MASTER'S THESIS

M-627

RICHINS, Clenwart Patrick
ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS OF ACHIEVING
PROGRAMME OBJECTIVES-- AS ILLUSTRATED
BY THE EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVEL-
OPMENT DIVISIONS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH.

Carleton University, M.A., 1964
Political Science, public administration

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS OF ACHIEVING PROGRAMME OBJECTIVES -
As Illustrated by the Education and Economic Development
Divisions of Indian Affairs Branch

by

Clenwart P. ^{Patrick} Richins

A thesis submitted to Carleton University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in Public Administration

School of Public Administration
Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada
September, 1964

ABSTRACT

Very little has been written so far about methods of achieving programme objectives. Professor Charlesworth leads a handful of other general text book writers in giving some attention to this area; but it is still a relatively neglected though most vital sector of operational administration. It is not the ambition of this study to end the present dearth of literature; rather, an attempt is merely made at examining a very small area in the hope of discovering patterns which may have a wider applicability to programmes in general.

More specifically, it aims at adding a little to present knowledge of administrative methods by observing the nature of their utilization in the Education and Economic Development Divisions of Indian Affairs. It concludes by substantiating the commonly held view that methods vary with particular programmes, even within a single organization. However, it becomes apparent that internal methods tend to be subject to less variation between different programmes than external ones, and that controlling, itself a method, primarily determines the selection of other administrative instruments for achieving defined objectives.

Clenwart P. Richins.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

The character of Indian administration has undergone an unmistakable metamorphosis within the last two decades. Successive governments at Ottawa have over the past quarter-century or so progressively retreated from the traditional laissez faire attitude to the indigenous population. Now the era of positive government has dawned, although late, for Canada's first citizens, with millions of dollars expended annually by the Indian Affairs Branch on programmes of Education, Economic Development, Social Welfare and Community Development.

Prof. Corry in a different context made the point that:

Confederation came just when laissez faire was at the peak of its authority. Thereafter, it began rapidly to decline and the pendulum swung again towards more active intervention by the state in economic and social matters. 1

For all practical purposes then, Canada as a dominion has always practiced positive government, although it was not taken to phenomenal proportions until the emergence of problems associated with modern industrialization and urbanization. Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy, implemented in and after 1879, may be said to mark the inception of positive government in Canada.

However, if for the rest of the country the years after 1879 meant a steady increase in government activities, for the Indians they meant not only the continuation but the firm endorsement of laissez faire. Government's central policy for many

1. J.A. Corry, "The Growth of Government Activities Since Confederation. A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations". Ottawa (1939), p. 3.

years was merely to protect the Indians from possible exploitation by unscrupulous white men. Among the facets of this negative policy was the protection of Indian property by setting aside reserve lands for their exclusive benefit; a number of treaties were entered with various bands all through the latter part of the nineteenth century. Other facets of the policy were protection of Indians from the maleffects of alcohol, and immunization of Indian property from seizure for payment of debt.

Perhaps the most positive area of Indian administration in the years immediately following Confederation was that concerning enfranchisement. It envisaged somewhat the present policy of government to gradually fit Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life. The effect of such enfranchisement was essentially to remove any legal distinction between an Indian and any other Canadian citizen. In the words of the Act of 1880, upon enfranchisement

the provisions of this Act and of any other Act or law making any distinction between the legal rights, privileges, disabilities and liabilities of Indians and those of Her Majesty's other subjects, shall cease to apply to such Indian and his family. 1

Having said this however, it must be pointed out that even this limited area of positive state action has a negative aspect to it, since it involves some diminution in government's responsibilities, however much these merely centred around the guaranteeing of Indian protection.

1. An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians, Statutes of Canada, 43 Victoria, 1880, Vol. 1-3, Ch. 28, p. 232, Section 101.

But even if one chooses to regard enfranchisement as a positive area of administration, it would still have to be admitted that the scope of the policy was rather limited, reflecting in no uncertain manner the negative emphasis underlying Indian administration. The qualifications for enfranchisement rendered so many Indians ineligible that there could be no doubt as to government's true position.

During second reading of the Bill in 1880, an Opposition M.P. made a rather cynical observation, interesting for the light it throws on the fundamental attitude of government to the administration of Indian affairs. Mr. Fleming, member for the riding of Brant North, argued:

Some 57 persons, including children, out of the 90,000 Indians of the Dominion, have been enfranchised [i.e. in the 23 years from 1857 to 1880]. At this rate, 5 persons every 2 years, it would take 36,000 years to enfranchise the Indian population of Canada. Certainly, this is proceeding by very slow degrees indeed. 1

Sir John A. Macdonald who, as Minister of the Interior, was responsible for administering Indian affairs, left no doubt in the course of that very debate as to his government's attitude to the Indians:

All we can hope for is to wean them by slow degrees from the nomadic habits which have almost become an instinct, and by slow degrees absorb them or settle them on the land. Meantime they must be fairly protected. 2

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1. Canada. Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada. Second Session - Fourth Parliament. Vol. IX. Second Volume of the Session. Ottawa (1880), p. 1992.
 2. Ibid., p. 1991.

Further reflecting this attitude was his response to a suggestion that Indians be given deeds in fee simple and left to shift for themselves; he thought that "would be cruelty of the first kind".¹

The policy of protection has not, of course, been abandoned; it is merely combined with another which more positively advances the interests of the Indian people. As recently as 1946, a very competent observer noted that there was still too great an emphasis on the negative aspect. He pointed out then that

Two aims have guided Canadian Indian administration - protection and advancement. In the earlier and transitional period the emphasis has been on protection and advancement has been admittedly slow. Perhaps the time has come when the protective reins are becoming a curb on progress and should be loosened.²

Whatever the criticisms one may level against government policy in and up to 1946, the post-war period has seen an unprecedented interest by government and private citizens alike in the Indian and his welfare. Mirroring this new interest was the appointment in 1948 of a joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian administration. Following submission of its report, Parliament passed a more progressive Indian Act in 1951, embodying a number of the committee's recommendations.

More recently, yet another joint parliamentary committee was appointed. This one met over the three-year period from 1959 to 1961, receiving a large number of written and oral briefs from

1. Canada. Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada. Second Session - Fourth Parliament. 43 Victoria, 1880. Vol. IX. Second Volume of the Session. Ottawa (1880), p. 1991.

2. T.R.L. MacInnes, "History of Indian Administration in Canada", in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XII, 1946, p. 393.

several Indian and non-Indian organizations. A few of its recommendations have been implemented by the Branch - at least a number of those which involved merely administrative change. One very important recommendation which involves legislation is currently receiving the active attention of government - namely the setting up of an Indian Claims Commission to settle any outstanding claims between government and Indian bands; a bill has already been given first reading in the Commons, but is now receiving the comments of interested groups before further action is taken.

It is difficult to tell what caused this major outburst of enthusiasm for Indian affairs in post-war years. Several factors, no doubt, must have contributed to this development. For instance the growing scarcity of game in the years after confederation has been pushing increasing numbers of Indians outside of their reserves and into the non-Indian community; also the discovery of rich mineral deposits in some of the northern parts of Canada has tended to bring non-Indians themselves into more contact with their red fellow citizens. Of some probable significance too is the effect on Canadians of the marked trend towards emancipation of non-white peoples, notably in Africa and Asia; without even realizing it, perhaps, many Canadians must have been impelled to engage in some sort of house-cleaning activity.

Prominent among factors leading to the new spirit in Indian administration is the question of population. In 1924 Indians in Canada numbered some 105,000;¹ this was the low point reached in

1. Canada. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. A Review of Activities, 1948-1958, Indian Affairs Branch (cited hereafter as Review of Activities), Appendix A is a population chart, from which this 1924 figure was taken.

the depletion of Canada's Indian population, attendant on its contact with Europeans bringing diseases against which the former had little or no resistance. As of 31st December, 1962, the native population stood at 198,220.¹ At present, the population exceeds 200,000,² which represents allegedly the total number of Indians found by the first white explorers in what is now Canada.

It is this phenomenal demographic surge forward at a time when the animal population on which Indians had traditionally depended for their livelihood was decreasing, that made the need for positive governmental action immediate. To all appearances it is primarily due to this Indian population explosion that the dominion government has embarked so vigorously on programmes which have as their ultimate goal full integration of the Indian people into the mainstream of Canadian life.

Because it was deterioration of the Indians' economic position which apparently touched off initial interest in their affairs, it should not be surprising that economic development programmes should receive a heavy emphasis in government thinking and planning. The Economic Development Division, responsible for administering those important programmes, has two broad objectives: firstly, "to help the Indians to put to the best possible use the resources available to them", and secondly, "to help them find suitable employment both on and off the reserves".³

1. Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1963, [hereafter these Departmental reports will be referred to merely as Annual Report, along with the appropriate year]. Table 11, p. 57.

2. This information was had from interviews with various Branch officials.

3. Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. Field Manual. Section 12.00.

As regards the latter, an Indian Placement Programme was initiated in 1957¹ to advance employment opportunities for Indians. Placement specialists at both Branch headquarters and the regional offices have a continuing responsibility in this connection. There are two distinct aspects to the programme - general placement and permanent placement.

In the case of general placement, the aim is to place as many Indians as possible in wage employment, initially in labouring jobs, mainly in primary industries. This part of the programme is chiefly but not exclusively geared for people in remote areas, away from industrial centres. Indians make very fine workers in their natural environment, for instance in road clearing, pulp cutting, logging, construction, mining, and forest fire fighting; their services can therefore be engaged in these areas to considerable advantage.

Permanent placement is mainly for young people, and is a highly selective plan to help bridge the gap between reserve and city life. In southern British Columbia, southern Ontario, Quebec, and to a lesser extent, the Maritimes, the majority of candidates enter this programme following higher academic or vocational training sponsored by the Branch. In other regions where educational levels are lower, the pattern is somewhat different.²

With regard to maximizing the utilization of available resources, it should be quite clear that a diversity of operations

1. Vide: Review of Activities, p. 18.

2. Canada. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. Indian Affairs Branch. "The Indian In Transition. The Indian Today". Ottawa (1962), pp. 11-12.

would be involved over the obviously wide variety of areas where reserves or Indian settlements are to be found throughout Canada. Indeed, the Division's operations here are varied to the point of being kaleidoscopic. Without entering needless details this area of the Division's programmes has some five major facets.¹

First is the promotion of agriculture and stock-raising on reserves; in this area, there is for instance, a rotating herd programme,² under which participants are lent a basic herd and keep the natural increase. Next is the fostering of Indian enterprise and provision of loans; a Revolving Fund of \$1,000,000³ provides credit to Indians who do not have access to ordinary lending institutions, and so enables them to purchase farm machinery and livestock, fishing boats and equipment, trucks, equipment for forestry operations, and such like.

The third area of activity is in connection with home industries and handicrafts; it involves encouragement of this cottage industry along with direct local sales to tourists; but a warehouse is also run at Ottawa for marketing some of the total production. Fourthly, considerable activity is carried out in the management of fur, fish and wildlife resources; this particular area is especially important for Indians of the northern

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1. As condensed in the Canada Year Book, 1962, p. 151; but details are based on the author's personal research.
 2. Vide. Annual Report for fiscal year ended March 31, 1963, p. 27.
 3. This amount is authorized by Section 69 of the Indian Act, 1951, c. 29, as amended by Section 18 of An Act to Amend the Indian Act, 1956, 4-5 Elizabeth II, Chap. 40, p. 290.

parts of Canada¹ who are almost wholly dependent on harvesting these annually renewable resources. The Branch has entered into formal agreements with the provinces of Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan in respect of resources development; arrangements similar to these formal ten or fifteen-year agreements, are also worked out between Branch field officers and appropriate authorities in the remaining provinces.

Fifth and final among these major facets of economic development programmes is assistance to Indians in developing their resources on or within access of the reserves; this would include aiding them to take advantage of sand or gravel deposits which may be demanded for road paving or concrete mixing, as well as inducing more Indians to operate their own saw mills, and such like. Perhaps a sixth area should be added here - the exploitation of mineral and other resources on reserves for the benefit of band members; here the Division is engaged essentially in granting permits or leases to approved persons, enabling them to conduct exploratory or mining operations in accordance with governing regulations.

These diverse programmes of economic development are aimed at ameliorating the economic lot of the Indians, or one may say, at reducing the economic gap between them and other Canadians. It should be quite apparent, however, that to achieve this, considerable emphasis must be placed on educational programmes as well.

1. Only some 4% of the Indian population live north of the 55th parallel; but in varying degrees much of the whole population is still dependent on the traditional activities of hunting, fishing and trapping.

The more recent joint committee on Indian affairs has clearly recognized the importance of efforts in both these areas. Some idea of it emerges from several parts of its report; for instance,

before any great strides can be made in the matter of developing the human resources of the Indian people we must, along with an intensive educational programme, develop the environment and economic opportunities within which these people live. 1

The educational programmes tend therefore to be viewed as complementing those of economic development in the sense of their preparing Indians for the more complex society into which they must be finally integrated. It should not be surprising then to find that Branch officials emphasize integrated education so that both Indian and non-Indian pupils, from an early age, would develop mutual respect and understanding for each other, and more urgently, that Indians would begin quite early the process of adjustment to a more dynamic and exacting environment.

At present 36% of all Indian students attend non-Indian schools,² and the Education Division is constantly negotiating with local school boards to enter joint school agreements or to extend the scope of existing ones where this is appropriate. The majority of students meanwhile attend, and for some time will very likely continue to attend, schools operated by the Branch.

Four types of school have been established here. On most reserves, Day Schools provide an education for children who

1. Canada. Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, [cited hereafter as Minutes of the Joint Committee, along with the appropriate year], 1961, p. 612.

2. Vide: Annual Report for fiscal year ended March 31, 1963, p. 21.

can attend from their homes. In January, 1963, there were 365 such schools throughout Canada, with a total enrolment of 20,971.¹ The second class of schools operated is that of Residential or Boarding Schools. These are operated on the Branch's behalf by various religious denominations, to care for orphaned children, children from broken homes or those who, because of isolation or the migratory way of life of their families, are unable to attend Day Schools. As at 31st March, 1963, there were 65² Indian Residential Schools and hostels (only 5 of which were church-owned institutions) with a total enrolment of 9,454 pupils and boarders.³

The remaining two types of school are, at present, of a lesser importance. One type is that of Hospital Schools, designed to meet the needs of children - and in some cases, adults - confined to hospitals; teachers are employed to give instruction to children in hospitals operated under jurisdiction of the Directorate of Indian and Northern Health Services of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The fourth and final type of school operated by the Branch is that of Seasonal Schools which are for children whose parents follow a nomadic way of life, dispersing to fishing grounds or along traplines at certain seasons of the year; many children who do not enter Residential Schools receive their education at these schools, established at points where bands usually congregate for periods ranging from a few weeks to several months.

1. Vide: Annual Report for fiscal year ended March 31, 1963, p. 63, Table 21.

2. Ibid., p. 23.

3. Ibid., p. 65, Table 28.

The curricula of Branch operated schools are those prevailing in non-Indian schools of the respective provinces. Official attitude on this matter is reflected in the following extract from a recent Annual Report:

The Indian school is becoming a preparatory school for Indian children who cannot begin their education at a provincial institution. For this reason Indian schools follow the provincial course of studies. ¹

Use of provincial curricula then seems to be made primarily with the view of boosting the programme of integrated education.

Operation of these four types of schools described above, combined with the entering of joint school agreements with local school boards, is the central programme area of the Education Division. Closely related to it is the Division's assumption of a number of associated obligations, such as supplying free text books, school bus facilities, free university or vocational training and such like, to Indian students. Yet another area is adult education which aims at teaching a large number of illiterate Indians to read and write. This programme also offers, in another of its aspects, vocational training to help men earn a better livelihood and women to improve home conditions, by giving instruction in such courses as agriculture, motor mechanics, handicrafts and homemaking.

The Education and Economic Development Divisions appear to be administering the Branch's key programmes. It would seem that the final achievement of "self-determination and self-government"² for Indian bands depends very much on the effectiveness of their

1. Vide: Annual Report for fiscal year ended March 31, 1963, p. 22.

2. Minutes of the Joint Committee, 1961, p. 610.

programmes. The other two, social welfare and community development¹ are, however, hardly subordinate in importance. They play a major role, especially during the present transitional period, and to some extent they are necessary for success of the two sets of programmes already discussed.

The Welfare Division offers, in connection with its community development programmes, services designed to assist Indian communities to make more effective use of their human and material resources. This work also includes the promotion of cultural expression and harmonious inter-ethnic relations. Training courses for potential leaders are offered to meet the increasing demand for responsible leadership by Indian Councils, voluntary organizations and other groups. A very important area of these programmes relates to the problem of housing on reserves. The Branch here is really stepping up on a programme initiated since 1945² to combat inferior housing quality and overcrowding which had begun to manifest themselves about that time. It is clear at any rate that without better housing, health and education programmes would be ineffective.

Demonstrating vividly the possible effects on Education Division's programmes is the following extract from a recent booklet, prepared by the Branch:

Conditions in many Indian houses make it difficult for pupils to do their homework. This is especially true when whole families live in one or two-room dwellings,

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1. Both these programmes are administered by the Welfare Division.
 2. About 75% of Indian housing then was regarded as inferior. Vide: Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. The Indian in Transition. The Indian Today. Ottawa (1962), p. 22.

equipped with only a limited amount of furniture, and a student's ear is assailed by a cacophony of crying children, blaring radio programmes and adult conversation. ¹

As regards social welfare, the Branch negotiates agreements with provinces and private welfare agencies for the extension of welfare services to Indians. This approach is intended to avoid duplication of programmes wherever possible, and to enable Indians to benefit from a wider range of provincial welfare services than can be provided by the Federal Government. In the long run, it is the aim of government to enable provinces to assume responsibility for all welfare services for Indians. This will do away with any existing differences between Indians and other Canadians regarding treatment of benefits received. ²

Meanwhile the dominion government provides social security, public assistance, rehabilitation and related services for family and child welfare. Direct relief is given to Indians for food, fuel and clothing. "Additional assistance also may be granted as required in the form of essential household equipment, supply and repair of prosthetics, payment of rent, and transportation costs of destitute Indians stranded away from home." ³

It may be indicated at this point that medical care for Indians is not the Branch's responsibility. It forms part of the

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1. Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. The Indian in Transition. Indian Education. Ottawa (1962), p. 8.
 2. Vide: Canada. Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. The Canadian Indian. Reference Paper. Ottawa (1963), 10th folio (pages are not numbered).
 3. Annual Report, fiscal year ended March 31, 1963, p. 32.

responsibility of the Director of Indian and Northern Health Services of the Department of National Health and Welfare.¹ In addition, the education of Indians in the Northwest Territories is a responsibility of the Department of Northern Affairs.²

To administer these different programmes, millions of dollars are expended annually from public funds. Total Branch expenditures rose from \$10,379,427 in 1948-49 to \$16,510,729 in 1953-54, and again to \$27,851,230 in 1957-58.³ By the fiscal year 1962-63, expenditures had climbed to \$51,001,803⁴ approximately. The total amount of funds voted by Parliament for expenditure in 1964-65 is \$60,630,820.⁵ Some idea of the sums expended by the major operating divisions may be had from the following table:⁶

<u>Division</u>	<u>1958-59</u>	<u>1959-60</u>	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>Total</u>
Education	22,257,469	24,908,023	27,746,860	28,661,113	28,954,296	132,527,761
Welfare	7,844,160	8,908,818	10,369,582	11,942,681	12,340,309	51,405,550
Ind.						
Agencies	4,672,181	4,943,803	5,648,280	6,499,180	5,712,990	27,476,434
Eco. Dev.	284,926	905,639	1,109,601	1,487,233	2,283,540	6,070,939
Others	1,331,376	1,449,910	1,553,061	1,661,240	1,710,668	7,706,255
Total	36,390,112	41,116,193	46,427,384	50,251,447	51,001,803	225,186,939

1. Vide: Minutes of the Joint Committee, 1959, p. 18.

2. Ibid., p. 17.

3. Review of Activities, Vide table on p. 3.

4. Vide: Annual Report for fiscal year ended March 31, 1963, p. 58, table 13. The amount here is expressed to nearest dollar.

5. Canada. Estimates for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1965, pp. 62-3.

6. These figures have been taken from Annual Reports in respect of the fiscal years indicated.

A number of interesting observations may be made in connection with these figures. First, the emphasis on educational programmes is obvious from the fact that the Education Division has been consistently spending well over half of the total Branch expenditure throughout this five-year period. The Economic Development Division spends the smallest amount of money among the major operating Divisions, and relative to the importance of its programmes; this is due largely to the smaller sums involved in its operations; for instance, it has no significant building programmes or heavy maintenance overheads. Its major areas of expenditure are in connection with materials and supplies for Indians, contributions to the provinces under agreements, employment and placement programme, forestry operations, handicraft development, and travelling and removal expenses.

The Agencies Division also spends a consistently large portion of the Branch's votes. This does not mean that it undertakes any major programme operations. The point is that its allocation meets all expenses on the 88 Agencies and 9 regions comprising the Branch's field organization. It covers salary expenses for Regional Supervisors and Agency Superintendents, construction and upkeep of field buildings, a very large travelling bill, and such like.

Finally, the large amount of money spent annually by the Welfare Division is of considerable interest. This Division spends as much as all the others combined, except Education. The level of its expenditure is second only to that of Education.

