

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

AN

INTERDISCIPLINARY PROSPECTUS FOR AN

ANTHROPOLOGY OF PLANNING:

APPLICATIONS TO NATIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BY

SALLY DAVIDSON

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis was written with two overall objectives in mind:

1. to trace the historical development of native community planning in the province of Manitoba, in order to determine the issues and forces involved, the planning processes presently utilized and whether the situation has progressed to the point where the issues are being satisfactorily dealt with;
2. to illustrate how valuable extensive interdisciplinary co-operation between anthropology and planning can be by creating an 'anthropology of planning' --a prospectus which proposes ways in which creation of cultural understanding can be of use in facilitating communication between a planner and his native clients.

Research for this topic was difficult to compile, as there are few published sources which deal directly with native community planning. Data was collected through an intensive interdisciplinary literature review, personal interviews with several planners and government officials, and field observation in three northern Manitoba settlements.

The results of the research indicate that native community planning has not been successful in many respects. It is suggested here that a lack of understanding of native culture by Euro-Canadian planners is one of the major problems. It is further contended that use of anthropological data and techniques is the best means by which to create cultural understanding, thus improving communication between planner and client and resulting in more effective planning.

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Man must now embark on the difficult journey beyond culture, because the greatest separation feat of all is when one manages to gradually free oneself from the grip of unconscious culture (Hall, 1977: 240).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem

Over the past several years development in the northern regions of Canada has greatly affected the lives of the several thousand native peoples living there. This development, accompanied by the gradual rise of social awareness by Canadians, has led to new interest in the north and its inhabitants, and one denouement of this situation has been the introduction of community development and planning programs for native communities. This thesis will examine these efforts with the following questions in mind:

1. How has this type of activity evolved in the province of Manitoba?
2. What are the problems and issues associated with planning for native communities?
3. Have the planning efforts to date been of value towards the alleviation of these issues?
4. How can these activities be improved so as to benefit the native peoples of the north?

There are several critical issues associated with life in the north. Many of these are perhaps particularly crucial to the native populations. These issues include: unemployment in all native settlements is extremely high; social problems such as alcoholism, gasoline sniffing and violence are common; health problems, which are prevalent, are often related to poor water supply and overcrowded living conditions; the winter climate is harsh and

most of the housing is not suitable to withstand it; prices for most goods are high; the heavy reliance on welfare, combined with all the other problems, has produced a high level of anomie and depression. While these issues, and others, are not totally related to planning, it is suggested here that many of the initial planning efforts carried out in Manitoba's northern native settlements served to aggravate an already problematical situation somewhat because they were not carried out in a manner compatible with the climate, the lifestyle of the people or the environment. One suggested reason for this, and a major issue around which this thesis will revolve, is the apparent lack of effective communication between all parties involved.

It should be noted at this point that although communication has been identified as that particular component of planning to be dealt with here, it is only one element of several which are integral to an overall planning process. Any planning exercise must incorporate certain basic elements-- among them goal identification, methodology, alternatives, strategy and implementation--and good communication between the parties involved is only one of these necessary components.* Several authors have supported the notion that good communication is a critical element of planning (i.e. Jantsch, 1975; Lash, 1976; Long (no date); Rettie, 1968; Saarinen, 1976). Saarinen (1976: 13) notes an important point with relevance to this thesis when he says that "we must learn to recognize the limitations communication systems impose" upon people. Lash (1976: 10) also stresses the importance

