FROM LONGHOUSE TO TOWNHOUSE: THE EVOLUTION OF ON-RESERVE HOUSING POLICY FOR CANADIAN INDIANS

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the federal government's policy-process for on-reserve housing for Indian people in British Columbia. The federal government first intervened in Indian housing around 1945 and since then its role and responsibilities have grown both in terms of capital allocated for this purpose and the manpower required to administer the many housing programs that have evolved. I develop the position that housing per se is not as great a need on Indian reserves as perceived by Indian and government officials. Rather, poor housing is a symptom of the broader and generally depressed socio-economic situation in many Indian communities. Ingrained institutional behaviour in dealing with the perceived problem also contributes to its persistence.

Despite the government's commitment to improving the living conditions of Indian people the perceived problem has not been solved, and in fact has grown worse over the years. Indeed it has contributed to the emergence of new and unexpected problems. In view of the seeming ineffectiveness of the government's policies and programs, a central focus in this study is past and present perceptions of the so called "housing" problem. I show that the evolution of the government's policy-making conforms to hypothetical approaches or models discussed in the literature on policy-analysis.

Specific objectives of my study include: 1) to examine the historical evolution of the government's policy-making; 2) to analyze government conceptions of the problem; 3) to discuss the
social and political implications of policy formulation and implementation; and 4) to discuss an alternative approach to current policy-making.

To achieve these objectives I first derived a framework of three political-analytic approaches for examining on-reserve housing: i) the classical; ii) the reformist; and iii) the critical. The characteristics of this framework were based on a review of literature pertaining to decision-making theory and the theory of community change. Information on historical events and major decisions was obtained through government and Indian documents, and interviews with government officials in DIAND and CMHC at the national, regional, and district level and Indian officials at the regional, tribal and band level. All of the interviewing except for national government officials was undertaken in British Columbia. I interviewed national government officials in Ottawa. The purpose of my interviews was to obtain additional information to qualify my findings about government conceptions of the problem derived in my historical analysis.

My analysis indicates that the government's policy-making in the area of on-reserve housing has had characteristics of all three hypothetical approaches, but elements of a reformist approach predominate, including: i) a technical definition of the problem; ii) the perception that poor housing causes poor health; iii) emphasis on task goals in policy-making; and iv) a "top-down" planning strategy.

The results of government policy-making in the area of on-
reserve housing include: i) acculturation or assimilation of Indian values and beliefs and the emergence of a set of welfare values; ii) increasing individualism and competition among Indian people; iii) undemocratic planning processes resulting in pathologies of domination; and iv) contradictions on various levels between the planning actions of DIAND and the actions of Indian people. These results provide strong justification for major changes to government policy-making. The evolution of policy-making more characteristic of a critical approach is recommended and discussed.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ................................................................................................. ii  
List of Tables .......................................................................................... vii  
List of Figures ........................................................................................ viii  
Acknowledgements .................................................................................. ix  

## Chapter I  
**INTRODUCTION** .............................................................................. 1  
1. Scope And Objectives ........................................................................ 3  
2. Background Of The Perceived Problem ............................................. 4  
3. Empirical Uncertainty .......................................................................... 8  
4. Administrative Difficulties ................................................................. 12  
5. The Politics Of Economic Restraint ..................................................... 17  
6. The Art Of Reframing : Some Assumptions ........................................ 19  

## Chapter II  
**METHODS** ...................................................................................... 22  
A. POLITICAL-ANALYTIC APPROACHES TO ON-RESERVE HOUSING .... 22  
1. The Classical Approach ...................................................................... 26  
2. The Reformist Approach ...................................................................... 30  
3. The Critical Approach ......................................................................... 34  

## Chapter III  
**THE HISTORY OF ON-RESERVE HOUSING** .................................... 43  
A. EARLY HOUSING ASSISTANCE (1954-67) ........................................... 43  
1. Problem Formulation .......................................................................... 43  
2. Policy .................................................................................................. 45  
3. Planning Procedure ............................................................................. 46  
4. Conceptualization Of The Community ............................................... 49  
5. Social And Political Results ............................................................... 50  
1. Problem Formulation .......................................................................... 55  
2. Policy .................................................................................................. 58  
3. Planning Procedure ............................................................................. 61  
4. Conceptualization Of The Community ............................................... 70  
5. Social And Political Results ............................................................... 72  
C. CONCLUSIONS .................................................................................... 79  

## Chapter IV  
**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS** ............................................... 80  
A. THE CRITICAL APPROACH: STRUCTURED SOCIAL POLICY ANALYSIS .... 87  
1. Systems Model Of The Indian Community ......................................... 88  
2. "Self-help" Housing ............................................................................ 100  
3. Planning As Communicative Action .................................................... 103  
B. THE CRITICAL APPROACH: A METHOD OF PLANNING ..................... 107
1. Comprehensive Community Based Planning ......108
2. Developmental Approach Toward Band Funding ....110

BIBLIOGRAPHY ......................................................115

APPENDIX A - CHRONOLOGY OF ON-RESERVE HOUSING EVENTS ....124
List of Tables

1. Three Political-Analytic Approaches ......................24
List of Figures

1. Social Theory Model for Native Communities (Weaver and Cunningham, 1982, p.10) ........................................96
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I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the social and political context of housing policy for native people living on-reserve in British Columbia. A central focus is past and present government perceptions of the on-reserve "housing" problem. In the words of officials in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) the problem, on a nationwide basis, is defined in the following way:

A comprehensive housing survey was undertaken and completed in 1977. The findings of this Housing Needs Analysis, December 31, 1977, confirmed that there existed a significant and growing housing problem on reserves. This survey found that some 26 per cent of on reserve families obtained shelter either by doubling or tripling up with other families or living in a fully dilapidated unit, a unit well beyond repair. In addition, there are a significant number of families (another 25 per cent) living in units which need to be repaired if they are to meet minimum health and safety standards.

The present on reserve housing backlog is estimated to be 13,226 new units. In addition, there are some 11,700 existing units in need of major repairs. This shortage of adequate housing causes severe hardships. Funds presently available from all sources for on reserve housing and certain anomalies in the program's structure do not allow for a reduction in the backlog. (DIAND, 1980, Pp.9-11)

The inadequacy of on-reserve housing is often perceived to be related to health. A report prepared by the Medical Services Branch in the B.C. Region of National Health and Welfare (NH&W) states:

The health of a community is unquestionably associated with housing conditions. Where these are faulty, the health of the people suffers. Where good housing
exists will be found the healthiest, happiest, wealthiest and most progressive people. When one reviews the Indian morbidity rates contained in the 1978 annual report of Pacific Region, Medical Services Branch, and then looks at the housing conditions, one can only wonder if there is not a direct relationship between the two. Whether we can actually say that these relatively high morbidity rates amongst Indian people are the result of the housing in which they live, is debatable. However, it can be said that the housing conditions revealed in the surveys carried out to date by Medical Services Branch are certainly a major contributing factor to the rates. (NH&W, 1978, Pp.1-6)

DIAND also maintains that the unusually high rate of fires and fire deaths on-reserve are directly related to the lower quality of housing, use of substandard heating systems, crowded living conditions and the scarcity of fire protection services (DIAND, 1980, p.33).

I develop the position that "housing" *per se* is not a problem on Indian reserves, but more a symptom of a much larger and more complex problem. This problem is that Indians continue to exist in a dysfunctional social system without legitimate work roles, defined social relations and an appropriate set of self-guiding institutions. Housing can not resolve these overriding societal problems. From this perspective inadequate housing is more the result than the cause of the wider malaise. On the other hand, the type of housing and the way it is being delivered on Indian reserves may actually contribute to the already existing conflict experienced by some Indians between traditional and welfare values, beliefs and institutions.

The conflict manifests itself in an impoverished and disposessed culture, where in some cases, the people have lost
the desire, will and interest in providing and maintaining shelter for themselves. This does not imply that the Indian people lack the ability to provide and maintain shelter. Until this conflict is resolved however "housing" will have little or no effect on the development of Indians and Indian communities. In fact housing policy may contribute to the social underdevelopment of the community, because it fails to address the root problem.

1. **Scope And Objectives**

In view of the uncertainties and difficulties associated with solutions to the "housing" problem, this thesis will evaluate the appropriateness of the government's policy-making in dealing with housing on Indian reserves and the social and political results arising from these efforts.

My research concentrates primarily on a synthesis and analysis of problem statements and recommendations advanced by government officials involved with on-reserve housing at the district, regional and national offices of DIAND and CMHC. This information is supplemented by researching current studies and documents prepared by DIAND, National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) and the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) and my own personal observations based on visits to Indian reserves in the Vancouver District of DIAND. The objectives of my research are as follows:

1) To examine the historical evolution of the government's policy-making to the perceived "housing" problem.
2) To analyze government conceptions of the problem.
3) To discuss the social and political results of this policy-making.
4) To discuss an alternative approach to the perceived problem.

2. Background Of The Perceived Problem

The Federal Government is responsible for the health and welfare of Canadian Indians under the British North America Act and as set out in the Indian Act. In meeting this responsibility, the provision of assistance to Indians for obtaining adequate housing has evolved into one of the regular services administered by DIAND. Indeed, the Federal Government through various departments has been involved with housing on Indian reserves since approximately 1945.

The federal government first intervened in Indian housing for social and political reasons. Housing was perceived to be the most direct way of improving the deplorable living conditions on Indian reserves. These conditions had reached crisis proportions by the end of World War II. The market system failed to alleviate the situation because lending agencies were reluctant to use reserve land, held in trust by the government, as collateral for house construction. Social and political pressures made it imperative that the government intervene for the welfare of the Indian people. The social pressures probably came from the same groups that were responsible for early housing reform movements in the "city", i.e. the social reformers who viewed inadequate housing as the
source of many of the diseases and social disorders which were of high incidence among underprivileged groups (Friedmann and Weaver, 1979; Heskin, 1980). The political pressures probably came from the Indian people and a concerned public, both of which felt the federal government was not living up to its responsibilities to the Indian people. Government intervention in on-reserve housing has also performed an economic function, but it has remained secondary to its socio-political function.

After World War II quantity shelter was given priority over quality housing for Indians. In 1962, the concept of subsidized housing was introduced. It aimed at providing Indian families with a minimum standard house. In 1965, the Federal Government announced a new policy that Indian communities should have housing of a size and quality comparable to other Canadian citizens. In 1970, the concept of community based planning was introduced by which physical plans would be made of all Indian reserves and Indians would be expected to undertake the planning of their communities. In 1977, a comprehensive housing program was undertaken which proposed the utilization of federal programs from DIAND, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), and the Department of Manpower and Immigration (M&I), Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), and NH&W.

The most recent housing survey of Canadian Indian reserves was completed in 1979. Despite previous government efforts as described this survey confirmed government and Indian perceptions of a significant "housing" problem on Indian reserves. In British Columbia the survey found that some 43 per
cent of on reserve families obtained shelter either by doubling or tripling up with other families and that 36 per cent of the existing units were in need of major repairs or replacement (DIAND, 1979).

The housing needs analysis also indicated that there would be a growing demand for houses on-reserve in the 1980's. It considered rates of net family formation which could be expected over the next fifteen years based, not only on the latest estimates of on reserve population levels, but also on the high Indian birth rates of the mid-1960's. Due to the recent increase in family formations following the Indian "baby boom" of the late 1950's and early 1960's there is an increasing need for new housing on-reserves. Additionally, the rising expectations of the standard of housing, increasing awareness of available funding programs and the recent trend of Indian people moving back onto the reserve would contribute to the growing demand for houses.

In a recent discussion paper DIAND indicated that funds presently available from all sources for on-reserve housing and certain shortcomings in the program's structure and delivery prevented a reduction in the existing shortage of houses (DIAND, 1980). For example the inflexibility of the existing subsidy arrangement was sited as one shortcoming. Bands and individuals are expected to fill the gap between a subsidy from DIAND and the actual cost of the house through one or a combination of the following: i) loan funds from (CMHC); ii) labour subsidies from Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC); and iii)
Indian money and effort. Those bands best able to fill the gap tend to be those with the best capacity to deliver programs in general and consist of band members in the higher income bracket. Therefore, the program has tended to miss the actual group of Indian people in most need of financial assistance.

The problem of filling the gap between demand and supply was related to a number of factors in this discussion paper. The first was that the use of CMHC loans was considerably lower than anticipated because of a lack of understanding of how they work and the fear amongst band members that the use of a ministerial guarantee would decrease band capital or revenue. The uptake of loans varies from region to region. For example, B.C. has a considerably higher uptake of loans than other regions largely because the need for such forms of funding is so great and departmental officials have informed and encouraged Indian bands to utilize CMHC sources (Interviews, 1980-81).

A second factor discussed was the relative ineffectiveness of CEIC funding. Funding cycles generally did not correspond to either the housing construction period on-reserves or the timing of resource allocation by DIAND.

Finally, a number of critical aspects of the program's delivery mechanism includes two major functions: i) communications and training and ii) technical assistance. DIAND considers that some Indians lack the necessary managerial or technical skills to implement their own housing programs. The communication and training function is expected to eventually remedy this. Until such activities are completed there will be a heavy demand for either direct DIAND program delivery or strong delivery support for the bands from the department. This is where the technical assistance function comes in.
delivery mechanism which did not operate as intended were covered in DIAND’s paper. Among these were that the program was not properly communicated to the Indian population and training programs did not make the headway planned. As well, operational funds and departmental staff required for adequate technical assistance and to support operations and maintenance activities were not made available in sufficient depth.

3. Empirical Uncertainty

A number of uncertainties beset the policy maker and planner regarding causation given a correlation between housing and other variables. If a particular factor (e.g. inadequate housing) is shown to be associated with a pathology (e.g. disease or an abnormal type of social behaviour) the following causal relationships are possible:

i) Inadequate housing leads to this pathology;

ii) The pathology leads to inadequate housing;

iii) Inadequate housing and the pathology under examination may both be caused by a third determinant;

iv) Inadequate housing and the pathology have separate causes; they are not related; and

v) Inadequate housing, the pathology and other factors are interrelated.

Another area of uncertainty arises when an association is found between a pathology and many factors. In this case even if the direction of causality is assumed to be one in which "factor causes pathology", various factors may be of equal importance or a hierarchy of importance may exist.
A great deal of the housing literature documents the apparent relationships\(^1\) between housing and health (Lander, 1954; Wilner, Walkley, Pinkerton and Tayback, 1962; Schorr, 1964; Freedman, 1975; Buchanan, 1979). As recent as 1979 housing studies attempt to demonstrate that a significant relationship exists between housing quality and quantity and health, yet none of them have been able to prove either the direction and/or magnitude of causation in this relationship.

Some recent studies, however, challenge this view of the housing/health relationship by suggesting health is interrelated to many factors and should be viewed in a very broad series of relationships rather than a single cause and effect relationship with housing. Stanislav reviews empirical evidence from many disciplines to determine what is known about the effects of various physical parameters of housing and of the residential neighbourhood on behaviour and on mental and physical health (Stanislav, 1974). Among his conclusions the following is noteworthy:

3. The link between parameters of housing and indices of physical health has not been well supported by the reviewed evidence, at least not in any direct sense. To be sure, certain relationships involving simple causal mechanisms -- presence of rodents and probability of rodent bites, presence of lead paint in old buildings and probability of lead poisoning in young children -- do exist, or are highly plausible. But the relationship between housing and chronic conditions and disability is not at present supported

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\(^1\) Refers to the viewpoint that by deductive reasoning, a strong relationship between housing and health can be established. For example, crowding and the incidence of tuberculosis.
by any firm evidence, and it would seem that any association which may be established will be shown to operate via social variables. (Stanislav, 1974, p.11)

This implies poor health and poor housing are both the result of depressed social circumstances and not necessarily directly related to each other.

From an anthropological perspective, Perin analyzes the social meanings of various American concepts associated with "housing" (Perin, 1977). These include homeownership, sprawl, mortgages, housing styles, forms of tenure, the life cycle, status and local control over zoning. She feels these meanings arise from American conceptions of transition, citizenship, honor, marginality, success and self-esteem. She suggests these cultural conceptions customarily are addressed indirectly by individuals in deciding about a place to live. This is in terms of decisions relating to density levels, housing types, price levels, subdivision layouts and neighbourhood and community character.

Perin's research deals with the beliefs and values of urban, middle-class, white Americans. She does not examine the cultural conceptions of an impoverished and isolated group of Americans, such as the Indian people. By examining the conceptions of white and middle-class Americans, however, she feels remedies for reducing discrimination and making new departures for improving both availability and quality of living environments will be possible.

This implies that the beliefs and values of urban, middle-class, caucassians, toward housing, are accepted as the norm in
North America and often assumed to be applicable to all groups in society regardless of socio-economic and cultural background.

Burns and Grebo (1977) contend that a more balanced view is required between the state of knowledge about the social costs attributed to poor housing and the use of this knowledge. They review the observed associations between housing deficiencies and individual and group morbidities in an attempt to determine whether housing subsidies are justified. They conclude:

It seems that the doctrinaire positions that have so long characterized scholarly work and its use are giving way to more conciliatory views. Economists and sociologists recognize that the absence of rigorous proof of undesirable consequences of poor housing does not mean no such consequences exist.

At the same time, reformers and policymakers have come to realize that the case for government assistance to low-income housing does not rest exclusively or even importantly on firm evidence of massive disorders caused by substandard housing.

The emergence of a more balanced view means, among other things, greater consideration in public policy to alternatives to housing projects, such as income maintenance programs, more intensive job training to improve the earning potentials of the poor, special educational efforts for children of low-income people, or expanded social services for the rehabilitation of "problem families". (Burns and Grebler, 1977, Pp.136-7)

This implies that housing per se is not necessarily a significant contributing factor to poor health and that more direct measures for helping underprivileged groups in society are warranted. In the case of Indian people I would also include community planning and development to the list of alternatives sited in the above quotation as Indian bands tend
to have the political and social structures already in place to carry out many of the functions of a community or locality.