Although the 'expenditure gap' between this Division and Economic Development is progressively closing, it is nonetheless remarkable that in the fiscal year 1962-3, its expenditure was still more than 5 times greater than the latter's.

In the 1964-65 estimates, the modest sum of \$2,774,900 has been voted for expenditure by the Economic Development Division. Welfare, on the other hand was allocated not only more money (15,195,000); its major items come close to and even exceed the total vote of its sister division. Thus the staggering sum of \$6,000,000¹ - more than double the Economic Development vote - is allocated for "Food, Fuel, Clothing and Other Supplies for Indians"; another large amount, \$3,500,000, was allocated for "Cash Payments to Indians, provided that Treasury Board may increase or decrease the amount within the Vote for this purpose"; while \$2,200,000 was set aside for "Payments for Care of Indigent Indians including Maintenance of Juvenile Delinquents".²

A mere cursory examination of such figures is sufficient to reveal how very costly Indian administration is to Canadian taxpayers. The total amount voted for Branch expenditure in 1964-65 (\$60,630,820) means that it costs over \$300.00 per capita per annum to administer the affairs of Canada's 200,000 Indians. This figure of course does not include health and medical programmes or administration of the affairs of Newfoundland's Indians, which should add up to quite a few more thousands of dollars.

1. Canada. Estimates for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1964.
p. 72.

2. Ibid.

Much of these large sums voted are inevitable, or follow naturally from some of the inherent difficulties which confront Branch administrators. Perhaps the most obvious of these is the dispersion of the population throughout Canada; small pockets of Indians live in very remote areas of the country. The Indians are at varying levels of development, their reserve lands vary widely in terms of resources having market value. These and other factors understandably make for the multiplication of operating costs. Therefore, although expenditures appear very high, they may be tolerated when put into proper perspective.

However, if one feigns blindness to the heavy expenditures per se, it is a little difficult to dismiss the more compelling suggestion that there is some element of contradiction in the Branch's major programmes. Whatever the justification for such immense welfare expenditures, it is not easy to resist the view that they emasculate the effectiveness of economic development and other programmes. They convey the impression that in administering Indian affairs, the Branch is caught between the Scylla of advancement on the one hand, and the Charybdis of protection on the other.

It is hard to imagine how the Branch hopes to achieve integration of Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life, enabling them to stand independently on their own feet, while making it so easy for them to refrain from exerting any serious effort in that direction. To all appearances, the Indian, inured to decades of living in a protected environment, would be very

disinclined to venture out into another that is unfamiliar and uncertain, without the most consistent use of strong inducements by Branch administrators. The progressive increases in welfare expenditures in recent years could hardly be said to constitute a strong inducement in this connection.

High level officials of the Branch seem to recognize the problem clearly enough, as is implicit in the words of the Director of Indian Affairs while giving evidence before the Joint Committee. Colonel Jones asserted then:

I may say, the handling of direct relief is possibly the most difficult part of our administration; but we feel that, on the whole, the Indian will respond to this gesture of adult treatment and they will not abuse it. The ones who will abuse it are in the minority. 1

The question to be asked here is, can Indians be expected to respond to adult treatment simultaneously with efforts being made to bring them to an adult status. It would appear that rapid achievement of such objectives as self-determination and self-respect demands a reversal, or at least a freezing, of the current trend of expenditures on Indian welfare; for this trend constitutes an impediment to the speedy realization of Branch objectives.

But this example of mild contradiction is by no means singular. The all-important Education programmes themselves admit of a measure of inner contradiction here. Thus integrated education, or the educating of more and more Indian pupils together with non-Indians, is repeatedly emphasized by Branch officials as one of the

1. Minutes of the Joint Committee, 1959, p. 19.

primary objectives of the educational programmes. However, while purporting to strive at achieving it, the Division has been engaged simultaneously in constructing a growing number of their own schools, costing millions of dollars annually.

The Glassco Commissioners were quite aware of the problem. Concluding from their study of the Division's operations, they wrote: "The administrative organization of the Education Division...appears to be efficient, and current results are impressive".¹ Further in the conclusion, however, they had this to say.

Your Commissioners...view with some concern the dimensions of current capital construction programmes which - while ameliorating current conditions - may create obstacles to the implementation of a long-term integration policy. 2

Finally, it may be said that in general advancement of the major programmes implemented by the Branch is likely to be weakened further by certain built-in attitudes to Indian administration among some of the officers themselves. The latter may not admit this, but despite all their apparent efforts at accelerating Indian advancement, the old tradition of merely protecting Indians makes it very hard for them to genuinely expect rapid progress from the organization's clientele. Of course, a significant number of Branch administrators has very progressive ideas; some are even impatient with the Indians' ^{alleged} mental torpidity and slow advance to the stage of standing on their own feet. But these truly progressive administrators

1. Canada. The Royal Commission on Government Organization. Vol. III, Ottawa (1962), p. 152.

2. Ibid., pp. 152-3.

are still few; one gets the strong impression from most Branch officers that the Indians are being negatively encouraged to continue sheltering indefinitely under the protective umbrella of a very paternalistic administration.

The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Favreau (as he then was), addressing the National Indian Council of Canada at Winnipeg recently, made quite an interesting remark, thus affording some limited justification for this point. He mentioned, inter alia, that:

one of the fundamental and long-range objectives of government policy...is the full integration of the Indians - but freely assented to¹ - into the mainstream of Canadian life, while encouraging them to maintain their own cultural identity. 2

This openly admitted emphasis on free consent may very well be nothing more than a wise choice of words by the astute political head of Indian administration, calculated to stave off possible charges that the native population were being goaded along certain bureaucratically determined lines. The whole tenor of Indian administration, however, suggests that the emphasis is a true reflection of the basic credo of most senior officials. Whatever the validity to this point, it is quite apparent that Indian withholding of free consent can be used effectively as a pretext for failure to achieve defined programme objectives.

Nevertheless, it is not the purpose of this study to

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1. These words are underlined in Minister's notes for the address.
 2. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. "Notes for an Address by the Hon. Guy Favreau, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and Superintendent General of Indian affairs, to the Third Annual Conference of the National Indian Council of Canada", Winnipeg, August 15, 1963, p. 3.

assess the merits of the Branch's various programmes. Rather, it aims at discovering the methods used in implementing them, with the view of ascertaining what general rules may be said to govern their selection and utilization. So that the primary discussion of methods should not appear to issue out of a vacuum, this chapter is intended to provide some modicum of information regarding programme objectives as pursued by the Branch.

As might be expected, however, in the course of touching on these programmes for the mere purpose of information, some of the problems attendant on their implementation come to light. Such problems are perhaps inevitable in the present transition from a primarily protective to a progressive phase of Indian administration; the point is anyway, that these problems are present, and it seems only fair to draw attention to them. The knottiness of some of these problems must not be underestimated, and indeed discussion or dramatization of alleged contradictions in Branch activities must not be regarded as having this effect. It should be clear, on the other hand, that failure to recognize their existence may very well involve the myopic disregard of threats to total programme effectiveness.

Having provided this necessary background of Branch programmes and objectives, this study will now turn to the actual administrative methods as used by two major divisions for achieving their respective objectives. The programmes of the Economic Development and Education Divisions differ considerably, although they form part of the operations of a single public organization. The two divisions differ still more in their respective use of administrative

methods. Yet, in certain areas they resemble more than may be initially apparent.

The differences in programmes and objectives between these divisions seem to be reflected distinctly in their external methods. However, despite initial appearances to the contrary, they differ mainly in degree rather than essence, in their respective utilization of internal methods. In fine, internal methods are subject to smaller variation as between different programmes, than external ones. This is the bone of the argument presented in this study. The chapters which follow will attempt to show what methods are in fact used, to the end of justifying this general position.

CHAPTER II

THE INTERNAL METHODS OF THE EDUCATION DIVISION

The internal methods of the Education Division reflect a prudent determination to retain at divisional headquarters a significant degree of control over field operations in the educational sphere. Underlying this determination, of course, is the consideration that in education considerable uniformity is desirable; to successfully achieve divisional objectives, it is deemed essential that the marked decentralization which characterizes the present Branch organization should be modified in so far as it affects the Division's programmes.

In its zeal for effective control, the Education Division has gone a little too far perhaps, and has created a few minor problems. Thus it has contributed to the development of what seems a parallel organization within the Branch, and has somewhat compromised the principle of unity of command in the field. It is apparent, however, that the problems involved are in large measure temporary, if inevitable. For, to all appearances, they are symptomatic of a state of disequilibrium brought about by the prominence so rapidly achieved by Education within the Branch organization in recent years. As soon as a new equilibrium is struck these minor problems should all disappear.

What is exceedingly clear in the meantime is the fact that the Education Division is firmly wedded to a principle of moderately firm programme control - a control which is not too firm that it dissuades imaginative administration by field officials,

yet not so loose as to amount to an abdication of its own responsibility to see that educational programmes proceed according to plan throughout the entire nation.

Fundamental to the exercise of any sort of control is the regular receipt of pertinent and reliable information. It is understandable therefore that a constant flow of various reports and returns is maintained from the field to Ottawa at monthly, quarterly and annual intervals. To facilitate the entire process, a number of special forms has been introduced, designed inter alia, to increase objectivity in reporting, as well as to elicit information that is essential from the standpoint of divisional headquarters.

One of these forms at least was intended to acquire information primarily for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The Teacher's Report on Qualifications, Salary, and Experience,¹ which must be completed annually by each teacher and principal at every Indian school, is of no positive value to the Assistant Director, Education Services, from a control point of view.

Two other forms contain some element of imperfection which limits their value to an extent. Thus Agency Superintendents are required to complete annually a Census of Indian Pupils Attending Non-Indian Schools for the Present School Year.² The indubitable objective here is to secure up-to-date information from the field concerning the extent of integrated education. In its design,

1. Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Indian Affairs Branch. Form No. 7002-99: 30.4.59. The various forms described in this chapter are all departmental, and carry the same general heading. Subsequent citations will bear therefore only the form number, which is sufficient to identify the report under description.

2. Form No. 1A4-98 (7/62).

however, this form emphasizes certain details which, although important for regional purposes, are superfluous from the standpoint of divisional headquarters. It requires the individual name, band, and identification of every pupil, in addition to such details as religious denomination and school attended, in respect of every Indian Agency.

Evidently some record of this type should be kept at regional offices. But the inevitable recurrence of identical information in succeeding reports tends to contribute primarily to their quantitative rather than their qualitative content. The net result of this has been the accumulation at divisional headquarters of huge piles of semi-futile information. It would appear that a mere requirement of information regarding the numbers of Indian pupils in attendance at non-Indian schools would further the cause of proper control in this particular area; further the problem of unnecessary bulk may be met by obtaining the desired information from the 8 regions instead of the 88 Agencies which is the present practice.

The other form in question is the Principal's Report On Destinations of Indian Pupils Withdrawing From School.¹ It represents an attempt to arrest the disturbing increase in withdrawals from school among Indian students. Completed annually whether or not there have been withdrawals, the form brings out in respect of each school the retirements by age, grade and sex in respect of four specific sex-grade groupings.

1. Form No. 7002-84: 7.7.59.

The essential drawback to be noted regarding this form is that it is proving increasingly incapable of reporting on a growing number of students who are being transferred to provincial schools. At present, nearly 40% of all Indian students attend such schools which are under no obligation to submit the report; accordingly no reliable record exists to show the extent of withdrawal for some 40% of Indian students. In addition, of course, there is no information concerning the type of employment obtained by students retiring from these joint schools, so that a very important test of the success of integrated education is sadly lacking. It would appear that a gain will be achieved if, on entering agreements with local Boards of education, some step is taken to secure the cooperation of schools affected in the completion of this form.

But the fact of such drawbacks in a few exceptional instances cannot significantly alter the point that, by and large, the special report forms of the Division elicit from field officers key information without which there could be no proper control over field operations.

Thus every principal or senior teacher is required annually to complete the form Indian School Establishment and Organization Return,¹ which is forwarded to Division headquarters through the Regional School Superintendent, who is senior educationist in each region. The form requires the principal to

1. Form No. 1A4-107 (8/61).

state, inter alia, the enrolment by grade for each teacher at his school during the current academic year, as well as expected enrolment for each in the succeeding year. On the basis of these disclosures, the principal recommends changes in respect of establishment, organization and accommodation, which must in turn be recommended by the School Superintendent.

The important point about this form is that it enables divisional headquarters to control the number of teachers per school. The policy is to employ one teacher for an enrolment of up to 25 pupils, two teachers for up to 60, and 3 for 90 pupils.¹ This return makes it possible to control the distribution of teachers in response to the mobility of Indian pupils into and out of Indian schools. There is, perhaps, one criticism to be levelled against the form; it seems to encourage a concern with the affairs of the individual schools, which falls more properly within the sphere of regional officers. There are some 450² Indian schools supervised by the Division at present. A reduced concern at headquarters with small detail, and a greater concomitant emphasis on the total situation in respect of each region, would appear to offer considerable advantages.

Another valuable source of information is the Agency Return on Pre-School and Indian School Pupils. It is not an official form; cyclostyled copies are despatched annually to the Agencies

1. This information was disclosed to me by the Asst. Director, Education Services, during an interview.
2. The figure at 31.3.63 stood at 443 (Table 18 of Annual Report).

so that Agency Superintendents may furnish certain figures relating to the enrolment and non-enrolment of Indian children of both school and pre-school age. The return enables the Division's senior officials to tell exactly where there are children who lack educational facilities; it also indicates at what rate future building programmes will have to proceed in order to maintain or advance the Division's existing position. It may be mentioned here, en passant, that when government's adoption of "Austerity" forced the severe slashing of departmental estimates for the fiscal year 1962-1963, it was information derived from this return which was primarily responsible for divisional headquarters' decision to concentrate heavily on school construction in Northern Ontario, at the expense of programmes for some of the remaining 8 regions.¹

Providing a different type of information is the Principal's Monthly Report.² Being monthly, this report may easily lend itself to criticism as flooding headquarters with information it could not hope to utilize on a systematic basis, or as amounting to information for its own sake. Actually, it was designed, in part, to furnish the Dominion Bureau of Statistics with certain current figures. It may be pointed out as well that, apart from the original forwarded to headquarters, carbon copies are submitted to the Superintendent of Schools and the Agency office; so that action may be taken if necessary, even where headquarters omits to give specific direction.

1. I learnt this during an interview with a very senior official at the Education Division.

2. Form No. 1A4-16 (Rev. 8-62).

But the form itself must not be regarded as having no value for officials at Ottawa; far from it! Quite apart from any reference value which it undoubtedly has, it furnishes on a continuing basis information, without which the success of the educational programmes cannot be satisfactorily gauged. It reports according to specific categories, the aggregate attendance during the month, average daily attendance, percentage of attendance, as well as the number of cases of tardiness. Most notable is Part 5 of the Report which shows the number of absentees reported to the Agency Superintendent during the particular month. A list is made of all students absent five days, in addition to all cases of truancy, with brief reasons for absenteeism made in respect of each. Information of this kind is direly needed to enable realistic appraisal of the education programme from time to time.

The Teacher's Annual Age-Grade Report¹ was designed for the Division by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. At first, it may appear to gain information merely for its own sake. However, it was carefully drawn up to ascertain how much retardation or acceleration exists. Patterned so as to facilitate comparison with figures for the rest of Canada, it enables the Division to tell whether Indian children are progressing as well as their counterparts in other parts of Canada, and to ascertain what gap there is between the two.

That such information is vital for proper appraisal of Indian educational programmes requires no special emphasis.

1. Form No. 7002-59: 24.11.58.

Realizing the importance of such information, the Division has been collating over the last five years all the material received to show statistics for each region, as well as for the whole nation. These figures, along with very graphic charts have been compiled into the Annual Statistical Report of the Education Division, Indian Affairs Branch.¹

Another vital source of information is the Principal's Report on Promotion and Non-Promotion of Indian Pupils.² Section 2 of it requires the division of pupils into two groups, those being promoted and those that are not; the number of repeaters in both groups is to be indicated as well. The most important part of this Report is Section 3 which requires principals to identify certain reasons for non-promotion of pupils according to grade. As might be expected, there are, not infrequently, cases of abnormally large amounts of repetition in some Indian schools. This Report discloses such cases and enables the exercise of control. In several instances, officials at headquarters have asked principals for additional information; in a few headquarters had to take corrective action.

A very good example to be noted in this connection is the discovery in 1962 of a high degree of repetition by Indian students of certain grades in the Maritime Region. An analysis of the situation revealed that in large measure, lack of ability in

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1. This Report consists of some 25 to 30 pages. The practice of despatching copies to interested public bodies is discontinued, effective from this year.
 2. Form No. 7002-83: 6.4.59.

the language of instruction was the dominant cause. The Division went a long way in correcting this situation when it attached a new officer to that region to supervise special English instruction classes, and increased the amount of classroom time spent on certain rudiments of the English language.¹ Since the proven success of this experiment, a variation of this programme has been introduced into other regions with rather encouraging results.

Through the Monthly Summary of School Superintendent's Duties,² a constant watch is kept on the work schedule of the Division's senior field officers. They are required to show the number of days spent on supervision, travelling, attending band council, school committee or other meetings, school surveys, and such like, every month. These monthly summaries of work performance are carefully studied by the Senior Inspector of Schools; and there are occasions when a School Superintendent is contacted and asked to spend a greater proportion of his time, for instance, on administering the integration programme, or a smaller amount of time on travelling at the expense of more pressing duties in his region.³ This monthly report reflects the closeness of the supervision and directness of the control exercised by Education headquarters over field activities and programmes.

One other monthly report is received - the Government Owned Indian Residential School. Statement of Receipts and Disbursements.⁴

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1. Information obtained during an interview with a very senior official of the Division.
 2. Form No. 1A4-115 (Rev. 10/62).
 3. This information was had from a senior officer of the Division.
 4. Form No. 1A4-125 (Rev. 4/64).

This is primarily a financial report, which shows operating costs in respect of the 60 government owned residential schools. The report is, however, important, for it enables the Division to know whether or not they are operated within their respective budgets. Grants are made to the religious denominations that operate them on behalf of the Branch; these reports enable officials at headquarters to ascertain whether or not specific allocations, for instance in respect of food and clothing for residents, are being exceeded or under-expended, and such like.

The only quarterly reports received have to do with attendance and other details at residential schools. They are the Quarterly Return. Government-Owned Residential Schools,¹ and the Quarterly Return. Indian Residential Schools.² The former is apparently of small value, providing merely a statement of attendance by the 60 principals. The other Return furnishes primarily the same information, but this is used for calculating the grant made to these denominationally owned and operated schools,³ on a per capita basis.

All of these reports are made on specially designed forms aimed at standardized information. They therefore enable relatively easy measurement of programme effectiveness from region to region and from school to school. The important point to be

1. Form No. 1A4-4.

2. Form No. 1A4-3 (R-3-55).

noted here is that such systematic and standardized reporting has been made possible primarily because of the basic uniformity of the Division's programmes throughout the nation. All of the standards imposed on any single school operated by the Branch may be applied to every other school in any of the 9 regions. Uniformity is also very important for properly implementing the programmes. It may be pointed out here and now that this factor of uniformity explains much of the difference between Education and Economic Development as regards their respective systems of reporting.

The School Inspector's Report¹ and the Inspector's Report on the School Plant and Equipment² are also submitted on specially designed forms. However, discussion of these would appear to belong more properly to the internal method of inspection, and will therefore receive attention later in this chapter.

Before leaving the method of reporting, however, some mention should be made of reports other than the highly specialized ones already described. Memoranda of all types, of course, giving information on field developments which impinge on the various programmes, will no doubt fall in this category; so would those giving further details and follow-up information on matters arising out of the scheduled reports discussed above. Knotty questions also tend to be referred to successively higher levels in the organization

1. Form No. 1A4-9.

2. Form No. 1A4-92.

for decision, advice and what not.

Apart from these, divisional headquarters has access¹ to a major report submitted by the field annually and semi-annually. These are progress reports and are completed by Agency Superintendents who forward them to their Regional Supervisors for review and transmission to Branch headquarters. They are comprehensive, in that they embrace all major activities or operations within each agency. Sub-section (v) of section 16.05 of the Field Manual enumerates 13 headings for the report, only two of which have a direct relevance for the Education Division. The remaining headings deal with other major Branch operations, as well as such areas as health conditions, public relations, and staffing and organizational problems.

The two headings in which divisional headquarters would be most interested are Administration of Educational Facilities, and Community Liaison in Educational Matters. In the first, comment is expected on the condition and problems of maintenance of school plants, transportation facilities, school supply problems, relationship with educational field staff and problems associated with the collection of school data. Under the second heading, Agency Superintendents must report on the work of school committees, P.T.A., community reaction to integrated education, school attendance problems, and such like.

These reports, notably the semi-annual ones, offer undoubted advantages. They are divided into two parts, one covering

1. Vide: Section 16.05, Field Manual, Indian Affairs Branch, Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration.

progress made in the particular operations during the preceding 6 (or 12) months, and the other outlining programmes proposed for the succeeding 6 (or 12) months, as the case may be. The first half of each report is related to the last half of the preceding one. A basis of appraisal and assessment is therefore provided in terms of the aims and objectives of field programmes. Reports are had at a time when it is often convenient to take corrective action of some kind before the close of the current fiscal year.