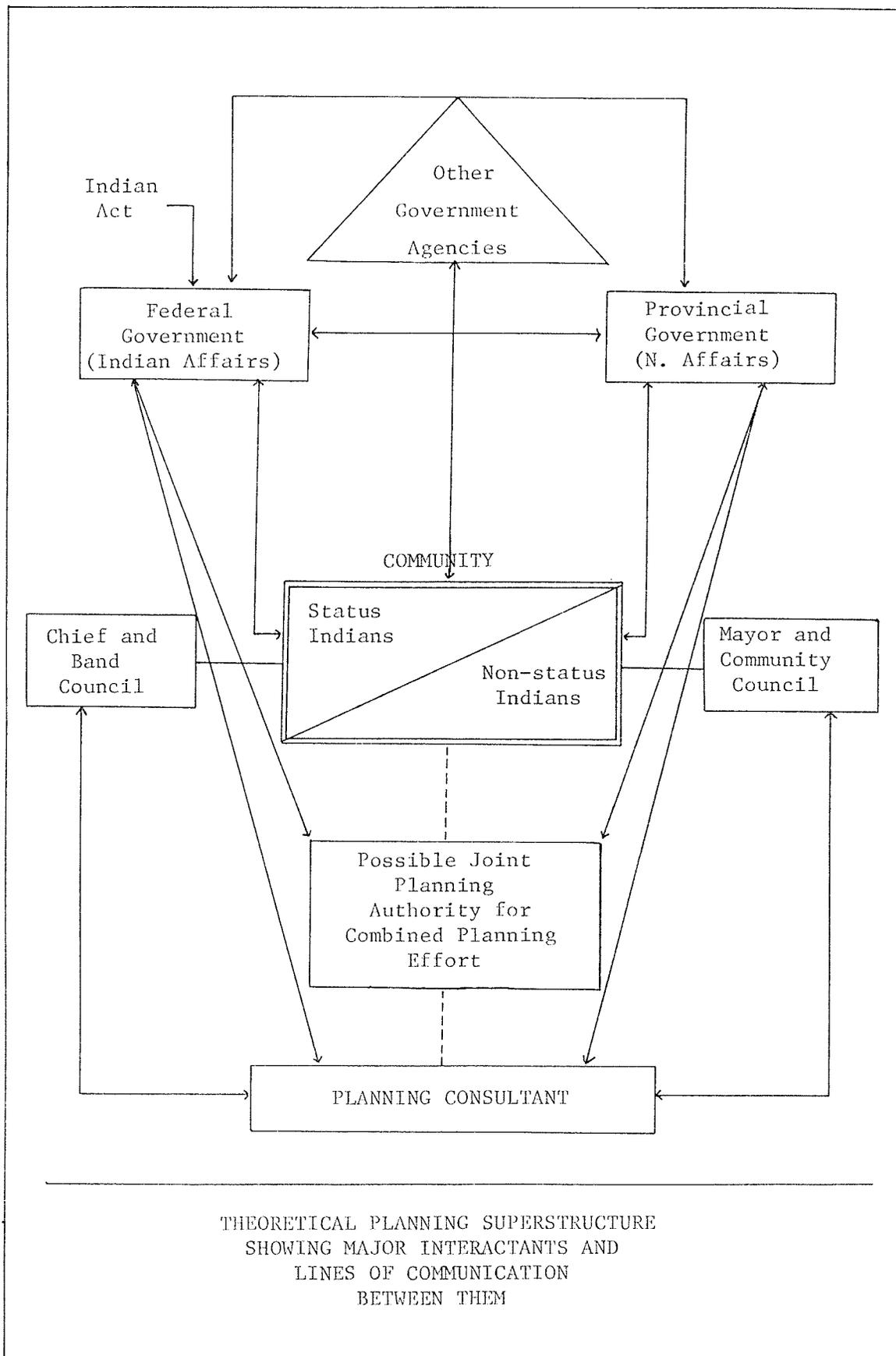
*Several sources are available which discuss the elements of planning. Among those reviewed by this author include: Catanese and Steiss, 1968; Driver, 1968; Friedmann, 1973; Gertler, 1972; Jantsch, 1975; Lash, 1976; Saarinen, 1976; Sarly, 1972).

of communication when he suggests that planning will have to "come to depend more on human relations in the process of arriving at decisions than it will on the planner's science and art of preparing plans." It is in this direction that the present thesis will proceed--the basic contention is that cultural understanding is necessary if the communication link between Euro-Canadian planners and native peoples is to be strengthened.