4. Administrative Difficulties

From a planning perspective the difficulties encountered in delivering houses on-reserve are similar to those in delivering housing to any low-income special needs group in society, with the exception that Indian people are organized into bands with their own community structure and control, and the geographical distance of some of these bands from the rest of society. Past "housing" solutions for low-income special needs groups have typically encountered similar difficulties (U.N., 1977; City of Vancouver, 1981).

First, funds available for low-income housing assistance have at no time come close to matching the magnitude of need. Due to the sectoral and disaggregated nature of band funding it is usually a case of too little funding too late. Small bands in particular find it difficult to remedy their housing shortages given the present funding mechanism. This is because band funding is undertaken on a per capita basis and it has many separate categories for accountability (e.g. housing, education). Therefore a particular band's budget in any given year, which is based on the number of members in the band, must be spread around to many categories of accountability (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980; DIAND, 1982; Harcourt, 1982).

Second, given the costs of construction on Indian reserves it is difficult to provide suitable housing that reflects specific socio-cultural needs with the DIAND subsidy and CMHC
loans. The fact that non-government lenders, such as chartered banks, are reluctant to make loans on Indian reserves makes difficulties with funding more critical than they would normally be off reserve.

Third, given a desire to meet housing needs and the funds to effect that desire, the question of who should implement the program and manage and maintain the projects still remains. In British Columbia more and more Indian bands are assuming these responsibilities, but many still lack the knowledge and skills to do so. Finally, given the relatively short life span of houses constructed on reserve (15 years in comparison to 35 years off reserve) and the lack of real opportunities for socio-economic development it is likely that that a housing problem will always exist as long as Indian people remain an underprivileged group in society.

Two cases of past housing solutions illustrate how traditional efforts have failed. Consider first the housing reform efforts in the United States. In the American experience the city became the focus for social reform when millions of people migrated to the city and slums emerged (Burns and Grebler, 1977; Heskin, 1980). The reformer saw the slums in two different ways, but each led to the same solution. One view asserted slum conditions were caused by ignorant people who could not be held responsible for their actions (Burns and Grebler, 1977; Heskin, 1980; Jacobs and Stevenson, 1981). The responsibility therefore fell to the rest of society. The logic of this view was more convincing when coupled with the
perception that slums were the cause of disease, public disorder and reduced land values. The opposing view was environmentally deterministic. Instead of being the effect of its unfortunate occupants the slum was viewed as the cause of such moral ills (Burns and Grebler, 1977, p.72).

The tenement was one of the outcomes of the earliest reform efforts. Another outcome was the Tenement House Act of 1867 which prescribed minimum standards for water supply, sanitation and repair (Burns and Grebler, 1977, p.73). Theodore Roosevelt as governor of New York state worked for the passage of another major tenement house law in 1901 which came to be regarded as the nation's first modern housing code (Burns and Grebler, 1977, p.73).

The first U.S. national effort to foster low-rent housing and slum clearance was made when the Public Works Administration began granting low-interest long-term loans to limited dividend corporations (Burns and Grebler, 1977, p.73). This operation was abandoned in 1937 because of its ineffectiveness. It was replaced by the public housing program which has existed to the present. Under this program federal subsidies are made available to local housing authorities which construct, own and operate low-rent projects and contribute a modest part to the total cost.

A great many of these projects failed. As a result serious questions have been raised about the U.S. government's intervention in slum clearance (Heskin, 1980). Foremost of these is why the slums continue to exist despite government assistance
(Jacobs and Stevenson, 1981). It appears solutions to the problem created yet other problems such as abuses of the program and lack of maintenance of the housing projects. As well the underlying debate of slum clearance has never been resolved, i.e. whether low-income housing projects really improve the lives of the people affected by them or merely shift the same old problems of these people to a different location. Finally, the upgrading or replacement of dwellings to meet higher standards entailed increasing project costs. In the absence of increased subsidies or technological breakthroughs the costs were paid by the consumer. Thus the gap between rent for an adequate house and an individual's income, one of the original reasons for providing subsidized housing, was continually widened. This raises the question whether similar problems have been encountered by the Canadian government in attempting to provide adequate housing to low-income groups (e.g. Indian people).

The second example concerns the squatter settlements of developing countries. Although different from the first context it also contains some valuable insights about "housing" solutions. A substantial and growing part of the urban population in developing countries live in squatter settlements (Mangin, 1967; Dawes, 1982; Wong, 1982). In these countries millions of families from the impoverished countryside and the city slums have invaded the outskirts of major cities and set up enormous shantytowns. These settlements usually consist of minimal shelter without public services or infrastructure.
Reformers are appalled by the high incidence of underemployment, poverty, lack of medical treatment and sewage facilities, and the low level of education in these settlements.

Efforts to clear away squatter settlements have failed. They have continued to remain part of the urban landscape, resurfacing in different locations and augmented by new arrivals (Mangin, 1967; Schon, 1980). It is beyond the means of many of these countries to provide enough low-cost housing to meet the needs of all the settlers. Where housing projects are possible they are likely to fail because the social and economic costs of re-location are too great for the squatters.

From a different viewpoint the squatters feel they have a right to the land because many of them were forced to relocate for economic reasons. Their settlements represent sites of social learning (Turner, 1976). The squatters demonstrate initiative and independence by constructing their own dwellings. The settlements are systems in which, with minimal investment of capital, the poor engage in self-help and solve their own "housing" problem. The squatter settlements also provide important social relationships and supports to the people inhabiting them and especially to recent arrivals to a settlement.

As this counter-view has gained popularity some public agencies in these countries have launched programs of "aided self-help". These programs provide access to materials, capital and technical assistance. Later on, "sites and services" programs were initiated in which municipalities made available
chunks of land, divided into individual parcels, graded and prepared for the construction of the houses. Popko's analysis of these efforts in Columbia reveals that the "sites and services" program did not produce the results planners had expected (Schon, 1980). He found settlers often use the projects as sources of income rather than for housing. They also by-passed sites and services projects altogether and went instead to unserviced private barrios, new squatter settlements which had sprung up at the edge of town, because of the social support networks which already exist in the barrios (Schon, 1980). Popko suggests that housing planners ought to learn from these findings and rethink their target groups, their strategies for site-selection and lay-out and other criteria for construction loans and site selection (Schon, 1980). This example indicates how planners often do not perceive the actual effects of their actions. In similar fashion the results of the Canadian government's involvement in on-reserve housing may be an indication of something that government officials do not perceive.

5. The Politics Of Economic Restraint

There are a number of reasons why this study is of practical importance and theoretical significance. First is to help reframe government and Indian decision-makers' conception of the on-reserve housing situation. DIAND suffers to some extent the same dilemma of all service organizations. Services
often arise in response to perceived problems, but sometimes perceptions may be defined in part by the instrumental and communicative processes of the organization itself (Habermas, 1975; Forester, 1980). I will demonstrate there has been a tendency for members of DIAND to perform a technical role in relation to on-reserve housing, i.e. produce results or "ends", rather than combine a technical and social role, i.e. the promotion of social and political relations amongst citizens through the policy-making process.

Two interrelated issues help perpetuate the solely technical role of service organizations. First, all social theories pointing to causes of change are generally weak, narrow and untestable. One might expect that the nature of change and the ways of affecting it are clearly understood since change is such a pervasive aspect of human existence. This, however, is not the case despite the currency of various "myths" amongst decision-makers and institutions seeking to understand change (Holling, 1978; Thompson, 1981).

Second, is that service organizations can seldom set aside resources necessary for preventative action. The following quotation explains why:

It cannot be otherwise; the service ethic responding to immediate crisis is paramount: the sick cannot be turned away; the battered child cannot be neglected. Facing more demand, the organization streamlines procedures and converts all resources available to the service, endlessly seeking an equilibrium of supply and demand. Equilibrium seldom (if ever) comes. Prevention of necessity, takes a secondary role in institutional ethics. (Robinson & Sismondo, 1977, p.44)
The service organization ends up performing primarily an instrumental role with the client relying on the agency to make technical judgements.

Since 1977 many government programs have been abandoned in the face of inflation, rising unemployment and a tightening economy. Although the On-Reserve Housing Program has not been subject to such economic restraint to date (DIAND, 1982; DIAND, 1981; DIAND, 1980; DIAND, 1979), one can realistically assume that it is only a matter of time before cutbacks in this program also occur. The practical importance of helping to reframe the conception of the problem is that it may lead to a more efficient allocation of scarce resources. Innovative approaches are needed which enable Indian people to become independent and self-sufficient.

This study also illustrates an approach to problem definition and resolution in one area of Indian policy-making that can be applied in other areas of Indian affairs.

Finally this thesis presents an alternative approach to policy-making which is appropriate for addressing the special housing needs of Indian people living on-reserve.

6. The Art Of Reframing: Some Assumptions

The primary assumption of this thesis is that inherent in government efforts to assist Indians in obtaining houses is a commitment to planned change. Planned change is an aspect of the more general phenomenon of social change. Contemporary
theories of change emphasize that there are many sources of social change. There is no general agreement as to one underlying or all encompassing theory of social change (Manheim, 1950; Bennis, 1969).

The second assumption is that while there are many different and opposing theories of social change some are more appropriate than others for describing and analyzing change efforts. In the context of on-reserve housing I feel a theory which stresses the interrelationship between a range of socio-economic and cultural factors and the well-being of individuals is the most appropriate.

The third assumption is that conceptions of the present planning strategy for effecting change through "housing" entail the cooperation of a number of federal government departments and their various levels of administration and Indian organizations and individual Indian bands. This implies efforts at reframing conceptions will require a radical change of perspective in more than one actor and this is often extremely difficult to achieve in the short-term.

My final assumption is that the situation in B.C. is representative of the decision-making processes associated with on-reserve housing elsewhere. While differences in the administrative and operating procedures between regions and districts make it risky to extrapolate my results to the entire bureaucracy, the actual rules, regulations and budgetary cycles used in the Vancouver District Office and the B.C. Regional Office are similar to those used throughout the entire
Along with these assumptions are certain limitations relating to the breadth and depth of my research. Due to time and financial constraints I was forced to compromise between these two aspects of research design. My information was obtained in the following ways: i) interviews of government and Indian officials; ii) close examination of the administration and operations of the Vancouver District Office in DIAND's B.C. Region; ii) visits to Indian reserves in the Vancouver District; and iii) analysis of government documents and files within the B.C. Regional Headquarters of DIAND.
II. METHODS

Inherent in the government's approach toward on-reserve housing is: 1) the assumption that planned change in human affairs is both possible and desireable and 2) a commitment to community development \(^1\) (DIAND, 1980, Pp.13-15).

Planned change is an aspect of the more general phenomenon of social change (Perlman and Gurin, 1972, p.47). Three levels of social structure are concentrated on in most of the social change literature: i) the organization; ii) the community; and iii) society. Since on-reserve housing represents an effort at organizational and community change the organizational and community levels serve our purposes best for understanding government efforts in dealing with this perceived problem.

A. POLITICAL-ANALYTIC APPROACHES TO ON-RESERVE HOUSING

My historical examination is based on reports, papers and memoranda pertaining to Indian housing policies and programs from 1960 to the present. I also analyzed government Annual Reports

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1 Warren (1969) suggests the the whole idea of development in this term implies a process of purposive change. It is an attempt through concerted decision-making to influence change in the direction of whatever goals may be involved. It entails a planning process in which appropriate individuals and organizations come together to make decisions. It is not only a question of planning to enhance social and economic well-being, but also a question of how planning takes place.
between 1940-60 and reports prepared by the (NIB) and the (UBCIC).

In these documents I was looking for major historical events which reflect the assumptions, beliefs and values associated with on-reserve housing policies and programs in the hope of reconstructing the meaning of these events (Collingwood, 1946; Leff, 1969). I interpret the evolution of these events in the context of a framework of political-analytic approaches to on-reserve housing (Collingwood, 1946; Leff, 1969). There are at least three major hypothetical approaches by which the evolution of policy-making can be viewed. Referring to Table 1 these include; i) the classical; ii) the reformist; and iii) the critical.

Indian housing has been the responsibility of three separate federal departments. From 1940-50, 1950-67 and 1967 to the present it was the responsibility of Mines and Resources, Citizenship and Immigration and Indian Affairs and Northern Development respectively.
### Table 1 - Three Political-Analytic Approaches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach Characteristic</th>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Reformist</th>
<th>Critical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Problem</strong></td>
<td>No problem definition</td>
<td>Defined as the need for &quot;X&quot; number of houses</td>
<td>Defined as political inequity in existing social and economic system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Random causality</td>
<td>One-way causality</td>
<td>Mutual causality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing/health relationship perceived as individual responsibility</td>
<td>Housing/health relationship perceived as government responsibility</td>
<td>Perceives housing and health in context of their relationship to other socioeconomic factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Policy</strong></td>
<td>No social policy</td>
<td>Homogeneous policy treating individual needs the same</td>
<td>Heterogeneous policy allowing for fulfillment of individual needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Task-oriented goals</td>
<td>Explicit, task-oriented goals</td>
<td>Process-oriented goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Efficiency stressed</td>
<td>Efficiency and equity stressed</td>
<td>Equity, equality and efficiency stressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Planning Procedure</strong></td>
<td>No planning procedure</td>
<td>Centralised planning procedure (&quot;Top-Down&quot;)</td>
<td>Decentralized planning procedure (&quot;Bottom-Up&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individual plans and designs</td>
<td>Undertaken by &quot;experts&quot; with some citizen participation</td>
<td>Undertaken by members of the community along with experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Operations research theory</td>
<td>Rational - empirical and normative re-educative theories</td>
<td>Radical theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concept of Community</strong></td>
<td>No view of people as a collective or mass phenomenon</td>
<td>People described by demographic characteristics</td>
<td>People viewed as resource of ideas and source of information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utilitarian aspects</td>
<td>Utilitarian aspects</td>
<td>Appreciative and utilitarian aspects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community as space</td>
<td>Community as people</td>
<td>Community as a social system and power structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social and Political Results</strong></td>
<td>Functional integration of communities</td>
<td>Perpetration of poverty</td>
<td>Elimination of poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>Distorted communications</td>
<td>Improved communicative processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Welfare values</td>
<td>Economic self-sufficiency and political independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competition</td>
<td>Oppression</td>
<td>Cooperative and organized community structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modernization</td>
<td>Dependence</td>
<td>Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paternalism</td>
<td>Preservation of traditional culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bigness</td>
<td>Appropriate technology</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pluralism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the government's actual approach to on-reserve housing at any particular time. They are rather meant to be used as a basis for comparison and illustrating how policy formulation and implementation in the area of on-reserve housing has evolved over time. Although a central focus in my thesis is an analysis of the formulation stage of the policy-making process for on-reserve housing, i.e. problem definition, goal setting, conception of society and the patterns of communication within an organization and between organizations, I also consider to a lesser degree the implementation stage, i.e. the method of planning for achieving housing goals.

I chose the following characteristics for distinguishing between the three approaches: i) problem formulation; ii) policy goals; iii) planning procedure; iv) conceptualization of the community; and v) social and political results. They are derived from other characteristics discussed in the literature (Maruyama, 1974; Rittel and Webber, 1973; Von Gijch, 1974; Rothman, 1979; Jacobs and Stevenson, 1981; Boothroyd, 1982; Forester, 1980; Habermas, 1975). I also used these characteristics for distinguishing between actual periods of policy formulation and implementation in the history of on-reserve housing.

Implicit in my analysis are my own personal criteria as to what an "optimal" policy-making process entails. These criteria are based on common-sense and ideas current in the decision-making literature (Lindblom, 1959; Deutch, 1963; Etzioni, 1967; Olson, 1971; Friedmann, 1973; Ostrom, 1973; Haefele, 1973;
O'Connor, 1973; Habermas, 1973; Holling, 1978; Doern and Aucoin, 1979; Schon, 1980). They include:

1) Accountability: As it relates to public administration accountability may be defined as the extent to which decision-makers are held responsible for their actions before voters and public servants are held responsible for their actions before elected officials.

2) Effectiveness: There is no agreed upon definition for this term but for the purposes of this analysis effectiveness is taken to mean the extent to which goals and objectives of stated policies and programs are met.

3) Input/Output Efficiency: There is also no agreed upon definition for this term, but efficiency is generally said to increase with a reduction in the amount of effort, expense or waste required to produce a desired effect.

4) Citizen Participation: Citizen participation refers to individuals taking an active role in planning, implementation, evaluation, and reformulation of policy issues concerning them.

5) Quality and "Representativeness" of Information: As it relates to public policy-making quality and "representativeness" of information refers to the degree that information used in decision-making is representative of various interests and values, and comprehensible and available to those groups affected by a decision.

6) Equity: As it relates to public policy-making equity may be defined as the fairness in the distribution of goods and services, rights and privileges in socio-economic affairs.

1. The Classical Approach

Classical economic theories (Smith, 1976; Mill, 1965; Kenyes, 1971) support this way of viewing society. Classical economics is based on the belief that the competitive market place, left on its own, can order society the most efficiently
(Smith, 1976). This is because "self-interest" as a motive for an individual's actions is believed to be at the centre of all human activity (Smith, 1976). High efficiency is seen as a condition in which a specified task can be performed with low inputs of resources. Government efforts are devoted to improving efficiency through research and innovation, thereby entailing a process of modernization.

Under this approach a "housing" problem is defined in economic terms and the goal is to solve it with the least amount of resource inputs. As the provision of housing is seen to be the private responsibility of the individual household, when government assistance is provided it is viewed as temporary while the household re-organizes its financial affairs for another assault on the market (City of Vancouver, 1980, p.2). It assumes that the poor have it within their power to correct whatever conditions led them into poverty (City of Vancouver, 1980, p.2).

Causality is not an issue under this approach. Each event is viewed as independent and with its own probability. The relationship between housing and health is therefore of no concern. Health is perceived as entirely an individual matter and the responsibility for good health as lying completely with the individual (Jacobs and Stevenson, 1981, p.108).

