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NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 5
(First Session, 1967)

CONDITIONS AMONG METIS IN THE N.W.T.

DISPOSITION

Tabled	To Committee	Accepted as Read	Accepted as Amended	Deferred (to Session)	Rejected	Noted not Considered

CONDITIONS AMONG METIS IN THE N.W.T.

Re: Item for Action No. 114

On November 18, 1966, at the 33rd Session of the Northwest Territories Council, Mr. Baker asked that the status of the Metis be examined. He referred to the high level of unemployment among members of this group and urged the adoption of special educational measures to equip them to compete equitably in a wage economy. In this connection, he also referred to the steps taken by the Province of Alberta to improve Metis housing and to prepare them for employment.

A study of conditions among the Metis has been underway for some time. In 1963 Professor Richard Slobodin began a special research project on the Metis of the Mackenzie District. This study was carried out under the auspices of the Department's Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre and dealt with virtually all aspects of Metis life. Professor Slobodin's research has now been completed and his report is scheduled for publication in the near future. In addition, and on a much broader scale, the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre initiated in 1965 an extensive study of social and economic conditions among all peoples living in the Mackenzie Delta area. The Mackenzie Delta was chosen as the starting point in the research because it was found to contain in microcosm virtually all peoples, social and economic conditions and natural resources that one could expect to encounter anywhere in the Territories. The problems facing the Metis in the area are an important aspect of the research. The findings of this study and those of Professor Slobodin will be more or less valid for Metis people living throughout the Territories.

The Department's research program will continue over the next several years. By that time a reasonably complete picture of conditions in the Territories will be available, as a basis for future policy and program development.

Even a superficial analysis of the findings to date, however, seems to indicate that many Metis people in the Territories (as elsewhere in Canada) face a unique set of problems, which derive in large measure from the historical tendency of governments to slot people into neat ethnic boxes and to develop assistance programs along these lines. The end effect of this situation, as Mr. Baker points out, is plainly one of unequal opportunity in certain areas of need which handicaps a sizeable portion of the Metis group.

These findings do not come as any startlingly new revelation. Rather, they tend to confirm what was only incompletely understood before and they serve to highlight areas where greater effort is required. Both the Northern Administration Branch and the N.W.T. Council have been conscious of this state of affairs for some time and have been attempting to find suitable solutions. If one examines what has been achieved to date in this connection in the Territories, and compares it with the situation in many of the provinces, one has to conclude that considerable progress has been made in the North. The direction is right and the Governments are encouragingly close to realizing the kind of governmental philosophy, structures and programs ultimately required to deal effectively with problems of this kind.

On the matter of the philosophy of approach, the Northern Administration Branch long ago discarded the idea that the administrative solution to the problem of unequal opportunity

affecting Metis people lay in the enactment of a "Metis Act"-- an act which would give the Metis a legal status comparable to that of Indians. Apart from the almost impossible task of defining legally what a "Metis" is, it is recognized that any measure which would have the effect of setting apart a group of Canadians on ethnic grounds and according them in law special status and special privileges, would be a retrograde step not in the best interests of the people involved or of the country as a whole.

Over the past ten years the approach of the N.W.T. Council and the Northern Administration Branch on this matter has been in the opposite direction. It has been to work towards the objective of providing equal opportunity in all areas of human endeavour for all people in the Territories in a way that tends to play down rather than build up ethnic differences. This has meant working towards uniformity of programs and standards of assistance for all and ultimately towards a unified public administration under the aegis of the Territorial Government.

Significant strides have been made along this road over the years, although the pace of change may not always have measured up to expectations. Federal and Territorial Government programs in the field of social welfare are now almost completely uniform. They apply equally to all residents of the Territories and are administered by the same staff. The same is true in the field of education, which is one of the areas of concern to Mr. Baker.

Programs in the field of economic and social development, including the matter of housing, still show evidence of a differential in the benefits and opportunities available to the various ethnic groups, but in some instances at least this is more apparent than real.

It is difficult to know with precision the extent to which the Metis avail themselves of the opportunities that already exist. In connection with education, for example, the Federal staff, as a matter of policy, do not designate "Metis" as a separate ethnic group in statistical reporting. Members of this group show up in the statistics as "Others", a designation which includes all persons other than Indians and Eskimos. Federal staff in the field, however, have indicated that proportionately fewer people, who by their own definition regard themselves as "Metis", seem to take advantage of vocational and special education or apply for wage employment through Northern Administration Branch placement officers, as compared with Indians and Eskimos. This would seem to suggest, as Mr. Baker points out, that special attention needs to be given to this group, not because they are "Metis", but because their problems are obviously not being solved by existing measures. The planned expansion of the adult education program should make it possible to give this matter further attention,

Government programs of assistance in the field of housing is one area in which Metis people plainly have ~~not~~ enjoyed equal opportunity with Eskimos and Indians, as Mr. Baker has stated. The disparity affects not only Metis but that entire segment of the population for whom the Territorial Government is primarily responsible. However, proposals will be placed before Council at this Session to deal specifically with this matter and provide for an integrated approach to the housing needs of all Territorial residents.

Finally, there is the area of government programs aimed at encouraging the economic, social and political development of northern communities in which disparity among government programs is still in evidence. Such programs include development funds, special low interest loans and credit provisions and other forms of technical and financial aid to local councils. Federal and Territorial attention to this entire area of assistance goes back several years. Sessional Paper No. 8, 1963 (First Session) "Social Benefit Programs for Residents of the N.W.T." is attached as Appendix 1. Since that time a Community Development Fund has been set up by the Territorial Government which parallels those of the Northern Administration and Indian Affairs Branches and which benefits Metis as well as other non-Indian and non-Eskimo residents of the Territories. In practice, the development funds of both Branches have been applied to projects undertaken in mixed ethnic communities without undue attention to the ethnic status of recipients and where the majority are obviously the responsibility of the Federal Government. Lack of attention to some predominantly Metis communities does not derive from any unwillingness to apply federal funds to benefit persons who are primarily the responsibility of the Territorial Government, but rather is a result of limited financial and staff resources which has dictated the need to set rather stringent priorities. In this connection the Northern Administration Branch has under review comprehensive proposals for economic development in the North which if adapted would take care of many of the inconsistencies that still remain.