In actual practice, however, the value of these reports is diminished somewhat, due to various factors. In some areas, for instance those relating to public relations or progress of school committees, subjective judgments enter reports to an extent very difficult to ascertain. The problem of subjectivity is circumvented to some extent by the requirement that Regional Supervisors should review individual Agency reports, and themselves make a summary of developments within the respective regions in general. But this requirement does not correct the situation, although very rare cases, amounting to a virtual misreporting of developments, would be detected.

Much of the problem here lies with the reporters themselves. They are spread very sparsely over a large country which makes any significant amount of horizontal communication between them impossible; they frequently have widely differing temperaments, academic backgrounds, and even attitudes to Indian administration itself. The recent practice of holding conferences with field

officers is contributing gradually to an improvement of this situation. At the present rate of improvement anyway, for a long time yet just a handful of these reports are likely to be of a high standard.

It may be mentioned at this point that according to the Field Manual, no administrative action will be taken on information appearing in Agency reports. "Matters requiring action must be the subject of separate communications."¹ This seems to be a negative encouragement for poor or even irresponsible reporting; at least it apparently condones such reporting. In addition, by refusing to take action on information received in connection with these reports, any headquarters division or section would be abdicating to some extent its responsibility to see that operations proceed according to plan. The right should be reserved, not surrendered, to communicate in connection with any report at any time, whether on the field's or its own initiative.

It should not be very surprising then to discover that the Education Division does not attach greatest importance to these reports. It receives a sufficient amount of reliable information from the variety of scheduled reports described earlier; so that it can keep abreast of pertinent developments in the field with little dependence on Agency reports. Accordingly, one finds that while the Division does not totally ignore the latter, there is a not unnatural tendency to attach hardly any importance to them,

1. Vide: Section 16.05 (vii), Field Manual, Indian Affairs Branch, Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration.

in view of the copious reports received from field officers more directly under its administrators' control. It may be noted, en passant, that the attitude of the Economic Development Division to these very reports is quite different, essentially because of its relatively limited sources of information.

But a further word may be in order by way of explaining the attitude of Education's administrators to these generalized reports. In a way, the fact of the Division's responsibility for some 57.1%¹ of the total Branch expenditure, is enough to encourage a vague idea of hegemony within the organization; this apparent primacy of educational programmes in turn leads many in the Division to think that in some ways the pattern of administration, as far as their own division is concerned, must differ from that prevailing in the rest of the Branch organization.

The principal factor giving rise to the Division's virtual disregard of Agency reports, has to do with the organizational relationships between its field officers and those of the remainder of the Branch. Like the other major divisions, Education has a certain amount of specialists in each region. According to the formal organization of the Branch,² specialists are responsible to their respective Regional Supervisors who are the most senior Branch officials in the field. They are in a relationship to the Regional Supervisor not unlike that existing between the specialist

1. Vide: Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. Press Release No. 63-27. Date 14.12.63, p. 5.

2. Canada. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. Chart 5 - Organiza-Structure. Indian Affairs Branch. Revised (February, 1963).

divisions at headquarters and the Director of the Branch.

The significant point to be noted here is that the exercise of a direct line control over field specialists by the divisions was not contemplated in the chart; the Regional Supervisor, having responsibility for all operations and programmes within his region, is the sole repository of this power. All communications between headquarters and officers in his region have, in theory, to be channelled through him - in fact, to him. What is more, it is he, not his specialists, that has full responsibility for the failure or success of all programmes affecting his region.

One of the major consequences of the increasing emphasis placed on educational programmes in recent years has been a growing tendency to utilize the established organization to a diminishing extent. Education officials at Ottawa tend to deal less and less within the lines set by the formal organization of the Branch, while concomitantly increasing reliance on their own field specialists. With the growing scope of educational programmes, the Division's administrators have shown a propensity to shift the weight of their relations away from the Regional Supervisor to their own senior field official, the Regional School Superintendent. Now it is the latter who is held directly responsible for the success or failure of the Division's programmes.

It becomes quite apparent at this juncture that Education is establishing a parallel field organization which could only have the effect of disrupting unity of command within the organization as a whole. For the Regional School Superintendent and his

subordinates are still deemed to be subject to the Regional Supervisor's authority. It is worth noting that senior field officials have had the opportunity recently to discuss this momentous question of the changing pattern of field relationships. The occasion was the Senior Field Officers' Conference of the Branch, held at Ottawa in January, 1964. No detailed minutes of proceedings were kept, but the tone of one part of the Conference Report is sufficient to suggest the sharply differing attitudes of Education's officials on the one hand and Regional Supervisors on the other, in regard to this polemical question.

In the course of discussing field organization, an Education spokesman produced a chart and an accompanying explanation which, in the words of the Report,

seemed to indicate that administrative staff at the Agency level would have no responsibility in the field of Education other than for building maintenance and locally purchased supplies. The chart also indicated that at the regional level full responsibility for carrying out instructions would rest with the Regional School Superintendent who would delegate responsibilities to his assistants as directed. 1

The Report continued,

Senior Administrative Officers from the field took strong exception to this concept and expressed the view that they must retain overall responsibility for education as well as other functions within their regions, and that even at the Agency level the Superintendent could not be separated from all responsibility. 2

1. Indian Affairs Branch, Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. Ottawa, January, 1964. Senior Field Officers' Conference Report, p. 14. (This is not yet a public document.)

2. Ibid.

Now, while the controversy was certainly not brought to an end at the Ottawa conference, the Director of Indian Affairs suggested, somewhat compromisingly, that, of course, Regional Supervisors and the Indian Commissioner for B.C. must be concerned with education but do not necessarily have to be held responsible. Exercising considerable caution, he expressed a desire to experiment in one region where educational staff would be entirely responsible for education but would, of course, continue to consult administrative staff at all levels.

The Director's suggestion indicates the likely outcome of this situation - a modest alteration of the field organization to reflect the prevailing emphasis on educational programmes in the totality of Branch operations. Further encouraging this bit of conjecture is an earlier alteration made in the Branch organization at the divisional level. It is not without significance that the official designation of Education's Head has ceased to be Chief in the revised Organization Chart of February, 1963. The Head of the Division is one of three Assistant Directors answerable to the Director himself. Two organizational levels removed from the Director, the other Division Heads are accountable to officers who are equals of the Education Head.

Whatever the modifications made at the higher echelons of the Branch, its field organization remained formally unaltered. It should be clear, however, that the old equilibrium at the regional and agency levels must in some way be disrupted. A new equilibrium is, to all appearances, on the verge of being struck, but involving some enhancement in the role played by Regional School Superintendents, at the expense of Regional Supervisors.

Returning to the main course of this chapter, it may be said that reporting is a sine qua non for effective management. Without prompt reliable information, central control is likely to be at best superficial, and at worst disastrous. Having said this, however, it should not be overlooked that the value of such information tends to vary with the recipient's first-hand knowledge of the operational environment producing the objects of report.

A very great aid to reporting here is the method described as visitation. Perhaps no other administrative device enables a greater insight into the problems involved at the operational level of a particular programme. It also furnishes a familiarity with personalities associated with the various programmes, thus making their reports all the more meaningful when they are received. The vast geographical expanse throughout which Indian settlement and centres of field operations are located, render any large-scale utilization of this device financially prohibitive. Nonetheless, some effort is made at Division headquarters to utilize it as far as is practicable.

As might be expected, the occasions are rather limited. The Assistant Director has estimated that on an average he spends one week of every two months on field visitation.¹ He has not been able to visit all nine regions in the course of any one year, but he does manage to see more than half of them. The Maritime and Quebec regions are seldom visited, due perhaps to their geographical

1. This was disclosed during an interview with him at his Ottawa office.

proximity to Branch headquarters, or in the case of the Maritimes, to the relatively small number of Indians in that region.

The present practice is that visitation tends to be resorted to with the view of solving a specific problem, especially one in which some extra-organizational body is involved. For instance where Education's field staff and a religious denomination are caught in some knotty situation, the advisability of such visitation may become apparent. A good recent example is afforded by the 1963 visit of the Assistant Director to Fort Vermilion in northern Alberta. The Roman Catholic bishop who has been operating a hostel there on behalf of the Branch, had made repeated representations through field officials for extension of existing facilities. According to the bishop's calculations, there was a growing demand for accommodation which his facilities would soon be unable to meet. The reports of senior Division officials on the field had indicated consistently that the very reverse of the bishop's claims was true.

Before taking a decision, a trip was made to Fort Vermilion. It turned out that the present and probable future demand did not warrant any expansion of existing facilities, and the matter was accordingly settled. Another advantage which results from such visits, although of peripheral relevance here, is the performance by the Assistant Director of certain public relations functions, directed towards such bodies as religious denominations, on which success of many Branch programmes depends.

The modern practice of holding conferences with field officials is also worth some attention here. In an organization

as widely dispersed as Indian Affairs, it is of great benefit to hold these conferences at which

field administration is reviewed periodically and an opportunity afforded to exchange views on developments in administration with the objective of increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of field operations. ¹

Education officials confer, as might be expected, at both the regional and national levels. At the regional, the senior Education official in the field, the Regional School Superintendent, confers with his District School Superintendents and Supervising Principals on matters concerning educational efforts within the region. At least one of these would be held annually, the total number varying according to a variety of regional or national developments.

National conferences are usually called to discuss matters of policy and usually revolve around certain pre-defined themes. Held annually, these conferences of educational specialists tend to be special sessions of the broader conferences of senior field officers. These specialists, of course, also attend the plenary sessions of the bigger Conference as senior field officers. This arrangement enables educationists to confer alone in the field of education, it also enables them to assess the impact of their collective views on members of the larger conference. A good example is that already seen,² where the Assistant Director outlined

1. Review of Activities, p. 6.

2. Supra, p.

his Division's conception of the field organization at the Ottawa Conference of 1964.

Smaller conferences are also frequently held with Division field officials from three or four regions. The most recent of these was attended by the Regional School Superintendents from Northern and Southern Ontario, and Alberta, and met at Ottawa in May, 1964.

There is finally the National Superintendents' Conference, first held in 1957,¹ and summoned biennially since that time. Although this is a broader conference embracing all the programmes sponsored by the Branch, advantage is usually taken of the opportunity to outline before Agency Superintendents ways in which they may contribute to securing the maximum achievement of educational programme objectives. At the 1961 Conference held at Harrison Hot Springs, B.C., for instance, the Assistant Director made two different addresses, one entitled "Community Participation in Education Programmes", and "Adult-Education - Academic Upgrading and Social Orientation as a Means of Developing the Human Resources on the Reserves".²

Stressing respectively the significance of identifying parents and other interested bodies with educational programmes, and the advisability of appealing strongly to the 16 to 25 age group

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1. Information obtained at interview with a senior officer of the Education Division.
 2. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. Conference Report. Indian Superintendents' National Conference. Harrison Hot Springs, September 17-22, 1961.

on reserves to the end of improving their educational standing, these addresses stimulated considerable enthusiasm, even among Agency Superintendents of the "old school" who might not otherwise have espoused too positive an approach to these facets of Indian administration.

The fact of size may appear a limiting factor on these conferences.¹ However, it is partially offset by dividing the members into various committees and sub-committees. Typical here is Committee "A" of the 1959 Conference held at Banff, Alberta. This Committee established inter alia, separate sub-committees to study and make report on Education for Community Leadership and Education for Employment, Discussion of their respective reports involved Superintendents of varying outlooks, from very separated parts of Canada in common efforts, and exposed them to the most progressive views on the subject of Indian administration.

On the question of leadership in isolated reserves, for instance, sub-committee 1 of Committee "A" suggested that "we should not attempt to develop leaders to carry out instructions of Departmental representatives. The objective is to develop leaders who will interpret the wishes of the community and provide the initiative".² Such utterances almost invariably accord with the tones of addresses delivered by senior Branch officials desirous of ensuring that officers at lower echelons of the organization, understand Branch

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1. There are 88 Agency Superintendents throughout Canada.
 2. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. Report of the National Superintendents' Conference, held at Banff, Alberta, September 14-18, 1959, p. 2.

or
policy/objectives. The method of holding conferences is ideally suited to this.

It should be noted here that good reporting involves not only information coming from the lower to the higher levels of the organization, but the reverse of this as well, in order to communicate to lower levels, decisions, policies and such like, reached at the top. Conferences seem to ensure not only vertical, but horizontal communication within the organization, which aids considerably the achievement of programme objectives.

Yet another method of particular value to the Education Division is inspection. The operation and maintenance of schools for Indian children constitutes a major area of its activities. It owns and operates throughout all Canada, except the Northwest Territories, some 443 schools,¹ with a total of 1,246 classrooms² and enrolment of 32,000 pupils.³ The majority of these are Day and government-owned Residential Schools, although a progressively declining number of hospital and seasonal schools are still to be found in some regions. It would be impossible to administer these different schools properly without a system of inspection.

Inspection may be used as both an internal and external method. Used externally, it aims at inducing that part of the public affected by a particular programme to comply with conditions

1. Vide: Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1964, p. 62, Table 18.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 66, Table 29.

attendant on its implementation; often lurking in the background is some defined penalty, whether loss of privilege or a fine. Internally, it aims at ensuring that standards as defined at the top of the organization, are faithfully observed by the responsible officers at key points of that organization.

A good case can conceivably be made out to support the claim that at least some aspect of educational inspection is external; however, apart from considerations of convenience, it would appear more appropriate to regard the whole system as being primarily internal, while recognizing the possibility of certain external characteristics.

School inspections are conducted by Regional and District Superintendents of Schools as well as by Supervising Principals, once in each academic year; additional inspections may be made to particular schools as circumstances warrant. Two separate inspection reports must be completed by the Inspector who sees to it that appropriate copies are forwarded to Ottawa or retained at the Regional Office.

One of these is entitled Inspector's Report on the School Plant and Equipment,¹ and is completed once each year. It is a very simple form requiring the name of the school and date of inspection, in addition to very concise remarks regarding conditions under five different headings: the school building, playground,

1. Form No. 1A4-92.

toilet facilities, teacher's residence, and industrial arts and home economics. Finally, the Inspector must submit his recommendations.

It should be obvious how extremely valuable such inspections are for the determination of the adequacy or inadequacy of buildings and other facilities. At Division headquarters this information is examined in respect of every school, and a simple reference procedure is followed to enable the taking of prompt remedial action where necessary. But of more obvious importance is the School Inspector's Report.¹

In completing this Report the Regional School Superintendent must state the name of the teacher reported on,² the grades taught, enrolment, teaching experience, certificate, degrees, as well as any additional qualifications possessed by the teacher. The Inspector then comments briefly on specified aspects of seven different headings. His comments on the Classroom include seating and learning atmosphere. Under the heading of Management, his remarks touch on time-table, grading of pupils and adherence to provincial programme. Attention is then given the momentous heading - the Professional Ability of the Teacher, under which report is expected, among other things on the appearance of the teacher, his voice and classroom manner, as well as an evaluation of his interest in Indian work, his preparation and planning, and presentation of lessons.

1. Form No. 1A4-91.

2. A separate report is made on each teacher.

In the remaining four areas, the inspection report covers educational progress, physical education and hygiene programme, school-community relations and developments, and equipment and materials. Like the School Plant Equipment Report, this one ends with recommendations submitted in the light of remarks made throughout. Similarly, at Division headquarters, the Chief Inspector of Indian Schools and his staff study these reports and arrange for prompt action where it is warranted.

Before leaving this method, it may be noted that the Division also utilizes provincial inspection to a considerable extent. The B.N.A. Act makes education a provincial responsibility, a fact well recognized by the Branch and reflected in its adoption of the curricula of those provinces in which its schools are located. One consequence of this constitutional responsibility is that Indian schools situated in a province are subject to inspection by its educational authorities.

At first this may appear redundant; but a moment's reflection would show up the advantages which may be derived from such a system of double inspection. It makes possible the checking of divisional against provincial inspection reports, taking careful notice of any significant differences revealed. While such checking — is done at Ottawa,¹ it is not the primary reason for^{their} being deemed important. The Division sees their real significance in the

1. Informed to this effect by the Asst. Director, Education Services, during an interview.

opportunity they afford for comparing standards in Indian schools with those of the particular province as a whole. Provincial inspectors are ideally qualified and situated to do just this, although many have a marked tendency to apply different yardsticks when inspecting Indian schools.

Division administrators are fully aware of the problem here. However, provincial reports provide such a singular opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of some programmes, that they continue to receive constant encouragement. They also constitute a very useful machinery of dominion-provincial cooperation.

All of the administrative methods discussed thus far - reporting, visitation, conference, and inspection - acquire some meaning and unity when viewed in connection with the method of controlling. They appear to reflect the degree of control which senior administrators aim at exercising in order to ensure the success of programmes. That Education administrators exercise a very firm control over their programmes becomes immediately apparent on glancing at the nature of their other internal methods.

The system of scheduled, standardized reporting is geared to furnish a steady flow of valuable information from field operators to headquarters administrators. Conferences ensure that field officials are sufficiently aware of the thinking of their superiors, and enable exchanges of views on major policy matters of the Division. Visitation is resorted to as a means of gaining more direct or first-hand knowledge regarding the operational environment. Inspection is strongly emphasized to ensure proper

quality control in school operation.

Firmness of control is also reflected in the unsettled field organization, mentioned earlier in this chapter; as indicated, the relationship between Division headquarters and divisional field staff is quite a unique development within the Branch. While other divisions maintain communication with their respective field representatives through the Regional Supervisor, the Education Division frequently avoids this channel by making direct contact with its own representative, the Regional School Superintendent.

This direct contact, of course, means the strengthening of its control over field operations, and has the effect of substituting the School Superintendent for the Regional Supervisor as the official responsible for programmes in a region. However, it leaves considerable doubt as to the true relationship between the two senior field officers. What is apparent is that Education's administrators at headquarters tend increasingly to regard their official as an equal to the Regional Supervisor as far as matters of pure education are concerned. Whatever the actual relationship between Regional Superintendent and Regional Supervisor, it appears that some conflict of views exists at least as to what it ought to be. The field organization chart presented by the Asst. Director at the Conference of 1964 shows clearly that the Division wants to "tie control standards to individual responsibility"¹ as far as is practicable, a practice which enhances the exercise of control and

1. This term is borrowed from, Wm. H. Newman, Administrative Action. The Techniques of Organization and Management. N.Y. (1953), p. 409.

facilitates the taking of corrective action. But what other forms does control take at the Education Division?

There is first the general administrative control which is exercised in a variety of ways, such as through the writing of memoranda, communications by telephone or cable, and such like. Much of this sort of control is exercised in a semi-routine way, by accepting recommendations made by regional inspectors, or rejecting them; by correcting some undesirable situation recognized in reports; or by taking decisions referred by subordinates lacking sufficient authority.

Another semi-routine control is that exercised in connection with approving the draft terms of school bus contracts; quite similar is the requirement that headquarters be informed and official approval obtained before Regional School Superintendents begin negotiations with local school boards for the establishment or expansion of joint school agreements.¹ These and other devices enable the Division's administrators to control particular situations that impinge on programmes.

Whenever corrective action is required for achieving more universal results, resort may be made - and is made - to direct legislative control. Thus the Minister, under the governing Indian Act, may (a) provide for and make regulations with respect to standards for buildings, equipment, teaching education, inspection and discipline in connection with schools".²

1. Vide: The Field Manual, section 11.42.

2. The Indian Act, 1951, c. 29, s.114, p. 3390.

This broad power enables corrective action to be taken by the simple, flexible means of amending a regulation. It may be noted further that this power can be used all the more easily seeing that the persona designata is not the Governor-in-Council, but the Minister who is usually more subject to the influence of his departmental specialists than the larger body of Cabinet Ministers.

But Division administrators may also go as far as taking action to seek Parliament's amendment of the parent statute itself. This is used rarely, of course, but quite effectively. A very good example here is afforded by section 30 of the 1956 amendment¹ which repealed section 116(b) of the Indian Act. Paragraph (b) of section 116 had made the continued attendance at school optional for an Indian child who "has passed entrance examinations for high school". With the steady advancement of school building programmes, the Division had reached a point by 1956 when it could no longer allow the continuance of such a paragraph in the Act, without reducing the effectiveness of educational programmes in general.

The most systematic control exercised in the Division is financial control. It begins from the very time that field officers submit draft estimates for the respective regions. There is a planning function involved in the budgetary process, which in every public organization involves the successive revision, modification and alteration of original plans in the course of their vertical

1. An Act to Amend the Indian Act, 4-5 Elizabeth II, ch. 40, s.30, p. 294.

movement within the organization. The perpetual factor of limited financial resources dictates this law; so that despite the undeniable plausibility of some projects, senior levels are often forced to overlook them in the interest of others, purportedly more deserving of priority.

A recent example of this sort of control may be noted in connection with the preparation of estimates for 1962-63. Senior Division officials were told very late during the preparation of the estimates, that due to government's adoption of an austerity programme, there would be very drastic cuts made by Treasury Board in the Construction and Works vote. The draft estimates had already been received from field officers. Headquarters officials had to determine which projects should be proceeded with, and which it might be possible to suspend in the circumstances. As pointed out earlier in this chapter,¹ it was felt that the building programme in the region of Northern Ontario deserved top priority; accordingly it was supported at headquarters at the expense of projects of a less pressing urgency.