Concerned more with the allocation of scarce construction resources for the various competing uses and productivity. Resources would be devoted to housing only to the extent that they were necessary for the success of other investment activities.
There is no explicit search for policy goals in this approach. This is because the organization of society is based on an individualistic structure in which decision-making is competitive. There is very little consideration of the consequences or side-effects of a particular action. There is also no social policy since the sole purpose of planning is to ensure that enough economic activity is carried out to prevent a slump in the economy or unemployment, or to assure that the quality of life keeps pace with the sheer quantity of production (Heilbroner, 1967, p.285).

The planning procedure in this approach is based on the belief that there is very little need for government intervention. This is because the free market system is assumed to act as a very efficient regulator of society. Every individual makes his own plan or is the architect designing his own "building". If public planning is required it is viewed as a process of designing problem-solutions that might be installed and operated cheaply. This notion has been the guiding concept of civil engineering, the scientific management movement and much of contemporary operations research (Rittel and Webber, 1973, p.157).

In the classical approach the community does not exist as a mass or collective phenomenon. Every individual is seen as self-centred and seeking to maximize his/her own happiness (Smith, 1976; Mill, 1969; Bentham, 1970). Bentham states:

4. The interest of the community is one of the most general expressions that can occur in the phraseology of morals: no wonder that the meaning of it is often
lost. When it has a meaning, it is this. The community is a fictitious body, composed of the individual persons who are considered as constituting as it were its members. The interest of the community then is, what? - the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it. (Bentham, 1970, p.12)

In the community change literature the principle of utility was adopted in the ecological approach to the community, which views the community as an aggregation of people competing for space and scarce resources where each individual tends to add to the sum total of his/her own pleasures (Warren, 1977, p.203). This approach suggests that the shape of the community as well as its activities are characterized by differential use of space and by various processes according to which one type of people and/or type of social function succeeds another in the ebb and flow of structural changes in a competitive situation (Warren, 1977, p.208). People are bound together not by sentiment but by utilitarian considerations, competing in matters of common desire (e.g. happiness) but scarce resources and at the same time inhabiting the same space through mutual interdependence created by a division of labour (Bentham, 1970; Tonnies, 1957; Warren, 1977).

The classical approach entails the functional integration of Indian communities with larger society through the economic system and the institutions of representative democracy (Boothroyd, 1982, p.1). It implies individualism, assimilation, competition and modernization (Boothroyd, 1982, p.2).
2. The Reformist Approach

This approach defines a "housing" problem in technical terms by identifying three interrelated factors which must be confronted in formulating housing policies: i) housing adequacy; ii) limited resources; and iii) population growth. Based on these factors forecasts of future housing needs are made and a target is set in regard to the number of new houses that have to be built and the number of existing houses requiring renovation.

The reformist approach implies no mutual causality. Causality is therefore perceived in terms of one-way relationships between variables. Results of actions are traced to the conditions producing them and problems are categorized. For example, the relationship between housing and health is recognized and housing is labeled as the independent variable. Jacobs and Stevenson note:

The reformist approach holds that housing does affect health. Yet by seeing these two variables in an ahistoric form and isolated from other social and economic dynamics, it too remains dominated by the classical model of medicine and fails to appreciate the interrelationships and dynamics of more fundamental causes of social and economic phenomena. (Jacobs and Stevenson, 1981, p.108).

There is a strong belief that health can be improved by improving housing, without changing the basic social or economic relations of society (Jacobs and Stevenson, 1981, p.108). Where poverty is believed to be an unfortunate predicament of individuals, social programs such as housing focus on changing
people so they can function more effectively in society. Providing individuals with improved social services is deemed to be the solution to helping them compete more effectively in society (U.N., 1977, p.72). Once having obtained certain basic needs they can presumably cast aside their poverty and achieve a higher quality of life (U.N., 1977, p.72). While these arrangements may in some circumstances lead to more prosperous communities, they do not challenge the basic power structure in a society (U.N., 1977, p.72).

Social goals are explicitly stated in this approach. They provide the basis for understanding and evaluating the aims of social policies. The search for explicit goals was initiated at the beginning of the 1960's. Rittel and Webber note:

Systems analysis, goals commissions, PPBS, social indicators, the several revolts, the poverty program, model cities, the current concerns with environmental quality and the qualities of urban life, the search for new religions among the contemporary youth, and the increasing attractiveness of the planning idea—all seem to be driven by a common quest. Each in its particular way is asking for a clarification of purposes, for a redefinition of problems, for a reordering of priorities to match stated purposes, for the design of new kinds of goal-directed actions, for a reorientation of the professions to the outputs of professional activities rather than to the inputs into them, and then for a redistribution of the outputs of governmental programs among the competing publics. (Rittel and Webber, 1973, p.156).

Goals are also task-oriented and aimed at the completion of a concrete task (e.g. the construction of "n" houses) or the solution of a delimited problem pertaining to the functioning of a community social system.

Social policy is homogeneous as the organization of society
is based on a hierarchical structure in which decision-making is carried out by elected representatives. As well the socio-economic environments wherein public-policy is formulated are similar. This is because of innovations in the sciences of economic management and industrial innovation on the one hand, and the technologies of production and social organization on the other hand (Aucoin, 1979; Ilich, 1973). Ideally goals should be derived from the hopes, attitudes and aspirations of those who now, or in the future, will be affected by decisions. To identify these individual or group interests requires citizen participation. As this is difficult in a hierarchical structure social policy tends to remain homogeneous.

The planning procedure is based on a social planning process undertaken solely by "experts" or professionals in a centralized bureaucracy. (Armitage, 1975; Warf, 1979; Rothman, 1979; Friedmann, 1980). The dilemma facing the "experts" is to choose the most rational course of action without loss of liberty or equity (Deutch, 1963; Olson, 1965). A growing sensitivity to the repercussions and value consequences of planning actions has generated a need for "experts", following this approach, to re-examine the latent values in policies and programs and endeavour to accommodate public participation. (Ostrom, 1973; Lindblom, 1979; Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963). Public participation, however, continues to be constrained by the size and complexity of the bureaucratic process (Pross, 1975; Friedmann, 1973). It places heavy demands on the time and resources of individuals and groups that wish to have their
interests accounted for in planning actions.

In the reformist approach the community is viewed as a mass or collective phenomenon, lacking expertise and limited in scope. It is conceptualized in terms of the demographic characteristics of its people. The census provides data on the composition of the population broken down by age, sex, income, occupation, education, race and ethnic identity, etc. Other surveys of the population provide information about birth, death, marriage, divorce, illness, disability, delinquency and crime.

These are very useful to the planner in a number of ways. First by looking for clusters of characteristics and their geographic distribution it is possible to identify various social levels (e.g. community, district, region or nation) and use these analyses to plan patterns of services appropriate to the several types of social areas identified (Cox, 1980, p.227). Second many sets of demographic data are available in time series revealing trends and developments. In using various forms of projection, plans may be created for developing services to meet anticipated needs in growing or declining areas, areas of increasing health problems, or whatever (Cox, 1980, p.227).

The reformist approach entails individuals becoming an extension of the bureaucracy that plans and regulates their

For example, the point may come when Indian bands are totally responsible for administering their own programs according to the rules and regulations set down by DIAND.
lives. One outcome of this approach is the Welfare State. The Welfare State is the response of a modern middle-class that is both entrenched in its own values and beliefs and at the same time threatened by opposing values and beliefs (Gouldner, 1970, p.161). On the one hand the middle-class has a strong influence on society's norms and standards. On the other hand it is threatened by growing internal crises of legitimation placed on it by the demands of dissident social strata such as the racially subjugated (e.g. Indians), women, students and welfare dependents (O'Connor, 1973; Habermas, 1975).

This approach potentially induces oppression, dependence, paternalism, bigness, pluralism, and modernization with the recognition of certain cultural attributes of groups in society (Boothroyd, 1982, p.2).

3. The Critical Approach

The critical approach is less mechanical and superficial. It is concerned with the interrelationships between the underlying factors of so called problems and inherent contradictions within the existing socio-economic structures between private and public interests (Levi-Strauss, 1963; Habermas, 1975; Forester, 1980; Schon, 1980; Heskin, 1980; Friedmann, 1981). Schon notes:

Vickers has opened up a more promising approach to practical rationality with his notion of dialectic inquiry, a notion closely linked to the idea of stance toward inquiry. He has pointed out that in the Instrumentalist view of practical inquiry as technical problem-solving, the inquirer is seen as a spectator/manipulator. In the name of disinterested objectivity, the spectator/manipulator places himself
outside the problem he seeks to solve. From this distant position, and in accordance with his objectives, he tries to analyze and control the situation. Vickers has observed, however, that we are always in the situation about which we inquire, whether or not we take cognizance of that fact. Constructing the reality of our situations, acting from our constructions, changing the situation through our actions, transformed by our apprehensions of the changes we have wrought, we are "agents/experient". (Schon, 1980, p.3).

The notion of the inquirer as a agent/experient provides a basis for understanding the side-effects and externalities characteristic of planning. In situations that are confused, puzzling, irritating and troubling problem-setting should precede problem-solving (Schon, 1980, p.4).

This approach perceives problems as mutual relationships between more than two variables in which many things may cause one another and causal processes can generate and maintain patterns or may be mutually exclusive. For example, it views housing, health and their inter-connexions within the context of a dynamic socio-economic system where the resolution of contradictions is the source of societal change. Habermas asserts that the term contradiction has two different levels of meaning:

We can speak of the "fundamental contradiction" of a social formation when, and only when, its organizational principle necessitates that individuals and groups repeatedly confront one another with claims and intentions that are, in the long run, incompatible. In class societies this is the case. As long as the incompatibility of claims and intentions is not recognized by the participants, the conflict remains latent. Such forcefully integrated action systems are, of course, in need of an ideological justification to conceal the asymmetrical distribution of chances for the legitimate
satisfaction of needs (that is, repression of needs). Communication between participants is then systematically distorted or blocked. Under conditions of forceful integration, the contradiction cannot be identified as a contradiction between the declared intentions of hostile parties and be settled in strategic action. Instead, it assumes the ideological form of a contradiction between the intentions that subjects believe themselves to be carrying out and their, as we say, unconscious motives or fundamental interests. As soon as incompatibility becomes conscious, conflict becomes manifest, and irreconcilable interests are recognized as antagonistic interests. (Habermas, 1975, p.27)

Poverty is explained as a product of social and economic systems that remain intact precisely because of the powerlessness of the poor and the dominance of wealthy power-holders and an affluent middle-class. Only as the poor acquire political power can they negotiate as peers with their wealthier counterparts and themselves change community policies and conditions (Habermas,1975; Forester,1980; Schon,1980; Heskin,1980; Friedmann, 1981).

Social goals in the critical approach are more process-oriented than in the previous two approaches. They are more concerned with a generalized or gross capacity of the community system to function over time. Social policy is heterogeneous as the desired organization of society is based on a non-

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Rothman (1979) suggests that this type of goal is more oriented to system maintenance and capacity, with aims such as establishing cooperative working relationships among groups in the community, creating self-maintaining community problem-solving structures, improving the power base of the community, stimulating wide interest and participation in community affairs, fostering collaborative attitudes and practices and increasing indigenous leadership.
hierarchical and interactionist structure in which political solutions are achieved through community consultation. Decision-making is decentralized and aims at eliminating the hardships of every individual.

The planning procedure of this approach is based on the premise that plans can be generated by members of a community and pooled together. Radical planning strategies support this view. The insights of some radical theorists (Habermas, 1975; Forester, 1980; Heskin, 1980; Friedmann, 1981) are relevant for Indian affairs since it is unrealistic to assume DIAND's role will disappear overnight, or that equality and equity can be achieved through a re-evaluation of policy goals without changes in the political process.

For example, Habermas's communications theory treats social and political-economic structures as operative communication structures. The critical aspect of the theory is centred in the analysis of systematically but unnecessarily distorted communications which shape the lives of citizens in advanced industrial societies. Forester notes:

The spinal element of Habermas' communications theory lies in this contradiction between the disabling communicative power of bureaucratic or capitalistic, undemocratic institutions on the one hand, and the

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A number of decision-making theorists dissatisfied with the elitist, centralizing and change resistant tendencies of modern planning approaches propose more radical planning strategies. They are radical in that they demand significant changes to the present socio-economic structures. They also imply the application of power in some form, political or otherwise, to overcome change resistant tendencies.
collective enabling power of democratic political criticism, mutual understanding, and self-determined consensus on the other. By understanding a detailed analysis of the requirements of the ordinary mutual understanding which makes any shared political criticism or technical analysis possible, Habermas establishes a critical reference point, the possibility of politically unobstructed discussion and common sense (technically, intersubjectivity), to which he can then contrast the distorting communicative influences of concrete productive relations and the structure and policies of the state. It is crucial to note, here, that some distortions of communication (e.g., imperfect information) are inevitable, necessarily present in the structure of any political-economy; this is true of face to face communication as well. Nevertheless, many distortions are not inevitable; they are artificial, and thus the illusions they promote may be overcome. (Forester, 1980, p.276)

Habermas demonstrates that the political-economic structure is distorted in advanced industrial societies and suggests how existing social and political-economic relations actually operate as distorted communications. He does so by identifying three levels of distorted communication which can occur between planning organizations and the planned for: i) face to face (e.g. ambiguity, confusion, deceit, misinformation, etc.); ii) organizational (e.g. public exclusion by jargon, hiding of motives, unresponsiveness, withheld information, etc.); and iii) political-economic (e.g. mystification, complexity, misrepresentation of the public good, policy options withheld or misrepresented, etc.). His three levels are based on norms of pragmatic communication (Habermas, 1979). Once the norms are broken they have special importance to planning for two reasons. First, since planners have little or no political power the effectiveness of their communication becomes very important.
Second, planners must face the effects of class-based communicative actions of others.

Habermas' argument suggests communication distortions are increasingly likely if planners become more removed from a democratic planning process which facilitates the criticism of problem definitions and the construction of new design and policy proposals. He and others (Mannheim, 1966; Forester, 1980; Schon, 1980; Heskin, 1980; Friedmann, 1981) suggest ways of preventing or correcting such distortions by addressing basic obstacles to open democratic political processes, thereby strengthening and and/or altering the social relations entailed in these processes.

Schon, for example, proposes a planning approach based on dialectical processes. His concept of a dialectic has the following features. First, they are processes by which the situation changes as a result of what you do. The hypothesis for action as well as the situation change in such a way as to cause a reframing of the problem. Second, the action and change should be looked at as a dialogue. Schon assumes there are thinking agents on the other end of an action who construct their own meanings of the actions. On the basis of the meaning that they construct, they behave in response to the action. Finally, going back to the Marxian sense of dialectic, there are contradictions, conflicts and dilemmas which surface through action (Schon, 1980).
He calls this approach "conversational" planning and stresses the following conditions:

1) It would be necessary to remember the sequence of events which make up the story of conversation.

2) It would be necessary to recognize that the meaning of the situation, and the actions taken in it, may vary greatly from one party to another.

3) In the context of such a search for understanding, planners would need to be aware that the planned for may be in some respects quite different from and some respects quite similar to, themselves.

4) Planners would need to be attentive to changes in the context which might falsify assumptions previously valid.

5) Planners would need to cultivate a habit of attending to the ways in which their own values and purposes may conflict with one another -- a nose for dilemmas. (Schon, 1980, Pp.10-11).

Although Schon doesn't explain how conversational planning is to be realized in the existing social and political system one assumes that he does not envision a revolutionary process. He sees the evolution of the level of awareness of planners and the planned for to the point where they are both ready to engage in a conversation and change is mutually agreed upon.

In the critical approach the community is conceptualized as a resource of ideas and a source of information. Members of the community articulate their own view. This is essential for

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Schon, Habermas and Friedmann contend planners may engage in a dialogue or conversation with their planning situations in two different senses. On the one hand the planner's moves and the responses of the planned for may be seen metaphorically, as a conversation. On the other hand planners and the planned for might literally talk with one another concerning the meanings they have formed for their own and the other's moves.
determining the relevance of the individual in the community. Tonnies has been credited with identifying this more appreciative aspect of community life. He distinguished between two concepts: i) Gemeinschaft and ii) Gesellschaft (Tonnies, 1957). Gemeinschaft has to do with sentiment in social relationships, emphasizing common ties and feelings and a sense of moral interdependence and mutual obligation. By contrast, Gesellschaft has to do with the more utilitarian, rational types of relationships.

The idea of local communities as essentially Gemeinschaft-like in character has carried over into subsequent conceptions of the community. Two of these are particularly relevant to an understanding of Indian communities from a critical perspective: i) the community as a social system and ii) the community as a distribution of power.

A widely held viewpoint of the community is that it is an extremely open social system, constantly receiving inputs from its environment, the larger society, and in turn contributing outputs to the larger society (Cox, 1972; Warren, 1977; Beer, 1981; Weaver and Cunningham, 1981). An analysis of communities as social systems serves two primary functions.

First, it permits a comparison of communities with other social systems to arrive at what is unique about the community in contrast to other social systems (Cox, 1972, p.227). Second, it allows the systematic analysis of the community using concepts that have been developed and applied to other social systems (Cox, 1972, p.228). There are a number of such concepts
which are useful for this purpose. First, social systems analysis forces one to identify the boundaries of a community, geographically or conceptually, and ask how they are maintained and changed (Cox, 1972, p.228). Second, all systems have vertical and horizontal interactions, that is, relations among various subunits and between subunits within (e.g. stores, schools and families) and units outside (e.g. government, interest groups and corporations) the system (Beer, 1974; Warren, 1977; Weaver and Cunningham, 1981). Through social systems analysis one can examine the nature and function of such interactions. Finally, there are a number of models that have been proposed for analyzing the structure and functions of social systems at the community level (Beer, 1974; Warren, 1977; Weaver and Cunningham, 1981).

The concept of the community as a distribution of power deals with the fact that certain individuals in the community exercise much more influence on what goes on than do others (Stanbury, 1975; Warren, 1977). Its development as a researchable concept has led to a much better understanding of community structure and the dynamics of community action.