Virtually all of the problem areas alluded to in Mr. Baker's comments about Metis in the Territories are in fact being given considerable attention. Council should give its full support to the extensive studies of Professor Richard Slobodin and the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre and the measures now underway or about to be undertaken which will create equal opportunities for all ethnic groups in the Territories.

APPENDIX I

SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 8, 1963 (First Session)

SOCIAL BENEFIT PROGRAMS FOR RESIDENTS OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

INTRODUCTION

The distribution of administrative responsibility for Indian, Eskimo, and "white status" residents of the Northwest Territories between the Indian Affairs Branch, the Northern Administration Branch and the Territorial Government has led to differential development in governmental programs for the improvement of the physical, social, and economic conditions of each group. However much this differential development may have been dictated by historical necessity, it now seems clear that current social and economic forces in the Territories, and in the country at large, are impelling with equal force the integration and unification of government activities for persons in the Territories. The Council's awareness of this need for integration is reflected in the concern that has been expressed over the disparity in benefits available to each ethnic group. The purpose of this paper is twofold: to set out the benefits in order that the disparity may be evaluated, and to suggest certain broad guides for action which may help to reduce inequities.

In general, it may be said that the discrepancies that exist in the benefits available to each group are, for the most part, more apparent than real. Nevertheless, the fact that anomalies do exist, and that action is contemplated to redress them, poses a critical question of method. If further and even more severe social disharmony between ethnic groups is to be avoided, the removal of inequities cannot be accomplished simply by one agency or the other taking unilateral action to supply the missing benefits to its group. The implicit danger of this procedure is that the elaborate structure of benefit programs results in heavy financial and emotional investment on the part of sponsoring agencies. Structures based upon ethnic separation tend to perpetuate the separation. If the Territories is to develop as an integral unit, social action must strive to reduce ethnic separation - not to reinforce it.

The danger of perpetuating ethnic separation is hardly obvious when an individual program provided for one group is compared with its equivalent (or the lack of it) for another group. It becomes considerably clearer, however, if the full range of benefit programs is examined. For this reason, a discursive consideration of the subject has been undertaken. Programs only providing direct welfare benefit, and those which provide generally for the well-being of persons in the Territories will be described.

WELFARE PROGRAMS

The Family Allowances and Old Age Security programs, under which the Government of Canada provides direct payments to eligible persons throughout the country, are available to Indian, Eskimo, and "white status" residents of the Territories on an equal basis. In the fiscal year 1961-62, approximately \$750,000 in family allowances was paid to families in the Northwest Territories (\$140,000 to

Indians, \$310,000 to Eskimos and \$300,000 to "white status" persons). In the same year, an estimated \$230,000 was paid to recipients of Old Age Security in the Northwest Territories, (\$124,000 to Indians, \$45,000 to Eskimos and \$61,000 to "white status" persons). The Territorial Government makes no contribution to these programs.

The Territorial Government has established welfare programs including Old Age Assistance, Disabled Persons Allowances and Blind Persons Allowances, which are available to all residents of the Territories. In the fiscal year 1961-62 a total of \$138,000 was paid to residents under these programs, (approximately \$69,000 to Indians, \$59,000 to Eskimos and \$10,000 to "white status" residents). The Territorial Government makes these payments out of its general revenues, and recovers specific percentages of the amounts expended under the programs from the Department of National Health and Welfare. The Territorial Government thus meets from its own tax revenues the same share of the payments made to "white status" residents as is the case in the provinces.

In addition to the welfare benefits provided equally to all ethnic groups in the Territories by the Government of Canada, or by the Government of Canada and the Government of the Northwest Territories, a number of welfare services are provided separately, on an approximately equal basis, to each ethnic group by the government agency responsible for the group, i.e., Indian Affairs Branch for Indians, Northern Administration Branch for Eskimos, and the Territorial Government for persons of "white status". These include: child welfare services; rehabilitation services; special institutional care for deaf, blind and retarded persons; institutional services for the aged, and boarding home care for elderly adults. Child Welfare and Rehabilitation services are supplied to all ethnic groups, either by the Territorial Government or by the Northern Administration Branch, with appropriate charges made to the responsible agency.

The social assistance, or relief, programs which are operated separately by the various governmental agencies also provide approximately equal benefits to the other ethnic groups. The differences in these programs warrant more detailed description.

Social Assistance and Relief

Social Assistance provides for the maintenance of persons whose own income or resources in the form of cash or country-food or both is insufficient to maintain them at a reasonable standard of health and decency. The social assistance programs for Eskimos and "white status" persons are identical, and resemble reasonably closely the program for Indians. The following examples illustrate this:

Example 1 - A man, his wife, and two children aged four and two years live in their own home in Aklavik. The father is medically unfit for work and cannot hunt, and the family has no income apart from Family Allowances. The home is heated by an oil stove which costs \$20.00 a month to operate.

Indian Affairs Branch Relief Program

- a) \$88.00 monthly (\$68.00 for food and \$20.00 for fuel).
- b) clothing, household equipment and other needed items provided, when required, at the discretion of local officers.

Social Assistance Program for Eskimos and "White Status" Persons

- a) \$130.00 a month (\$110.00 for food, household supplies, and personal care items, and \$20.00 a month for fuel).