During actual preparation of the Division's budget, a firm control is exercised by its administrators. Once the Estimates have been passed by Parliament, however, control in some areas becomes severely limited. Control must be somewhat limited where there has been some previous financial commitment made, for instance, by agreement with a local school board to share in the operation of

1. Supra, p.

a joint school, or to pay salaries to the Division's employees.

Of the \$27,200,000 voted in 1964-5 for the Division's administration, operation and maintenance, the following allotments may be said to permit of a very limited control:¹

Salaries and Wages ²	\$ 8,095,610
Payments for Operation and Mtce. of Residential Schools & Hostels	7,807,225
Repairs and Upkeep of Buildings	1,731,937
Tuition and Mtce. of Indians in Non-Indian Schools	<u>6,640,000</u>
Total	<u>\$ 24,274,772</u>

Thus \$24,274,772 of the total \$27,200,000 or 89.25%, represents an area where, at the very outset, only a limited degree of control can be prudently exercised. This is a large figure, especially when one considers that the grand total of the Division's votes is but \$34,615,000.³ Steps are taken to minimize the limitation on control in this area. Thus, regional officials decide on numerous matters involving expenditure; their own freedom, however, is itself very circumscribed by regulations requiring head office approval of expenditures in excess of stipulated amounts, and other controls which make it nigh impossible to expend funds on any operation, unlikely to receive favour at Ottawa. Similarly, having hired a large number of teachers and other salaried employees, administrators at Ottawa may find it impossible to alter significantly the staff situation; yet individual

1. Estimates, 1964-65, Vote 15.

2. Wages amount to only \$251,850.

3. This figure includes \$7,415,000 under Vote 20, the Construction and Works vote.

cases can be and are dealt with effectively, with the aid of school inspectors' reports and so forth.

Firmer control, of course, would be exercised in connection with the less inflexible areas of the vote - for instance Travelling and Removal Expenses, or Advertising and Films. In the case of allotments which are directly managed from headquarters, control is all the more tight. The best example of this is the allotment for Adult Education.¹ Since the small allotment of \$171,700 could not be properly sub-allotted to the individual regions, an arrangement has been worked out whereby field officers, on recognizing a favourable set of conditions for the introduction of adult education classes, would submit recommendations and plans to headquarters. If such plans are approved, money from the allotment is then made available to that particular region. This arrangement means that there is not even a slight chance that adult education programmes can be implemented in any area without the prior approval of Education's administrators - it is one of a few very direct controls exercised by the latter over field operations.

With the view of exercising the firmest possible control over the Operation vote, a record is kept at Ottawa by the Assistant Director. Known as the "Comparative Statement of Expenditures",² it is a monthly comparison of expenditures made under the Administration, Operation and Maintenance vote of the Division, in respect of each

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1. This was disclosed during an interview with the Division's chief finance officer.
 2. The author had access to files with these statements for 1962-3 and 1963-4.

region and of Canada as a whole. Compiled at head office on the basis of various field reports and statements from the Comptroller of the Treasury, it shows for both current and previous years, the allotment, Expenditure, and percentage of allotment expended up to the particular month.

With information of this kind at their finger-tips, head office officials can exercise reasonable control over programmes in any region. It may be mentioned here that the Assistant Director may transfer funds from one region to another at his discretion, as long as he keeps within the allocation made by Parliament for expenditure on approved projects. He may approach Treasury Board for approval to transfer funds from one project to another, where such a step seems advisable. The Comparative Statement of Expenditures makes such operations simpler than would have been the case otherwise.

The Assistant Director, Education, also keeps a record, "Education Division. Monthly Report on Capital Construction and Joint Agreements".¹ Kept since 1962, it is based on monthly reports received from the field concerning expenditure and completion of projects. This record readily provides information about all construction being undertaken throughout all the regions in connection with Indian or joint school projects. It identifies each project, and shows for each the percentage of completion, estimated completion date, cost of the project, amount paid in

1. The author has also examined files carrying these reports.

previous year, estimated requirements for the succeeding fiscal year, as well as total expenditure in the current year. Concise remarks are made by way of explaining abnormal progress and such like.

This record is basic to one of the firm controls exercised by the Assistant Director. He has the names of all contractors responsible for projects, and can take quick action to correct undesirable developments, for example by securing more funds, or by issuing instructions to suspend the granting of contracts for further construction, as the case may be.

To conclude this chapter, then, it need hardly be emphasized that firm control is the commanding feature in the administration of the Education Division's programmes. Field officials even where they have some latitude of discretion, are nonetheless under constant scrutiny, and must be able to justify their actions in scheduled reports. Control is becoming so direct that it is threatening the established lines of the field organization in some significant respects.

It would seem, however, that without the exercise of reasonably firm control, the success of its programmes throughout all the regions would not be assured. A high degree of uniformity seems desirable in the administration of educational programmes. Only by the use of methods which would achieve this end can real success be achieved. A steady flow of reliable and pertinent information, close inspection, distinct lines of communication, strong personal contacts with field personnel, all play an important part here. That the educational programmes have achieved remarkable success in recent years, is indelible testimony to the general soundness of the administrative methods as utilized in their implementation.

CHAPTER III

"INTERNAL METHODS - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DIVISION"

In marked contrast to those of Education, the internal methods of the Economic Development Division reflect a basic orientation towards looseness rather than tightness of control - in point of fact, this may be said to be the essential orientation of most operating divisions within the Branch; and it would appear to have its roots in the conviction that decentralization is best suited to the peculiarities of Indian administration.

Unlike the uniformity of educational programmes, those of economic development vary considerably, in response to the varying requirements of the different regions. A good deal of reliance tends to be placed on the wisdom of the "man on the spot", who is generally regarded as understanding the problems of his region or Agency (as the case may be) more than anyone else, even senior Division officials at a far-removed Ottawa head office. Emerging from this situation then, are slightly different combinations and emphases in internal methods which are quite simple compared to those already examined.

The virtual absence of systematic reporting is typical and reflects the simplicity of the Division's internal methods in general. Thus there are no specially prescribed forms eliciting standardized information from field officials; neither is there any significant scheduling of the few reports actually received. The

only reports received at scheduled or predictable intervals are the Annual and Semi-Annual Reports, which are completed by Agency Superintendents and Regional Supervisors. As pointed out earlier,¹ these are progress reports relating to all Branch programmes currently undertaken in the respective regions.

Relating specifically to economic development are those headings of the Reports dealing with Management and Development of Resources, Labour and Employment, and Financial Matters.² It may be recalled that the Education Division discounts the value of these reports. The Economic Development Division however tends to attach a greater importance to them. It relies on them almost entirely in the preparation of its annual report. But apart from this, the non-existence of other continuing sources of information relating to field operations, makes Division officials very disposed to give them serious study and attention. For instance, although there is the stipulation in the Field Manual that "no administrative action will be taken on information appearing in Agency reports",³ the Acting Chief of the Division asserts that this is one section of the Field Manual that is invariably disregarded; he and his officials take the initiative in appropriate cases where field officers omit to do so in separate communication.

Further stimulating a modest measure of respect for the reports is the relative cordiality of relationships between the

1. Supra, Ch. 2, p. 35.

2. Vide: headings B. C. and D, Section 16.05(v) of the Field Manual.

3. The Field Manual, Section 16.05 (vii).

Division's senior officials and the Regional Supervisors. This is based on an unequivocal acceptance of the latter's authority in the field as well as their responsibility for all Branch programmes within their respective regions. Economic Development has no field officers equal in status to Education's Regional School Superintendent, and accordingly lacks the gravitational pull towards a rival source of information. Indeed, so complete has been its dependence on Regional Supervisors for all information that there never has been any consideration of alternative sources.

It may be mentioned at this point that up to the end of 1963, the Division's officials at head office received quarterly progress reports on field programmes, in addition to those already indicated. It was found, however, that they were so numerous as to be valueless. In addition to consuming the precious time of field officials, these quarterly reports were accumulating at a rate which defied systematic study and analysis at headquarters. Effective then from the beginning of 1964, they have been discontinued¹ to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned.

Interestingly, the attitude of a number of head office officials² is that the field officials more than anyone else know the field situation; no one at Ottawa can prudently exert more than a very negative control. It is felt that, of necessity, considerable latitude has to be allowed these men who have the responsibility for success or failure of all programmes in their

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1. This information was obtained at an interview with the Division's Acting Chief.
 2. This is based on interviews with 2 section heads and other senior Division officials.

respective regions. Some justification for such a position is offered in the following extract from the Review of Activities, 1948-1958:

The most significant development in the last ten years has been the change in concept of field administration. In 1948, direction, control and supervision of field administration was carried out largely from Headquarters in Ottawa....

The increasing range of activities and complexity of problems that had to be dealt with in administering the affairs of the Indians, broadened social welfare measures which were shared by provinces and administered by them, and the necessity for intimate knowledge of regional conditions in relation to reserves and problems faced by Indians, required a different type of organization from that which existed. More decentralization of functions was required...to handle expanded programmes designed to improve the status of the Indians, both economically and socially. 1

Decentralization then is undoubtedly the ethos of Indian administration, and it seems to receive endorsement by all operating divisions except Education. But decentralization in itself, as well as the maximum delegation of responsibility to field officials, should not be interpreted to mean the abdication by head office administrators of their own responsibility to see that field operations proceed in accordance with plans.

The arguments that all the "men on the spot" have been put there because of demonstrated ability, and that headquarters staff are not likely to make sounder judgements than theirs, do not really alter the validity of this point; for paradoxically, the more one delegates, the more he multiplies his own responsibility, and increases the need for control of some sort; otherwise he places

1. Vide: Review of Activities, p. 4.

himself totally at the mercy of subordinates, whose actions are put beyond his control. The big point here, however, is that control cannot be properly exercised without a reasonably regular flow of information from strategic points in the field organization.

Apart from Annual and Semi-Annual Reports as mentioned above, the Division lacks scheduled information. What is more, even these reports tend to lack objectivity, and consistency of pattern, thus reducing their value in many individual instances. Specially prescribed forms, designed to achieve standardized information and other attendant advantages, would be of great value here, as it is for the Education Division.

Having said this, however, it becomes essential to point out that the nature of the programmes administered by the Economic Development Division is such that reports concerning their implementation do not lend themselves to the standardization and uniformity which characterize those of the Education Division. The former's programmes vary considerably between, as well as within regions, and reports on them must reflect this variety.

What figures very prominently then in this Division is reporting by memorandum.¹ Flexible, and due at no pre-arranged intervals, memoranda seem to meet the peculiar requirements of its programmes. There is, however, a natural tendency here for no reports to be furnished by field officers unless something unexpected develops or progress is not being made according to plan.

1. This information was had from the Acting Chief of the Division.

Then some communication would be directed to headquarters in the hope of resolving the situation. This would appear to be a system of "exception reporting"¹-divisional plans are drawn up and approved; operations are then assumed to be proceeding accordingly unless reports to the contrary are received at head office.

One disadvantage about this type of reporting is that it makes possible the withholding of vital information by field officers until minor situations develop into major problems; "exception reporting" then may reduce the chances of promptly identifying potential causes of difficulty, or it may increase the costs of corrective action by tardy disclosures of information. None of the Division's senior officers at headquarters views this as anything more than an academic problem. Everyone appears to be quite satisfied with the status quo. This is however not surprising, for apart from the inherent difficulties involved in getting a better system of reporting, prevailing sentiment in Economic Development favours fullest reliance on and confidence in the judgement of field officers having operational responsibilities.

It may be noted here that a reasonable amount of oral reporting is done in the Division. But this itself is due primarily² to the emphasis placed on visitation as an internal administrative implement. In a way, then, head office administrators fill large gaps in their knowledge left by the paucity of written reports.

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1. This term is borrowed from William H. Newman, op. cit., p. 420.
 2. Visitations are not made for the purpose of receiving reports; they would, in such event, constitute a most costly form of reporting. Accordingly, note should be made of oral reporting as a merely incidental result of the utilization of this administrative method.

The Acting Chief of the Division has indicated that he makes some eight visits to the field in the **course** of one year. These are not scheduled visits; they are made completely in response to urgent developments relating to the Division's major programmes. In addition, the places visited are not pre-arranged.¹

The great bulk of visits, however, are conducted by heads of the Division's major sections - Industrial Development, Placement and Relocation, Research and Surveys, Wildlife and Fisheries, and Credit. These section heads spend a large proportion of their official time on the field. A remarkable - but extreme - example is the Head of the Fisheries and Wildlife Section, who estimates that between 65 and 70 per cent of his time is spent on the field.²

Various specialists of this and other divisions are attached to the regional offices. These specialists are responsible to their respective Regional Supervisors, although there is an understandably close informal collaboration with the respective specialist sections or units at Ottawa. For instance, Placement Officers attached to regional offices are constantly in touch with the Placement and Relocation Section, but always through the Regional Supervisors. Problems, recommendations, reports and plans affecting a particular region form the subject matter of numerous memoranda.

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1. The Acting Chief has made 4 of his 5 visits up to 30.6.64 to the Manitoba Region.
 2. This information was received at an interview with the Section Head. It may be indicated here that one major probable reason for the great need of visitation, is the fact that these specialist sections do not all have representatives attached to the 9 regional offices. In the absence of such field specialists, they apparently need to do much of the field jobs themselves.

It should not be difficult to see, however, that section heads at head office, having a general responsibility for deciding on long and short-range plans of future operations for all Canada, cannot afford to divorce themselves from the actual scenes of operation. Extensive on-the-spot surveys and inquiries must be made, full appreciation of operating difficulties gained, before important decisions are taken, or before priorities can be determined, not only in terms of programmes, but also of areas throughout Canada as a whole.

Even when these broad questions have been settled, narrower ones remain, requiring similarly close study. Thus, when the appropriate section decides that a dam or dyke will be constructed, there is still the problem of determining where it would be best located on a reserve, from a technical standpoint. With regard to such activities as fishing, trapping and so forth, consultation may be required with provincial officials to the end of extending or granting special rights and privileges to Indians. Agreements may be negotiated with the provinces, in which case, good knowledge of the field situation is important for the settlement of terms.

For a variety of reasons, therefore, section heads are usually out in the field for very extended periods.¹ Advantage is invariably taken of opportunities to consult with Regional Supervisors, Agency Superintendents, or field specialists attached to a

1. Many trips last 3 weeks, or even a month.

region; such consultations of course enable the most effective transfer of information and reporting. But, whatever the advantages of visitation, it is quite a costly method of administering programmes.

Economic Development spends in 1964-65, \$98,385 out of a total budget of \$2,018,900 on Travelling and Removal Expenses¹ - or 4.95% of its operating budget. The Welfare Division, in contrast, spends only \$25,000 of its \$12,500,000 or .02% of its allotment under vote 15.² Economic Development therefore pays heavily for its emphasis on visitation. It seems however, that these relatively high expenses cannot be rightly criticized on the ground of exorbitance. The small budget of this Division, compared to Education and others in the Branch, partially reveals the fact that much of the success of its programmes requires, not so much by way of big costly projects, but rather keen, direct study of a diversity of problems where they exist, and the patient, relentless efforts of dedicated individuals in solving them.

Given this sort of emphasis in the Division's methods, time-consuming reports from the field may very well constitute a superfluity. Further, the reliance placed on field officials may well be based on the discovery of their consistent spontaneity in coöperating with divisional headquarters, as well as on the latter's own direct 'supervision' as exercised through visitations by section specialists.

1. Vide: The Estimates, op. cit., p. 74, Vote 15.

2. Op. cit., p. 72.

No internal inspection is used by the Division. This is in direct contrast to Education. As a method intended primarily for quality control, it is naturally deemed superfluous in the furthering of economic development programmes. Such an instrument would only make great inroads on field officers' autonomy, which is contrary to the administrative ethos of the Division. At any rate, the Chief of the Division has no line authority over Regional Supervisors to require their compliance with Divisional standards. The Assistant Director, Operating Services, has this authority over not only the Regional Supervisor, but over the Division's Chief himself.

Turning next to the conference, one finds here a method which contributes a great deal to the success of Branch programmes. Mention has been made earlier¹ of the important role played by conferences in connection with Education. It is of probably greater importance to Economic Development, since it serves as a unifying, or at least a coördinative factor, reducing the apparent anarchy and centrifugal tendencies in its operations.

The point is that while, in Education the marked similarity, or rather uniformity, of programmes from region to region acts as a unifying force, the reverse of this is true in Economic Development. Some regions, for instance the Maritimes, have extremely limited resources of any kind for development.

1. Supra, ch. 2, p. 43 ff.

In others wild-life and fishing may be emphasized, together with job placement; in yet others, programmes may emphasize logging, farming, and so forth.

Programmes of Economic Development tend therefore to be just as diverse as the resources to be found throughout the country. Perhaps the only fairly consistent factor throughout all the regions is the predominance of fishing and trapping among the activities of their more northerly inhabitants. However, when one leaves these northerly limits, the patterns change just as clearly across the nation as they do amongst the adjacent non-Indian communities. It should be quite apparent, therefore, how important it is that Division officials hold conferences periodically for the purpose of giving some unity and sense of direction to what might otherwise be a mere congeries of separate and unconnected efforts. With good reason, the Division attaches much weight to conferences.

It has been indicated earlier on that national conferences respectively of senior field officers and of Agency Superintendents meet for five full working days, and that Education officials frequently meet at special sessions to consider matters of a purely educational nature. The plenary sessions of these conferences tend to centre around the activities of other operating divisions, including Economic Development. Superb opportunities are afforded at these sessions for all to participate in the formulation of broad policies, as well as to grasp the general context in which small individual operations must be placed in the total efforts. A vivid picture is formed of the direction in which the administration

is moving, and a good understanding is gained of the individual contributions required to facilitate such movement. Field officers, after a conference has terminated, always return to their districts with a much greater capacity for accelerating the achievement of programme objectives.

Stimulating addresses are delivered, leaving delegates very impressed with the nature of their respective roles. The National Superintendents' Conference of September 1961¹ is representative. All members heard the feature address delivered by Lt. Col. H.M. Jones, Director of Indian Affairs, on "The Years Ahead", in which the conference's theme - full participation by the Indian people under their own leaders - was described as "the essential ingredient for the full success of all our operations".²

The appointment of each conference member to two of eight committees enabled close attention to be focussed on some important areas of operations: Committee "B", for instance, composed of members from varying types of regions, dealt with two subjects relevant to this chapter. On 17th September, it concentrated on "Development and Employment of Indian Manpower", in which discussion centred around such problems as how to improve the stability of the Indian worker moving off reserves, and the value of works projects in the Agency to replace relief.

"Economic Development at the Community Level" is the other subject examined by C'tee. "B", on the 20th September, and

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1. National Superintendents Conference, Harrison Hot Springs, Sept. 17-22, 1961.
 2. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. "The Years Ahead". Address of Lt. Col. H.M. Jones, Director of Indian Affairs, National Superintendents' Conference, Harrison Hot Springs, Sept. 18, 1961, p. 17.

it involved discussions on Indian lands, capital, management, and handicrafts.¹ Another area of relevance here, is that examined by Committee "A" on 20th Sept. "Forest Management. The Evaluation and Full Utilization of Timber Available to Indians".² Discussions in this important area centred on timber regulations, possibility of charcoal manufacture, and greater exploitation and development of Indian timber resources.

These committees usually report back to plenary sessions of the conference, enabling fuller participation by members of the larger body, who consequently become conversant with questions closely examined in committee. Committee reports also receive very careful study at appropriate divisions and sections of headquarters; field officers are usually informed of recommendations which can be immediately implemented or of what further attention may appear requisite in the light of other pertinent considerations.

Senior field officers' conferences deal usually with broad policy for the Branch in specific areas, and need not be examined here to any advantage. The last one was held in January, 1964, and concentrated on four matters: The Indian Claims Commission,³ Federal-Provincial Relations, Consultations with Indians, and Organization of the Branch. It is to be noted, however, that the national conferences of Agency Superintendents are always attended by all the Regional Supervisors and other

1. Vide: the 1961 Conference Report, section entitled "Indian Manpower".

2. Vide: the 1961 Conference Report, section entitled "Forest Management".

3. This Commission is to be set up by the proposed "Act to provide for the disposition of Indian claims". Bill No. C-130, given first reading in the Commons on 14th Dec., 1963.

senior field officers; on these occasions, senior field officers get an opportunity to participate in less generalized discussions.

Another conference of some interest here is that of Regional Agency Superintendents. It is called annually by the Regional Supervisor to plan future operations, review various activities, and probably settle any ticklish questions pertaining to the region. Regional conferences are usually quite effective. They are conducted in a rather informal atmosphere and touch on matters which, being essentially of a local nature, are quite familiar to all members. Their small size is also a great advantage, as it makes for ready cooperation and enables all sessions to be plenary with little need for committees.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the largest of the nine regions comprising the field organization - British Columbia and Yukon region - has only twenty Agencies. All Agency Superintendents therefore have a reasonable opportunity to participate actively and contribute to resolving questions put before them. A good illustration of this fullness of participation is afforded by the deliberations of the 1956 Conference for B.C. and the Yukon. All twenty Superintendents had at least one comment to make when discussion turned to the proposed appointment of a Forestry Engineer to be attached to the region.¹

Branch headquarters had recommended the appointment of such an officer after the brilliant success achieved in Northern

1. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, Indian Superintendents' Conference. B.C. and Yukon Region. January 16-20, 1956, vide pp. 36 ff.