Communication problems seem to exist at virtually every level of interaction within the overall native community planning process. As can be noted in Figure I (page 4), there are several groups and individuals involved, each of whom may perceive a given situation in a different manner. This illustration shows many of the major interactants who may be tied in to the planning process--each arrow represents potential interaction between parties. It is not difficult to conceive of communication problems when one considers the vast range of participants and institutions involved. Diversity occurs not only in a functional and a structural sense, but also on a personal level and a jurisdictional level. The following examples indicate only a sample of some of the conflicts which frequently arise:

1. The federal and provincial government representatives sometimes clash over areas of jurisdiction;
2. There are often intra-settlement hostilities such as jealousies between status Indians (under federal jurisdiction) and non-status peoples (under provincial jurisdiction) over differential treatment;
3. There are language and cultural barriers between the natives and Euro-Canadians, which makes communication between the two groups very difficult;
4. There is often ethnocentricity on all sides, and this, coupled with a

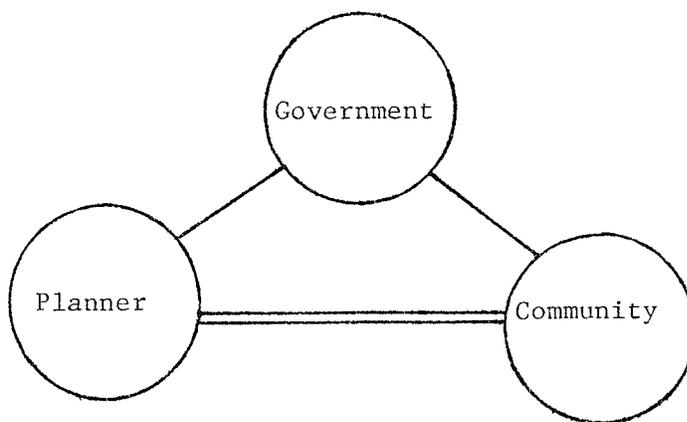
Figure I: The Major Interactants in the Planning Process



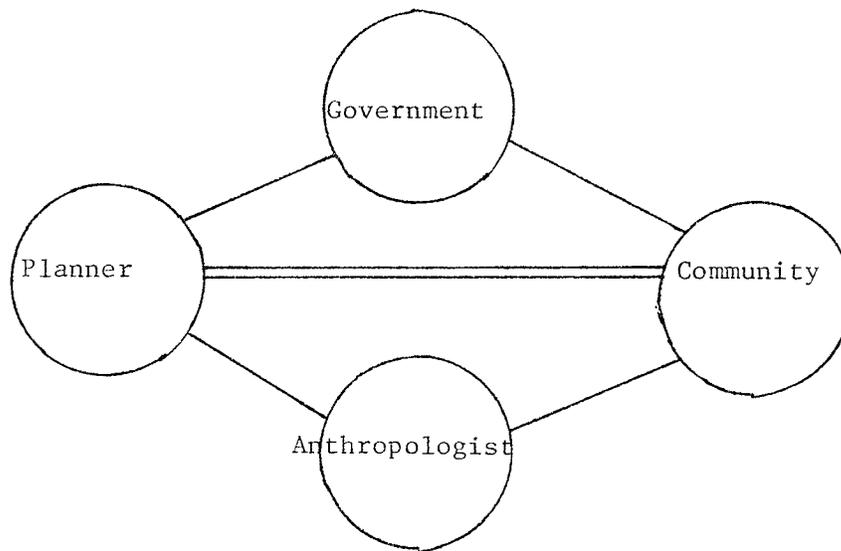
lack of knowledge and understanding all around, severely hinders communication.

B. Purpose and Objectives

Given the vast scope of the communication issues related to native community planning, this writer has chosen to examine only one of the links within the overall framework--the critical one between the planner and the native community--and to propose the creation of an additional communication link which will help to bridge the gap between the two by creating cultural understanding. Generally speaking, it can be noted that there are three major lines of communication important to any native community planning effort: those linking the government, the planning consultant and the community. This relationship may be diagrammed as follows:



The double line shows the bridge towards which this thesis will be directed. The major objective of this investigation is to build an additional communication link--one between the planner and the anthropologist--in order to demonstrate how the two fields can and must come together to form a new prospectus. This proposed interdisciplinary prospectus may be called an 'anthropology of planning,' and the new communication link may be diagrammed like this:



Ultimately, this thesis represents an attempt to both define and operationalize an 'anthropology of planning' prospectus, so that the findings can be put to use in an actual native community planning situation. This research will hopefully begin to build a communication link between the discipline of anthropology, with its traditional emphasis on the study of native peoples, and the pragmatic realities encountered by planners, in order to ultimately strengthen the critical link between planners and their native clients. The fundamental precept of the paper may be further clarified as follows: through anthropology, cultural understanding can be created; through cultural understanding, communication can be facilitated; with improved communication, more effective planning will result.