- b) clothing as required to a maximum of \$335.00 a year.
- c) household equipment and other needed items provided, when required, at the discretion of local officers.

Example II - A widow (or unmarried woman) with a two-year old child, lives in Fort Simpson with married friends. She is unable to work and has no income apart from Family Allowances.

Indian Affairs Branch Relief Program

- a) \$34.00 a month for food.
- b) clothing, household equipment and other needed items provided when required, at the discretion of local officers.

Social Assistance Programs for Eskimos and Territorial Residents

- a) \$45.00 a month for food, household supplies, and personal care items.
- b) clothing as required to a maximum of \$155.00 a year.
- c) household equipment and other needed items provided when required, at the discretion of local officers.

Example III - A man and wife and their child, aged twelve years, live in their own home in Fort Smith. At the time of their application for assistance, the hunting is poor but the father earns \$20.00 a month in casual labour. There is no other income in the home except Family Allowances, although the family can supply fuel for the home by gathering wood.

Indian Affairs Branch Relief Program

- a) \$49.00 a month for food.
- b) clothing, household equipment and other needed items provided when required at the discretion of local officers.

Social Assistance Programs for Eskimos and Territorial Residents

- a) \$65.00 a month for food, household supplies, and personal care items.
- b) clothing as required to a maximum of \$290.00 a year.
- c) household equipment and other needed items provided when required, at the discretion of local officers.

From these examples, it may be seen that both programs - relief for Indians and social assistance for "white status" residents and Eskimos - provide much the same sort of benefits to recipients (i.e. food, shelter, clothing, and other basic essentials). The criteria for eligibility, moreover, are almost identical (i.e., assistance is given for the same reasons). In addition, both programs are based on the principle of meeting any gap which may exist between what the recipient has, in terms of cash income or other resources, and what he actually needs in order to maintain himself and his family at a reasonable standard of adequacy. (This is known as the "budget deficiency" system). Both programs also allow local administrators a good deal of discretion. The main differences between the two programs are as follows:

a) The definition of a "reasonable standard of adequacy"

Both the relief program for Indians, and the social assistance program for Eskimos and "white status" persons provide recipients with a voucher for purchases. The social assistance program for Eskimos and "white status" persons, however, evaluates the groceries (i.e., the food, household supplies, and personal care items) required to maintain a reasonable standard of adequacy at a somewhat higher standard than does the relief program for Indians. In the program for Eskimos and "white status" persons, the amount of social assistance given is based on the actual cost of providing the minimum adequate diet prescribed by Northern Health Services, and is varied from location to location according to the local cost of food and other items. The social assistance voucher also includes a small amount to be used for the purchase of certain essential household supplies and personal care items, such as soap and sanitary supplies.

The Indian relief voucher is intended to provide food only, and is thus smaller in amount. Relief rates for Indians in the Territories are influenced by certain factors which do not affect the rates for social assistance to Eskimos and "white status" residents. Rates for Indians in the Northwest Territories, for example, must be related to the amounts paid to Indians in other parts of Canada, who may live in extremely varied circumstances. The necessity to provide a uniform system to cover a wide range of Indian needs throughout the country results inevitably in certain compromises; and one of these is a somewhat lower rate for groceries in the Northwest Territories. The difference between the rates for Indians in the Territories and those for Eskimos and "white status" residents is being reviewed by the Indian Affairs Branch.

b) "Cash Form" payments

In most locations, Indian relief is paid in cash form. A voucher is made out to the individual recipient for a total dollar value to cover all his needs. The Indian recipient, for example, receives a voucher authorizing him to buy \$75.00 worth of unspecified goods. He is thus able to exercise his own good judgment and responsibility to choose not only where he will shop, but also just how he will apportion his purchases on food, clothing, etc. Under the social assistance program for Eskimos and "white status" residents, the recipient has less freedom of choice. The voucher he receives may be for a total of \$75.00, but purchases are restricted to stipulated items in stipulated amounts - so much for groceries, so much for clothing and so on. He may not, for instance, spend a little less on clothing and apply the savings to the purchase of more food. This aspect of the social assistance program is now under review.

c) "Grubstaking"

One further, and more significant difference between the two programs is apparent in the system of "grubstaking", i.e. the provision of supplies and equipment which may help individual recipients to regain financial independence. Help of this sort is given to individual "white status" residents and Eskimos under the welfare program. Large-scale assistance to groups of Eskimos, is given through economic development programs. No similar provision is made for assisting "white status" residents.

There are several reasons for grubstaking individuals through the welfare program rather than through economic development programs. One of the major considerations is that it is not just impractical, but is actually harmful to the individual and to the welfare program if persons in need are categorized as those who are capable of recovering financial independence and those who are not, and placed on different "economic" and "welfare" programs according to their category.

A sound social assistance program can only be created and maintained if it embodies within it provisions for enabling all recipients to rehabilitate themselves whenever this is possible. The provisions to help individual cases must moreover be an integral part of the welfare programs, for if they are not, social assistance becomes simply a pension program, narrow in concept and destructive to the persons who are supposed to benefit from it.

Individuals regain financial independence outside an organized group project through a process involving support and counselling over what may be a long period of time. Temporary setbacks are inevitable; the amount and type of help given must fluctuate accordingly. Those who provide this help can learn to gauge the amount and type of help required, and employ the necessary flexibility in supplying it, only if the helping process and the resources necessary for it are provided within the same program. Large-scale help to groups requires techniques in organization that can be provided much more effectively under a program of economic development.

The Indian Affairs Branch policy in regard to "grubstaking" has undergone a significant change in recent years. Until the beginning of 1960 the activities designed to help Indians make a better living were administered mainly by the Welfare Division. When it became apparent that these programs needed to be intensified, and other programs introduced, a separate division of economic development was established. Assistance to individual Indians in the form of materials, supplies, and equipment in order to assist them to maintain or regain financial independence is thus carried on under the economic development program, while the relief program provides the basic material requirements for subsistence.