The critical approach advocates the economic self-sufficiency and political independence of individuals from the Welfare State. It implies cooperation, participation, preservation of traditional culture and a form of technology that is both socially and environmentally appropriate (Ilich, 1973; Habermas, 1975; Friedmann, 1981; Boothroyd, 1982).
III. THE HISTORY OF ON-RESERVE HOUSING

A chronology of the historical events associated with Indian housing policies and programs is presented in Appendix A. It is possible to distinguish between two distinct historical periods in the evolution of these policies and programs. These include: i) early housing assistance (1954-67) and ii) the community development phase (1967-82). Although government intervention in Indian housing commenced prior to 1954, actual documentation of it does not appear in government records until that year. Based on the characteristics discussed in the previous chapter (see Table 1) it is possible to analyze these events keeping in mind these characteristics.

A. EARLY HOUSING ASSISTANCE (1954-67)

This period is characterized by: i) a technical definition of the housing problem based on the perception that poor housing causes ill-health; ii) a homogeneous housing policy without explicit goals; iii) lack of a defined planning procedure; and iv) a conceptualization of the community as people described by their demographic characteristics.

1. Problem Formulation

In this period problem formulation is reformist in character. The housing problem is defined in technical terms as the following statement illustrates:

The second intensive housing survey to determine the
total housing problem confronting the Branch in all Indian communities was carried out during the year. It revealed that about 23.7 per cent of Indian families are living in below-standard houses. Principally because of the rapid rate of family formation and changes in housing needs due to changing economic conditions, the demand for houses continues to increase and it is becoming more difficult to reduce the backlog. The situation was particularly severe this year as unfavourable economic conditions tended to discourage movement away from the reserve, while a number of families found it necessary to return. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1961, p.56)

It represents technical problem-solving in the sense that the government focused on the interrelationship between housing need, available resources and population growth. Emphasis was placed on quantity shelter rather than the quality of houses being constructed in this period (DIAND, 1971, p.1). The housing units were an uninsulated dwelling with conventional roof, walls and windows. Measuring approximately 16'X 20' they seldom consisted of more than two rooms (DIAND, 1971, p.1). The average cost of these buildings was $2,357 (DIAND, 1971, p.1).

By 1961 the backlog of need had not been decreased and in some areas overcrowding in these small dwellings contributed to new perceptions of the problem, i.e. the perception of a housing-health relationship. The 1957-58 Annual Report states:

In the field of construction the Department placed increased emphasis on house building and repairs, believing improved housing contributes not only to the physical needs of the Indians, but also to their morale and economic conditions. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1958, p.47)

Although no direct reference is made to health at this time, it is clear that housing is perceived as a contributing factor to
many "Indian" conditions. This view was likely influenced by the prevailing housing literature (Lander, 1954; Wilner, Walkley, Pinkerton and Tayback, 1962; Schorr, 1963) which was seeking empirical evidence of the causal relationship between housing and health. It was also influenced by the development of the planning profession itself and its early focus on the physical development of the city and the relationship between housing and health (Heskin, 1980; Jacobs and Stevenson, 1981).

2. Policy

The first statement of government policy on Indian housing is found in the 1953-54 Annual Report:

Departmental policy is that the housing requirements of the sick and aged are given first consideration. Assistance also is given to the able-bodied Indians who, because of large families or inadequate incomes, are unable to assume the entire cost of building or improving their homes. In these cases the Indians contribute in accordance with their ability, either by providing materials or labour or both. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1954, p.50)

Policy in this period is reformist in character. It is homogeneous in nature with no differentiation between the needs of Indian groups in different parts of the country. At this time policy-making in general was more concerned with efficiency than with equity (Rittel and Webber, 1973; Doern and Aucoin, 1979).

Policy goals are reformist in character as they are explicit and task-oriented. Their primary aim is to provide assistance to Indians in obtaining adequate housing. They are intended to solve only a delimited problem and imply that Indian
people should assume some of the responsibility for completing this task. The 1956-57 Annual Report states:

Wherever possible Indian bands are encouraged to meet the housing needs of the reserves by community action. Band councils are given every opportunity to participate in planning, and are requested to stipulate priority amongst applicants for assistance. Indians are meeting half the costs of house construction from funds available to them. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1957, p.50)

From a very early date the government was implicitly in favour of the concept of community development. There were, however, no planning actions at this time to put a community planning process into action. Community development was viewed essentially as a means of enhancing the economic and social well-being of Indian people through housing. This commitment was likely related to a more general Indian policy goal, i.e. the devolution of federal responsibility for the administration of Indian services to the Indian people, themselves, as well as other federal departments and the provincial governments. It was believed through the community development process Indians would become more self-reliant and receive services from the same sources as other Canadians, thereby reducing dependence upon the Indian Affairs Branch (Weaver, 1981, p.27).

3. Planning Procedure

There is no defined planning procedure in this period. The absence of a defined planning procedure is a characteristic of the classical approach. Early housing assistance was provided to alleviate a crisis situation as the following statement
suggests:

Early housing was limited by depression and wartime lack of funds creating a backlog of need which, when coupled with expanding postwar expectations, reached crisis proportions. (DIAND, 1971, p.2)

Like many planning problems, on-reserve housing originated as a government intervention or series of interventions in response to a crisis (Webber and Rittel, 1973; Armitage, 1975; Heskin, 1980).

There are four key interventions during this period. These interventions are unrelated and without direction or an overall strategy. However they have evolved to form the central components of the present on-reserve housing program. The present program is large and extremely complex in terms of multi-objectives, wide participation of different government agencies, and a broad range of funding sources.

First, was the form of housing assistance provided by the government to meet housing needs. Historically the Indian people have looked to the Federal government for help in meeting their needs and the Federal Government has attempted to respond. Indians became eligible for social assistance on the same basis as non-Indians in April, 1959 (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1959). This form of assistance has remained the same to the present day. The scale of assistance, however, has been revised to reflect the rise in the cost of living over the years. Part of this social assistance is a shelter allowance. In addition to the shelter allowance Indians also became eligible for a housing subsidy in 1962. The subsidy has also
been revised a number of times since 1962 to keep pace with the cost of living (see Appendix A).

The second intervention was the involvement of CMHC as a loan agency. In 1956 revisions were made to the Indian Act and the National Housing Act which enabled qualified Indian applicants to obtain house financing through the National Housing Act programs. Loans for houses were made possible through the Revolving Loan Fund and a ministerial guarantee for repayment of loans. This was the beginning of CMHC involvement in Indian housing. It can be viewed as an early attempt to explore alternative funding mechanisms apart from direct government assistance.

The third intervention was the operation of sawmills in connection with house construction as a means of stimulating economic development. The 1953-54 Annual Report states:

In connection with the housing program, the Indian Affairs Branch operated approximately 40 sawmills during 1953-54. These were located in areas where sawn timber is not available and in those where the cost of transportation is prohibitive. The work was performed by Indians under the supervision of the local field staff. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1954, p.52)

House construction is also seen as an important source of investment and employment as the following statement

If a band refuses to meet its commitment to repay the loan, the Minister of Indian Affairs is called upon to honour his guarantee of repayment, this is done by paying the amount of the loan, plus accrued interest, from the Fund and recovering this expenditure from the Indian monies of the band as these are or may become available.
illustrates:

Skills acquired by the Indians through vocational training and experience in building their own homes opened new job opportunities for them in house building. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1958, p.49)

The final intervention in this period is the introduction of formal Indian housing standards. The booklet "Canadian Indian Homes" reflects an objective to reform the physical conditions on all reserves. It was the first attempt to actually state the type of housing that would exist in Indian communities. It placed particular emphasis on the physical needs associated with housing such as fire protection, hygiene, sanitary facilities, etc.. The following quotation explains the aim of the booklet:

.....to help the field administration and Indians in selecting housing plans, determining appropriate specifications and guiding community development, house grouping, sanitation, selection of site, sewage disposal, etc. It is expected that the use of this handbook by Indian Affairs staff, Indian councils and individual Indians will promote the orderly development of Indian communities and adequate standards of housing, hygiene and essential services. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1960, p.55)

4. Conceptualization Of The Community

The conceptualization of the community in this period is also reformist in character. The community is viewed as a group of people described by demographic information compiled according to geographic location. For example:
The Department's housing and community development programs must meet the needs of approximately 190,000 Indians in almost 600 Indian communities across Canada in every conceivable variety of circumstances.

Extension of hydro-electric services to many reserves has given easier access to such amenities as tap water, indoor plumbing, refrigeration, entertainment and education through radio and television, and has contributed considerably to reducing the gap between standards of Indian and non-Indian communities. (Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration, 1962, p.33)

This conceptualization was popular during the period because of the usefulness of such data in technical problem-solving. It provided information about the housing needs of Indian communities which could be utilized in measuring progress towards solution of the problem.

5. Social And Political Results

There are a number of results associated with policy formulation and implementation in this period. First, housing contributed to the assimilation of Indian people. On the one hand it was viewed as a way of moving some Indians off-reserve, thereby integrating them into the larger social and political system. The following quotation suggests this:

It is our policy to assist in the re-establishment of Indian families in off-reserve locations particularly in cases where reserves have little economic potential... (DIAND, 1967, p.1)

On the other hand the acculturation of Indian people was occurring with the construction of new, non-traditional house and settlement forms on reservations. By acculturation I refer
to the process where individuals from a minority culture acquire
the language, attitudes, beliefs, values and skills which are
held in common by members of a dominant culture. Cultural
variables may be construed as one set of determinants of house
and settlement form (Rapaport, 1969; Sadalla, Snyder and
Stea, 1975). Housing therefore contributes to the acculturative
process by producing a population of individuals with varying
degrees of cultural identification to house form, ranging from
the highly traditional at one extreme to the modern, non-
traditional at the other (Sadalla, Snyder and Stea, 1975, p.1).

Second, housing contributed to increasing individualism and
competition among Indian people. Traditionally Indians provided
their shelter in a cooperative, communal fashion along with
other needs (Morgan, 1881; Stanbury, 1975; Duff, 1980). It was
common, particularly in the northwest, for as many as one
hundred people or more to live and work under one roof. The new
houses constructed in this period were predominantly small,
single-detached dwellings. Along with other changes that were
occurring on Indian reserves new house form likely contributed
to the breakdown of the traditional kinship system by separating
families.

Third was the emergence of welfare values associated with
housing. Individuals now had to demonstrate their need for
government assistance relative to other individuals. Indian
bands were encouraged to stipulate priority amongst applications
for housing assistance. The equity or fairness of this
mechanism for distributing assistance varied from band to band,
depending on the power structure of a particular community. It apparently still varies to the present day but little research has been undertaken thus far to determine the fairness of the present mechanism.

Finally there was the emergence of the perception of a "housing" problem and the need to do something about it. The problem was defined in a technical fashion and instrumental results or "ends" were sought. The government paid no attention to the influence it was having on the social and political relations of knowledge, consent and trust in Indian communities. Consequently particular pathologies of domination and undemocratic politics could be expected to occur.

If DIAND and Indian people viewed on-reserve housing from a critical perspective they would not understand it as a well-formed problem, but as a problematic socio-economic situation, unique to each Indian community. By approaching on-reserve housing as a process of inquiry within a larger socio-economic system, DIAND's role would perform both technical and socio-political functions. The fashion in which it collects and presents information should serve not just the "end" in view, but also contribute to the mutual learning and evolution of the socio-political relations of those involved in and affected by planning, i.e. Indian people.

On a deep level the social effects and behaviour patterns of some Indian people can be viewed as a response to an ideological contradiction in the socio-political system. The sense of confusion, passivity, dependence, inadequate
maintenance of homes and lack of confidence characteristic in some bands were the result of a political system that accepts economic and social inequity.

On a more direct level some of the planning actions of DIAND had subtle communicative effects on Indian people. When norms of face to face (e.g. planner with band) or organizational (e.g. DIAND with Indian people) communication are broken responsible political action is impossible. For example, when the comprehensibility, sincerity, and legitimacy of communication are violated mutual learning, trust and cooperation suffer.

The evolution of on-reserve housing in this period can be analyzed using a critical approach. From this perspective a systematic contradiction between, on the one hand, the intentions and assumptions of the government and, on the other hand, the interpretation and responses of the Indian people can be seen to exist. This contradiction manifests itself in distorted communications between DIAND and the Indian people and pathologies associated with domination such as ignorance, passivity and dependence. There was considerable variation among B.C. Indian bands in the patterns of production, distribution and consumption of housing, but by the end of this period almost all of them met their shelter requirements through some government assistance, implying a certain degree of dependence, passivity and ignorance in dealing with their own problems.

The federal government initially got involved in on-reserve
housing because of the deplorable living conditions on Indian reserves which was believed to be contributing to disease and a high mortality rate among Indian people. The government imposed new physical surroundings on Indian people through the design of houses and layout of settlements. Individuals were forced to adapt their norms and behaviours to the imposed surroundings. This added to the existing confusion and stress many Indians were experiencing in adjusting to the interface between modern and traditional values and beliefs.

The Indian people, or the planned for, responded to the imposed physical surroundings in a number of ways. First, many Indians failed to maintain the new houses (Interviews, 1980-81). It is debateable whether the inadequate maintenance of houses was due to already existing social problems (e.g. anomie, alcoholism) or the result of inexperience with the type of maintenance problems encountered in modern housing. There is no empirical studies to support either view, but I contend that the already existing social problems were the cause of inadequate maintenance. Modern housing made it even more difficult for Indian people to maintain their housing because it placed additional pressures on them for change, apart from those they were already experiencing.

Second, there were cases of individuals making structural changes to the design of government assisted housing so that it

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There is no documentation of these cases. The author has relied on the personal stories related to him by interviewees in DIAND and Indian communities.
fit in with the existing social norms and beliefs. For example, the knocking out of walls or adding on extensions to existing and new dwellings. This was telling planners that housing designs did not accommodate the cultural needs of some individuals and groups.

B. THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PHASE (1967-1982)

This period differs from the preceding one in the following ways: i) the nature of the housing policy; ii) the type of planning procedure; and iii) the conceptualization of the community. Housing policy evolves from a homogeneous one stressing task goals to a heterogeneous one stressing both task and process goals. The emergence of a defined planning procedure occurs during this period. Finally, the Indian community becomes conceptualized more as a social system with resources and ideas capable of progress through community participation, initiative and self-reliance.

1. Problem Formulation

The on-reserve housing problem continues to be formulated in a reformist manner. It is defined in technical terms throughout the entire period, as the following government statements indicate:

When your housing program is complete, working together we will have built at least 12,350 homes over a five year period. (DIAND, 1967, p.1)

If the on-reserve housing backlog is to be eliminated before the end of the century, new housing starts will
have to reach a minimum level of 3,500 per annum within the next three to four years. At the same time, the level of major repairs will have to reach 5,000 per annum and be sustained at that level for a number of years. (DIAND, 1980, p.3)

While housing can actually be perceived as a symptom of a deeper problem, i.e. the socio-economic conditions of Indian people, the government chose to formulate it as a separate substantive problem. Technical problem solving deals with complex problems by breaking them down into parts which can be handled more efficiently and effectively by separate sub-units of an organization.

The perception of a housing problem as a housing/health relationship, in which better housing contributes to improved health, is more clearly articulated in DIAND's policies in this period. For example in 1967 selections from speeches by the Minister of Indian Affairs state:

One of the major benefits will be in the subsequent improvement of health standards. (DIAND, 1967, p.1)

We believe that poor housing and poor environment are principal contributors to the poor health and poverty of the Indian people. (DIAND, 1967, p.1)

The 1977 Discussion Paper relates housing not only to disease and poverty but also deaths due to fires on Indian reserves:

The lack of housing has meant serious overcrowding of two or more families into small substandard houses which often lack basic facilities. Poor housing and inadequate sanitary facilities are blatant contributors to the high infant mortality rate, to the
respiratory diseases and to deaths by fire which strike Indian people in numbers so highly disproportionate to those for the rest of the Canadian population. (DIAND, 1977, p.2)

By 1980 DIAND also begins citing some empirical studies which suggested a direct relationship between housing and health. The 1980 Discussion Paper states:

These housing conditions bring results which extend well beyond housing per se. A recent study undertaken by the Medical Services Branch of Health and Welfare Canada stated that on-reserve housing conditions such as overcrowding and poor ventilation have been implicated in the increased frequency of hospitalization for infectious disease in infants and young children. Other illnesses of high frequency such as middle ear infections, skin infections and gastroenteritis were also found to be related to inadequate housing and overcrowding. Additionally, on-reserve housing conditions are directly related to an on-reserve fire death rate that is nine times the national average. In 1978, 186 homes were destroyed by fire and 55 deaths resulted. (DIAND, 1980, p.9)

This illustrates how the process of formulating the problem and of conceiving a solution or re-solution to it are almost identical. This is because each specification of the problem is also a specification of the direction for a planning action. Thus if inadequate housing is perceived as the cause of ill health than improvement of housing services becomes a specification of the solution. The fact that Indian health conditions and fire rates associated with social and living conditions have not drastically improved in the last twenty years (DIAND, 1980), implies the solution has been directed at a false cause.
2. **Policy**

At the beginning of this period Indian housing policy differentiates between Indians living on and off-reserve (DIAND, 1967). It does not, however, differentiate between the needs, aspirations and local conditions of various Indian bands, implying it is still reformist in character. As well, policy goals are still task-oriented as their primary aim is to provide assistance to Indian people in constructing and renovating houses (DIAND, 1967). A major shift in policy, more characteristic of a critical approach, can be detected in the 1977 Discussion Paper. The Paper includes the following principles:

1) To provide each Indian individual and family, regardless of income, with the opportunity to secure decent, safe and sanitary housing through their Band or on their own initiative.

2) To create jobs for unemployed and underemployed Indians through the capital inputs required for the construction and renovation of housing, coordinated with Manpower and Immigration (M&I) job creation funds.

3) To develop a new delivery system responsive to Indian decision-making, supportive of the concept of Indian people managing their own affairs and flexible in meeting a wide range of differing housing needs and local conditions.

4) To place responsibility for the design, construction and management of Band housing programs in the hands of Band Councils.

5) To utilize the programs and resources of DIAND, CMHC, M&I, DREE, and N.H.& W. to tackle the problem of Indian housing. (DIAND, 1977, Pp.2-3).