C. Methodology

Planning for native communities is a relatively recent activity and very little data is available in published form. To gather material for this thesis, it was necessary to employ several methodologies: 1) a comprehensive literature review; 2) field research in three native communities in northern Manitoba; 3) interviews with planners; 4) serendipity. Perhaps the last has proven to be the most fruitful; serendipity means an apparent

aptitude for making fortunate discoveries accidentally. In dealing with an amorphous topic such as the one at hand, data collected in this manner has been most helpful.

The extensive literature review does not follow any one discipline, but rather extends across broad boundaries into anthropology, environmental psychology, planning theory, legislation, general system theory and several other areas.

The field research consisted of one-week surveys of each of three northern Manitoba communities--God's Lake Narrows, Norway House and Moose Lake. Each of these is presently in a different stage of development; Moose Lake was subdivided during the 1960's; God's Lake Narrows is presently involved in a comprehensive planning process; Norway House is a large and relatively diverse community (population approximately 3,500) which has experienced sporadic development and piecemeal planning and which is presently hoping to begin comprehensive planning. This fieldwork, even though it was not as intensive or lengthy as may have been ideally desirable, proved extremely valuable. Several problems associated with development and with the planning process were identified which could not have been discovered by any other means.

Interviews with several planners working in the area of native community planning provided much of the data for this study. These interviews were conducted on an iterative basis with the planning consultants hired by the Band and Community Councils and the government planners employed by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the provincial Department of Northern Affairs. The purpose of these interviews was to identify: those issues which the planners feel are of major concern,

how they respond to the issues in terms of their planning processes and what were their assessments and evaluations regarding the question 'Are the issues being dealt with, and why or why not?'

On the basis of a synthesis of the information derived from all of the above sources it is hoped that the author will be able to trace the evolution of the planning process, identify the major issues and elucidate upon ways in which anthropology can potentially contribute to the improvement of the situation.

D. Terms of Reference

Some of the key terms in this thesis may be ambiguous and therefore the following definitions are provided to clarify how they will be used here.

1. Anthropology--the study of man, including the sub-fields of archaeology, cultural anthropology, linguistics and physical anthropology.
2. Community--"an aggregate of people holding shared beliefs and values" (Friedmann, 1973: 6).
3. Culture--the distinct order of phenomena, namely those things and events that are dependent upon the exercise of a mental ability, particular to the human species, that has been termed 'symboling.' Culture is composed of material objects, acts, beliefs and attitudes that function in contexts characterized by symboling (White, 1964: 363).
4. Prospectus--a statement outlining the main features of a new field of endeavour.
5. Settlement--a contiguous living area consisting of an aggregate of dwellings, buildings and the physical elements related to the everyday lives of the people residing there. The difference between community and settlement can be expressed in an example: a native settlement, such as God's

Lake Narrows, actually consists of two distinct communities--the status and non-status--who reside in different sections of the settlement.

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF NATIVE COMMUNITY

PLANNING IN MANITOBA

The purpose of this chapter is to compile data from a wide array of sources in order to trace some of the major events which have occurred over the past twenty years and affected the evolution of native community development and planning in Manitoba. The events and trends discussed are not exhaustive, but rather provide only a basic framework of the time period in question. Native community planning in the present (Stage IV--see Chapter IV) is not fully comprehensible unless viewed as the continually evolving product of those events which precluded its development.