OTHER PROGRAMS CONDUCTIVE TO GENERAL WELFARE

The major difference between the benefits available to the three groups in the Territories is not in the respective welfare programs, but in the supplementary benefits available to indigents and the marginally independent. These additional benefits include housing, loans, and economic development services.

Housing

Governmental action to provide public housing in the Northwest Territories has been undertaken only by the Indian Affairs Branch and by the Northern Administration Branch. The Territorial Government has not financed any housing construction in the Territories and, prior to the current year, has not participated directly in any scheme for providing housing to persons in need. In the current year, the Northern Administration Branch is constructing six log houses in Fort Smith, as a vocational training project. On completion, these buildings will be occupied by indigent "white status" persons. Monthly rents, based on the cost of the buildings, will be paid to the Northern Administration Branch from Territorial Government welfare funds. The Territorial Government has, moreover, set funds aside, and passed the necessary legislation, to introduce a program which will permit Territorial residents to construct low-cost housing. This program has just begun.

The housing programs operated by the Indian Affairs Branch and by the Northern Administration Branch differ in certain respects, and for this reason will be described separately. Both programs are modified continually to keep abreast of changing conditions and, within the last year, the need for a uniform housing program to meet the requirements of all persons in the Territories was recognized. A number of meetings have been held and the initial steps have been taken to resolve the differences in the housing programs of the Northern Administration and Indian Affairs Branches. The objective is to develop a housing program which will provide equal benefits to all persons in the Territories, irrespective of ethnic status.

(a) Eskimo Housing Program

In 1956 and 1957, a number of houses of the 512 design, (16' x 32') were constructed at various Arctic locations and subsequently rented to Eskimo employees of the Department of Northern Affairs at a maximum monthly rate of \$51.00 including furniture and services. Some of these persons later became unemployed, or left government employ for other work, and continued to occupy their accommodation. Those with an income pay rent, those without do not. Some forty of the buildings now have Eskimo tenants.

Subsequent to the construction of Inuvik, 52 of the 512 design buildings taken over from the contractors were reserved for private occupancy. The buildings have since been occupied on a hire-purchase basis by local residents. Complete information on such matters as the ethnic status of the tenants, the number of persons who have completed purchase, and the number of persons whose rent is being paid from welfare funds will be obtained in a survey to be conducted this year.

From 1958 to 1961, by agreement with the Federal Electric Corporation, the Northern Admin. Branch erected some 95 buildings on various DEW Line sites to accommodate the families of Eskimo DEW Line employees. These buildings are owned by the Crown and rented to the tenants.

In 1959-60 the Northern Administration Branch introduced a low-cost housing program for low-income and indigent Eskimo families, which is still in operation. Initially, it provided Eskimos who were financially capable of purchasing homes with a one-room building of a design known as the "Rigid frame", (12' x 20'). The erected cost to the purchaser varied, depending upon freight costs, but was between \$600 and \$900. In the same year, a prefabricated one-room house of 240 square feet floor space, costing approximately \$1,000 erected, was introduced on an experimental basis. Eskimos in urgent need of housing, whose income was insufficient to enable them to purchase it, were provided either with a rigid frame home or a prefabricated unit, free of charge. By the end of the fiscal year, 72 rigid frame units had been erected for purchase and 3 for welfare purposes. In addition, 11 prefabricated houses were occupied by welfare recipients.

None of the buildings provided in the 1959-60 fiscal year were erected in the Mackenzie District. In that year the Administrator of the Mackenzie recommended that any welfare housing to be provided in the District be constructed by local labour, of locally available materials, according to designs accepted as satisfactory by local residents. A design for a suitable log house was developed, and in the 1960-61 fiscal year, 2 of these buildings were constructed in Aklavik for Eskimo welfare cases. In addition, the design of the preceding years' prefabricated unit was improved at an additional cost of \$200 to \$500 per unit (raising the cost to between \$1,200 and \$1,500 erected). Four of these houses were constructed in the Mackenzie District for welfare use, making a total of six welfare houses for that year in the Mackenzie District. No houses were provided for purchase in the Mackenzie District in 1960-61. Elsewhere in the Territories, 32 rigid frame units were provided for Eskimo purchasers and 25 for welfare recipients. Thirteen prefabricated houses were built for welfare recipients.

In 1961-62, a subsidy of \$1,000 from Federal funds was made available to all prospective Eskimo home builders. This subsidy combined with the builder's contribution of labour considerably reduced the cost of purchasing a house. The cash portion of the builder's contribution could, in addition, be financed through the Eskimo Loan Fund. In that year, no homes were erected for purchase in the Mackenzie, although 21 log houses were constructed

in the District for Eskimo welfare recipients. Elsewhere in the Territories, 47 of the still-further-improved prefabricated homes were erected for prospective Eskimo purchasers (average cost about \$1,500) and an additional 59 were provided for Eskimo welfare recipients. No rigid frame units were erected during that year, and none have since been constructed for housing.

In 1962-63, the prefabricated unit was again improved, increasing the erected cost to an average of about \$2,000. The Mackenzie will receive 15 prefabricated units for purchase by Eskimos this year. No prefabricated homes will be erected for welfare recipients in the Mackenzie, but 12 log houses are tentatively planned for various locations. Elsewhere in the Territories, 77 prefabricated units and 15 buildings of another design will be supplied to Eskimo purchasers, while 16 prefabricated units will be erected for Eskimo welfare recipients.

In its four years of operation, the Northern Administration Branch housing program has provided 424 houses for Eskimos in the Northwest Territories, 258 for purchase and 166 for welfare recipients. The Mackenzie District has received 54, 15 for purchase and 39 for welfare recipients.