Ontario by a Mr. Yeomans. The "pros and cons" of such appointment were fully considered, appraisals made of the service currently provided by provincial officials. Although a number of Superintendents supported Ottawa's proposition, the preponderant majority of them indicated in no uncertain manner that they were quite satisfied with existing arrangements. The Indian Commissioner for B.C. was in full agreement with this, so that the result was a continued reliance on provincial foresters to advance the region's forestry programmes. Similar patterns of participation are noticeable during discussion of other phases of Economic Development, such as Game and Wildlife,¹ Agriculture,² and finally, Welfare and Economic Development.³

The Manitoba Superintendents' Conference of October, 1962, also shows how a lively participation characterizes the proceedings of these small⁴ gatherings. Discussions following an address by the Field Officer on "Fur Agreements and Registered Traplines",⁵ and another by the Director of Fisheries on "Natural Resources Utilization",⁶ show the same informality and the concrete application of individual experience to problems affecting the region as a whole.

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1. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, Indian Superintendents' Conference. B.C. and Yukon Region, January 16-20, 1956, pp. 56 ff and 73 ff.
 2. Ibid., pp. 63 ff.
 3. Ibid., pp. 84 ff.
 4. There are only 8 Agencies in the Manitoba region.
 5. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, Manitoba Superintendents' Conference Report, Wasagaming (Clear Lake) Manitoba, Oct. 2,3, & 4, 1962, pp. 10 ff. .
 6. Ibid., pp. 15 ff.

Now all these conferences so far examined - those of Senior Field Officers, National Superintendents, and Regional Superintendents - play major roles. They make possible an understanding of regional or national programmes, the direction in which they are moving and the possible problems to be encountered in their implementation by the men ultimately responsible for their success or failure. It is to be noted, however, that they are essentially conferences of generalists. Although various specialists on education, fisheries, agriculture, and so forth, may deliver feature addresses that often form some basis of discussion, the necessary limitations on the scope of such discussions must also be recognized.

Occasional conferences of Division specialists would go a long way in meeting this problem. Of course, as within regions, a good deal of conferring would take place between specialists who are all attached to the same regional office; this is an almost inevitable informal development. The need is not diminished, however, for a more formal arrangement which brings together appropriate specialists from all or contiguous regions for the purpose of reviewing planning and accelerating, where possible, total Divisional operations.

There is only one such conference, and it is composed of specialists from both the Economic Development and Education divisions. It meets biennially; also, separate conferences are held in respect of Western and Eastern regions. For instance the 1963 conference was held in February for Eastern regions,¹ and in

1. Informed by the Head, Placement and Relocation Section, during an interview.

September for the Western.

Although these are joint conferences, they make possible the focussing of much specialist attention on common regional questions. The participation of educationists in these conferences makes for a healthy appreciation of the complementary nature of various Branch operations. But specialists in Economic Development also meet in separate sessions or special committees in order to study specific questions pertaining to the Division's programmes.

Thus at the Banff Conference of September, 1963, a committee of specialists in Economic Development - Committee 2 - went into the problem of sources of finance available to Indians, other than through Indian Affairs Branch. The Committee also directed its attention to a number of related questions: In what manner and by what means can Revolving Fund Loans be made more functional? What steps can be taken to interest private industry to establish operations on reserves? Why have coöperatives and credit unions been unsuccessful among Indians?¹

Committee 3 dealt with yet another set of questions: What measures can the Department take to stimulate the production of handicraft, to assure a good market, to maintain a product of high standard, and to safeguard the Indian against outside competition? The Committee also considered what might be done to encourage the Indian as a small businessman, as well as ways of taking full advantage of provincial facilities to effect improvements in resource development.²

1. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, "Minutes of the Western Economic Development and Education Conference". Banff, Sept. 1963, pp. 39 ff.

2. Ibid., pp. 42 ff.

Such conferences tend to result in the formation of workable and wise policy, or the correction of previous blunders in policy. Very knotty issues, on the other hand, frequently defy ready solutions. Yet it should not be thought that efforts on them are wasted. The officials concerned appreciate how delicately they must tread on such uncertain grounds as Indian coöperatives, or the lack of reliability among numerous Indians hired by employers. Minutes of these conferences, it may be said finally, are carefully studied at headquarters by appropriate sections which have shown a consistent tendency to test ideas that seem promising.

Conferences enable participation in the formulation of policy and in the decision-making process. Participation in turn has the advantage of bringing a variety of ideas, and shades of ideas, to bear on the objects of policy or decision; the resulting competition between views ably advanced as well as opposed, increases the probability of reaching the soundest decisions or policies. Participation offers yet another advantage; by identifying participants with decisions or policies reached, it reduces the possibility of misunderstanding objectives, and what is more, it wins for a programme the sympathy of those officers most directly involved in its implementation.

The latter advantage is particularly important for a division such as Economic Development, in which much of the administrative balance of power rests at the regional rather than the national level. The fact too that the Regional Supervisors, having responsibility for all programmes in their respective

regions, are generalists, emphasizes the need for occasions which expose them to the clear-cut thinking of specialists and to the influence of senior administrators at divisional headquarters. Because of the relative looseness of control which characterizes administration of the Division's programmes, such influence tends to assume a great importance; but this point brings us to a more direct look at the method of controlling itself.

It has already been indicated at various points in this chapter how limited a control is exercised over economic development programmes by Division headquarters. This does not mean, of course, that the programmes are being administered without control, but rather that this particular function has been so greatly and deliberately decentralized as to leave a very narrow margin within the practicable exercise of division administrators at head office.

Some legislative control may be exercised under the different sections of the Act by means of making and amending regulations. For instance, section 68(2) confers on the Governor in Council a power to make regulations giving effect to subsection (1), in which he "may by order permit a band to control, manage and expend in whole or in part its revenue moneys and may amend or revoke any such order".¹ Receiving such power over its revenue moneys, a band can influence the economic lot of its members in a variety of of ways: by providing loans to Indians desirous of building or

1. The Indian Act, Section 68(1).

improving dwelling houses, for improving farming efficiency by acquiring machinery, or for the purchase of boats and other equipment; such power may also enable a band council to embark on projects such as road construction and maintenance, or winter works for the relief of unemployment on reserves.

The important point to be noted here, however, is that this particular legislative control can be exercised only in respect of individual bands, not bands in general. In practice, therefore, it is the Regional Supervisor who judges the state of readiness of any given band for such powers, and submits his recommendations to Ottawa, where it usually is accepted. For all practical purposes, the regional office becomes the agent, not the patient, of control; no regulation under this section can be made without its stamp of approval. This example also shows where the administrative centre of gravity really lies in economic development programmes.

Nevertheless a not inconsiderable measure of legislative control is exerciseable under other sections of the Act. Thus under Section 57, the "Governor in Council may make regulations

- (b) imposing terms, conditions and restrictions with respect to the exercise of rights conferred by licenses granted under paragraph (a) 1
- (c) providing for the disposition of surrendered mines and minerals underlying lands in a reserve. 2

This section enables the competent arm of the Governor in Council - in this case the Division's officials at headquarters - to control

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- 1. i.e., regarding the cutting of timber.
 - 2. The Indian Act, Section 57(b) and (c).

certain programme areas relating to the nation as a whole. Such control, while based ultimately on reports received from field officials, may or may not have the positive support of the latter. This control may be exercised unilaterally, according to the construction of the section.

Similar powers have been conferred by section 69(2) under which the Governor in Council may make regulations to give effect to subsection (1), dealing with loans to Indians. In addition, section 72(1) enables the Governor in Council to make regulations in respect of 12 subjects such as "(a) for the protection and preservation of fur-bearing animals, fish and other games on reserves".¹ This latter power enables the practice of conservation to the end of replenishing depleted fish and wildlife population.

It is of some interest that the power to make all of these regulations has been delegated to the Governor in Council, while the recipient of similar powers in the case of the Education programme is the Minister.² Compared to Education, Economic Development has a rather confined discretion; for regulations made or amended by the Minister, apart from having greater flexibility, are more likely to reflect the will of permanent officials who advise the Minister, than those which must go before the Cabinet to secure approval.

The result of this small distinction is that legislative control over economic development programmes cannot be as ready as if

1. The Indian Act, Section 72(1)a.

2. Ibid., Section 114.

exercised in the name of the Minister. There is a greater reluctance to make regulations and a natural tendency to rely on the judgment and influence of "men on the spot", with a minimum of resort to formal legislation.

Turning next to financial control, the primary area here is in connection with preparing the annual estimates. The entire process of preparation involves revision - usually in the form of reductions - as the drafts move upwards to the Treasury Board. A whole range of control is opened up for exercise by Division headquarters. The individual agencies and regions submit their drafts, outlining the various projects or plans of operation for their respective units. By the time they have reached the level of Division headquarters, competition for limited funds forces a determination of priorities among the projects proposed in respect of the nation as a whole.

The various sections and units of the Division are consulted here. They have expert knowledge on the requirements of all Canada in their respective areas of specialty, for instance, Placement and Relocation, or Wildlife and Fisheries. They are accordingly most qualified to determine among themselves which projects must come first, which can wait, and what not.

This is undoubtedly a major area of central control. However, once the budget has been passed by Parliament, and the various regional offices informed of their respective allotments, field officials embark on their programmes in relative freedom. But, if some unpredictable development changes the basis for any

allotment, head office may certainly enter the picture to transfer funds from a less worthy project, as the case may be; this sort of control is exercised rarely, but it can be exercised.

As pointed out earlier, the system of "exception reporting" makes for very limited transmission of information to head office; and, of course, there could be no firm central control without steady receipt of information. On the other hand, it cannot be overemphasized that the diversity of Economic Development's programmes throughout the 9 regions makes the exercise of firm central control undesirable. Lack of uniformity among these programmes means that such control may easily cause disregard for regional and local peculiarities, poorly appreciated by far-removed officials.

The programmes administered by Economic Development vary widely; they lack the essential uniformity of Education programmes, and hence the justification for a similar endowment of control. Yet this does not mean that headquarters would be better off abdicating its responsibility for the proper implementation of Divisional programmes. However small, some amount of control must be exercised to avoid a total chaos of field operations. By the prudent use of its meagre reporting, frequent visitation and conferences, the Economic Development Division manages to exercise, in the circumstances, an effective enough control over the implementation of programmes throughout the entire country.

CHAPTER IV

"EXTERNAL METHODS. (i) COERCIVE"

The successful implementation of programmes requires the utilization of more than mere internal methods such as controlling and reporting. In order to achieve desired objectives, some emphasis must concomitantly be placed on external methods, which serve to induce the clients of an organization, or any part of the public affected, to comply with its programmes. Such inducements may be either coercive or persuasive in nature. In this chapter, some attention will be given to coercive methods as utilized by both the Economic Development and Education Divisions of Indian affairs.

Power to use coercion for achieving programme objectives is one feature which clearly distinguishes public from private administration. In private enterprise, management's choice of methods is limited to internal ones of the kind already discussed, in addition to such external devices as public relations aimed at inducing customers or potential customers to support the product or service offered by the organization.

In public administration, however, there are in addition inducements to detract from the desirability of noncompliance, usually by attaching specific penalties to identified cases of noncompliance. Coercive methods offer therefore a merely negative inducement; however, they play quite an important part in the implementation of public programmes, if only by virtue of securing for them some minimum level of success.

Needless to mention, perhaps, the exercise of coercive powers cannot be left completely to the discretion or caprice of public administrators. The nature and bounds of these powers are carefully defined by statute, in order to protect the individual from the whims of enthusiastic public officials. However, they do set out to penalize persons found guilty of noncompliance.

A case in point is section 118 of the Indian Act which provides for the appointment of truant officers, who may serve notice upon a parent or guardian to cause a child to attend school regularly. When a child does not so attend within three days of such notice being served:

the person on whom the notice was served is guilty of an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine of not more than five dollars or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten days or to both fine and imprisonment. 1

What this section provides are judicial sanctions to detract from the desirability of absenteeism from Branch operated schools. It is true that no educational programme can achieve full success by the use of coercion alone; indeed, the relative lightness of penalties imposed here suggests a keen appreciation by Division administrators of this point. On the other hand, it is more than apparent that in this particular area of operations, some minimum of teacher-pupil contact is imperative for success; repeated absence from schools would tend to defeat the whole idea behind the school programme itself. Only the external method of sanctions

1. The Indian Act, 1951, Section 118(3).

seems capable of securing this basic contact in the present situation.

Education Division then uses sanctions to dissuade Indian sins of omission. But this is not its primary area of application. More typical is its use to deal with sins of commission - "thou shalt not do such and such...". This more frequent use of sanctions to enforce prohibitions is a heritage from the era of negative government when the role of the state was essentially to declare what an individual had no legal right to do, or what specific limitations there were on his freedom. Law enforcement, essentially the task of police and judiciary, was then the dominant activity of the state. However, such laws, making one liable to a penalty for committing positive wrong, are still to be found in much modern legislation. They also constitute the great bulk of those external methods described as sanctions.

The programmes of the Economic Development Division lend themselves more readily to the utilization of sanctions. In a variety of ways they contribute to the efficient achievement of desirable objectives. Thus, the Indian Act provides a penalty for removal from any reserve, of certain stated materials without written permission. Any person found guilty of an offence under this section "is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding three months or to both fine and imprisonment".¹

This particular section applies to non-Indians and serves to deter them from exploiting an unassuming Indian, for

1. The Indian Act, 1951, Section 92.

instance by the unjust extortion of his valuable possessions without adequate compensation. When in the latter part of the 19th century, great tracts of land were converted into reserves for exclusive Indian use and benefit, it was also deemed necessary to restrain potential exploiters of Indians from gaining access to timber, minerals and other natural resources which were in ~~them~~.

The economic well-being of the Indian clearly could not be advanced to any significant degree, without some measure of protection from potential exploiters in the non-Indian community. Application of sanctions is one of the cheapest and most effective ways to achieve such a result. But there are other areas in which sanctions are applied to the end of furthering Economic Development programmes.

Thus the Governor in Council is authorized under section 72(2) of the Indian Act to

prescribe the penalty, not exceeding a fine of one hundred dollars or imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or both fine and imprisonment, that may be imposed on summary conviction for violation of a regulation made under subsection (1). 1

By subsection (1) the Governor in Council is invested with the power to make regulations for certain stipulated purposes, two of which may be of some relevance to the programmes of Economic Development. These are respectively

- (a) for the protection and preservation of fur-bearing animals, fish and other game on reserves,
- (b) for the destruction of noxious weeds and the prevention of the spreading of insects, pests or diseases that may destroy or injure vegetation on Indian reserves. 2

1. The Indian Act, 1951, Section 72(2).

2. Ibid., Section 72[1] (a)-(b).

Sanctions applied under section 72 are directed primarily against Indian violators, and aim at fisheries and wildlife conservation, as well as the protection of vegetation on reserves. It may be pointed out in the case of this section that it is becoming increasingly unimportant as provisions under section 80 of the Act become more widely implemented. Under this section, the "council of a band may make by-laws not inconsistent with this Act or with any regulation made by the Governor in Council or the Minister, for any or all of"¹ certain stated purposes. Paragraphs (j) and (o) of this section cover the same general area as paragraphs (b) and (a) respectively of section 72.

Under section 80, paragraph (v), the by-law of a band council may impose a penalty of the same scope as seen in section 72 for violation of any by-law made under the former section. While, therefore, some systematic attempt is here made to further "the move towards self-government and self-determination for bands",² the sanctions per se remain unaltered. They ensure some measure of respect for the law. Without them, deviants may contribute to frustrating the achievement of defined objectives with impunity.

For all the advantages that sanctions may have, it should not be forgotten that they also suffer from serious handicaps. As already suggested, sanctions make, for the most part, merely a negative contribution to the success of programmes. While they

1. The Indian Act, 1951, Section 80.

2. Vide: Minutes of the Joint Committee, 1961, p. 608.

might have been completely satisfactory in an earlier era, they are incapable of meeting the greater demands of modern positive government. The aim of all Branch programmes is to reduce whatever gap there is between the Indian and non-Indian communities, and to bring about fullest integration of Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life. These programmes, therefore, necessarily involve and require the positive cooperation of Indians; mere coercion could not possibly achieve this.

It may be pointed out at this juncture that the chief inducement value of judicial sanctions is social, in that they encourage "the desire to avoid the social stigma of being branded a law-breaker".¹ The method assumes that there are just a few deviants from a generally accepted norm of conduct, on whom punishment would very likely have a salutary effect. It is evident, however, that where a majority of people break or tend to break the law, no social stigma may be attached to law-breaking as would be the case with minority deviation.

With significant exceptions, the preponderant majority of Canada's Indians are steeped in habits and customs which make it difficult for them to lend much more than a limited coöperation to Branch programmes. Unreliability of Indian labour-employed in non-Indian enterprises is a good example of this; many Indians try desperately to obtain jobs in mines and other undertakings operated near reserves, but show little concern about retaining them by

1. Vide: Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg, and Victor A. Thompson, Public Administration. N.Y. (1962), p. 279.

consistent tardiness and unpredictable absences.¹ It cannot be assumed therefore that those who deviate are in a minority. Deviants or potential deviants form the great bulk of the Indian people; so that too great an emphasis on sanctions would be unworkable, if only because of the inevitability of increased pressures on existing gaol accommodation or the present size of law enforcement establishment.

It would appear then that where a majority is not solidly behind a programme, thus attaching no "social stigma" to noncompliance, the basic justification for stringent use of sanctions is considerably undermined. In point of fact, even in Indian administration in which government officials may be justified in disregarding the will of the majority of their clientele to some extent,² too great an emphasis on coercion is undesirable. While very persuasive arguments may be advanced in support of the doctrine of forcing a people to be free, it is also undeniable that the most desirable ends may be affected by repulsive means.

Perhaps the worst aspect of judicial sanctions is their dependence on other external methods, notably investigation, which may be used ruthlessly by some public servants with the ever-present probability of trespassing on individual rights. A good example is afforded by the laws relating to Indians' use of intoxicants.

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1. This information was disclosed to the author by the Acting Chief, Economic Development Division.
 2. This is merely tantamount to saying that, at their present level of development, the Indians do not yet know what is best for them. A large area of Indian administration involves this implicit assumption.

From the very earliest contacts between Indians and Europeans, the consumption of liquor had been ^{alleged to be} a major factor in the progressive decline and virtual ruin of the latter, socially, economically, morally. Very early therefore, it became accepted policy of government, to protect all Indians from possible exploitation and destitution, attendant on their consumption of these previously unknown spirits. The only effective way to deal with the problem was to pass legislation making illegal a multiplicity of activities involving intoxicants. For instance, its manufacture or possession by Indians off a reserve,¹ its sale or manufacture on reserves by non-Indians,² were outlawed. Indians are forbidden to be intoxicated off reserves, while non-Indians on reserves are under identical restraint.³

Penalties consisting of a fine, or imprisonment, or both, are stated in the Act, in the event that any of its provisions in respect of intoxicants is violated. It is inconceivable that the policy or programme of protecting Indians from the evils of alcohol, once translated into law, could have full success without such sanctions. In fact, the Agencies Division regards them as basic and indispensable inducements for the effective implementation of this negative programme.

Zealous imposition of sanctions, however, can so easily involve the discounting of basic individual liberties, as well as

1. The Indian Act, 1951, Section 94.

2. Ibid., Section 93.

3. Ibid., Section 96.

expose the innocent to a barrage of official arbitrariness. Thus, the Act provides that a certificate of analysis furnished by an analyst employed by the federal or provincial government, and relating to prosecution under the Act:

shall be accepted as prima facie evidence of the facts stated therein and of the authority of the person giving or issuing the certificate, without proof of the signature of the person appearing to have signed the certificate or his official character, and without further proof thereof. 1

Such a section gravely increases the risk of injustice to individuals; yet few public officials seem concerned over its potential severity. Another provision making for possible arbitrariness is that which relates to the description of Indians or other suspected persons, in writs, warrants and such like.

Under the Act:

it is sufficient if the name of the person or Indian referred to therein is the name given to, or the name by which the person or Indian is known by, the person who issues the order, writ, warrant, summons or proceedings; and if no part of the name of the person is given to or known by the person issuing the order...it is sufficient if the person or Indian is described in any manner by which he may be identified. 2

If the law governing intoxicants to Indians is to have more than a paper value, there must be some provision made to deal with offenders who may otherwise be protected by dubious identity. It is quite evident, however, that such provision can be abused by officials having the very best and honest intentions. So far there

1. The Indian Act, 1951, Section 99.

2. Ibid., Section 103.

have been no cases involving these sections; but all this probably says is that no aggrieved Indian (or person) has gotten around to challenging possibly invalid action that was crucial to his conviction under the Act. Cases of justifiable grievance can be very easily concealed here, since legal fees that would be necessarily involved if he desired to challenge his conviction, are prohibitive from the standpoint of the average Indian.¹

It should be ~~apparent~~ at this point that much may be said both for and against the utilization of judicial sanctions as a method of achieving programme objectives. It has certain obvious advantages, for instance it secures a minimum level of success for a programme by the effective way in which it dissuades people affected from acting other than as desired. Indeed, for some programmes such as that administered by the Agencies Division for protecting Indians from the demoralizing effects of alcohol, this form of inducement is a sine qua non for success.