The third principle implies a more heterogeneous policy as
it proposes a more flexible approach for meeting a diverse number of housing needs. The fourth principle represents a process-goal because it aims at developing an Indian capacity to deal with housing needs. This shift in policy can be traced to two interrelated factors: i) Prime Minister Trudeau's determination to rationalize government decision-making; and ii) the development of mechanisms for Indian participation in decision-making.

When Trudeau came to power in 1968 he attempted to change the policy-making procedures within the federal government. These changes placed new constraints on Ministers and senior departmental officials within DIAND who had to formulate policy. This is evident in Indian housing policy because prior to 1970 there was no policy per se (DIAND, 1967), whereas after 1970 goals are explicitly stated in actual policy documents (DIAND, 1970; DIAND, 1977; DIAND, 1980; DIAND, 1981). Included in Trudeau's changes was an increasing emphasis on citizen participation. From July, 1968 to June, 1969 consultation meetings were carried out with Indian people in regard to revisions to the Indian Act. At the same time Trudeau's advisors and senior officials were formulating the controversial

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1 Trudeau attempted to change cabinet's operations so that policies would reflect political, not bureaucratic values and opinions. Trudeau distrusted the bureaucracy and hoped to streamline the policy process by centralizing it around the cabinet and pulling it away from the incrementalism he felt civil servants preferred. One of his major changes was the introduction of the Planning, Programming and Budgeting System (PPBS). It was to ensure that each government department had a clear idea of its goals and objectives and evaluated them through the budgetary process.
White Paper, which proposed the termination of Indians' special rights. The Indian people felt betrayed by the government and the consultation process they had participated in (Cardinal, 1969).

As a result of the failure of the 1969 White Paper and political pressure from national and regional Indian organizations, a new consultation process was considered by the government in the 1970's. The process entailed a two-tiered arrangement for consultation. At the top was a special committee of Ministers from the Social Policy Cabinet Committee who would occasionally meet with Indian leaders. These ministers would set policy priorities, review financial commitments and make recommendations to cabinet on broad policy directions. They were to be assisted in this policy work by a bureaucratic support group which would explore policy issues in considerable depth. Civil servants and an equal number of Indian participants from Indian associations were to comprise this group. The process remained dormant until 1975 as Indian leaders were unhappy with their solely bureaucratic connection for policy-making purposes. They wanted more direct involvement in making decisions (Pontings and Gibbons, 1980).

In 1975 a new structure was developed called the Joint Cabinet-NIB Committee. It brought together executive members of the NIB and cabinet ministers, mainly from the Social Policy Committee of Cabinet, to discuss major policy issues. Beneath this political level was a support group of staff members from NIB and the government who were to prepare in-depth analyses of
policy issues for the Joint Committee. This committee was shortlived. In 1978 the NIB withdrew because of the severe frustration the Indian side experienced in negotiating with the different levels of the committee.

Before the NIB's withdrawal the committee was able to complete a technical report on the Indian housing policy and program. This report had a strong theoretical influence on subsequent policies and programs (DIAND, 1977; DIAND, 1980; DIAND, 1981). By 1981 on-reserve housing policy had evolved to the point that it was completely heterogeneous and much more process-oriented. There are a number of reasons for this. First, a heterogeneous policy and process-oriented goals coincided with the DIAND's more general program objectives. DIAND's thrust at this time was toward community-based planning and the development of Indian self-government (DIAND, p.4, 1981). The second reason was that Indian organizations continued to pressure the government to improve the housing conditions on Indian reserves (NIB, 1980). Finally, the on-reserve housing problem was perceived as getting worse (DIAND, 1980).

3. Planning Procedure

The emergence of a defined planning procedure in this period coincides with the rationalization of policies and programs that was occurring throughout the entire government. Despite efforts on a theoretical level to move toward what I term a critical approach the planning procedure throughout this entire period was reformist in character. It attempted to implement community-based planning and decentralize the
administration of the programs to the regional and district levels of the organization. It intended that decisions would be more equitable as regions, districts and bands became more accountable for their own planning actions, as well as increase Indian participation in the process (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980; Aucoin and Doern, 1979).

The planning process failed, however, as major decisions as to how and for what money was spent, still resided with senior civil servants in national headquarters. Decisions remained incremental throughout this period entailing only minor changes to the existing program and focusing on ways of improving the existing financial and delivery functions of the program. Decisions were based on reviews of the current program and assessments of the "housing" problem (DIAND, 1981; DIAND, 1980; DIAND, 1977). These assessments were highly technical and limited by the available data. For example, the most accurate assessment of on-reserve housing needs (DIAND, 1979) makes only a rough approximation of the indicators used by CMHC and does not even attempt to measure housing affordability.

Community-based planning was first introduced in 1966 through a five-year program for the physical development of Indian communities. This program was designed to bring Indian housing up to acceptable standards. It established four separate housing programs: i) Subsidy Housing Program; ii)
Indian On-Reserve Housing Program; Band Administered Housing Programs; and Indian Off-Reserve Housing Program.

The Band Administered Housing Programs entail community-based planning. Indian Band Councils are encouraged to assume administrative responsibility for their own housing programs. They are expected to develop revenue-producing housing programs and provide comprehensive information as to the manner in which the Band Council intends to conduct its proposed program. A Band Council resolution has to be passed in each band before proceeding with a housing program. It must include the following information:

1) Number of housing units needed at the time of request for assistance.

2) Estimated number of new family formations during period of proposed program.

3) Estimated number of years required to eliminate existing backlog of housing requirements (including new family formations).

4) Total amount of Departmental assistance requested.

5) Amount of departmental assistance requested for each fiscal year of the proposed program.

6) An indication of amount to be paid from Band funds and personal contributions.

7) Outline of proposed plan of program administration indicating manner in which recovery of funds will be made, i.e. by sale, rental, rental-purchase, etc..

8) A statement that the Band Council will assume full responsibility for administration of the program.

At this time the name of this program referred to the loans CMHC made available through the NHA. The name would later be used to refer to all the housing programs as one comprehensive housing program.
9) The name of the qualified auditor who will assume full responsibility for administration of the program.

10) A statement that the Band Council will adopt standards for determining the size of houses, the amount of assistance and allocation of priorities, which are comparable with those observed in respect of the Branch Subsidy Housing Program.

11) A statement that all books and records related to the housing program will be accessible at all times to the Branch or to an auditor appointed by the Branch. (DIAND, 1968, Pp.4-5)

While these stipulations were intended to increase the effectiveness of delivering Indian housing and the sense of local control over programs, they still imply a great deal of government control over the lives of Indian people. This contradiction is a recurring theme throughout this period of on-reserve housing. DIAND continued to exercise this control by holding onto the right to specify how, for what, and by whom money was spent. Many Bands were incapable of assuming greater responsibility of the program because of its complexities. Others became discouraged with the length of time the whole procedure took (Mason, 1980). The department continued to assume financial and administrative control and direction over many bands despite its efforts in trying different planning strategies. Bands were prevented from defining problems and designing their own solutions. The continued absence of incentives for self-reliance further reinforced welfare dependency on the government in some cases (DIAND, 1980).

The increasing emphasis on community-based planning is directly attributable to DIAND's overall efforts at devolving
and decentralizing its planning responsibilities. Devolution and decentralization are both aimed at decreasing departmental control over individual and Band initiative. Respecting devolution, DIAND has had limited success in establishing agreements with the provinces on welfare programs for Indians because most provinces continue to argue that Indians are a federal responsibility. It has had greater success with other federal departments and with Indian bands. In fact many of the major changes to the planning procedure are aimed at ways of improving the delivery system so that other departments' financial and administrative support can be coordinated, and Indian bands' dependency on DIAND reduced.

Regarding decentralization, a major change came in the mid-1970's as a result of the frustration and resentment felt by DIAND's regional and district levels and the Indian people. Under Assistant Deputy Minister Peter Lesaux, DIAND began a process of decentralization of its administrative authority from national to regional headquarters, with the intent that it extend to the level of the districts and then the bands themselves (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980, Pp.112-113).

Some major responsibilities such as the development of new housing programs were transferred to the Regions and Indian bands. The allocation and distribution of funds is different in the various regions and their respective districts. In B.C. the Indian people have considerable input into decisions concerning the allocation of the region's capital expenditures budget and direct input into the grants and contributions
budget. They have less input into the distribution of funds between districts and between bands within districts.

By 1975 both DIAND and NIB felt the need for changes in policy implementation. The program objectives developed by the Joint-Cabinet Committee stressed the local needs, aspirations and conditions of Indian people but they did not suggest fundamental changes to the existing planning procedure except for the creation of special area/regional decision-making structures for increasing Indian participation (NIB/DIAND, 1976).

In line with these program objectives the 1977 Discussion Paper proposed a more comprehensive and complex delivery system. The emphasis in this paper was on the co-ordinated and timely deployment of federal resources from DIAND, CMHC, M&I, and DREE (DIAND, 1977, p.6). Most of the paper dealt with the integrated system of roles, structures and activities at the band, area/regional and national levels (DIAND, 1977, p.12). There were some obvious implications of this proposed program for the regions. For example a memorandum from the B.C. Region stated:

The Indian Reserve Housing Program will generate the following needs for comprehensive planning assistance to Bands and Departmental Programs and Services:

1) Establishment and maintenance of data systems for multi-usership in the identification of housing needs and priorities (this ties in with the Regional Planners' work on comprehensive community profiles).

2) Facilitation of the community planning process

Band administered housing programs come under grants and contributions as a parliamentary appropriation.
which actively involves the Band leadership and the community in evolving indigenous housing strategies, which are responsive to needs for shelter and servicing, and other needs for socio-economic development and political advancement.

3) Preparation of community planning documents as guidelines for implementing comprehensive and interrelated physical and activity programs (including planning parameters for E&A input).

4) Continuing and active promotion of implementing community plans, including through advancement of joint federal/provincial initiatives. (DIAND/B.C. Region, 1976, p.3)

Increased demands for planning staff and funding were generated by the new program. One can reasonably assume that many Indian Bands would be looking to DIAND for assistance since many of them lacked the necessary funds, skills and knowledge. The planning process for each band would also be extremely time-consuming as a result of the broad funding sources of the new program and its inherent complexities. As well, the decentralized nature of the program would require the Region's planning services to be met in part from the district level thereby placing more demands on their time and manpower as well.

By 1980 the government's expectations in this program had been dashed. A comprehensive housing survey completed in 1979 confirmed the perception of a growing housing problem on Indian reserves (DIAND, p.11, 1980). The inflexibility of the funding mechanism was cited as one of the reasons why some of the results originally intended of the program had not been achieved (DIAND, 1980, p.11). A number of critical aspects of the program's delivery mechanism, such as the communications
function and technical services, were also cited as operating ineffectively (DIAND, 1980, p.11).

The fiscal year 1980/81 was to be used as a transition year to introduce measures for improving the funding mechanism and delivery system of the program. However, the improvements offered in the 1980 Discussion Paper did not represent significant changes from the previous policy and program. If anything they merely reflected a growing awareness, amongst national officials, of the difficulties encountered in administrating such a complex and comprehensive program at the local level. They were also beginning to understand some of the effects of Band Administered Housing Programs. The most surprising of these was that few bands had opted to assume more control over their own housing. This, however, was largely due to the failures in funding and delivery previously discussed.

The year 1980-81 was also earmarked for introducing Indian self-government. For DIAND this concept implies:

Band governments become the focus of comprehensive community and individual development - Bands exercise powers and authorities within their own jurisdictions - Bands interact with other levels of government and establish their own links with regional economics - Band governments responsible and accountable to their members for achievement of community goals and to government for Federal funds expended. (DIAND, 1980, p.6)

The concept "Indian self-government" does not represent a major departure from previous policy-making. It entails a similar planning procedure except for the development of a band government structure which would allow Indian bands to assume
more responsibility for local problems.

This structure has not resulted in any changes to the planning procedure associated with the On-reserve Housing Program. Changes haven't been made to the funding system or the delivery mechanism. In 1982 the program's objectives included:

1) Housing is an individual/band responsibility and the Indian On-Reserve Housing Program is designed to assist individuals and bands in obtaining adequate housing which meets national standards.

2) Bands should be encouraged to appoint Band Housing councils suitable for their reserves.

3) Capital subsidies provided by DIAND are insufficient by themselves to build adequate houses. The subsidies have to be used by individuals and Bands along with other sources of funds to construct housing that meets National Building Code residential standards of construction. (DIAND, 1982, Pp.1-2)

These objectives reflect a need to clarify responsibilities and procedures of the program and simplify the steps in the planning procedure. This program, like past ones, is not likely to result in any greater self-reliance among Indian bands because it poses the same sort of difficulties with implementation. These difficulties include inadequate communication of the various funding sources and insufficient assistance in setting up community-based planning procedures for achievement of community goals. As well there are still some inadequacies in the nature of band funding. These include: i) a band's budget is determined on a per capita basis and not on the basis of need and ii) a band's budget is determined yearly and is constrained by strict rules and regulations for accountability in a number of developmental categories predetermined by DIAND (Pontings and
Gibbons, 1980; DIAND, 1982). Consequently bands encounter great difficulty when trying to undertake efforts at long-term and comprehensive development. As well smaller bands encounter difficulty in undertaking any type of development because of insufficient funds.

4. Conceptualization Of The Community

The idea of community planning was initiated in DIAND between 1970 and 1977. The conceptualization of the community during these years is reformist in character. It is concerned with establishing a community planning function to deal with the physical improvement of communities differentiating them in terms of their need for houses, water and sewage facilities, electrification, road and bridges (DIAND, 1970, p.6). Then around 1977 DIAND began to doubt this conceptualization of the community. DIAND's new view of the community, as a system of interrelating functions and as a vast resource in itself, is more characteristic of the critical approach. The 1977 Discussion Paper states:

The community Planning Services provided by DIAND at the time were based on the principle of "planned townsites". The concept was inappropriate to Indian communities - overlooking among other things their special social, physical and economic relationships to the regions in which they were located. More importantly, the values and goals of the Indian communities themselves were often overlooked. (DIAND, 1977, p.4)

Since 1977, the view of housing as a facilitating process in community development repeatedly turns up in DIAND documents
Yet, despite this view DIAND officials have never followed a planning procedure that permits the application of principles associated with community development.

First, consensus among Indian people has never been reached that housing would be the best course of action for community development (DIAND, 1970; DIAND, 1977; DIAND, 1980; DIAND, 1981). Second, the principal emphasis in housing has been on the accomplishment of task goals such as construction of more and better houses or improvements in the funding mechanism of the program. Despite its theoretical commitment to process goals DIAND has never provided sufficient funds and/or assistance to help Indian communities develop improved structures for communication and decision-making and effective community action (DIAND, 1970; DIAND, 1977; DIAND, 1980; DIAND, 1981). Process goals have remained secondary to the completion of houses. Third, the concerns of the community for development have never ranged over a wide spectrum of community problems and opportunities. They have rather been confined to relatively substantive areas of development, i.e. housing (Pontings and Gibbon, 1980). Finally, efforts have not been made at securing participation by the total community. Efforts have rather been confined to interested or powerful individuals and groups in the community and those with decision-making prerogatives (Interviews, 1980-81).
5. **Social And Political Results**

As suggested above DIAND began formulating some of the elements of what I and policy-analysts term a critical approach, but failed to implement them. All of the characteristics of policy-making implemented in this period were reformist in character. The following results are associated with these characteristics.

DIAND maintained that housing can be defined and solved as a substantive problem. Some Indian people remained uninformed and uncertain about other policy options and consequences. Many of them actually believe housing is the problem because they rely on experts to define their problems and are removed from undertaking a critical review of old and new options.

The result is the appropriation of belief on a number of different levels. First, what the expert chooses to say, or not say, is pragmatically and politically crucial. For example, if the planner takes the role of the informed technocrat his analysis of a situation may lead to a distortion or misrepresentation of the actual problem. This can occur as a result of bureaucratic language or an overly technical definition of the problem in face to face communication with the individuals being planned for. Second, on an ideological level DIAND is caught between the intentions that it believes to be carrying out for Indian people and its own unconscious organizational motives or fundamental interests, i.e. survival. On-reserve housing is used as a means of satisfying the demands of Indian people and diverting attention from political inequity
and policy-making that addresses social needs in a more comprehensive fashion.

Another result is that many Indian people have grown cynical about their own participation in the policy-making process and deferent to those with apparent expertise. Doubting their own social and political capacities for cooperative effort, they rely on the decisions of DIAND officials instead. Some Indian people are politically passive because they are removed from a planning process which encourages political debate, criticism of alternative problem definitions and the collective construction of new design and policy proposals. They have temporarily been immobilized or disabled from responsible participation and action.

A third result is that the set of welfare values, which emerged in the preceding period, are now readily adopted by the current generation. These values are evident in the expectations and housing standards associated with on-reserve housing. Over fifty years ago Indian people were living in traditional housing. Today when one visits Indian reserves they are struck by the remarkable similarities of house designs and site plans between here and other communities off-reserve. Despite the fact that more and more Indians are obtaining adequate housing, according to national standards, many remain dispossessed, alienated, unemployed and poverty stricken. In some respects DIAND's on-going involvement in on-reserve housing contributes to many of these underlying problems by perpetuating Indian dependence on the government for these services. In
spite of how much money is spent on housing in any given year, the expectation and need for government assistance will always exist as long as Indian people believe this is one of their only viable alternatives and they can continue to obtain high standards of housing at any cost.

Finally, there is an inherent contradiction in the administration of on-reserve housing, between the disabling actions of DIAND and the enabling actions of Indian people. Insofar as Indian people are engaged in a planning process that does not foster knowledge of the alternatives and consequences; does not promote widespread participation and representation that could lead to a critical examination of problems and solutions and; does not foster cooperative, well-organized, community-based organizations which could meet local needs, one might expect that they will remain uninformed, passive and dependent.