(b) Indian Housing Program

Indians living in the Northwest Territories are assisted to improve their housing conditions on the same basis as are Indians who live on reserves or in settlements elsewhere in Canada. Applicants recommended for assistance from the Branch in building their homes are selected on a priority basis, after a review of each case. Houses may be built in accordance with plans that have been developed locally to meet particular climatic conditions or builders may use one of a number of plans prepared by the Branch. Particular care is taken to ensure that the house will be of adequate size to meet the family's needs.

In the four-year period from 1958-59 to 1961-62, Indian Affairs Branch has assisted in the construction of 239 homes for Indians in the Northwest Territories (all of them, of course, in the Mackenzie District). These range from log cabins built almost entirely by the Indians themselves, to frame houses that have been constructed in more accessible areas, or in areas adjacent to non-Indian communities. The Indian Affairs Branch's share of individual building costs has ranged from \$300 to \$4,000, depending upon the type of construction and the amount of the builder's contribution. The Indian's contribution may be made in the form of cash, building materials, or labour.

Because of the flexibility of the program for Indians, direct comparison with the Eskimo housing program is difficult, but some idea of the benefits available to Indians may be gained from the following cases which are selected at random:

- 1) In fort McPherson, a log house 20' x 24', was constructed for a family of eight at a cost of \$2,200. Material provided by the Branch was valued at \$1,200. The builder contributed labour which was valued at \$200, and he provided a cash payment of \$800, as well.
- 2) A frame house, 20' x 24', was constructed at Fort Norman for a family of eight at a cost of \$3,175. Material provided by the Indian Affairs Branch was valued at \$2,275, the owner contributed labour to the value of \$600, and cash in the amount of \$300.

- 3) A frame house, 24' x 26', was constructed at Fort Resolution for a family of six, at a cost of \$4,850. Material provided by the Indian Affairs Branch was valued at \$3,600, the builder contributed his labour, which was valued at \$1,000 and made a cash contribution, as well, of \$250.
- 4) A frame house, 20' x 24', was erected at Fort Simpson for a family of nine at a total cost of \$2,700. Material provided by the Indian Affairs Branch was valued at \$1,000, while the builder contributed the balance of \$1,700 in cash.

Credit Programs

Both the Indian Affairs Branch and the Northern Administration Branch have established loan funds for the benefit of Indians and Eskimos, respectively, and somewhat varying use is made of these by persons residing in the Territories. The Territorial Government makes no similar provision, but recently it has established a small special fund to assist "white status" trappers. In addition, the Territorial Government is considering a proposal to establish another, much larger, fund to provide housing loans, (mentioned in the section on housing).

(a) Indian Credit Programs

Under the Regulations of the Indian Act, a revolving fund of \$1,000,000 has been established for the purpose of providing loans to Registered Indians in Canada. These loans are intended primarily for the purchase of farm implements, machinery, livestock, motor vehicles, gasoline and petroleum products, fishing equipment, seed grain, fencing materials, materials for native handicrafts, and for other equipment. Also included are funds for repairs, for the payment of wages, and for the clearing and breaking of land within reserves.

Loans to individuals may not exceed \$10,000, and run for a maximum of twenty years at an interest rate of 5% per annum. The duration of individual loans depends upon such factors as the depreciation of the article for which the loan was intended, but usually does not exceed five years. In certain cases, a Band or a group of Indians may exceed this amount with Ministerial approval. Loans of \$25,000 have been made under this provision. At the present time, 632 loans, representing \$1,000,000 invested funds are in force throughout Canada. As a rule, individual loans run from \$200 to \$5,000, but probably average about \$1,000. Two loans are in force for Indians in the Territories. A loan of \$400 was made for the purchase of barber shop equipment; the other, for \$140, for the purchase of an outboard motor.

In addition to the Indian loans cited above, the Indian Affairs Branch provides funds to individuals and groups on a repayable basis under its economic development program, for the establishment and development of commercial enterprises or activities. This program is described in greater detail below under the heading of "economic development".

(b) Eskimo Loan Fund

In 1953, an Eskimo Loan Fund in the amount of \$50,000 was established for the purpose of assisting Eskimos to organize economic projects. This amount was increased by a further \$100,000 in 1954-55 to meet a heavy demand for loans to Eskimos setting up trading business, and to provide loans for the purchase of housing. An additional \$100,000 was provided in 1961-62 to cover loans for

the purchase of low-cost housing, but most of this money was used to satisfy the demands of co-operatives and other groups. Accordingly, a further \$100,000 was provided in the current year. The Fund now stands at \$350,000, and a request to increase this total to \$600,000 is now being considered.

Loans may be made to individuals in amounts not exceeding \$10,000; to groups of two, three, or four Eskimos in amounts not exceeding \$15,000; to groups of more than four in amounts not exceeding \$25,000; and to co-operative associations in amounts not exceeding \$50,000. Loans to individuals and groups are made for a maximum period of five years, but those to co-operatives may run to ten years. All loans bear an interest rate of 5% per annum.

Loans may be made for the purchase of tools, materials and stock in trade necessary for engaging in any gainful occupation. They may also be made to cover the costs of construction, purchase, repair, and reconditioning of vehicles or buildings; for the purchase, repair and reconditioning of furnishings, engines, and other machinery; and for the purchase of food and camping supplies. In addition, the formation of co-operatives, and the purchase of shares and memberships in them, may be financed with loans from the Fund.

Since the inception of the Fund, 65 loans have been issued for a total of \$250,000, and applications have been approved for the balance of \$100,000 to be used by a co-operative, for a further loan to a trading store, and for the purchase of boats and motors for a number of individuals. Heavy demands are also expected to be made for loans for the purchase of a considerable number of low-cost houses.