On the other hand, the method is ineffective where deviation is characteristic of a majority instead of a minority of the population which the programme affects. The most undesirable feature is the way that supplementary inducements multiply the possibility of doing some form of injustice to an individual.

A very progressive type of sanctions, gaining increasing recognition in the modern era of positive government, is licensing. It involves the formal and explicit power of compulsion through

1. Indians get free legal aid only in murder and other major criminal cases.

denial of an application, or through suspension or revocation of permission to engage in a particular activity. Yet it is in the very nature of this method that when individuals apply for or obtain a licence to carry on any given activity, by that very act they are indicating a preparedness to comply with those regulations and conditions governing the conduct of that activity. The act of applying for a licence is usually voluntary, so that one is free to refrain from acquiring it, thus escaping the compulsion and obligations that are attached to its issue.

The first essential element in the licensing process is to establish the standards of fitness or suitability by either legislation or administrative action; evidently these would have to reflect the objectives of the programme which the official body desires to implement. The second step is to prohibit anyone from engaging in the activity unless he has a licence; the administrative authorities are thus in a position to determine who will be allowed to engage in the activity, that is, to choose the clientele who are to be subject to the regulatory plan.¹ Persons not likely to comply with the plan may be eliminated.

The next step involves application by an interested individual or body for licence to remove the bar. Finally, there is the grant of a licence upon showing some compliance with standards. All licences do not involve the same degree of official power; this varies from case to case. The requirements may be

1. Vide: Herbert A. Simon, et al, op. cit., p. 476.

perfunctory in some instances and formidable in others.

Now licensing is directly utilized by the Education Division, to only a very limited extent.¹ This is not surprising; for the method, with its peculiar brand of compulsion, still cannot be most effective in areas where the optimum in success is achieved by spontaneity of response rather than fear of punishment. It cannot be imagined, either, in what specific areas this method may be further utilized to any advantage in Education's programmes. The Economic Development Division, on the other hand, finds it very advantageous to utilize it, as well as other related methods, in some of its programmes.

Thus the disposal of timber from reserves and surrendered lands is governed by regulations² made under section 57 of the Indian Act. Section 30(a) and (b) of these regulations imposes a general prohibition on "cutting operations without a licence or permit". To cut timber for his individual use, all that a member or group of members of a band requires is a permit from the Agency Superintendent.³ The cutting of timber for sale by band members requires a permit in addition to the prior consent of the Band Council.⁴

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1. It may be noted here that teachers' certificates are essentially licences to engage in the teaching profession, and in fact satisfy all requirements for inclusion in that nomenclature. However, issuance of these 'licences' is a provincial responsibility. The Branch's direct licensing function is limited here to issuing temporary certificates to some 12% of its teachers who are not provincially certified.
 2. SOR/54-710. Indian Act - Indian Timber Regulations. P.C. 1954-2025 (hereafter cited as The Timber Regulations).
 3. Ibid., Section 4.
 4. Ibid., Section 5(1).

It may be noted that the great bulk of timber operations on reserves is in the hands of band members themselves. Frequently, however, the latter for a variety of reasons refrain from or are incapable of conducting particular operations, although such operations would be to their financial advantage. It is in such circumstances that non-members of a band are able to secure licences.

Both permit and licence expire on 30th April of the year following that of issue.¹ They both require of their holders compliance with regulations such as scaling, fire protection, the maintenance and furnishing of proper records of timber cut, and so forth. Failure to comply may result in seizure of timber, or any product made from it, by the Agency Superintendent.

The holder of a licence, however, seems to be subject to certain additional penalties. He must make a security deposit in cash or bonds "to ensure the completion of the contract and observance of its terms to the satisfaction of the Director".² The amount is based on 10 to 20 per cent of the estimated dues. Should the licensee fall short of completing his operation in a satisfactory manner, "the Minister may declare the security deposit forfeited to the Crown for the benefit of the Band."³

Section 21 of the Timber Regulations also describes the more regular penalty imposed on infractors:

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1. The Timber Regulations, Sections 8 and 11(1).
 2. Ibid., Section 14(1).
 3. Ibid., Section 14(3).

If the licensee fails to comply with the terms of the licence or the provisions of these regulations, the Minister in his discretion may suspend the rights of the licensee or declare the licence and security deposit forfeited. ¹

It is clear that the amount of official power exercised in connection with these licences is considerable. The maximum term of one year for which a licence is issued means that its holder is exposed to even further power, since the need for frequent renewals multiplies the amount of focus placed on operations and increases the risk of terminating them. Further evidence of wide power is afforded by a provision in the regulations enabling the Director to "vary any licence in respect of one or more parts of a licensed area or in respect of any type, size or species of timber." ²

Less formidable, perhaps, are the conditions relating to prospecting for minerals. Upon payment of a \$20 fee, any person may apply for and receive such a licence, subject to the conditions prescribed in it. That the requirements are rather perfunctory is evidenced further by the lack of any central control over the issuance of such licences. It is the Agency Superintendent ³ who issues them, not the Director of Indian Affairs, or even the Regional Supervisor. Of course, this practice is perfectly compatible with the principle of decentralization which may be said to constitute the Division's administrative ethos.

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1. The Timber Regulations, Section 21.
 2. Ibid., Section 22(b).
 3. SOR/61-101. Indian Act. Indian Mining Regulations. P.C. 1961-371, (hereafter cited as The Mining Regulations), Section 5(1).

Permits are also issued following the Director's invitation of tenders by public advertisement. Issued for one year, these enable persons holding them "to explore and develop minerals in the lands described in the permit".¹ Like the licensee in timber disposal, a permittee must make a security deposit² to ensure satisfactory compliance with the terms of his permit.

Permittees may select an area³ of the lands described in their respective permits and apply for a mining lease in respect of same. The lessee then becomes subjected to compliance with a host of other conditions, such as the payment of royalty, the furnishing of various plans, data concerning operations, and such like. A security deposit is also made.⁴ In case of noncompliance with any provision of the Regulations, a lessee or permittee may have his lease or permit (as the case may be) cancelled by the Minister.⁵

There is finally the area of oil and natural gas disposal, in which licensing is not used at all. Permits and leases alone are used in this area. The former are usually granted for a term of two years, "to explore for oil and gas in a specified area".⁶

1. The Mining Regulations, Section 6.
2. Ibid., Section 7.
3. A permit holder cannot obtain a lease in respect of the entire area covered by his prospecting permit. This seems a deliberate Division policy to dissuade the development of monopolies in certain mining areas.
4. The Mining Regulations, Section 28.
5. Ibid., Section 42.
6. SOR/58-90. Indian Act. Indian Oil and Gas Regulations. P.C. 1958-339, (cited hereafter as The Oil and Gas Regulations), Section 7.

A permittee may select a lease during the life of his permit,¹ or merely seek to have it renewed. However:

where a well drilled on a permit has determined the presence of oil in commercial quantity, the permittee shall, within ninety days of the discovery, apply for a lease or leases of the oil and gas rights containing the discovery well in accordance with the provisions of section 19. (2)

When a lease is granted in such a situation, it cannot apply to more than half the area covered by the permit.³ Leases may also be issued following the Director's invitation of tenders or any other method he may select in his discretion.

Permits and leases alike are held subject to numerous technical and other provisions in the Regulations, such as drilling restrictions,⁴ royalty payments and such like. The Regulations also stipulate various types of technical information which must be transmitted to the Supervisor of Mineral Resources, the official appointed by the Branch to supervise observance of these Regulations.

Included among these are financial statements, submitted under affidavit, itemizing expenditures incurred during the conduct of exploratory operations;⁵ reports on exploratory work;⁶ well reports;⁷ and production reports.⁸ It is interesting to observe here how reporting is quite effectively used as a coercive external

1. The Oil and Gas Regulations, Section 11(4).

2. Ibid., Section 18(1).

3. Ibid., Section 19(1). (Vide note

4. Ibid., Section 6.

5. Ibid., Section 14.

6. Ibid., Section 15.

7. Ibid., Section 39.

8. Ibid., Section 45.

method; it constantly threatens the revelation of possible noncompliance with regulations, and so induces those under obligation to conduct their operations along lines contemplated by the Branch, that is to maximize the utilization of the natural resources on reserves to the fullest benefit of the Indian bands concerned.

This form of external reporting has at least one major advantage. It enables Division officials to acquire needed information at no financial cost to the Division. By requiring that the more important ones be supported by affidavit further strengthens the likelihood of accuracy. Of course, it cannot be effectively utilized in all programmes, but it seems particularly appropriate as a complement to other coercive methods.

Whatever the advantages of external reporting, it may still be advisable in some programmes to utilize additional methods of coercion. Inspection offers very strong inducements for compliance, and it is not surprising that it receives considerable emphasis in all these programmes.

Under section 42 of The Oil and Gas Regulations, for instance it is expressly provided:

The Supervisor or any person authorized by him may at any time, enter upon the area held under permit or lease and inspect all wells, technical records, plant and equipment; and the permittee, lessee or his representatives or operators shall render such assistance as may be necessary or essential, and such person shall have the right to take samples, particulars, or carry out any examination desired, that may be reasonable or proper and are not detrimental to the operations being performed. 1

1. The Oil and Gas Regulations, Section 42.

The mere probability of an inspection, conducted by surprise as is the practice, is sufficient to dissuade potential violation of regulations; for this external method makes ready discovery of offenders possible. This is, in fact, the primary advantage to be derived from its utilization. Modern inspection involves much selling of ideas aimed at ameliorating operational defects; inspectors, because of their jobs, often acquire considerable expertise in their respective areas, and can consequently make concrete suggestions for improvement which involve neither financial inconvenience, nor costly interruption of normal operations. Yet the fact remains that in the final analysis a recalcitrant inspectee may be penalized for noncompliance. Thus a lessee, failing to rectify a violation within the period of sixty days of receiving notice to that effect, makes his lease or leases "subject to cancellation in the discretion of the Minister".¹

It may be noted that the Supervisor has very similar powers under section 39 of the Mining Regulations, to carry out such inspections in connection with mining operations; his power here includes that "to take samples and particulars of minerals being produced and carry out any examination that, in his opinion, is necessary".² The Economic Development Division then obviously makes very great use of inspection as an external method, compared to Education which utilizes it solely as an internal one.

An interesting point to be noted here is that the inspection of oil and mining operations is carried out by a field

1. The Oil and Gas Regulations, Section 50.

2. The Mining Regulations, Section 39(1) [c].

officer, the Supervisor of Mineral Resources, in his own name - not that of the Director or Minister. A substantial part of the operations of licensees, lessees and permittees, is subject to his sole discretion. This probably has implications for the principle of responsible government; but such speculation would be outside the scope of this study. What is remarkable is the extent to which decentralization of control is a basic feature in administering the programmes of Economic Development. As already suggested, it is tantamount to being the very ethos of its organization and administration.

From the discussion so far in this chapter, it has clearly emerged how much methods may vary in response to the varying needs of varying programme objectives. In educational programmes, for instance, it is apparent that there is very little room for coercion. The Agencies Division, on the other hand, finds that the imposition of sanctions is just about all that is required to protect Indians from the evils of alcohol. To achieve its programme objectives, the Economic Development Division uses coercion in a variety of ways and in varying degrees of severity, with the view of securing the maximum of compliance with its standards.

It would appear that all programmes require the utilization of some form or forms of coercive inducement. The extent of such utilization, however, must be determined by the nature of the programmes and objectives themselves. Thus, the educating of Indian children within certain stated age limits, undoubtedly suggests the

imposition of judicial sanctions aimed at dissuading truancy. Beyond this point, however, coercion is not likely to make any significant contribution to the success of such undertakings. On the other hand, increased emphasis on persuasion and the ability to create or encourage a desire for better education among the pupils themselves seem almost certain to be successful.

When one turns to such areas as timber cutting, mining, and gas or oil production, methods additional to mere judicial sanctions, although not distantly related, must also be adopted. Licensing is used, for instance, since it enables ready identification of all those who are under an obligation to comply with a particular set of regulated standards. In highly technical areas too, the detection of noncompliance may not be very simple; apart from requiring periodic reports submitted under affidavit, it may be advisable to authorize intra-organizational specialists to conduct surprise inspections with the view of detecting individual offenders. Permits and leases, of course, place similar obligations on those holding them to cooperate in the achievement of defined objectives.

But, whatever the value of external methods, the fact remains that, in most cases, they provide a merely negative inducement to comply. With the growing scope of modern government, increasing emphasis must be placed on more positive inducements. Instead of coercion, persuasion seems to be the classical weapon in the modern administrator's armoury. However, like its rival, it too reflects in each case of concrete application, the objectives and characteristics of the particular programmes to be furthered by its utilization.

CHAPTER V"EXTERNAL METHODS - (ii) PERSUASIVE"

Officials of both divisions under study seem to attach considerable emphasis to the use of positive inducements for realizing their respective objectives. Generally speaking, such inducements may be said to fall into two broad categories: those directed to the Indians themselves, and those directed to the non-Indian community with the view of making its members as sympathetic as possible to the idea of Indian progress. In both cases the inducements utilized may be summarized quite satisfactorily in the term "education".¹ The most persuasive of external methods, it is geared on the one hand to prepare Indians and equip them for a greater participation in the mainstream of Canadian life, and on the other, to educate other Canadians into the desirability of making the Indians' transition to a more complex way of life as smooth as possible.

Used in the latter sense, education is an area of public relations. The former, which is of immediate concern at this point, ensures the successful achievement of desired objectives by deliberate appeal to the self-interest of Indians or by winning their active support for any given programme. Thus the Education Division could not hope to achieve more than a limited success for its programmes

1. As used here this term describes the external method utilized in the implementation of programmes generally; it must not be confused with the programme as administered by the Education Division. The particular context in which the term is used throughout this study should leave no doubt as to which use is intended by the author.

merely by effective internal methods such as controlling, combined with the utilization of coercive inducements to dissuade noncompliance. Divisional officials seem convinced that a concomitant need exists to impress upon Indians the importance of their programmes and to win the latter's support for their successful implementation.

Indian School Committees represent the Division's greatest effort to come to grips with this particular need. The Field Manual of the Branch provides that every Band Council should see to the selection of a School Committee which would carry on the functions of an embryonic school board. Its three members may be nominated from either the Band Council or from the band at large. Where all three nominees are from the general band membership, however, one member of the Band Council will be appointed to attend School Committee meetings in an ex officio capacity, so as to maintain liaison between the two bodies.

The main purpose of these School Committees has been described as "to provide for democratic practice in the conduct of local educational affairs and to place more responsibility on the community for the development and administration of educational facilities and the use of certain funds set aside for educational purposes".¹ It is hoped that by participation in school affairs, Indian adults would increase their knowledge of and interest in educational problems, policy, procedure, and would gain an insight into the aims of education and what it means for their children.

1. Taken from the "Instructions for the Organization of School Committees on Indian Reserves", Appendix "A" of the Field Manual.

During the school year, the committee meets once a month. The Agency Superintendent or his Assistant acts as Treasurer and is required to attend every meeting. The Regional or District School Superintendent frequently attends meetings as educational consultant. It may be noted too that minutes must be kept of each meeting; copies are to be forwarded by the Agency Superintendent to the Regional Supervisor and Assistant Director, Education Services, at Ottawa.

With regard to function and duties, the committee functions as both an executive and advisory body. In the former capacity, it assumes active responsibility in some nine different areas: school attendance and truancy; care of school property and school grounds; attendance of Indian pupils at non-Indian schools; use of school buildings for community activities (where applicable); special disciplinary problems; Band fund appropriations for school activities; scholarships from Band funds; acquisition of sports and playground equipment; finally, extra-curricular activities such as field days, school fairs and festivals, educational expeditions and such like.¹

The committee, in addition, must be consulted and act in an advisory capacity on eight matters: school accommodation; annual school maintenance and repairs; day to day maintenance and care of the school - janitor duties; recommendations regarding educational assistance to students of the reserve; joint agreements with

1. Taken from the "Instructions for the Organization of School Committees on Indian Reserves", Appendix "A" of the Field Manual.

non-Indian schools; lunch supplies for the winter months and supplementary school supplies provided by the Board; school bus routes; lastly, reserve roads in relation to school bus routes.¹

Provision has been made for expansion of the duties and responsibilities of school committees upon receipt of written requests for same. Meanwhile, however, it cannot be denied that their present functions are of a most elementary nature. It may be noted in this connection that funds administered by school committees are allotted in respect of only three headings - Janitor Duties, Sports Equipment and Miscellaneous Expenditures. These areas of expenditure, with very small sums of money involved, pale in significance when compared to the huge allotments for school construction, or expansion and payments to local school boards in accordance with joint school agreements. Yet they do involve members in the preparation of budgets, and so familiarize them with the problems of planning and implementing modest programmes for their respective bands. Committees are required annually to submit budgets on prescribed Branch forms to cover anticipated items of expenditure within the scope of those responsibilities assigned to them.

While the duties and responsibilities of committees are undoubtedly small compared to the grandiose areas of activity pursued by the Division, there is a strong feeling that experience gained in the course of performing them would lead members, as well as the Indian people in general to a real appreciation of the value and

1. Taken from the "Instructions for the Organization of School Committees on Indian Reserves", Appendix "A" of the Field Manual.

cost of education. There is also the consideration that matters such as truancy, special disciplinary problems, and attendance of Indian pupils at non-Indian schools, may be more effectively handled if, apart from the function of Agency Superintendents and educationists, the Indian people themselves were more positively identified with the achievement of desirable objectives.

A very senior official of the Division made this very point, by implication, in an address presented in 1961 at the Superintendents' National Conference. He said:

Parents are either with us or against us in our efforts to educate and train their children. To win all parents and adults over to the side of formal school education they must feel the need of the school and the school must welcome the support of the parents. 1

The minutes of school committee meetings reveal very little. Only matters on which agreement was reached appear in them; but even here, only a bare statement to this effect is usually recorded with no indication of the extent to which "pro's and con's" were adequately weighed before an agreement is reached.² Very typical of these brief records is the following extract from the Minutes of the Pasqua School Committee meeting on 4th May, 1964, in the File Hills - Qu'Appelle Agency, Saskatchewan:

Moved by Tom Peigan, seconded by L. Chicoosa that the Pasqua School Committee award a trophy for annual competition to the school getting the highest score in the Field Day Parade. One member authorized to place the order with [a Regina Jeweller] 3

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1. Vide: address entitled "Community Participation in Education Programmes", p. 1, in the 1961 Conference Report.
 2. The author's personal opinion is that there is inadequate deliberation preceding the reaching of agreements.
 3. Indian Affairs Branch, File No. 114/25-118, Vol. I.

It is very difficult to judge the extent of participation by committee members or recognize any evidence of their mental development through these minutes. A random perusal through them, however, reveals that meetings last from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours, and there is extremely rare discussion of matters arising out of the minutes. While every Band Council is required to establish these committees, there are many agencies in which no such body exists. Some committees fail to meet once monthly as required during the school year. Some have reached a fairly sophisticated level of development. Others seem to encourage considerable enthusiasm in educational programmes among their Band members; the interest of members of the Six Nations Band, Southern Ontario, is evidenced by the fact that ordinary band member attendance at committee meetings in the period January to June, 1964, has averaged 12.¹

However, it would appear that taken as a whole, school committees have not been functioning as satisfactorily as might be expected. Conscious of their many shortcomings, school committee members of the Saskatchewan region held a School Committee Conference at Prince Albert, February 25-26, 1964. Group discussions and question periods centred on such matters as general aims and objectives of Indian Affairs and Indian Education, role of school committees, P.T.A. and such like; effective operation of school committees including conducting a business meeting, duties of chairman,

1. Based on study of the Six Nations School Committee minutes for the period stated.

secretary and members; educational opportunities for Indian students, the role of school committees and parents in this programme; joint education and its implications for the Indian; truancy.¹

These and other topics discussed by the 22 conference delegates are indicative of the weaknesses in the functioning of Saskatchewan school committees. But they are in varying degrees applicable to school committees in general, although the Saskatchewan region is the only one which openly acknowledged and attempted to overcome these weaknesses. The mere fact, however, that these bodies are not functioning as effectively as they can, does not dissuade the Division's administrators. It still suits the latter's purposes to utilize them for advancing its programmes.

It makes a great difference when the Indians themselves, rather than departmental officials make a statement like this:

School Committees should act as an Agent and try to convince the Indian parents that education is necessary for children in order to help raise the general standard of living. We should go out and teach our friends and neighbours. 2

The point is that until Indians themselves become convinced of their own need for education, the most ambitious programmes of the Division can only achieve a qualified success.

Accordingly, officials display considerable patience while tenaciously striving "to win" their clients over to the side of improved education. Initial lack of success does not daunt their

1. Selection made from the Conference agenda.

2. Indian Affairs Branch; Summary of Group Reports, School Committee Conference, February 25, 1964, p. 3, clause 7(b).

efforts. In fact, it would appear that they somewhat expect poor results in the initial stages of their endeavour. Suggesting this is a statement made by a very senior official of the Division in an address already referred to above:¹

Few Indians will ask for responsibility. It must be offered them and if necessary thrust into their hands, for we have arrived at that stage in the evolution of Indian people where it would be harmful to withhold from them their responsibilities and obligations. 2

The thrusting of responsibility into the hands of Indians is justified here on the ground that it would be harmful to do otherwise. It would appear that educationists recognize that as much harm can be done to their programmes as to the Indians themselves in this particular respect. Thus the imposition of obligations on school committee members, for instance, may be justified on the ground that failure to do so may jeopardize the success of the Division's programmes themselves.

