<td>D.P.W.</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>8 classrooms Kindergarten, Gym Industrial Arts, Home Economics Science, Library</td>
<td>2,396,600.00</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>37,625</td>
<td>63.70</td>
<td>63.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddle Lake Alta.</td>
<td>D.P.W.</td>
<td>Masonry and Wood</td>
<td>7 classrooms, Gym Kindergarten, Auditorium, Library, Offices</td>
<td>1,545,000.00</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>26,673</td>
<td>61.60</td>
<td>61.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Theresa Point Man.</td>
<td>D.P.W.</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>12 classrooms Kindergarten, Gym Industrial Arts, Home Ec., Science, Library</td>
<td>2,646,200.00</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>41,655</td>
<td>63.50</td>
<td>63.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Project</td>
<td>Designed By</td>
<td>Type of Construction</td>
<td>Consisting of</td>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Sq. Ft.</td>
<td>Actual Cost Sq. Ft.</td>
<td>Adjusted to 1974 Costs $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Frog Lake School Alta.</td>
<td>D.P.W. and Contractors</td>
<td>Masonry and Wood</td>
<td>6 classrooms, Kindergarten, Gym/Auditorium, Library Administration</td>
<td>1,337,000.00</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>24,422</td>
<td>54.70</td>
<td>54.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cold Lake School Alta.</td>
<td>D.P.W. and Contractors</td>
<td>Masonry and Steel</td>
<td>6 classrooms, Kindergarten, Gym/Auditorium Administration</td>
<td>811,871.00</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>21,360</td>
<td>38.10</td>
<td>41.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodfish Lake School Alta.</td>
<td>D.P.W. and Contractors</td>
<td>Masonry and Concrete</td>
<td>Addition to existing school, Classrooms, Gym</td>
<td>613,346.00</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>12,045</td>
<td>51.00</td>
<td>51.00</td>
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</tbody>
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