Nearly two-thirds of the loans now in force have been made in the last eighteen months. Accordingly, relatively few loans have been retired. Of the \$250,000 loaned since 1957, some \$24,000 has already been repaid (i.e., about ten per cent). In only one case has a loan been defaulted.

(c) Territorial Assistance to Trappers

In 1961 the Territorial Council appropriated \$5,000 to establish a Fund to provide repayable advances to persons of "white status" who require assistance to engage in trapping activities. In 1962-63, a further \$5,000 was added to the Fund.

Loans are provided primarily for the purchase of food, equipment, and other necessary items. A ceiling of \$400 is set on loans but, in most cases, less than \$300 is required. No interest is charged and loans are expected to be repaid within the year from trapping returns.

In its first year of operation, loans totalling slightly more than \$2,500 were made to 23 trappers in six separate areas. By the end of the following June, nine trappers had repaid their loans in full, (a total of \$1,000). Another four had made partial repayments ranging from 15% to 65% of their original advances. The value of the fur taken by the trappers receiving assistance under the plan amounted to more than \$14,500.

Economic Development Programs

There is a prevailing opinion that economic development programs in the Territories are undertaken mainly by the two federal departments and that Indians and Eskimos are the prime beneficiaries. This point of view overlooks the sizable contribution made by the Territorial Government toward the well-being of all residents through its development programs. Probably the major reason for the misconception is that the Territorial Government's contribution, like the iceberg, presents a deceptive appearance - with the largest part lying below the level of a casual observer's attention. Nevertheless, the structure

of practical housekeeping services - physical planning, fire services, wildlife programs, road construction, municipal development, and many others - provide a solid base of essential services without which none of the ancillary programs of economic development provided by the federal departments for Indians and Eskimos could be effectively operated.

No attempt will be made to describe the variety and scope, or the costs of these services provided by the Territorial Government, or to compare them in these respects with the economic development programs operated by the federal departments. In a broad sense, however, cognizance must be taken of the fact that activities which promote the physical, economic, and social development of the Territories are undertaken by all three government agencies - The Territorial Government, the Indian Affairs Branch and the Northern Administration Branch - either alone or in conjunction with each other. Moreover, all ethnic groups benefit from these programs, although not necessarily equally.

The inequality in benefits derives chiefly from the fact that each of the two federal departments operate certain "status-oriented" programs of economic development, which provide benefits to the ethnic group for which it is responsible, and from which the other two groups are excluded. The clearest illustration of this is in the Indian Affairs Branch programs. The same characteristic occurs, however, in programs undertaken by the Northern Administration Branch for Eskimos, although the Northern Administration Branch contributes directly and substantially to the "housekeeping services" of the Territorial Government.

Generally speaking, the Territorial Government does not provide "status-oriented" economic development programs, and in this respect it differs from the two federal departments. Certain of the physical development services sponsored by the Territorial Government provide for Indian or Eskimo needs only on the basis that the costs of meeting those needs are met by the federal department concerned (as seen, for example, in the provision of water and sewer services). Other Territorial development programs, such as community fire protection and road construction are provided irrespective of the ethnic composition of the communities concerned. The decision of where and when a project will be undertaken may be influenced by the number of "white status" persons in the settlement under consideration.

The economic development programs operated by the two federal departments specifically for Indians and Eskimos make provision generally for the stimulation, initiation, or support of economic activities which will enhance the ability of individuals or groups of individuals to regain or to maintain their economic independence. The primary goal of the programs is the immediate and direct benefit to the individuals involved in them, while the fact that they contribute to the general improvement of the north is a secondary benefit. Territorial development programs, on the other hand, might be said to have a primary effect on the general, physical and economic conditions in the north, with advantage accruing to specific individuals as a secondary benefit. Exceptions to this general statement are the Territorial Government's program of winter works, which falls mid-way between a general development program and an individual benefit program, and will for this reason be described below. Another exception, inasmuch as it does not fit the rule that federal departments engage in development programs for individuals, is seen in the programs in which the Northern Administration Branch is the agency through which the Federal Government assists the Territorial Government in Territorial development. These programs lie outside the scope of this paper, and will not be described.

(a) Territorial Municipal Winter Works Incentive Program

Since 1958 the Territorial Government has participated annually in winter works incentive programs, a Federal-Provincial-Municipal plan to stimulate winter employment. It is designed to encourage communities to create additional employment during the winter months through the carrying out of needed public works that would not be undertaken in the absence of the program. Under the program, the Federal Government (through the Department of Labour) pays half of the direct payroll costs of the part of the projects carried out during the effective times of the program. Projects that may qualify include any capital undertaking except work on schools and school grounds, hospitals and hospital grounds and municipally-owned buildings to be used for industrial or business purposes under private auspices. Preference is given to projects providing the greatest amount of employment, and priority is given to projects in areas where winter unemployment is particularly high. The program is in effect for six and a half months of the year, from October 15th to April 30th.

The extent of this program in the Territories during the four years of operation from 1958 to 1962 (inclusive) can be seen from the following table:

Municipal Winter Works Incentive Program - Northwest Territories - 1958-1962 (inclusive)

	<u>1958-59</u>	<u>1959-60</u>	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Number of projects approved	8	1	8	19	36
Estimated total cost of projects (000's)	48	2	20	54	125
Estimated total labour cost of projects (000's)	24	2	9	45	80
Estimated cost of projects during period of program (000's)	38	3	20	54	115
Estimated labour cost of projects during period of program (000's)	23	2	9	45	79
Estimated Federal Government's share of labour cost (000's)	11	1	4	22	38
Estimated number of men hired	96	10	62	191	359

Communities which have benefited under this scheme include: Aklavik, Fort Franklin, Fort Good Hope, Hay River, Inuvik, Lac la Martre, Fort Providence, Rae, Fort Simpson, Fort Smith, Yellowknife and Tuktoyaktuk.