This contradiction often manifests itself as financial constraint and control over the lives of Indian people. Ponting and Gibbons (1980) call it "social-fiscal control". On-reserve housing provides a vivid example of this control because it is one of the few programs that the department has tried to give greater responsibility to Indian people. Social-fiscal control implies that the provision of money by DIAND carries with it the right to specify to Indian people how, for what and by whom this money will be spent. It is a form of neo-paternalism as DIAND officials are reluctant to turn over greater financial responsibility to Indians until they prove themselves
accountable. In some cases accountability places unreasonable demands on the time and resources of Indian bands. It can therefore leave many Indians in a continued state of dependency. Ponting and Gibbons also suggest that the dependency generated by lengthy periods of welfare dependency provides another example of socio-fiscal control occurring even when not intended. Prolonged welfare is fully capable of draining individuals of the initiative and sense of self-esteem that are necessary for launching any challenge to the political and administrative status quo (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980, p. 175).

The contradiction occurs for two reasons. First, DIAND is concerned about its own survival. The systematic organization of many bureaucracies is not primarily directed to the welfare of the people it serves but to its own survival (Beer, 1974; Habermas, 1975; Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963).

Second, it stems from a much deeper contradiction in Canadian society, i.e. the incompatibility of the claims and intentions of private accumulation and public needs (O'Connor, 1975). Public services, such as housing, conceal the uneven distribution of opportunities for the legitimate satisfaction of needs. This eventually leads to a "legitimation crisis", in which the legitimating system can not maintain enough mass loyalty while assuming responsibility for lags in the economy (Habermas, 1975; O'Connor, 1975). At this point the contradiction manifests itself in conflict between the planning actions of the legitimized system and groups in society which are becoming more politically aware of their options.
The evolution of on-reserve housing policy in this period can also be analyzed using a critical approach. The government responded by giving more responsibility for the planning, construction and management of housing to individuals and bands. Indians were allowed to design and plan their houses. These houses, however, had to meet all of the rules and regulations set down by DIAND and house designs had to meet established housing standards. This represents a conflict because many individuals and bands were prevented from obtaining the type of housing they wanted by financial constraints, as well as being frustrated with being forced to comply with DIAND's rules and regulations.

The response by the planned-for emerged in the form of political inequity and adversary relations between bands and within bands. As more responsibility was given to bands it contributed to the division of labour because of increasing specialization in existing occupations in the band. Today an emerging band bureaucracy assumes many of these responsibilities through administration and management. It is usually made up of the individuals who have the most power in the band through their skills and abilities. The On-reserve Housing Program also created the need for trained administrators and skilled tradesmen. All of this helped transform the social relations among individuals in a community as a money exchange system progressively evolves and replaces the traditional system of reciprocity and a more defined economic hierarchy emerges based on the status of each individual's vocation. Inequity appears
between rich and poor, or the powerful and the weak, through disparities in the allocation of housing.

The planned-for also responded by continuing to inadequately maintain their houses. In relation to this the rate of fires and deaths by fire increased drastically. Fires may also be viewed as a response by Indian people in a similar way as maintenance. It is debateable whether fires are the result of entrenched social problems or faulty and inadequate heating systems (e.g. insulation, furnaces and wiring). Once again there is no empirical evidence to support either view but I contend that social problems are likely implicated somehow.

Finally, the planned-for responded by failing to take up the responsibility for their housing as quickly as the planners had anticipated. This was largely due to a lack of knowledge and skills required to meet the time-consuming and complex rules and regulations of DIAND, along with other federal departments which were becoming increasingly involved. This should have been telling planners that not all Indian people were at the same level of development. Some bands with the necessary skills and resources were ready to assume more responsibility over their housing and were communicating this to the planners by directly pressuring officials in the district, regional and national offices. However the extreme range of attitudes among Indian people toward political participation, from deference to cynicism, is telling planners that DIAND's communicative practices have a disabling effect on Indian participation and action in some cases.
Today's evidence suggests that the planners have not listened to the responses of the planned-for. First, Indian people now view housing as an inalienable right and are highly dependent on the government for assistance in obtaining adequate housing. Second, the demand or expectation of housing which meets specified standards has grown incredibly fast on-reserve in order to keep pace with the accepted standards in the rest of Canada. These two facts indicate that Indian values and norms have changed over the years and this change is largely due to the government's planning actions.

This is not necessarily a bad thing for Indian communities which have consciously decided to take advantage of the developmental opportunities associated with housing. There are, however, a large number of communities which for social, economic, political or cultural reasons have not been able to mobilize themselves. Housing is not a very appropriate development activity for such bands because it may intensify the lack of confidence and confusion some of these bands are experiencing in adapting new values. This latter group of communities is widespread in B.C. There is usually a tendency of planners to ignore or fail to hear the responses of this group. This is because DIAND perceives Indian bands to have similar needs, values and aspirations. As well some bands have not yet developed the necessary skills to engage government bureaucracies.
C. CONCLUSIONS

My analysis reveals that government policy-making in the field of on-reserve housing, in the two periods examined, contains elements of all three hypothetical approaches outlined in Table 1, but reformist elements predominate. The first period was characterized by both classical and reformist elements while the second period was characterized by reformist and critical elements. This suggests that a gradual evolution in policy-making is occurring. The reformist elements include: i) a technical definition of the housing problem; ii) the perception that inadequate housing causes ill-health; iii) emphasis on task-goals in policy-making; and iv) centralized planning based on a "top-down" planning strategy.

The results of these policy characteristics include: i) the acculturation or assimilation of Indian values and beliefs and the emergence of a new set of welfare values; ii) increasing individualism and competition among Indian people; iii) undemocratic planning processes resulting in pathologies of domination; and iv) an inherent contradiction between the disabling actions of DIAND and the enabling actions of Indian people. These implications provide strong justification for major changes to existing policy formulation and implementation. The continued evolution of policy-making to include more of the structural assumptions and analyses of a critical approach is recommended.
IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing analysis shows both the theoretical and practical justification for reformulating the on-reserve housing problem and considering an alternative approach to the present one.

The theoretical justification lies in the fact that the Federal Government, through DIAND, has been addressing a symptom of a much more complex, underlying problem on Indian reserves, i.e. Indian people continue to coexist in an inequitable socio-economic system. I have shown that the government perceives a relationship between housing and health and uses indicators (e.g. health statistics, fire rates, etc.) of this apparent relationship to justify its increasing involvement in the housing sector on Indian reserves. This is despite empirical evidence which can prove the direction of the relationship between housing and health. As well, developmental theories suggest housing contributes only indirectly to human development via other social and economic activities. For example efforts in the third world have demonstrated that housing makes the biggest contribution to human development when it involves the entire community in the planning process (Vautherin & Cisse, 1982).

The level at which the problem is resolved depends on the organization's conceptualization of the problem and how this conceptualization is derived. I have shown that DIAND defines the problem in highly technical terms and confines Indian involvement in the planning process to the implementation stage.
of policy-making. However historical analysis does reveal that DIAND has endeavoured to increase Indian participation by increasing Indian responsibility over the management of their housing programs; decentralize its technical functions to regional and district levels and; support national committees for the review and discussion of on-reserve housing policies and programs.

The practical justification for reformulating the on-reserve housing problem lies in the fact that the on-reserve housing problem as defined by DIAND has not been resolved in over thirty-five years and is getting worse according to existing statistics. As well Indian health and the fire rate on Indian reserves have not shown great improvement.

The reason for this lies not only in conceptual failure but also in the planning process. Despite DIAND's commitment to increase Indian participation in the process and make Indian people more self-reliant, in practice its efforts have failed on most counts. Indian people are still removed from formulating and defining their own problems with few exceptions. Those bands that are engaged in a community planning process set their planning priorities within the limitations of already existing policies and programs. The government does not inform Indian people of policy options or encourage a critical review of existing options (e.g. housing versus education, training, counselling, economic development, etc.). Instead housing policies and programs are formulated by national officials in Ottawa. Indian participation is restricted to a discussion of
how such policies and programs might be improved. On-reserve policies and programs have therefore tended to reflect incremental policy-making.

Although there has been greater Indian participation at the implementation stage of the On-Reserve Housing Program there have been many constraints encountered by bands at this stage of the process as well. First, there has been inadequate training and information provided by DIAND, to bands, to ensure the acquisition of skills and knowledge by Indian people to undertake the planning, designing and managing of their own housing programs. As well, the type of information provided to Indian people and the public is technical and ambiguous.

Second, although more bands are determining their own housing needs, organizing their own funding sources and choosing their own house designs they are still strictly monitored by DIAND officials and must comply to the rules and regulations set down in the housing program at the national level. This is a very time-consuming and demoralizing process resulting in frustration and failure in some cases.

Finally, there is no guarantee that a band, upon assuming responsibility for their housing projects, will receive sufficient capital for the number of houses it had planned for. This is because despite DIAND's efforts to decentralize its technical functions financial control over DIAND's budget still resides with the Treasury Board in Ottawa. Federal budgetary procedures affect the likelihood that a particular band will obtain the number and type of houses it had planned for in a
given year.

The existing planning process, in practice, is therefore too time-consuming, complex and frustrating for many Indian bands. It allows for highly constrained Indian participation at the implementation stage of the overall process. The bands that have the most success in this process are primarily the ones that already have a high degree of organizational skills and knowledge, a good understanding of bureaucratic procedures and a fair amount of communication and bargaining ability.

The picture of on-reserve housing which emerges in the eighties is a highly complicated one riddled with contradictions on a number of levels. First on a societal level on-reserve housing represents a contradiction between private and public interests. DIAND in helping Indian people obtain adequate housing is helping the federal government fulfill what some policy-analysts term the two basic and mutually exclusive functions of western democratic governments (O'Connor, 1973; Habermas, 1975). On the one hand the federal government must try to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible. On the other it must also try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony. Social expenses (e.g. welfare, housing assistance, etc.) are required to maintain harmony by keeping peace among the unemployed and underprivileged. This explains why the government is willing to incur a great deal of social expense in the area of on-reserve housing while other classes in society are accumulating capital and all the benefits associated with it.
Second on an organizational level there is a contradiction among the values and beliefs of officials within DIAND. This is evident in the conflicting nature of the housing program's objectives. For example some officials hold the view that the department's responsibility over housing should be decreasing and Indian responsibility increasing, while some officials hold the opposite view. As was previously pointed out this contradiction may be due to DIAND officials' concern for their organization's survival.

Those in Indian and government circles who subscribe to the value of Indian self-determination can find examples of successful housing projects which represent gains in the direction of self-determination. Indian and government officials, however, can not overlook the fact that Indian people still suffer in large numbers from housing shortages. These shortages are the result of long-standing socio-economic structural realities in society which result in economic inequality and discrimination against certain minority groups in our society.

It is not a question of socio-economic discrimination in the area of native housing. By socio-economic discrimination I refer to real opportunities for capital accumulation. As long as Indian people lack legitimate work roles, defined social relations and an appropriate set of self-guiding institutions they will continue to rely on the government for housing assistance. As long as Indian people are removed from the social and economic means to achieve self-sufficiency there will
always be housing shortages on reserves.

What is required is a reallocation of DIAND's capital budget so that there is the development of social solidarity, shared collective goals and an institutional and economic base that will enable the social-political unit (e.g. band or group of bands) to exercise a much greater degree of self-determination. This involves a transfer of meaningful powers from the federal government to the local band or tribal level.

The future of housing for Indians living on Indian reserves should rely on Indian leadership more than ever. The functions and structures of DIAND in this sector of Indian development should shift radically. Over the next decade the On-reserve Housing Program should be gradually dissolved. With Indian self-determination as a short-term goal Indian bands would assume complete political responsibility for planning, designing and managing their own housing projects. These projects would be based on the concept of "self-help" housing in which bands would rely more on the use of indigenous resources and appropriate technologies. If necessary financial assistance should continue to be made available through CMHC. With Indian self-sufficiency as a long-term goal the capital from the On-reserve Housing Program should be re-allocated to more direct forms of social and economic development. A band or a group of bands will eventually be able to assume financial responsibility as well as political responsibility for their housing if they first have an economic base for capital accumulation. In this way legitimate economic roles and supportive social
relationships will be restored to Indian communities.

The present approach to on-reserve housing separates DIAND's technical functions from its socio-political functions. The results have been distorted communications and the perpetuation of a so called "housing" problem. If DIAND, as a planning organization, ignores the effects of technical language; pre-empts community involvement by defining the problem as overly technical or too complex for non-professionals; does not systematically search for planning alternatives through regular processes of community consultation and criticism; and does not address underlying contradictions in its approach to Indian problems, it will continue, in some cases, to immobilize and disable responsible Indian participation and action.

If Indian people do not critically evaluate the government's current policies and programs for the contribution they make to Indian self-determination and self-sufficiency, and place greater demands on the government for more direct forms of social and economic development than housing they will continue to coexist in an inequitable political system. Bands should be pressuring the government for greater political responsibility. This should include: analyzing their own problems, setting their own priorities for development, creatively searching for their own solutions, devising their own rules, regulations and standards for their programs, and monitoring and evaluating the results of their planning actions. This is the only way that they will be able to regain a sense of pride and confidence and
maintain control over the integration of new values. Under such an approach one can envision a comprehensive planning strategy for each band, of which housing may be a component if the band members decide, rather than one central housing strategy applicable to all bands.

A critical approach to on-reserve housing offers a more structured approach to social policy-analysis. Based on my literature review a critical approach would include the following principles: i) a "systems" concept of the Indian community; ii) "self-help" housing and; iii) planning as communicative action. A critical approach would also result in a much more appropriate method of planning for Indian development. It would include the following important functions: i) comprehensive community based planning and ii) developmental band funding. Over the next ten years DIAND and Indian officials should gradually implement these principles and functions so that the sectoral and "top-down" nature of the policy-process, as evident with on-reserve housing, evolves to incorporate the structures and analyses of a policy-process which is comprehensive and "bottom-up" in nature.

A. THE CRITICAL APPROACH: STRUCTURED SOCIAL POLICY ANALYSIS

The critical approach attempts to analyze problems at a deeper level of understanding than the reformist approach. It differs from the reformist approach in that it stresses the interrelationships of a range of socio-economic factors and
health. It also views these interrelationships within the framework of a dynamic system. The theoretical position adopted by this approach is that the economic structure and social relations of production and exchange determine the nature of relationships between man and his environment and thus determine the type of pathologies afflicting him. In practical terms it entails a critical analysis of the structurally and systematically distorted communications which result around planning decisions in order to maintain legitimacy, i.e. the view held by parts of the system that the existing distribution of power, wealth, privileges and authority is right and proper.

1. Systems Model Of The Indian Community

As was previously pointed out an important characteristic of the critical approach is its concern with the interrelationships between the underlying factors of so-called "problems" and understanding contradictions within the socio-economic system. A systems model provides valuable information about the interrelationship between housing and other socio-economic factors as well as insight into the contradictions of values between an Indian community and the rest of Canadian society.

My analysis shows how the quality of information relied on by DIAND, for making decisions about on-reserve housing between 1940-60, was low. DIAND tended to rely on indicators of the physical conditions of Indian people as reflection of various social pathologies experienced on Indian reserves. As I have pointed out, however, some Indian people reacted positively to
improvements in housing while others showed a tendency to increasing pathology.

In the 70's Indian political groups' demand for a more pluralistic approach to social choice resulted in DIAND granting more responsibility to Indian people for choosing their own type of housing and managing their own housing programs. Despite this more liberal shift toward community planning in the 70's and now the 80's social pathologies still persist on Indian reserves and a mere correlation of adequate housing with health statistics and fire rates sheds little light on the origins of such underlying pathologies.

The dynamic nature of the interrelationships between socio-economic factors and housing makes it imperative that planners and community practitioners have an understanding of theories of social change and frame their change efforts in some sort of model associated with existing theories. One well known systems model contributes to an understanding of the planning process by presenting the various levels of planning in a recursive framework (Beer, 1974). It provides an understanding of some of the obstacles in the way of such efforts, shedding light on deeply held values and traditions or the resistances of organizations to change (Perlman and Gurin, 1972, p.51). It also provides a way of analyzing and understanding the unexpected results of developmental efforts and predicting the effects of alternative developmental efforts.

In endeavouring to analyze the various social responses of different socio-cultural groups to development many theorists
have begun to realize that the use of statistical indicators in planning must be augmented by a systematic interpretative framework (Beer, 1978; Warren, 1977; Bowles, 1980; Weaver and Cunningham, 1982; Holling, 1979). Following the thinking of these theorists a more conceptual approach to understanding the impacts of developmental efforts, such as housing, on Indian people is required.

To date, with few exceptions, the social sciences have failed to provide the conceptual underpinnings for the application of systems analysis to social problems (Weaver and Cunningham, 1981). I would like to discuss some research in the application of systems analysis to Indian development which have been undertaken in the Business Management and Planning fields. Although none of them have been applied directly to an analysis of on-reserve housing I feel they have potential for contributing to an understanding of policy-making in this area of Indian Affairs.

Beer (1978) has formulated an analytical model of the Indian community based on "cybernetics", the science of effective management. The components of Beer's model include: i) central axis; ii) "getting ahead" sub-model; and iii) "Indian identity" sub-model.

The model incorporates the dynamics of a dilemma that Beer contends DIAND and Indian bands face in any sort of developmental effort they undertake, i.e. getting ahead without losing Indian identity. Beer believes the task is to steer the system so that the dilemma does present Indian people with
contradictions they can't resolve. The model can assist DIAND and Indian bands understand some of the effects of their developmental efforts.

The actual focus for steering in the model is the band, not DIAND. The key features of the model are shown to be related to each other in a dynamic fashion by the use of lines and arrows. The lines are continually flowing in the direction of the arrows. An important convention in the model is the "comparator" which is a measure of the difference between two things (A & B). The difference between A & B, at various points throughout the model, flows away to affect something else. This effect is called feedback.

The origin of change in the model is the central axis. DIAND is a facilitator between Canadian society and a band. Although the band is part of Canadian society it is separated in the model to illustrate the various inter-connexions and dynamics. To the right of the central axis the model examines "getting ahead". Band self-sufficiency is taken as the criterion of getting ahead. To the left of the central axis the model examines "Indian identity". Band eudemony is taken as the criterion of Indian identity. Eudemony is a special kind of happiness, well-being or good feeling. It has little relationship to the white man's term "quality of life" (e.g. number of houses).