But, as an external method of achieving programme objectives, education may take still other forms. The Economic Development Division, for instance, finds that it can best induce Indians or secure their greatest response for most of its programmes by using the famous trio "explication, demonstration and application".³ Such inducement aims at encouraging the Indians to undertake or improve certain activities, which would result in their enjoyment of a higher income or standard of living.

1. Supra, p. 45.

2. "Community Participation..." Superintendents' National Conference, 1961, p. 2.

3. This term has been borrowed from James C. Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 693.

Perhaps the best example to be cited here is in connection with logging. A number of provinces offer considerable scope for logging operations, notably British Columbia and the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec. Several Indians find employment in the industry, but forest potentials have been far from tapped to their greatest advantage, due largely to lack of skill. A few Indians are also encouraged in the logging business; prominent among these are the two brothers who operate a very successful logging company at Chess-la-key, B.C.¹ The Economic Development Division would like to enable more Indians to launch out in the business as well as obtain suitable employment in industry.

To further the attainment of these objectives, the Division itself, among other things, has directly undertaken certain forestry and logging operations at Williams Lake Agency, B.C. Headed by the Regional Forester, [working under the Indian Commissioner for B.C.] the programme involves some 40 to 45 men, who work for no more than a period of eight months at a very modest wage. At the end of this time, a new set of men replaces those who should have acquired by then a sufficient amount of training to obtain employment in the industry, or even under some joint arrangements, engage in an undertaking of their own.²

The Williams Lake operations induce a number of Indians to utilize more fully the forest potentials of the province. This is just the second year of operations, and it is therefore difficult

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1. This information was obtained in the course of interviewing a very knowledgeable officer of the Agencies Division.
 2. This information was obtained from an interview with the Acting Chief, Economic Development Division.

to assess its impact with any accuracy. However, a measure of its success in luring numerous Indians to forestry are current discussions at headquarters, encouraging Education Division to assume some responsibilities in connection with the programme; and this development is due largely to the extent of Indian enthusiasm over the programme.

Another example is afforded by a recent six-week programme sponsored by the Fisheries and Wildlife section in Northern Ontario.¹ This "Fishery Attendants Course, 1964" lasted from 6th April to 15th May, 1964; the section head himself was personally present for the first three weeks. It had been discovered that Indians did not have as large a share of the Canadian market for fish as might be desired. Some of the factors seen as responsible were poor ability to compete with fishermen in other parts of Canada, and the fact that most Indians were primary producers rather than wholesalers or distributors.

The course touched on a background history of the fishing industry, organization and development, fisheries management and regulations, accounts and records, planning and development, and field trips. The highlight of the course, however, was that part dealing with technical aspects. Attention was given here to production techniques and quality control; sanitation, including personal hygiene as well as packing and handling facilities; maintenance; ice storage; and processing which centred on fresh

1. This information was had during interview with an important officer of the Agencies Division.

fish, filleting and packaging, smoking and salt processing; and finally, sales and marketing.¹ Actual demonstration of all these techniques was conducted with the view of impressing the Indians as vividly as possible. This enables an understanding of the techniques to an extent that would be impossible with the utilizing of pure explication. Indians could not be expected to become more competitive in and derive a better income from the fishing industry without a reasonable assurance that they understand some of the fundamental factors that determine their competitive position.

The inducements discussed so far in this chapter are offered directly by the Divisions responsible for implementing particular programmes. There are others, however, of a more general nature which tend to facilitate the achievement of Branch objectives as a whole. Their precise contribution to individual programmes may not be easily assessed; nevertheless it is certain that the contribution itself is definitely made. A substantial part of the activities in this particular area is ably undertaken by the Administration Division in a semi-public relations capacity.

Probably the most impressive single effort is "The Indian News", a quarterly newspaper published for free distribution to all Canadian Indians. The paper presents reports in both English and French, as well as photographs on achievements of Indians and Branch programmes throughout the entire nation. A typical issue may carry, for instance articles and photographs on Indian housing projects on

1. Extracted from a summary of the course's content.

various reserves, social and recreational news, such as activities of friendship clubs, Four-H Clubs; reports on any significant developments in staff or organizational matters at Branch headquarters; outstanding academic achievements by Indian students at universities, technical and vocational institutes; cultural activities such as Indian music, handicraft and dancing; outstanding individual achievements such as a B.C. Indian building his own seiner with a very modest sum of money obtained through Revolving Fund Loan.¹

The inducement potential of such reports must not be underestimated. Indians everywhere tend to get caught up in an enthusiasm over Branch programmes, as they become acquainted with the achievements of fellow Indians at other reserves and centres. A healthy rivalry is probably encouraged to the end of ameliorating the condition of Indians throughout the nation as a whole.

A good deal of effort is apparently put into winning the support of Indians by appeals originating (ostensibly) with their own members. A case in point is the reproduction of the whole speech of one Gloria Muskeko who won a public speaking contest in which some nine Four-H clubs competed. Her topic "Good Manners", with such entreaties as, "Women and girls should not come to the dinner table with their hair in curlers, or wearing aprons",² is likely to have a greater appeal to the Indian population than the frequently incomprehensible harangue of some far-removed Branch

1. Vide: "The Indian News", Vol. 7, No. 2, March 1964, p. 8 - article entitled "Fisherman Builds His Own Seiner".

2. Ibid., Vide: heading "Speech Wins Award. Manners are Important".

official.

Apart from the newspaper, there is no scheduled or regular medium of inducement directed to the winning of Indian coöperation with Branch programmes. However, a few other media are utilized from time to time to considerable advantage. Films, for instance, are produced with the coöperation of the National Film Board to the end of putting key ideas over to Indians. Thus "In Transition", made about 1962, explains and shows the advantage of the Branch's Placement Programme. "The Beaver Makes the Comeback", released about 1953, centred around trapping operations, the advantages of fur conservation, as well as the economic benefits derived by Indians who engage in the activity.

Very similar to these is the use made of film strips.¹ They are usually shown to various Indian audiences with a prepared commentary on each strip projected. Dramatic pictures are presented to illustrate the many benefits to be derived from programmes especially in the area of Economic Development and Education. Intended to inspire Indians, like the quarterly paper, they may emphasize the advantages of education by vivid illustrations of achievements made by well-educated ones, or they may draw attention to spectacular success some reserves are having in livestock farming. Hundreds of these slides are made and periodically shown to various official or semi-official bodies, such as band councils and school committees. The Branch also tries to induce these bodies by the preparation of pamphlets and booklets such as "A Handbook For Indian Band Chiefs and Councillors"; this Handbook not only describes

1. Information obtained at interview with an officer of the Administration Division.

duties and responsibilities but often tries to justify the latter by some conscious or unconscious appeal to the Indians' self-interest or to their secret desire for greater recognition by other Canadians.

In this particular area, speeches delivered by senior departmental officials, or by the Minister himself, can be of considerable importance. Thus the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, M. Guy Favreau, recently addressing the third annual conference of the National Indian Council of Canada, took the opportunity to assert:

your Council could perform a most valuable service by persuading parents who do not yet appreciate fully the benefits of education, to take advantage of the facilities placed at their disposal and to encourage their sons and daughters to pursue their studies beyond elementary schooling and to develop their talents to the full by going on to high school and university. 1

Appeals of this kind to the people to whose improvement departmental programmes are ultimately directed, increase the probability of successful accomplishment. The success of these programmes, however, also depends, in part at least, on the behaviour of non-Indians since most Branch objectives involve greater assimilation into the mainstream of Canadian life.

The devices used here are hardly different from those already discussed in this chapter. Various films are made to the end of acquainting the nation at large with problems confronting the Indians, with frequent suggestions of ways in which individuals may make personal or group contributions towards their solution. Thus, the film "No Longer Vanishing" removed the private conviction of

1. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, op. cit., p. 8.

many people that the Indians were a vanishing race, showing some of the probable causal factors (such as improved health and other facilities) and implications of this development.¹

The film "In Transition" is regarded as being directed to the non-Indian community in some parts.² For instance, where it shows the difficulties experienced by Indians brought to cities to obtain employment; these include difficulties of finding housing accommodation, and of adjustment to the loneliness and individualism of urban life. It is usually hoped that such films would induce non-Indian citizens to take an active interest in the progress of their red brothers who are attempting to move in the direction of a fuller life.

Yet another device geared to stimulate enthusiasm and win moral support in the society at large, is the occasional preparation and dissemination of literature having some general interest. Thus in 1963 the Branch put out a 34-page booklet entitled "Traditional Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands", which, among other things, provided information concerning the principal cultural characteristics of all Canada's Indians. "The Canadian Indian",³ appearing that very year, described quite vividly the major activities and programmes of the Branch aimed at ameliorating the conditions of the native population.

Serving the same basic purpose are such brochures as "Indians of British Columbia. (An Historical Survey), prepared in

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1. This information was obtained at second hand from a senior officer of the Administration Division.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, "The Canadian Indian. A Reference Paper", Ottawa, 1963.

September, 1960; "Indians of the Prairie Provinces", October, 1961; and "Indians of Ontario", February, 1962. These offer concise historical accounts of the Indians in the areas indicated, showing in addition, the way in which Branch programmes are attempting to come to grips with their current problems.

In 1962 two booklets appeared giving reasonably detailed explanations of programmes being implemented in all parts of Canada, and amply illustrated by photographs of proud administrative achievements. These are "The Indian in Transition. Indian Education", and "The Indian in Transition. The Indian Today". They not only show what government is doing; they invite the non-Indian community to participate, showing what role they can play with considerable success.

Thus, after making mention of the centuries of indifference to the plight of the red men, one booklet urged:

Appreciation and goodwill, however belated, are welcome steps forward. Much remains to be done, nevertheless, if the Indian-Canadian is to take the place in Canadian society that is rightfully his. 1

Concluding this undisguised exhortation, it ran:

The first essential is a warm welcome - to non-Indian homes and associations, to the opportunities of the business world. Indians are generally too shy to make the first gesture. It is up to the non-Indian to do so. 2

Films, literature and other materials for the proper conduct of public relations are usually disseminated throughout the nation, notably to such societies as Friendship Clubs which are

1. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, The Indian In Transition. Indian Education. Cat. No. Ci 71-662, p. 22.

2. Ibid.

gradually springing up in many parts of the country. The development of a distinct interest in Indian affairs is reflected in the fact that some 20 non-Indian groups¹ submitted written and oral briefs to the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, meeting in the period 1959 to 1961. Most of these are religious bodies; however, a number of them were born of a purely secular desire to effect a rapprochement between red and white Canadian alike.

Whether religious or secular, these bodies have considerable potential for influencing Canadians in the non-Indian community; so that the Branch finds it advantageous to maintain very best relations with them.

It should be clear, however, that numerous Canadians in organizations which have no acknowledged interest in the Indian - or indeed who belong to no formal association at all - hardly fall within the sphere of reasonably effective Branch propaganda. But this does not mean that their support is never sought or that their interest in Indian programmes is not in some way cultivated. Special programmes are put on television and radio from time to time; the Department's Annual Reports, although having a very limited audience, are intended to achieve some publicity for projects implemented during the particular fiscal years covered; debates in Parliament, for instance on the budget of the Branch, or the passage of legislation affecting Indians also make possible rather enlightening statements by the Minister of his colleagues.

Such official utterances do not always command the greatest attention of newspaper reporters, who, it would appear,

1. Vide: the Index of Briefs in the Minutes of the Joint Committee, 1961.

give them very slight treatment. Nevertheless, they do come from the nation's debating chambers and are for public consumption. It may be mentioned here, finally, that Ministers often take great advantage of public appearances and various semi-formal occasions to induce non-Indians and to stimulate an interest in the Branch's operations.

Perhaps the most striking example of this is seen in August, 1959 with the Minister, then Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, delivering an address at the Canadian National Exhibition, Women's Day Luncheon. The Minister actually used this occasion to stir up some interest in the affairs of Indians. Spending more than 2/3 of the address time for this purpose, the Minister described some of the features of Indian life which she had observed on an extensive trip recently made across Western Canada, in the course of which she had visited Indian reserves in three provinces.

The Minister described several of the problems confronting the Indian, as well as the various Branch programmes aimed at combating them. Concluding in a tone of cautious optimism, she referred to the Indians'

delightful sense of humour, a high degree of intelligence and a warm hearted and hospitable nature and you have a wonderful people whose contribution to the nation has for too long been misunderstood and insufficiently appreciated. 1

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1. Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration. "The Changing Pattern". An address delivered by the Minister at the C.N.E., Women's Day Luncheon, on August 28, 1959, p. 12.

This is obviously a direct appeal to an influential segment of the non-Indian community, interesting perhaps because of the particular occasion and audience chosen by the Minister for encouraging interest in the development of Canada's Indians. That the C.N.E. was used on one of its major social occasions for directing such propaganda is sufficient evidence of Branch administrators' emphasis on gradually cultivating or educating non-Indian opinion along certain desired lines.

This emphasis was to be endorsed some two years later by the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs which recommended that

non-Indians must be prepared to accept, understand, appreciate and respect the background, culture, language and acts of the Indian people. The importance of mutual understanding and coöperation must be stressed. 1

In order to achieve programme objectives, then, it is clearly recognized that some stress must be placed on public relations. However, this involves more than the occasional eloquence of the Minister or a senior departmental official. To be really effective, proper relations should be maintained at all levels in the organization, especially at those which come into constant contact with non-Indians, for instance in communities adjacent to reserves or other centres of Indian concentration.

The job of Agency Superintendents, Regional Supervisors, educationists and many other specialists out in the field, involves perpetual communication and liaison with non-Indians. These officers are accordingly required to bolster public support for Branch

1. Vide: Final Report of the Joint Committee - Minutes of the Joint Committee, 1961, p. 611.

programmes in the best way their diverse capabilities permit. Thus the Placement Officers both on the field and at the Economic Development headquarters at Ottawa, are engaged in an essentially public relations function which has as its aim the educating of employers into the desirability of hiring Indian labour.

Social workers and teacher counsellors, whose duties are frequently aimed at easing Indian adjustment to a non-Indian community, are caught up inextricably in the practice of public relations. The transfer of Indians to a neighbouring town whether to earn a living or to attend a joint school always tends to involve certain problems; for instance, a number of the females have in the past become pregnant and deserted by the fathers apparent, destroying the educational career or proper social improvement of those involved; there have been cases of delinquency among male Indian pupils who feel themselves to be outcasts, despite the fact that a few weak hands of understanding are extended to them while in a very strange environment.

Still in the educational sphere, it would appear that Regional as well as District School Superintendents are expected to make regular appeals to groups and bodies in the adjacent non-Indian community, with the view of furthering the joint educational efforts of the Division. The Field Manual clearly states that "the development of joint schools is the responsibility of the Regional Superintendent".¹ He must secure approval from headquarters before opening the necessary negotiations with a local school board; of

1. Section 11.42.

course, there must be agreement on the part of the parents of the Indian children affected, before commencing his negotiations. He is nonetheless required to advise the Assistant Director, Education Services, of every opportunity to enter into such negotiations.

In point of fact, the Division's firm commitment to the objective of integrated education means that Regional Superintendents of Schools are not merely expected to advise headquarters of opportunities, but to engage in some positive effort to create and cultivate such opportunities. In the course of inspecting actual joint schools, they must be constantly on the lookout for opportunities of extending the scope of current agreement. Where no such agreement exists, interest in arriving at same is to be conscientiously cultivated among Indians and non-Indians alike. This is, of course, a major persuasive effort. It involves the consistent wooing of members or potential members of local school boards into some measure of compliance with the Division's programme.

The practice of public relations in the field, however, is not at all confined to specialists. Indeed, the Agency Superintendent and Regional Supervisor, generalists though they are, are perpetually involved in dealings with both Indians and non-Indians in various areas of activity; good relations cemented in connection with a particular matter tend invariably to extend to other related matters as well. It should be noted here that in administering Indian affairs, Branch officials have one constant factor to confront; that is the varying degrees of prejudice against Indians to be found in most sectors of the Canadian population.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to enter on this very delicate area. All that is pertinent to this discussion is that such a prejudice does exist and that Branch officials are fully aware of its existence. Further, the marked differences between the Indians and the majority of Canadians make it very difficult for the former to enter smooth relations with them; in other words, Indian shyness and fear of 'clumsy' action before a meticulous white fellow citizen, makes for heightening even more the already tall barrier separating the two.

To all appearances then, success in winning the non-Indians' support, interest, sympathy or enthusiasm in any one administrative area increases the probability of securing their favourable response in others. For, once some initial interest is created, or certain popular myths, such as Indians' mental torpidity, are exploded, there is a natural propensity to question other chimeras which forbid more positive identification with the Branch's benevolent programme objectives.

It should be quite apparent then that Agency Superintendents and Regional Supervisors, responsible for the totality of Branch operations in their respective limits, are very strategically located to induce the public into supporting the Branch's programmes in general. And, indeed, they do offer inducements on a continuing basis, although the amount varies from area to area. As might be expected, there is a deliberate attempt made to refrain from exerting obvious influence in certain areas. A very good example of this attitude emerges in connection with friendship groups.

As pointed out earlier, various groups are springing up throughout many parts of Canada, especially in urban centres where numbers of Indians are turning increasingly for employment. These friendship groups offer undoubtedly splendid opportunities for both Indians and non-Indians to know one another better. Field officers have been quite reluctant, however, to use these ready-made platforms, or worse yet to create them themselves, for launching appeals. Such associations tend to achieve greatest success when left in the spontaneous hands of members or other interested individuals. Official interference may be an impediment since it is likely to be held suspect as an official plot to goad reluctant parties along some pre-determined course.¹

This does not mean of course that no official influence at all is exerted. Once established, these groups come into occasional contact with Branch officials; for instance, some written communication may be directed to a field officer, such as the Agency Superintendent, requesting information on developments in a particular reserve, or in connection with the publication of certain alleged facts about an Indian band. The practice is at any rate to deliberately avoid even the appearance of exerting undue influence in this area.

But field officers may influence adjacent non-Indian communities in other ways, notably through the various news media - radio, television, and above all, the press. The practice varies from place to place. In general, however, it may be said that

1. This information was had from a senior official of the Administration Division.

field officials are expected to correct any inaccuracy in information presented through any of these media. The press tends to cause greatest anxiety here, for the tradition of many newspaper articles to be sensational, and so capture the imagination of a potential reader (or rather buyer), often makes for outright inaccuracies or at least the perpetuation of wrong impressions and repulsive images of Indians, whom other Canadians are already prone to view in a dim light.

In many regions, therefore, officials seek to establish and maintain very good personal relations with representatives of the press. This makes the latter disposed to approach them for confirmation of any reports received, rather than publicize inaccuracies which may have immeasurably damaging consequences. The development of such interpersonal confidence is likely also to dissuade avoidable sensationalism in reporting, for instance on particular cases of Indians' being found guilty of drunkenness, or Indian delinquency, while no such labelling is to be found in the reporting of similar wrongs committed by Ukrainians, Anglo-Saxons or other ethnic units comprising the Canadian population. What is accomplished here is the minimizing of opportunities at conveying or perpetuating unhealthy impressions of the Indians and at suggesting differences between him and any other Canadian.

Field officers are also required to coöperate with members of the press and radio as far as possible, furnishing information sought about Branch operations, except they are confidential.¹ In addition, they may voluntarily give information

1. The author is indebted for much of this information to the Information Officer at Administration Division.

at their discretion in a host of relatively minor areas, for instance a recreational park project attempted jointly by a band and an adjacent municipality. It would appear, however, that at present rebuttal of faulty articles appearing in the press is not presented on a sufficiently consistent basis.

Partially compensating for this failure, anyway, is a reasonably laudable tendency of persuading the editor of a newspaper to present an article showing Indians or the Branch in a better light, so as to offset, as it were, any erroneous impression conveyed in an earlier issue.¹ Such an article may or may not deal with the same subject covered in the initial report; the point is that readers should not remain indefinitely with a distorted view.

A recent example that may be cited here is in connection with a severely critical and harsh article appearing in June, 1964, in a B.C. newspaper. The attention of not only field, but headquarters, officials was immediately arrested by numerous letters from members of the public expressing shock at the gloomy conditions, such as the enormous proportions of the unemployed, and the virtual putrefaction of existing housing facilities under which the miserable Indians of Ahousaht laboured. The Branch soon discovered not only an unpalatable tone, but considerable errors and half-truths, purporting to be valid.

Seeing that some months had elapsed since the appearance of the article, and that rebuttal might have only a limited corrective effect, the Indian Commissioner for British Columbia was requested by headquarters to approach the newspaper editor, with the view of

1. This information was obtained during interview with the Information Officer, Administration Division.

encouraging him to publish shortly another article, but stressing in this instance less sordid features. This would likely cause the substitution of more favourable for less favourable impressions as formed by readers, of white and red skin alike. For the publication of such material as that in the B.C. paper does much to destroy morale among the Indians themselves, thus impeding the maximization of programme achievements.

Concluding, it cannot be over-emphasized how great a role is played by persuasive inducements in the achievement of programme objectives. They may take a variety of forms, but education would seem to be the central feature. As seen, the Indian Affairs Branch makes constant use of it to facilitate and encourage Indian compliance with programmes on the one hand, and to cultivate the understanding and support of the Canadian population in general, on the other.