Typical projects undertaken through the program are: ditching and landscaping, the clearing of brush for roads, road allowances, trails, firebreaks and picnic grounds, the demolition or relocation of buildings, and the construction of skating rinks and other recreational facilities.

(b) Departmental Programs of Economic Development for Eskimos

The development programs that have been undertaken by the Northern Administration Branch have been generally in areas where economic problems facing the Eskimo people have been most severe. The programs, in the main, assist Eskimos to make more effective use of renewable resources. They have three broad objectives: to improve methods of local resource harvesting and storage; to establish commercial enterprises based on renewable resources; and to help the Eskimo people develop a physical and emotional investment in their development by involving them in the planning and carrying out of programs and by helping them, through a system of co-operative education, to operate their industries independently.

These objectives are accomplished through research programs which evaluate economic potential, in both human and physical terms, and lead to the formulation of concrete recommendations for useful resource development. These recommendations then form the basis for discussion with those Eskimos who are directly concerned. In the course of these discussions, projects based on the research recommendations are presented for consideration, and plans developed for undertaking them.

If the projects take the form of commercial enterprises, they may be initiated as co-operatives, financed through the Eskimo Loan Fund, or they may be directly financed by the Northern Administration Branch and later turned over to the people involved. Apart from financial help, the Northern Administration Branch's main contribution takes the form of technical assistance, training and supervision. This contribution gradually diminishes as the people gain competence and skill in managing the enterprise.

Projects which do not take the form of commercial ventures are less formally organized and supervised. Such projects are designed primarily to improve the efficiency of individual hunters or groups of hunters in order to help them to live more adequately from the exploitation of existing renewable resources. Assistance in projects of this sort is provided primarily in the form of technical assistance, training, education and supervision. Necessary equipment and supplies may be made available initially by the Northern Administration Branch. When the project has proven its value, local participants are required to make suitable arrangements for renting or purchasing the equipment. If they are unable to do this either from their own resources or from the Eskimo Loan Fund, they may be helped to purchase needed items through social assistance.

Typical projects sponsored through the Northern Administration Branch economic development program are: fisheries, whaling, logging and milling, arts and crafts production, canoe building, food processing, and the establishment of retail stores.

(c) Indian Affairs Branch Programs of Economic Development for Indians

The program of economic development operated by the Indian Affairs Branch for Indians in the Territories has a twofold purpose: first, to encourage Indian communities and individuals to provide for their basic economic needs at a level comparable to that of other Canadian groups; and second, to foster individual and group participation in Canadian economic and social life. The immediate objectives of the program are, through self-help, to assist Indians to put the resources available to them to the best possible use, and to aid them in finding suitable wage employment.

In so far as renewable resources are concerned, the program functions mainly in the fields of agriculture, wildlife, and fisheries. The greater part of the Indian Affairs Branch's agricultural programs

are, of course, carried out in southern Canada, but Indians in the Territories who wish to engage in market or subsistence gardening may be assisted to obtain advice and training as well as the necessary funds, seeds and equipment. Programs which assist Indians to develop the fur, fish and game resources available to them are of relatively greater importance in the Territories. Through the Fur Rehabilitation Program, Indians are encouraged to participate in game conservation activities. They are given assistance in obtaining loans with which to procure supplies and equipment, and are helped to market their fur. Game management projects are carried on by the Indian Affairs Branch in co-operation with the Territorial program. These projects teach and promote sound conservation practices, assist in predator control, and develop alternative sources of food where game stocks are depleted. The Branch also assists Indians to develop and organize domestic and commercial fisheries by arranging pilot projects, by supplying nets and other equipment, by assisting them to store ice, by helping them to build packing sheds and by providing general supervision in shipping and marketing. Assistance in the exploitation of timber resources is also provided by the Branch in much the same manner, and handicraft production is stimulated and encouraged wherever it is appropriate to do so.

In order to draw up balanced economic programs, the Indian Affairs Branch assesses the economic potential of resources and work opportunities through a research program which inventories physical and human resources, and undertakes special surveys and studies. The information thus provided is of significant value in developing suitable long-term plans for economic development, and through its dissemination among field staff, it is of material assistance in helping local communities to evaluate and subsequently to guide their own economic future.

In 1959-60, the Indian Affairs Branch initiated a special program of employment for Indians, now titled the Community Employment Projects Program, which has met with considerable success. This program is modelled upon the winter works incentive program, but is intended for use in communities which lack funds to undertake winter works projects. Community employment projects are designed primarily to promote the maximum use of Indian labour, to assist in the conservation and further development of available economic resources, public services, or facilities, and to aid in the development of attitudes of self-help amongst the Indian people by their involvement in planning, operating, and supervising the projects. Projects are undertaken on the basis of the need to provide worthwhile work during periods of high unemployment, of the value of the project in developing resources or improving local facilities, and of the value of the project in promoting self-help and improving work-skills and attitudes. Care is taken to restrict employment to Indians (with the exception, where necessary, of supervisory personnel). Workers are paid at federal wage rates prevailing in the area.

Typical projects undertaken are the construction of sidewalks, sanitary facilities, bridges, docks, culverts, roads, ditches and the repair and maintenance of existing facilities. In 1962-63, \$1,000,000 will be made available to undertake this program throughout Canada.

SUMMARY

Direct Welfare Benefits

National and Federal-Territorial direct welfare programs (Family Allowances, Old Age Security, and the categorical allowances), available to all persons in the Territories on an equal basis, constitute by far the largest welfare expenditures in the Northwest Territories. Miscellaneous specialized welfare services such as child welfare, rehabilitation, and institutional care combine to form the next largest segment of direct welfare services. These too

are provided on an equal basis, although they are financed for each ethnic group by the governmental agency responsible for it.