The entire model deals with dynamic interactions between getting ahead and Indian indentity. It is related to the critical approach because it provides a means for analyzing the
interrelationships between housing and other socio-economic factors as well as an understanding of the value contradictions in development efforts such as housing projects. Most of the inter-connexions are informational feedbacks. Although I can't provide a detailed account of all the inter-connexions and feedback loops in the model I will briefly discuss how the model can be used to analyze the dynamics of band development associated with on-reserve housing. Similarly the model could be used to analyze any band developmental effort.

First a band makes demands on the structures of DIAND for housing assistance through applications to various housing programs and annual budget forecasts for housing. DIAND in turn makes allocations to a band based on the band's demands but also in consideration of budgetary constraints and strict rules and regulations for accountability established by the Treasury Board. Demands/allocations is therefore the first comparator and an on-going process. There is an amplifier of actual discrepancy between demand and allocation going back to the band. There is also an amplifier of perceived discrepancy or the difference between demand and perceived allocation.

The difference between actual and perceived discrepancy has a very strong effect on Indian motivation, education and training. For example if DIAND gives an Indian band as much as its annual budget permits but it is not as much as the band demanded, the discrepancy will affect how a band plans, designs and manages its own housing. This is because if a band does not receive what it perceives it deserves its motivation and
education will be dampered and there will be no entrepeneurial drive. The existence of entrepeneurial drive and managerial skills, obtained through training, generates enterprise. In Beer's model enterprise is the key to getting ahead.

From enterprise there is a comparator of number of band members employed in housing related activities versus numbers unemployed. This provides an amplifier of the internal revenue of a particular band. A comparator of revenues/costs measures the level of self-sufficiency in a band. A large value implies a band has a high degree of self-sufficiency. Beer suggests that as self-sufficiency increases there will be a tendency of government support and assistance for a band to decrease. There is a feedback loop from this comparator to band motivation. He contends that DIAND must be aware of this and be sensitive to any attenuating affect it may have on band motivation.

Under enterprise there are private housing projects, band housing projects and government assisted housing projects. Band and government assisted housing projects are further classified in the model as: i) heritage projects (e.g. logging); ii) transformed heritage projects (e.g. lumber production, brick manufacturing, pulp and paper); and iii) foreign projects (e.g. housing construction, pre-fabrication plants). An assimilation comparator shows the discrepancy between foreign projects and heritage and transformed heritage projects. Beer contends that the value of this comparator should be low if Indian indentity is a goal. The degree of self-sufficiency and assimilation in a particular band feeds back to the left side of the model and
affect the accepted values, norms and structures of an Indian band through a cultural modifier. DIAND also imposes values, norms and structures of modern housing, accepted by the rest of Canadian society, on bands. These values, norms and structures are imposed on DIAND through Parliament and the Treasury Board. Each band must reach some sort of a compromise between traditional and imposed values, norms and structures. Band eudemony is a measure of a band's adjustment to imposed values, norms and structures. It is based on the accepted value structure of the band as well as the band's sensitivity to land possession, hunting/fishing rights, language, community lifestyle, band-chief elder relationship and band livelihood.

A feedback loop from band eudemony to DIAND's structures informs DIAND officials about the dilemma between getting ahead and maintaining Indian identity. Band eudemony should be high if efforts at getting ahead are not resulting in a loss of Indian identity.

There is also a feedback loop to Indian motivation implying that if band eudemony is low it will also decrease band motivation.

Finally a perceived values comparator measures the discrepancy between the accepted values, norms and structures of Canadian society and an Indian band. The existence of a discrepancy here will amplify the level of "worthiness" that Canadian society has of Indian people and vice-versa. This is important because the perceptions of Indian housing held by Canadian society will shape the values, norms and stuctures
imposed on Indian bands. On the other hand the perceptions of housing held by Indian people shape the demands a band will place on the structures of DIAND for housing.

Beer's model should be used for providing an understanding of the centralized, "top-down" and sectoral nature of the current policy-process. This was his intention in designing the model so that Indian policy-making might evolve before presenting Indian people with irreconcilable conflicts. For this reason I advocate the use of this model by government officials and Indian people to help the evolution of DIAND's structures and functions.

Weaver and Cunningham provide a different model for analyzing change in an Indian community. They propose a general social theory model for native communities (Weaver and Cunningham, 1982). The model, illustrated in Figure 2, offers a historical and structural approach to understanding socio-economic change in Indian communities and the impact of planning decisions associated with Indian development (e.g. on-reserve housing).
Like Beer's model this one is also dynamic and related to the critical approach because it offers another means of analyzing the interrelationships between housing and other socio-economic factors as well as an understanding of the inherent contradictions between an Indian community and the rest
of the social system. The lines and arrows in their model are meant to show inter-connexions and to be thought of as continually flowing. Weaver and Cunningham provide a framework for a five-stage social impact analysis process based on their model. The process includes: i) historical analysis; ii) description of current conditions; iii) evaluation of current conditions; iv) alternative scenarios and project appraisal; and v) social impact statement. The relationship between this process and the model in Figure 2 is that the model is used as a framework for analyzing change in an Indian community for each of the five stages in the process (e.g. an historical description is rendered for each "box" in the diagram, then a current description for each box, etc.). The importance of this process is that it reveals the changes in the social and economic relations in an Indian community resulting from developmental efforts originating outside of the community.

In the context of on-reserve housing this framework would apply to any band with an on-going housing project or those bands considering a housing project as a developmental activity. Referring to Figure 2 the historical analysis would provide descriptive information about changes that occurred in a particular band directly related to housing (e.g. social relations, family structure, dominant institutions and the relationship with physical environment) since European contact. It would also provide information about indirect changes (e.g. distribution of goods and services, social values and norms) and psychological development and behaviour patterns. It would also
include an account of local resources used in housing, the style and form of traditional housing and settlement patterns and a description of the nature and type of pathologies afflicting the band over time. The historical analysis not only provides the opportunity for pinpointing the emergence of band problems but is also a consciousness raising activity in itself, for all band members.

The description of current conditions would contain an up-to-date account of various productive activities and occupations associated with housing (e.g. lumbering, prefabrication, cement manufacturing, housing planner/manager, accountant, plumber, carpenter, plow operator, painter, inspector, etc.); social stratification and integration mechanisms (e.g. division of labour, definition of sex roles, status based on house value, etc.); level and distribution of housing in the band (e.g. number of households, household size, household type, housing need, etc.) and; the existing institutional structure and dominant institutions and values (e.g. family, religion, band council, cooperation, consensus, relationship to the land, etc.).

Based on the information and understanding gained in the first two stages an evaluation of community vitality would analyze the degree to which traditional socio-economic roles (e.g. communal vs. individual provision of housing, independence vs. dependence on the government, increased division of labour, cooperation vs. competition, etc.) and institutions and values (e.g. kinship breakdown, family breakdown, dependence, passivity, confusion, competition,
appropriation of belief, disorientation, etc.) have been transformed by housing projects. The effects of housing are not separated out from the effects of other factors but viewed as interacting with these other factors.

Alternative scenarios of the future, envisioning no housing projects and entirely different developmental activities (e.g. education and training, alcohol and drug rehabilitation, mining, tourism and recreation, hunting and trapping, forestry, fishing, etc.) would be considered at this point in the process. Once a decision in principal to proceed with a project was made, a project appraisal using the general social theory model would be conducted to consider in interatively increasing detail where and how a particular developmental proposal would impact community life.

As a final output of the evaluation process a written report would provide a clear summary of the considerations and judgements arrived upon. It would be made available in the working languages of all interested parties, and would be meant to serve as a focus of community debate and education.

This model tends to encourage a decentralized, "bottom-up" and comprehensive policy-process. This is because it incorporates a framework of evaluation which is undertaken by community members. As well the first three steps in the framework are carried out by the community and then in conjunction with the government a set of alternative scenarios for development are generated. Finally the framework can be used to evaluate a variety of developmental efforts (e.g.}
social and economic) to ensure a particular band's development is balanced. For these reasons I recommend the use of this model by Indian bands and DIAND for analyzing their developmental efforts. Indian bands would be responsible for carrying out all of the steps in the process. DIAND would provide training and technical assistance to bands requesting it.

2. "Self-help" Housing

The concept of user control in housing, based on the idea of self-reliance, is the essence of Self-help Housing (Haynes, 1979, p.212). It does not deny the technological and industrialized components available through technological discoveries and mass production nor does it deny the value of knowledge learned from past experience, but it does insist that the individuals concerned be involved in all stages of the housing process: the design, the material selection, the assembly and the living (Haynes, 1979, p.212). However it does imply a scale of technology appropriate enough to ensure that the individual maintains control over their housing.

As previously pointed out an outcome of the critical approach is the adoption of a scale of technology and resources which suit the local circumstances of the members of a community or territory. Self-help housing can contribute to the self-sufficiency of a community of people through a consideration of the use of appropriate resources and technology in the planning and designing of houses.

The scale of the housing shortage on Indian reserves is
such that DIAND can not solve it by the direct provision of housing on a welfare basis. Even if it were possible such efforts would not be in the interests of self-confidence and human dignity. My analysis demonstrates that Indian people have become more dependent on the government for housing assistance. While some bands are assuming more responsibility for planning, designing and managing their own housing programs many bands have been disabled from taking their own action by the time consuming and frustrating nature of the on-reserve housing process.

My analysis also indicates that DIAND officials have tended to put their faith in the vertical and hierarchical organization of a large-scale housing program instead of direct Indian involvement and participation. I have shown how in practice the large scale and centralized nature of the on-reserve housing program precludes the limited variety and flexibility of the program and prevents the resolution of housing shortages at an appropriate scale.

There is a need for clear comprehension of the unique social, economic, political and environmental characteristics of a particular band and the role housing plays in meeting the self-determined needs of a band. Self-determination of needs is very important in a band because there are cultural and perceptual differences between policy-makers, planners and Indian people, and thus different rankings of needs.

Efforts in third world housing lend support to the argument which stresses helping Indian people to help
themselves in attaining adequate housing. In the informal sectors of Third World cities lateral information and decision networks enable the poor to draw on resources that the rich nations and westernized bureaucrats have forgotten or underrated (Oberlander, 1982; Vautherin & Cisse, 1982). The informal sector in the Third World constitutes a labour-intensive and efficient means of providing goods and services and adopts readily to the changing needs of the populace.

DIAND's role in housing should be to facilitate the functioning of the informal sector in Indian communities and promote its autonomous development by the injection of resources and the provision of training in appropriate technologies. Housing components and materials could form a locally controlled leading sector in certain bands depending on their developmental priorities.

In those bands where housing is chosen as a developmental priority the following principles of self-help housing, as outlined by Turner (1976), are applicable. First, is the necessity for self-government in local affairs for which the principle of local and personal freedom to build must be maintained (Turner, 1976, p.226). Second is the necessity for using the least necessary power, weight and size of tool for the job (whether managerial or technological) (Turner, 1976, p.226).

Self-help housing recognizes the reassertion of local territorial powers in order that a community or a territory can achieve economic self-sufficiency and formulate policies that are flexible enough to provide for local needs, interests and
aspirations. These conditions may be achieved through "selective territorial closure" (Friedmann and Weaver, 1979) and a striving towards self-reliant development. This necessitates an expression of faith in the abilities of people to guide the forces of their own evolution. Indian people would rely less on outside aid and investment. Self-help housing also involves the whole Indian community in development, initiates a conscious process of social learning between Indian people and the government, diversifies indigenous production, pools indigenous resources and leads to the adoption of "alternative" or appropriate technologies.

3. Planning As Communicative Action

Another important characteristic of the critical approach is a deep understanding of contradictions which occur between planners and the planned-for and the provision of suitable structures and processes to prevent communications between the two from being distorted.

As pointed out in my analysis DIAND officials may or may not be aware of subtle distortions of communication occurring on different levels (e.g. bureaucratic language, technical definition of the problem, diversion from policy options, etc.). DIAND attempted to improve communication between its organization and Indian people by implementing mechanisms for Indian participation but these mechanisms have not proved to be as effective as hoped. In practice DIAND has never followed a planning procedure which provides sufficient financial support and/or technical assistance to allow Indian communities to
develop their inherent abilities for communication, decision-making, and effective community action.

DIAND, as an organization, not only accomplishes results keyed to the "means and ends" of a problem but also reproduces social and political relations of knowledge, consent, trust and attention (Forester, 1980). The structure of its planning process reflects a systematic patterning of communication that influences levels of Indian participation and action. By anticipating the interests, needs and aspirations of Indian people DIAND can build social and political support in addition to producing technical solutions.

DIAND can put a critical theory of communicative action into practice by first recognizing that usual planning practice is a normatively rule-structured communication process which distorts the prospects and possibilities Indian people face (Habermas, 1975; Forester, 1980). A critical approach would require more than technical knowledge to be effective, i.e. promote practical organizational skills and knowledge (Forester, 1980; Heskin, 1980; Friedmann, 1981). By understanding the possible harm done to Indian people when those citizens have little democratic voice in their own organizational management, DIAND would then understand why particular pathologies of domination and undemocratic politics occur. Finally, DIAND needs to know how Indian people are rendered ignorant, powerless, dependent and confused by public bureaucratic organizations and how to support Indian organizations and movements that work to overcome these problems.
A commitment to technical problem-solving perpetuates the contradictions that are inherent in the structures of society. Current planning may ease political tensions over social injustices for a period of time. However, if these underlying contradictions are not resolved perceived problems (e.g. housing) will continue to be the focus of attention in the system.

Since it is unrealistic to assume that DIAND's role will change immediately the first step in resolving these contradictions is a commitment to understanding them. This can be achieved through a process of "social learning" (Friedmann, 1973:1981; Grabow and Heskin, 1973; Habermas, 1975; Schon, 1980) between Indian communities and DIAND. Social learning culminates in collective action, which entails a group held together by communication among its members (internal environment), as well as communication with other decision-making organizations (external environment). It involves a "bottom-up" as well as a "top-down" flow of communication between the group and decision-makers, thereby requiring the physical presence of members from each affected group who have valuable knowledge and experience about their situation. In the course of an evolving situation communication among affected groups and the decision-making organization will be on-going thereby leading to appropriate adjustments in planning actions.

For collective action to be successful the internal and external environments must be continuously brought into adjustment to each other. This can be accomplished through
three interrelated processes of collective action. First, the technical process of comprehensive socio-economic, environmental and cultural planning in Indian communities. This requires that Indian people be trained to undertake this process themselves and learn to communicate in a fashion that does not exclude members of the community from the process.

Second, a self-managing, participatory process of decision-making concerned with conceiving, planning and realizing priorities of community development. Most Indian bands have this capacity but it has been undermined by the predominantly "top-down" character of the current planning strategy. A high degree of accountability of band officials before their members and government officials before bands would be necessary.

Finally, a political, social and cultural process of monitoring progress in all phases of development, as well as the societal attitudes and values concerning the human qualities of life and the development of a community. This is based on the assumption that social learning proceeds from practice in which learning is embodied in the learner and integrated through the course of action (Friedmann, 1981). Imparted through dialogue and personal example social learning is a measure of progress of development.
B. THE CRITICAL APPROACH: A METHOD OF PLANNING

There are few examples of an application of the critical approach as a method of planning in the literature. In relation to on-reserve housing the application of this approach toward planning will require some major changes in the structure and functions of DIAND. Some of these changes will be discussed below but it is important to keep in mind that the theory on which the method is based demands a more fundamental change in the economic and political system itself.

The application of this method of planning will have to consider the following. First is the preparation, training and education needed by Indian people in order to undertake their own planning. What type of planning? i.e. sectoral vs. integrated. What type of preparation, training and education? i.e. programs, workshops or training centres. How much preparation, training and education will be required? i.e. one year, five years or ten years. Who will pay for the necessary preparation, training and education? i.e. the government, private organizations or Indian bands. Who will provide the preparation, training and education? i.e. the government, private consultants or Indian bands. Second is the governing and administrative structures that would apply. What level of governing and administration will preside? i.e. national, provincial, district, tribal or band. What sort of legal and financial distribution of planning responsibilities? i.e. government, private organizations, band or individual. Finally a consideration of the necessary legislative financial and other
regulatory controls that are acceptable to the Indian people. Who will be accountable and to whom? These are all important questions which will have to be answered before an application of the critical approach is possible. It is important to keep in mind that there is no single answer for all Indian bands to any one of these questions since the needs, values and aspirations of each are different.

1. **Comprehensive Community Based Planning**

Another characteristic of the critical approach is a decentralized, "bottom-up" and comprehensive planning. Comprehensive community based planning is a strategy by which the local needs, aspirations and and interests of a particular band are taken into account by the members of the community in an integrated fashion. Members of the community are actually involved in a process of evaluating various options for development.

It would be comprehensive planning in the sense that bands would be given the opportunity, through the above three planning processes, systematically to analyse the nature of their problems and derive "whole" solutions, rather than the fragmented solutions resulting from current sectoral planning. Depending on a particular band's priorities housing may be considered as part of a comprehensive solution to the underlying socio-economic problems. This is due more to the nature of the community-planning process itself than housing *per se*, since it
entails a high degree of community participation. By taking part in community-planning band members would become more aware of the opportunities and the restrictions that exist in the system encompassing them. They would also learn and work in social groups, once again, and not as isolated individuals.

Planning initiatives are more successful if the intended beneficiaries take part in their formulation and implementation. This implies a "bottom-up" as opposed to a "top-down" planning process. Individuals sharing in the decision-making process will become more satisfied with the results because they conform to their aspirations and accustomed lifestyles. Ideally members of the community should undertake a historical analysis, description of current community conditions and an evaluation of community vitality before making any development decisions. Then in conjunction with DIAND priorities for development and value choices should be made right in the community. Community planning helps remove the distinction between "planner" and "planned for" thereby raising the level of awareness of people's values and beliefs. It thus rectifies planning errors by making it possible for clients to point out what will work and what will not.