Not all programmes require that inducements be directed to two separate classes of the public similar to those of Indian Affairs. All programmes, however, do require the utilization of external methods to induce compliance, and some of these need to be positive or persuasive. Because of the political environment in which most, if not all, of government's activities are carried on, education, in whatever form it is deemed appropriate, must receive considerable prominence. Government always has the ultimate power to coerce or impose sanctions as an inducement to comply with its programmes. In stable democracies, however, government's use of force, even if it were to prove more efficacious than persuasion,

is undesirable, except as a necessary weapon to penalize exceptional as opposed to general recalcitrance. It would seem then that the implementation of any programme in public administration requires some utilization of positive inducement if the optimum in achievement of objectives is at all to be realized.

CHAPTER VI"CONCLUSION"

If only one generalization may be validly deduced from the preceding chapters, it would have to be that individual methods lack any inherent quality rendering them universally applicable to or effective for all programmes. Differences in programmes themselves, as well as in the operational environment impinging on their implementation, tend to be reflected in the methods; so that methods tend to vary in just the same way that programmes and objectives do from one administrative situation to another.

The prominence of controlling in educational programmes, compared to its rather limited utilization by Economic Development, the heavy emphasis placed on the use of sanctions by the latter in contrast to the predominance of positive inducements in Education's choice of external methods are sufficient evidence to support this point. But this finding that, in general, methods are determined by their respective programmes and other factors attendant on their implementation, merely confirms an argument already advanced by analysts of this particular area of operational administration.

Thus the point was made, en passant, in a paper presented before the Institute of Public Administration of Canada in 1953, that "it is an activity's goal which shapes its method".¹ Two years earlier, Professor Charlesworth, whose writing in this area is relatively copious, urged that "the administrator should assay all of the administrative tools at his disposal and should select those

1. Institute of Public Administration of Canada. Proceedings of the Fifth Conference, 1953, p. 119. Taken from the paper delivered by David Levin, "Measuring the Effectiveness of Programmes".

best suited to his objectives".¹ Charlesworth enumerates various methods in this connection, warning, however, that "some administrative methods are harsh but get quick results, and others are slow but create the best public compliance in the long run".²

It has been amply recognized, therefore, that the effectiveness of administrative methods varies with particular programmes and their objectives. However, no attempt has been made thus far to discover any possible rules or laws governing this variation, or the factors governing the relationships between them. In the present study, methods have been divided into two classes, the internal and the external - a division which to all appearances has facilitated the discovery of certain additional rules governing their utilization.

From observations made in preceding chapters, it is apparent that controlling is the key method which itself strongly influences the selection of most other methods of achieving desirable objectives. In addition, while it is correct to say that methods vary with objectives, it would seem that the magnitude of such variation tends to be greater as between external methods than as between internal ones. In what follows, an attempt will be made at justifying these two positions.

With regard to the method of controlling, it is clear that no programme could be properly administered without it. Indeed, it is primarily because of it that other methods get some sort of meaning. Thus, when the Assistant Director, Education Services,

1. James C. Charlesworth, "Governmental Administration". N.Y. (1951), p. 580.

2. Ibid.

requires from all School Superintendents a monthly summary of work performed, and from school principals an annual return on school establishment and organization, the information received is not desired for its own barren sake. Such reports have a value because they enable the checking of field operations against the plan, whether the letter was decided at a conference, or in connection with the operating budget approved by Parliament. In the absence of controlling, field reports, however perfect, would be a superfluity in all but name.

Similarly, inspection conducted by school superintendents makes it possible to assess the professional effectiveness of teachers, the extent to which the total school environment is conducive to vigorous educational development, and the general responsiveness of pupils to instruction provided. In the Economic Development Division, the regular visitations, for instance of the Head of Fisheries and Wildlife, to various centres of activity, as well as the opportunities afforded for oral reporting and on-the-spot observation, have for all practical purposes the same effect. The importance of every one of these different devices emerges only because it makes the exercise of control by headquarters' officials meaningful. None of these can be utilized out of a vacuum; but each acquires value when viewed in relationship to controlling, for this latter function cannot be effectively performed without information, whether this comes from field reports, actual observation on the spot, conferring with those actually conducting operations, or inspection to discover any possible noncompliance with established standards.

But this point should become clearer in the course of the present chapter. It may be more worthwhile at this juncture to give attention to the claim that internal methods tend to be less variable as between different programmes, compared to external ones.

From what has been said so far in this study, it seems correct to assert that external methods truly reflect the differences and emphases of the programme objectives whose realization they are aimed at furthering. Now it cannot be denied that, generally speaking, external methods must embody both coercion and persuasion, if they are to be most effective. Neither negative nor positive inducement, used singly, is sufficient to ensure maximum compliance with a programme by those people affected.

To induce compliance with the educational programmes in the area of school attendance, for example, it is not sufficient to penalize detected cases of truancy by summary conviction under section 118(3) of the Indian Act. As indicated earlier, a heavy emphasis is also required on the more positive aspect of persuading Indians in various ways, notably through the medium of School Committees, to take fullest advantage of educational opportunities offered them.

Likewise, to ensure the economic development of reserves in the interest of band members, it is not enough to lure enterprising individuals to exploit their mineral, forest and other resources. Proper protection of the interests of band members, requires in addition, the imposition of sanctions on those individuals who venture to disregard them.

Numerous examples may be cited outside of Indian administration, by way of supporting this point that both coercive and persuasive inducements need to be utilized in order to maximize the achievement of desirable objectives. Thus, the objective of improving highway safety involves both the penalizing of violators of certain regulations, as well as the education of drivers and pedestrians into the desirability of exercising caution, or into the development of sound safety habits. Or, less obviously, a government desirous of strengthening industry in its own country, would very likely appeal to the nationalistic sentiment of its citizens by conducting, among other things, a "buy local" campaign; it would very likely encourage greater local production by various modern devices, such as subventions; but it would also impose sanctions on those individuals bent on noncompliance with its programme, by requiring them to pay more for imported items, in the form of higher tariffs on all commodities which compete with those locally produced.

The point is not invalidated, however, that the emphases on coercion and persuasion must vary according to the objectives of the programmes themselves. Essentially, this is because some inducements may be very effective in certain areas, while mediocre or even poor when utilized identically in others. So that while both negative and positive inducements would generally be required, in every programme, pragmatism dictates in each instance varying combinations of the two. Put in another way, this means that there is an ideal balance between coercion and persuasion applicable to every programme situation; and a balance struck in respect of one

programme need not have any validity when applied to another.

Generally speaking, it would appear that the more negative the objective, the greater the emphasis on coercive inducements, and conversely, the more a programme depends for its success on positive activity by some sector of the public, the more the emphasis on persuasion. Thus the programmes of the Education Division require a large degree of positive cooperation by (Indian) pupils, parents, teachers and so forth. Sanctions alone cannot be expected to succeed, for it is in the very nature of these programmes that those who stand to benefit from them must have a modicum of appreciation of ~~the~~ value or at least a degree of spontaneity in acquiring the greatest amount of formal instruction.

Even if coercion were utilized to the fullest limit, it could not do more than secure a small amount of compliance with or response to Education's programme. There may be little truancy, tardiness and such like; yet the positive response needed for success may still be lacking, should merely negative inducements be applied.

Other programmes may require a complete reversal in emphasis. Thus, to ensure protection of Indians from the undesirable effects of alcohol: severe penalties are imposed on violators of certain stipulated conditions, be they Indian or non-Indian. Certainly, the general public relations of the Branch is directed to winning so much positive support for its multifarious objectives, as to render the imposition of sanctions unnecessary; there could be no doubt, however, that the most effective means of protecting Indians in this particular area, is by laying down prohibitions, and then to

impose sanctions on those who dare to ignore them - which corresponds quite closely to the primary role of government in the era of laissez faire.

Yet another example of an area where negative inducements are given considerable primacy is afforded by the programme for exploiting the mineral and other natural resources on reserves. Here again, although it is hoped that persuasion would be a great inducement for compliance, coercion must be emphasized if explorers and other permittees are not to surreptitiously evade their obligations. Here not only are there penalties for noncompliance, but an effective system of inspection by the Supervisor of Mines, and the necessity for obtaining a licence or lease, as the case may be, before beginning operations, greatly facilitate the detection of specific offenders.

Ideally, it is claimed, education is to be preferred to coercion in the implementation of public programmes. Thus, Prof. White, recognizing that in a democracy compliance rests ultimately on consent,¹ views the method as one making it possible to win the power and active support of the populace, and so lighten the burden of administration. Prof. Charlesworth similarly argues with direct reference to U.S. administration,

Efficiency is not the prime desideratum in a republican form of government; efficiency-within-liberty should be the heart of the administrator's credo. The administrative instrument of education is conspicuously appropriate to this end. The more we develop the uses of education, the closer we bring the state and the citizen together and the longer we postpone the collapse of democratic society. 2

1. Leonard D. White, Introduction to the Study of Public Administration, 4th ed. N.Y. (1955), p. 466.

2. James C. Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 699.

Disregarding its veiled propaganda, this statement may be said to have undeniable validity for not only the U.S. republic but all governments which adhere to liberal democratic principles. Because imposition of sanctions may be the most efficient implement to induce a part of the public along a particular line of behaviour, it need not be the best; it may involve the achievement of efficiency, but at the expense of liberty - a rather unacceptable proposition in most western democracies.

Yet it cannot be denied that some utilization must be made of coercive efficiency in most public programmes. The extent of such utilization, of course, is bound to vary between programmes. In certain areas, it must receive a heavy emphasis. Prof. White has pointed out in this connection, that desirable as education may be as an inducement, it cannot be relied upon where the need for compliance is pressing;¹ in such an event, considerable emphasis must be placed on coercion.

On the other hand, there are areas in which compulsion can only be used to a limited extent with any prospect of success. Thus, social stigma, which people generally avoid by obeying the law, may not be attached in cases where a majority rather than a minority of people are recalcitrant. Indeed, in such instances, compulsion need not be more efficient since, apart from an inevitable deterioration in public morale, gaol accommodation, police establishment, and such like, would have to be multiplied in order to deal effectively with universal recalcitrance.

1. Vide: Leonard D. White, op. cit., p. 470.

At any rate, the essential point to be stressed here is that while generally speaking, the implementation of programmes requires a combination of both positive and negative methods to secure compliance, the precise balance between the two must be subject to variation according to the particular programmes themselves. Undesirable though the use of sanctions may be, it is in certain situations the only sure way to secure maximum compliance, especially where the need for this is pressing. Similarly, however much sanctions ensure a minimum level of compliance, the achievement of certain objectives may require such a large measure of positive support, sympathy or response from that part of the public to which the particular programme is directed, that the dominant emphasis would have to be placed on positive instruments.

No two programmes are identical. Neither those directing a particular programme nor those to whom it is directed, are exact replicas of their respective counterparts in other areas of public activity. While marked similarities doubtless exist, the fact remains that the multifarious differences and shades of differences which characterize both public programmes and their respective clienteles must be reflected in the ideal combination of methods selected in particular administrative situations.

What is apparent is that the usefulness of external methods is subject to wide variation as between programmes. Licensing, for instance, central as it is in certain operations of the Economic Development Division, is hardly inapplicable to those undertaken by Education. Similarly, Education Division uses

committees effectively as a direct persuasive instrument, unlike Economic Development which finds the utilization of demonstration, explication and application more suited to the needs of its particular operations; this example illustrates how, even when the same general instrument is used - in this case, education - the precise forms of such use are themselves subject to considerable variation.

However, if it is in the nature of external methods to vary markedly in the light of diverse programme objectives, internal ones may be said to have the very opposite characteristics. Internal methods, it would appear, tend to be subject to greater standardization as between programmes.

As already seen in two previous chapters, there is a marked difference between the two Divisions examined in respect of the internal methods they respectively utilize. The Education Division exercises a more decisive control over programmes than Economic Development. It has a comprehensive system of reporting, conferences, and inspections, in addition to a field organization which enables the maximum of control, even at the expense of the broader Branch organization as a whole.

The Economic Development Division, on the other hand, firmly accepts the logic of decentralization and acknowledges the greater qualification of field officials to act on their largely independent judgment in respect of operations within their regions. Of course, the very programmes administered by this Division, lacking the uniformity of educational programmes undertaken throughout the country lend themselves naturally to the espousal

of such principles. Diversity is the central characteristic of Economic Development's programmes; administrative methods selected to advance them must reflect this basic fact. Accordingly, control tends to be less firm, reporting less systematic, and inspection a virtual superfluity, when compared to the internal instruments as used by Education.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that these obvious differences between the two divisions are fundamental. However much they may vary in the selection of external methods to induce compliance, in their selection of internal methods, their similarities tend to overshadow their differences. Despite differences in degree, the internal methods as used by both would be very much the same.

Thus, while a systematized form of reporting as used by Education, is not to be found in Economic Development, the latter seems to make effective use of the less demanding form of "exception reporting". Professor Newman, referring to management in private administration, has pointed out in connection with this form of reporting, that "rarely is it wise to place complete reliance on this arrangement".¹ Accordingly he stressed the point that "some comprehensive data or personal observation should be used to keep tab on results".² The point made here seems just as valid for public as it is for private administration.

From what has been said earlier in this study, decentralization with little qualification, characterizes the operations

1. William H. Newman, Administrative Action. The Techniques of Organization and Management. N.Y. (1953), p. 420.

2. Ibid.

of Economic Development. From this standpoint alone, a measure of justification may be given for the utilization of "exception reporting". But wholly apart from this, that system seems to result almost inevitably from the marked diversity of its programmes. As already seen, operations vary tremendously between regions, as well as within them. They are also conducted in respect of projects as different as logging, mining, fishing, trapping, farming, construction of dams, dykes, jetties, storage houses, and such like.

It should not be surprising that reports on the implementation of such diverse projects are not as systematic as those regarding school construction, supervision of residential and Day schools, or other areas of operation by the Education Division, which are more or less uniform throughout the country. The essential difference is that the latter's projects tend to be uniform, since they aim at a very easily identifiable and singular objective, the raising of the Indians' education¹ to a level comparable to the rest of Canada. Had Economic Development had aims as singular and as readily identifiable, its internal reporting would more easily lend itself to systematization.

As the position is, however, the Division attempts to use other internal methods wisely enough to offset at least some of the disadvantages attendant on its utilization of "exception reporting". Thus it makes much greater use of visitation which enables a considerable amount of oral reporting and on-the-spot observation of field operations; lack of scheduled reporting

1. This term is not used here to denote the external method.

constitutes then little handicap to headquarters officials who acquire knowledge of progress in the field through an equally effective, if not superior, medium of information. This is the actual practice of what Newman calls "personal observation" which makes it possible "to keep tab on results".

What becomes quite apparent at this juncture is that despite initial appearances to the contrary, a definite similarity exists between the internal methods of both divisions. In the one case, Education, the programmes implemented being more uniform, easily lend themselves to systematized reporting; for the same reason of uniformity, other administrative methods such as inspection are required for the exercise of adequate central control. When one turns to Economic Development, it would appear that the absence of uniformity reduces the need for exercising control to the same degree as Education; this probably explains, at least partially, the former's satisfaction with or acceptance of the judgments made by "men on the spot". In addition, of course, the exercise of greater control is made difficult by the virtual impossibility of securing systematic and standardized reports on the extremely heterogeneous operations conducted by Economic Development.

However, what this Division fails to achieve fully by scheduled reports, it partially achieves by other devices. So that in the final analysis, its administrators tend to have a sufficient amount of information for the exercise of the more limited control that they consider prudent in the light of the Division's

programme peculiarities. Essentially the same internal methods then are required in both programmes; or rather, it may be said that internal instruments, in general, tend to be subject to a lesser amount of variation from one programme to another, in comparison with their external counterparts. This is so because, however limited or qualified, some amount of central control must be exercised in connection with every programme implemented.

Modern management in public and private enterprise alike involves in large measure, getting work done through others. What this involves in actual practice is decentralization of the decision-making process, as well as the delegation of responsibility to subordinates for performance of specific administrative tasks. Such delegation, however, does not mean the total abdication of responsibility by senior management. Perrin Stryker made a very sound point in this connection. He argues that there is an interesting paradox in modern decentralization: the more top management tries to decentralize decision-making, the more it must centralize its control of decisions.¹

Very persuasively, he suggests:

An executive can delegate the responsibility for doing a job, but he still retains the responsibility for seeing that the job is done...the top executive is fully responsible for checking up on everybody below him, and on everything that might affect the company's success.²

This "checking up" function alluded to by Stryker is the very essence of controlling, and is just as true of public administration

1. Vide: Perrin Stryker, "The Subtleties of Delegation" in Fortune, Vol. II, No. 3, March, 1955, p. 95.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

as it is of private. It reflects the universal concern of superior officials, after delegating responsibility, to avoid the possibility that subordinates may make errors jeopardizing the interests or frustrating the achievement of organizational objectives.

Of course, in exercising this control function, senior managers tend to suffer in varying degrees from a fairly severe handicap; they are limited in their own actions by action already taken by subordinates to whom responsibility had been delegated. This is particularly true of administrators in organizations such as the Economic Development Division whose hands are frequently tied by action taken in the field by "men on the spot". The administrators' function here need not be limited to futile grumbling over their being perpetually confronted with faits accomplis; more constructively, they may aim at more thorough checking on subordinates with the view of controlling whatever is left of the latter's operations or programmes. This particular aspect of control is of greater importance than may be initially apparent.

Professor Seckler-Hudson, in an interesting analogy, has vividly compared the control function of an administrator to that of a coach in professional football. Although the latter must keep off the field while the plays are being made, he does not abdicate while the game is in process. He is in the background - watching the situation every moment of the time, and while he is a follower of the situation, he is simultaneously a leader, in that he corrects, re-casts, advises and studies.

So while he is restricted by what has already happened on the field, he energetically participates in directing and controlling what is left of the game. ¹

Professor Seckler-Hudson rightly claims that the executive at any level is likewise conditioned and limited by the actions and decisions of his subordinates, and while he must stay off their fields, he nonetheless, actively participates in measuring, controlling and directing "what is left of the game".

It would appear then that as a general rule some measure of control, however little or great, has to be exercised by administrators in the implementation of every programme. However decentralized an organization may be, once its administrators have decided on a particular course of action, or plan of operations, they must utilize the instrument of control which, in the words of Professor Newman, is really "the means of assuring that performance conforms to the plan". ²

But the control function cannot be exercised properly without other administrative methods. Thus adequate reporting is needed to ensure effective flow of information not only from the top of the organization down, but from the bottom up. In the latter case, reliable information must come from lower levels of the organization to ensure that sound decisions are taken at its upper levels. In the other, subordinates and field operators must be kept properly informed of decisions or plans formalized at higher echelons in the organization.

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1. Catheryn Seckler-Hudson, Organization and Management. Theory and Practice. Washington, (1955), p. 252.
 2. William Newman, op. cit., p. 407.

Clear lines of communication between appropriate levels of the organization, are therefore, an obvious facility in the exercise of control, since they tend to tie the realization of specific objectives to individual responsibility. This would probably explain the field organizational bias of the Education Division, involving enhancement of its Regional School Superintendent's role at the expense of the Regional Supervisor; with its greater emphasis on control, the Division thinks it imperative that the senior field official in charge of educational operations in any given area, should be subject to its distinct control as directly as possible.

In fine, then, controlling is the means by which management determines whether objectives are being achieved efficiently and on time.¹ It is the central method. Because other internal methods such as reporting, inspection and conference, contribute to the proper use of this strategic instrument, they themselves acquire whatever meaning they may have.

But the influence of controlling extends to external methods as well. Virtually all programmes in public administration are aimed at affecting some identifiable clientele; the latter are expected to respond in some way to a particular admixture of negative and positive inducements. On the basis of progress reports received in this particular area, control would have to be exercised constantly to ensure that a satisfactory balance

1. Vide: M.E. Dimock, G.O. Dimock, and L.W. Koenig, Public Administration. N.Y. (1951), p. 425.

between these two opposite forms of inducement, maximize the compliance needed for programme success.

It would appear too, that apart from determining the other methods, the nature of controlling itself is to some extent determined by other methods. Thus, to take an example in reporting, even if Economic Development Division wished to exercise greater control over its programmes, it is handicapped by the difficulty of getting uniform reports from field officials in respect of a great diversity of operations. The mere receipt of copious reports is not sufficient for the purpose of exercising firm control; reports must enable administrators to measure progress and efficiency of operations; and this could hardly be done satisfactorily without a modicum of uniformity, not only in the reporting technique, but in the programmes themselves. In the absence of such uniformity, control could only be exercised over a multiplicity of separate operations, and is not likely to be quite firm.

Controlling then seems to be the central administrative method, occasionally determined by, but in most cases determining, the use of other methods. Without its proper utilization, management could not satisfactorily evaluate programmes implemented by an organization; neither could there be reasonable assurance that objectives are being achieved according to plan. It is the least variable method of achieving programme objectives, and is the principal determinant of variability among administrative instruments in general.

To conclude, then, the following theses are submitted:-

- (1) That controlling is the central method which gives meaning to other methods selected to achieve programme objectives, and accordingly determines the precise form in which they are respectively utilized, if at all.
- (2) That although variation is the fundamental rule governing the applicability of methods to programmes, internal methods tend to be subject to a narrower margin of variation as between different programmes, than external ones.

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