In the remaining direct welfare programs of relief or social assistance, some disparities in rates exist between the social assistance program for "white status" residents and Eskimos, and the Indian relief program. These variations are hardly significant, are being reviewed and will be reduced where necessary. Some differences in procedures are also apparent when the Indian relief program is compared to the social assistance program. These differences do not lead to disparities in benefits, although they may appear to do so at first glance. The Indian program provides a type of cash payment through the use of a "dollar value system", while the social assistance program is somewhat more rigid in its restrictions of recipients' purchases. This difference does not significantly affect the material benefits supplied to the person in need. "Grubstaking", or the provision of supplies and equipment to individuals, is available to Indians through an economic development program, and to "white status" residents and Eskimos through the social assistance program. Disparities in the provision of equipment and materials to Indians, "white status" residents and Eskimos, are likely to be traceable to differences in the application of the program by local administrators, rather than to differences in the programs themselves.

In general, direct welfare programs provide approximately equal benefits to all persons in the Territories in one way or another. Inequities may arise in individual cases, or in specific cases, through faulty co-ordination of services, shortage of staff, poor communication or for other reasons.

Other Benefit Programs

The provision of housing for Indians and Eskimos on a purchase basis has been undertaken by the two federal departments for several years. About 1,000 Indian and Eskimo families have been accommodated in this way. The Territorial Government has not engaged in any similar activity, although the foundations for a program have been laid by the appropriation of funds and the passage of enabling legislation. Disparities in benefits available to each ethnic group exist, but negotiations are now under way to develop a co-ordinated program under which the two departments and the Territorial Government will provide suitable and comparable housing on an equal basis to all persons in the Territories. At present, it is fair to say the "white status" residents are at a disadvantage with respect to the availability of low-cost housing. Similarly, the Territorial Government has no program for providing housing to indigent persons of "white status". Both the Indian Affairs Branch and the Northern Administration Branch have programs.

Credit facilities, which enable individuals and groups to finance commercial enterprises and co-operatives, are available to Indians and Eskimos through programs operated by the Northern Administration Branch and the Indian Affairs Branch. These facilities are provided through loan funds, and are characterized by ready availability of funds, easy terms of repayment, and low interest rates. No significant differences are apparent in the programs for Indians and for Eskimos, but Eskimos use the programs more than Indians. The Territorial Government has no parallel program except the fund with which to grubstake trappers and, to this extent, "white status" persons are at a disadvantage at the present time.

Although the Territorial Government contributes very extensively to the physical, social, and economic development of the Territories through a wide variety of programs which affect all communities, irrespective of the ethnic origin of the residents, it conducts no program of economic development specifically aimed at the particular

ethnic group for which it is responsible. Each of the two federal departments, on the other hand, undertakes fairly comprehensive programs of economic development which are earmarked for one particular ethnic group, and which exclude the other two. These programs operate mainly to exploit renewable resources, both for domestic and for commercial purposes, but additional benefits are provided in the programs through the provision of wage and self-employment projects. The winter works incentive program, operated by the Territorial Government, tends to provide direct financial benefit to individuals through wages and the physical improvement of communities. This program is unique in that it contains no provision to exclude individuals or communities from its benefits on the grounds of ethnic origin.

In terms of what might be described as "other benefit programs" then, Indians and Eskimos in the Territories appear to benefit equally from government programs, and both these groups enjoy a significant advantage over other Territorial residents in this regard. Disparities between Territorial residents on the one hand, and Indians and Eskimos on the other, are most obvious in the provision of public housing, and in the availability of economic development programs which directly enhance the ability of individuals to improve their economic condition.

COMMENTARY

There is no doubt that Indians and Eskimos enjoy advantages not available to other residents, particularly in the area of economic development. This disparity arises because the economic development programs operated by the Indian Affairs Branch and the Northern Administration Branch are only available to members of the ethnic group served by the agency. All residents of the Territories, regardless of the ethnic group to which they belong, should have equal access to economic development opportunities. This can be accomplished fairly easily either by the Territorial Government providing its own separate program for the exclusive use of persons of "white status", or by the Territorial Government negotiating with one of the federal departments to make its program available to "other Territorial residents". The first possibility has a number of disadvantages: it is extremely expensive, it reinforces ethnic division, and it leads to a proliferation of programs. The second possibility overcomes these disadvantages. Moreover, it paves the way toward the goal of a single unified program for all persons in the Territories.

The goal of equal benefits, irrespective of ethnic status, has already been achieved in the present Territorial Government development program. A pattern has thus been established which may be followed in direct welfare services as well as in economic development services. The first step toward this could be the provision of equal economic development services for other Territorial residents. The second step could well be the integration of direct welfare services into a single program financed appropriately by the Indian Affairs Branch, the Northern Administration Branch, and the Territorial Government. A unified welfare program could, in theory, be operated by either of these agencies, but in practice could best be carried out by the Territorial Government. Two fundamental requirements of such a program would, of course, be that suitable staff could be provided to operate the service, and that the benefits would be at least equal to those which the individual agencies would normally supply. If these requirements can be met, the Territorial Government may then be in a position to offer the two federal departments essentially the same welfare arrangements which are now in force in the provinces in respect of Indians and Eskimos.

The third and final step of providing a single, unified program of economic development for all persons in the Territories, operated by

one agency, is considerably more difficult. The urgency of this step would, furthermore, be considerably reduced if the Territorial Government made suitable arrangements to provide these services as has been suggested above. No action other than this need be undertaken in the immediate future.

In considering the desirability and feasibility of integrating welfare programs we must not overlook the need to examine and re-examine their adequacy. Unequal, but adequate programs are much preferable to programs that are uniformly inadequate. Uniformity is not a goal in itself, but a step toward the goal of providing adequate services for all residents of the Territories.

January 4, 1963.