If it is genuinely mass-based community-planning builds up the self-enabling character and co-operative spirit of the community. Facing common problems as a solid group and finding

Community-planning should ideally involve all of the members of the community in making decisions. Depending on the existing power structure of an Indian band, however, this is not always the case in practice.
solutions collectively leads to greater self-assurance and pride in the group's ability to act productively. Consciousness of a larger whole whose welfare is every individual's concern is more likely to result in organized participating groups.

Individuals and communities experiencing difficulties in meeting their housing needs should be given the opportunities and assistance to meet these needs in a manner which is consistent with local circumstances. Indian bands should be provided with block funding to permit comprehensive analysis and planning for long-term socio-economic development undertaken at the community level. Subsequent DIAND programming should be organized primarily to meet the needs which the plans of these individual bands determine to be necessary for integrated community development.

2. Developmental Approach Toward Band Funding

A developmental approach to band funding takes into consideration the following factors. First, is that bands will require lump sums of money if they are going to undertake comprehensive planning objectives. Second, is that bands need to aggregate available funding amongst themselves in order that the funding can go further. Finally, the use of both public and private sources of funding in order to create more innovative funding strategies.

Comprehensive community planning is capable of making a significant contribution to Indian development if it incorporates a composite of social, economic and political objectives. This suggests the type of programs that will
contribute more directly to an improvement in the social and economic conditions of Indian people through a realignment of resources in both the government and the community (e.g. education and training, alcohol and drug rehabilitation, hunting and trapping, farming, forestry, fishing, mining, tourism and recreation, etc.).

It is likely that the Indian Act will not be revised for some time and the responsibility for deciding the size of the Indian Affairs' budget will continue to reside with the Treasury Board. The exercise of greater powers by bands for comprehensive community-based planning would be a practical step in preparing bands for any forthcoming revisions to the Indian Act.

The relative merits and implications of several different approaches to the allocation of existing funds for Indian development should therefore be seriously examined. The difficulties associated with arriving at the most appropriate funding procedures should not be underestimated. It is likely that some Indian groups will oppose any option which varies from the present approach, especially if it entails cut-backs in the amount of money they have received in the past. A re-distribution of existing funds, however, would assist poorer bands to achieve their development objectives.

The transfer of program funding to Indian bands should be planned in such away that there is no increase in the total expenditure on the programs at the time of transfer. A true saving can only result if the growth of Indian independence is
accompanied by a corresponding reduction in government bureaucracy. It should also be possible for bands to re-allocate existing funding in more developmental ways.

First there should be a greater utilization of block versus sectoral funding. Block funding refers to the transfer of funds to Indians in such a manner that the number of categories of accountability is minimized and the discretionary ability of Indians to choose their own developmental priorities to suit local conditions is maximized. Second, there should be a shift away from per capita funding toward greater amalgamation or aggregation of funding for programs and organizational structures by groups of bands (e.g. Tribal Councils, Indian Regional Committees) sharing similar developmental priorities or having some sort of cultural affinity amongst themselves (e.g. Sto-lo Housing Society of B.C.). Third there should be more innovative approaches to band funding which:

i) Establish a viable working relationship between the Credit Union-Trade Union movements, both provincially and at local levels.

ii) Work with local community groups to solve housing problems for low and modest incomes, seniors, handicapped, single parents, natives, and others facing housing difficulties.

iii) Blend public and private housing funding to create new housing financing approaches. (Harcourt, 1979, p.2)

Once again it is recommended that DIAND and the Indian people seriously reconsider the potential of housing for contributing to community development. The besetting limitation
of housing as a means of social change is that it does not change the actual socio-economic conditions of people but serves to make these conditions a little more tolerable. It is aimed at encouraging Indians to participate in community activities and give them a feeling that they count and they are competent, but it stops there. It does not entail a questioning and a radical re-organization of the existing social and economic structures which allow inequity, inequality and the perpetuation of pathologies associated with domination.

Once a band has agreed to accept its funding on the basis of the principle of comprehensive community-based planning it would no longer be the recipient, *per se*, of programs from DIAND. Instead it would have the power to choose for itself from among the available ideas, skills and services, both within and outside government departments, what it feels would best improve conditions in the community. Alternatively, a band could delegate the management of necessary funds to Tribal or Regional Indian organizations where decisions with respect to the allocation of funds for development would be made collectively among representatives from the group of bands.

An extensive examination of the application of these principles, undertaken by Indian bands, Indian organizations and DIAND, is a pre-requisite to obtaining Cabinet approval of comprehensive community-based planning and a developmental approach to band planning. As was previously pointed out the implementation of these principles also requires a close examination of: i) the preparation, training and education
needed by Indian people in order to undertake their own comprehensive community-based planning; ii) the governing and administrative structures that would apply; and iii) the necessary legislative, financial and other regulatory controls that are acceptable to the Indian people. In order to test these principles and to resolve other complex issues that could cause delays in implementation, it is suggested that these principles be applied on a limited basis in the B.C. Region of DIAND and the processes and results associated with their application be closely monitored and evaluated by the Indian people themselves. It is also important that a critical review be undertaken of past efforts which incorporate some or all of these principles within B.C. as well as other regions of Canada (e.g. Canim Lake Indian Band of B.C., The Ontario Housing Council).
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APPENDIX A - CHRONOLOGY OF ON-RESERVE HOUSING EVENTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAJOR DATES &amp; EVENTS</th>
<th>PRINCIPLES</th>
<th>FUNDING SOURCES</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956-1956</td>
<td></td>
<td>Welfare subsidy</td>
<td>Department of Citizenship and Immigration</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1) Indians contribute in accordance with their ability, either by providing material or labour or both.</td>
<td>appropriation, Veteran's land Act Grants, band fund and personal contributions.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11) Housing requirements of the sick and aged given first consideration.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>111) Instruction, assistance and employment provided in sawmills.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1) Permit qualified Indian applicants to obtain house financing through N.H.A. programs.</td>
<td>Department of Citizenship and Immigration</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1i) Subject to special guarantee provisions.</td>
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<td>1957</td>
<td>1) Permit qualified Indian applicants to obtain house financing through N.H.A. programs.</td>
<td>C.M.H.C.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>i) Permit qualified Indian applicants to obtain house financing through N.H.A. programs.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ii) Source of continuing employment.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>iii) Place more responsibility on Indian families to manage their own affairs remove stigma of relief, maintain morale and self interest.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>i) Improvement in Indian Act &amp; N.H.A.</td>
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<td>ii) Revisions to scale of relief assistance.</td>
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<td>iii) Development of housing standards.</td>
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<td>iv) Indian bands encourages to meet housing needs by community action.</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>* ORDER IN COUNCIL P.C. 1957-1965</td>
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<td></td>
<td>i) Facilitate economic and social adjustment.</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>* Canadian Indian Homes&quot; handbook published.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>i) Help field administrators and Indians in selecting housing plans, determining appropriate and guiding community development, house grouping, sanitation, selection of sites, sewage disposal, etc.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ii) Promote orderly development of Indian communities and adequate standards of housing, hygiene and essential services.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>* Indian Subsidy Program</td>
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<td></td>
<td>i) Provide shelter for all Indian families.</td>
<td>Subsidy, welfare appropriation, band funds, N.H.A. loans and personal contributions.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ii) Provide houses of a minimum standard for those capable of making a personal contribution.</td>
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<td>1962-1963</td>
<td>* Housing Survey</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>* Circular #387</td>
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<td>i) Permit qualified Indian applicants to obtain house financing through N.H.A. programs.</td>
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<td>ii) Subject to special guarantee provisions.</td>
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<td>iii) Place more responsibility on Indian families to manage their own affairs remove stigma of relief, maintain morale and self interest.</td>
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</table>
1965...
cities and industry or on
relocation to reserves
adjacent to job
opportunities.

* Winter House Building Incentive
Program

1966

* Physical Community Development
Program

1) Where Indian bands are sufficiently
advanced to manage their own affairs
and indicate an interest to do so, they
should be encouraged to assume most of
the administrative responsibilities
presently provided by the branch and
thus achieve a larger degree of self-
determination.

* Survey
  - Statistics for Indian housing
    and facilities
  - Long Range Financial Forecast
    - housing requirements 1966-71
  * Circular #672
    - house designs
  * "Indian Affairs House Designs"
    - new brochures prepared

* Circular #665
  - Subsidy housing program
    amended
  - Band Operated programs
    approved

1966-1967

Hawthorne Report
- government commissioned
  national survey on Canadian
  Indians.

1) With the introduction of new off-
reserve housing programs and loans to
Indian families on reserves, larger
house designs required.

2) By involving Indians in the selection of
their own house plan, the colour scheme,
choice of heating appliance and many
other details encountered in home
building, they will develop a pride of
ownership and will keep their homes in
good repair.

3) Realized that the house specifications
in Band Councils effect under this
approval did not meet C.M.H.C. minimum
standards.

4) Approval to transfer responsibility and
related financial resources for
construction of Indian houses on
reserves to Band Councils or to Housing
Committee responsible to Band Council.

5) Rejected termination of special rights
of Indian peoples as a policy option.

6) Citizen plus status for Indians.

7) Role of advocate - ombudsman for Indian
Affairs Branch because many Indians
lacked the social, economic and
political skills of self-defence.

8) Refuted usual constitutional agreement
that Indians were the exclusive responsi-
bility of the federal government,
thereby leaving the way open for the
provinces to deliver programs to
Indians.

9) Emphasized development on a broad
socio-economic scale in order to reverse
Indian poverty and depending on the
government.

10) Urged recognition of increasing social
problems among Indians in cities.
1967
- Privy Council 1967-1725
  - approve Indian On Reserve Housing Regulations (CMHC loans)
- Housing Design Study
  - "New Patterns for Indian Communities"
- Circular #777
  - Indian On Reserve Housing Program
  - establishes four basic programs
    a) subsidy housing
    b) Indian On-Reserve Housing
    c) Indian Off-Reserve Housing
    d) Band Administered Housing

1968
- Circular #797
  - Band Administered Programs extended to include construction of road, water and sewage system.
- Circular #7
  - summary of five-year program of physical development of Indian Communities

1969
- White Paper
  - proposal a global termination of all special treatment of Indians including the Indian Act.

1970
- Circular #48
  - Community Improvement
  - Proposed Policies and Programs

1) Purpose of brochure is not to lay down new housing design standards but rather to explore some possibilities that can arise when we move away from standard city-like subdivisions planning and look alike bungalow patterns.

2) Provides assistance towards better living accommodation, water and sanitary services, electrification and improved roads on Indian Reserves.

3) Branch concerned regarding quality of construction of housing
   - program expanded in $ only
   - no additional staff for administration supervision and planning
   - no additional funds per unit while material costs and labour spiral each year.

4) 'Equality' or 'non-discrimination was the key ingredient in a solution to the problems of Indians, and special rights are the major cause of Indian problems.

5) 'Equality' was to be achieved by terminating the special legislation and bureaucracy that had developed over the past century to deal with the Indians.

6) Transfer to the provinces the responsibility for administering services to Indians.

7) Increasing emphasis on the desirability of Band Councils assuming responsibility for administration of their own housing and community improvement programs.

8) Emphasis placed on programs which stimulate and assist bands properly to manage their own programs.
* Community Improvements Proposed, Policies and Programs...

1970...

ii) Indians should be encouraged to accept mortgage and rental payments as normal obligations of owning or renting property.

iii) Educational program with the objective of increasing the number of bands qualified to administer their own housing programs.

iv) Public housing is a just and equitable solution to many Indian housing problems.

v) Greater band contributions encouraged for internal roads, water and sewage systems and internal power.

vi) Need for community planning for all reserves.

vii) Subsidy Program discontinued and replaced by New Rental and Purchase Housing Program in remote areas.

viii) Arrange for transfer of this Department's responsibility in the housing programs to another Federal Department or to Provincial Governments as soon as possible.

1971

* Circular #893

1972

* Directive on Band Administered Housing Program

* Provincial Home Acquisition Grant Rights extended to Homes on Indian Reserves.

* Circular #57

- maximum subsidy increased from $7,000 to $10,000 per unit

* Bill C-133

- an act to amend the NHA

1973

* Bill C-133

- an act to amend the NHA

1974

* Rural and Native Housing Policy

1) Right of homeowner to obtain a home of his choosing within the restriction of available funds.

2) Establishing aims and guidelines of expanded band administered Housing Program.

a) Partial basis

b) Year to year basis

c) Long range planned basis

1975

* Rural and Native Housing Policy

1) Construction or acquisition of up to 50,000 dwellings over the next 5 years for people in rural areas and small communities who cannot afford decent accommodation.

11) Extension of the NHA residential rehabilitation program beyond the large centres.
1976
* Joint DIAND/NIB Technical Report
* Designation of Indian Reserves as Communities

1977
* Pink Circular #1053
   - amends pink circular #1051
* Discussion Paper
   - proposed housing policy and comprehensive housing program, "On-Reserve Housing Program"
   - subsidy increased from $10,000 to $12,000
* Discussion Paper
   - proposed infrastructure program

1978
* Decentralization of Mortgage Management

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1) Main thrust and priority of new program be towards the needs of the "no-income" group (0-24,000/year).

2) DIAND should maintain lead responsibility.

3) Bands be enabled to manage their housing program through local government.

4) Housing subsidies and loans be scaled according to the income of individuals and Bands.

5) Resources of CMHC and other federal and provincial agencies be made available to Bands and individuals.

6) Special Status of reserve lands not be jeopardized through provision of Individual and Band loans for housing.

7) A suitable mechanism be developed for Indian people to have direct input at every level of housing policy development and program management.

8) I) Qualify for R.R.A.P. through CMHC

9) Requirements for band housing project authorization

10) I) Provide each Indian individual and family, regardless of income, with the opportunity to secure decent, safe and sanitary housing through their Band or on their own initiative.

11) II) Create jobs for unemployed and underemployed Indians through capital inputs required for construction and renovation of housing, co-ordinated with M & I job creation programs.

12) III) Develop a new delivery system responsive to Indian decision-making.

13) IV) Place responsibility for the design, construction and management of Band housing programs in the hands of Band Councils.

14) V) Utilize programs and resources of DIAND, CMHC, E.I.C., DREE, N.H.W., Band Councils to tackle the problem of Indian housing.

15) I) Provide 25,500 new and existing Indian homes with potable water, safe waste disposal facilities, electricity, fire protection and roads.

16) I) DIAND policy to decentralize mortgage management of the program to the regions.
1979

* Housing Needs Analysis
  - final report
* Present and Future Infrastructure Requirements
  - final report
* Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs Report on Housing Programs

1980

* P.C. 1980-504
* B.C. Regional
  Revision Proposal for on Reserve Housing Program
* B.C. Innovative Housing's Native Housing Action Programme
  - based on Sto-Lo Housing Society’s experience.
* Discussion Paper
  - on reserve housing policy and program.
* NIB Housing Program
  - outlines components considered basic to a sound policy for housing and infrastructure on reserves.

1) Provide an accurate assessment of on-reserve housing needs.

i) Adequate housing must be provided by the federal government.

ii) Housing development must be totally integrated with the overall community development structure of Indian communities.

iii) Decentralization of funds and resources to reserve level.

i) Approval of annexed terms and conditions for the guarantee by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development of loans made for housing purposes on Indian Reserves and designated Indian Settlements to Indian Bands.

i) Necessary to have free issuance of housing subsidy funds from the scale of circular $57.

ii) Examine alternative methods of funding infra-structure needs.

i) Establish viable working relationships between the credit union - trade unions movements both provincially and at local levels.

ii) Work with local community groups to solve housing problems for low and modest incomes, seniors, handicapped, single parents, natives and others facing housing difficulties.

iii) Blend public and private housing funding to create new housing financing approaches.

i) To encourage Indian communities to take responsibility for meeting their own housing needs in a manner consistent with local aspirations.

i) Bands should have the opportunity to design, control and deliver programs on reserves.

ii) Band Councils should be accountable to their membership and also to the Government of Canada for the expenditure of funds.

iii) The Department should be responsible for ensuring that housing resources become available in a manner which supports band initiatives.

iv) Individuals and communities experiencing housing problems should be able to develop approaches to solve these problems in a manner consistent with local circumstances.
NHB Housing Program...

* Indian Conditions: A Survey
  - outlines changes in social, economic and political conditions of Indian people during last 10-20 years.

* Indian Housing Infrastructure Standards

* Communique
  - subsidy increased from $12,000 to $22,125

1981

* Discussion Paper
  - on-reserve housing policy and program

Discussion Paper...

* Program Circular J
  - this and subsequent "J" circulars sets out operational procedures and guidelines for program delivery.

1982

* Program Circular J-2
  - describes how bands may utilize a combination of funding sources to acquire band owned rental housing.

* Program Circular J-3
  - describes how band members may acquire individually owned housing on their reserves or settlements through the use of repayable loans.

* Program Circular J-4
  - describes how bands or individuals can utilize the RRAP program to improve or upgrade existing housing built prior to August, 1977 on-reserves.

* Program Circular J-5
  - clarifies for all parties concerned the action that must be taken and all the steps that must be followed when payments on a housing loan are in arrears.

v) The government resource allocation process should serve as an incentive to stimulate performance in construction and maintenance of Indian housing stock.

i) Provides administrative criteria for determining the level of infrastructure that may be provided in support of Indian housing and the conditions which must be met to justify expenditure for infrastructure systems.

i) Indians and their band councils have primary responsibility for planning, building and managing housing stock on reserves.

ii) DIAND's On-Reserve Housing Program assists Indians in the development and financing of housing on reserves.

iii) DIAND's Social Assistance Program, which provides financial assistance on the basis of need can provide a shelter allowance.

iv) Indians are encouraged to make full use of funds from sources other than DIAND.

v) DIAND will assist in the development of Indian Housing standards and guidelines.

i) Housing is an individual responsibility and the Indian On-Reserve Housing Program is designed to assist individuals and bands in obtaining adequate housing.

ii) Capital subsidies provided by DIAND are insufficient by themselves to build adequate houses. The subsidies have to be used along with other sources of funding.