A. First Stage: Community Development and Early Planning Efforts of the 1960's

There are several native settlements in Manitoba, ranging from those of the Sioux in the southwest, to those of the Saulteaux and Cree in central and northern areas, to the small populations of Chippewyan in the far north (see Figure II, page 11). Most of these are located on Indian reserves, the boundaries of which were established as a result of treaty land settlements made between Indian Bands/Tribes and the Government of Canada. Status Indians--those who fall under the aegis of the Indian Act (1876) and are thus recognized by the federal government--live on these reserves in communities of varying sizes. Very often these settlements will also include a population of non-status

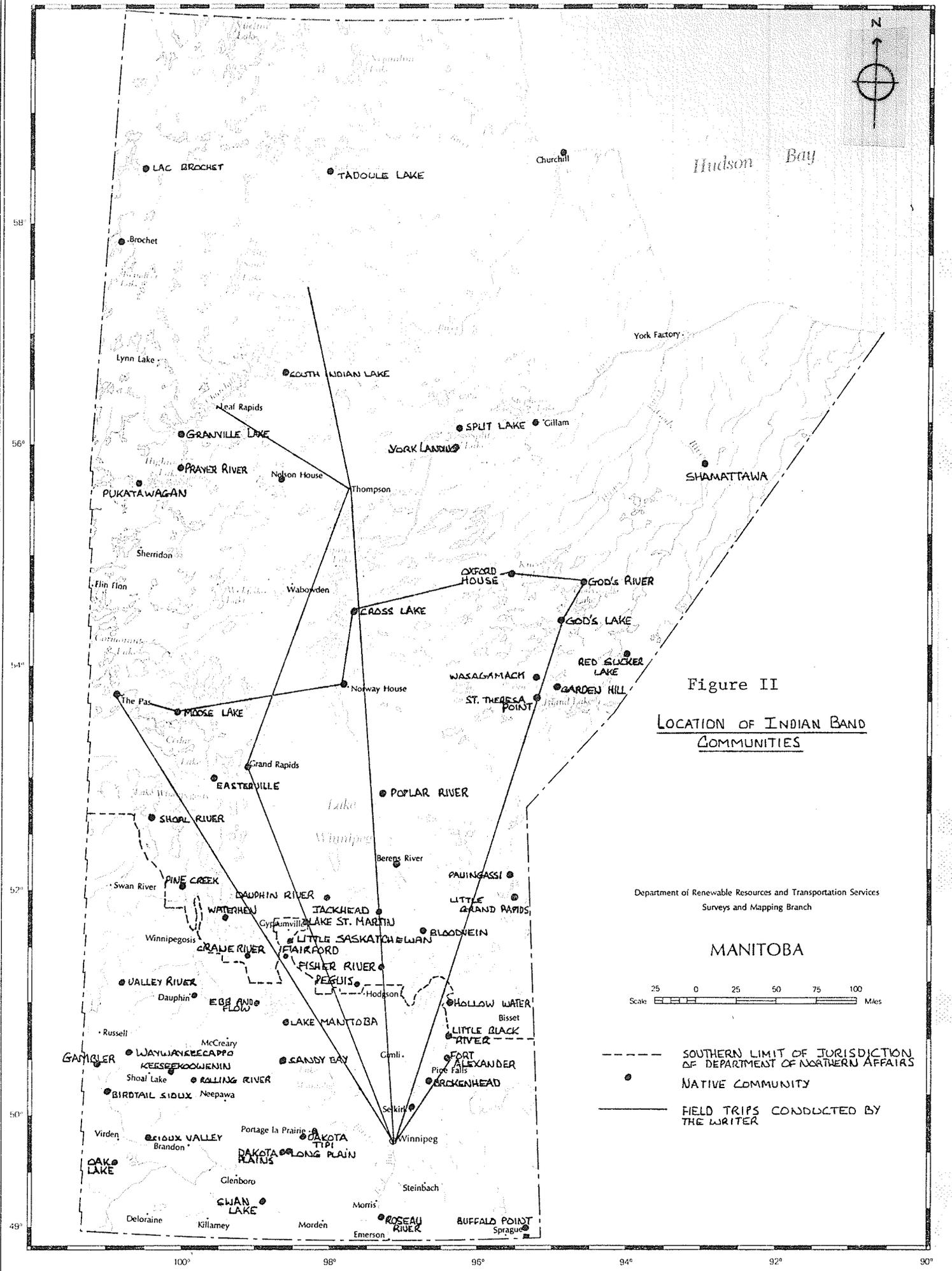
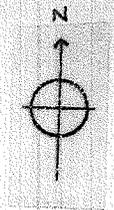
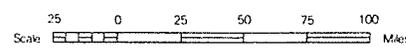


Figure II
LOCATION OF INDIAN BAND COMMUNITIES

Department of Renewable Resources and Transportation Services
Surveys and Mapping Branch

MANITOBA



- SOUTHERN LIMIT OF JURISDICTION OF DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS
- NATIVE COMMUNITY
- FIELD TRIPS CONDUCTED BY THE WRITER

natives (Métis, enfranchised Indians); these people do not live on reserve land unless granted permission to do so by the Band, but rather on adjacent non-reserve property under the auspices of the provincial government. There are also native communities not associated with reserves, such as Manigotagan (a Metis settlement) and South Indian Lake (a group of status Indians who moved away from a reserve). Virtually all native communities include a small population of Euro-Canadians, most of whom are transient and are engaged in civil service, church work, merchandising or teaching.

Most of the native communities in Canada were paid relatively little attention by the governments, the media and the general public during the years preceding the late 1950's. In the ensuing twenty years this situation has changed a great deal. One of the factors leading to this changed attitude was the opening of several new northern industrial towns beginning in the 1930's and 1940's. For instance, mining was initiated at Flin Flon in 1930, and later in Snow Lake (1949), Lynn Lake (1953) and Thompson (1960). The Pas grew as a regional trade center and has lately become a major center for forestry. Churchill expanded through governmental activities and research functions. Gillam and other towns have expanded through hydro development. As the vast potential of the north came to be realized, and development proceeded at an ever-increasing rate, the indigenous native population came into closer contact with the industrialized world of southern Canada. By the mid-1950's, Indian and Metis groups, because of their increasing exposure to the Euro-Canadian lifestyle, had begun to put pressure on the government for better housing. In 1956 the Manitoba legislature passed a

resolution calling for the study of the living conditions of these people and in 1958 a report entitled The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba was submitted by Jean H. Lagassé. This study showed that much of the native population in the province were indeed suffering from severe problems such as inadequate housing, unemployment, low educational levels and ill health. Lagassé's recommendations were that a new approach be taken to natives' problems. This new approach was Community Development-- a program that the United Nations had employed in its attempts to aid developing nations, whereby people were encouraged to undertake improvements by themselves.

Community Development (C.D.) is, in essence, a method of social activation--an educational process which demands the participation of all of the people in a community in an on-going self-determined direction. A report of the Secretary General in 1957 defines Community Development as (cited by MacDonald, 1960: 3)...

...the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute to national progress.

With regard to the Manitoba situation, the main goal of the C.D. program was to narrow the communication gap between Euro-Canadians and natives and "to involve the people living in substandard conditions in the improvement of their lot" (Lagassé, 1961-62: 234). Three major factors were co-existent in Manitoba at this time which allowed for the rise of a C.D. program (Lagassé, 1971: 228-232):

1. The public was becoming aware of the plight of natives and several interest groups arose. At this time there were at least 50,000 status

and non-status natives living in Manitoba--10% of the population of the province. The provincial government had no idea of the locations or sizes of the various settlements.

2. Well-informed public opinion helped to change the attitude of the government. During the 1950's the situation was very different from what it is now: Indians were generally viewed as federal wards; thousands of the children had no schools to attend. In the early 1960's the provincial government began to make research funds available to study the situation.

3. The native people themselves were ready for a change. In 1959, Manitoba's natives were generally rated as being poorer than those in the other provinces.

In 1960, the provincial government established a Center for Community Development and Jean Lagassé became the director. Both status and non-status populations were to be served. Although the initial report had recommended that the center be set up as an independent entity under joint sponsorship of the University of Manitoba and the provincial government, or at least as a branch within the Department of Industry and Commerce, it was set up in the Department of Health and Welfare--the one department that the report had identified as inappropriate for a C.D. operation because it already had a communication network with the population under study. Most natives saw this department as a relief-granting agency and it was believed that this attitude would conflict with the self-improvement focus of C.D.

The structure and operations of the Manitoba C.D. program have been reported upon elsewhere (Lagassé, 1961-62; Lagassé, 1971; McEwan, 1968;

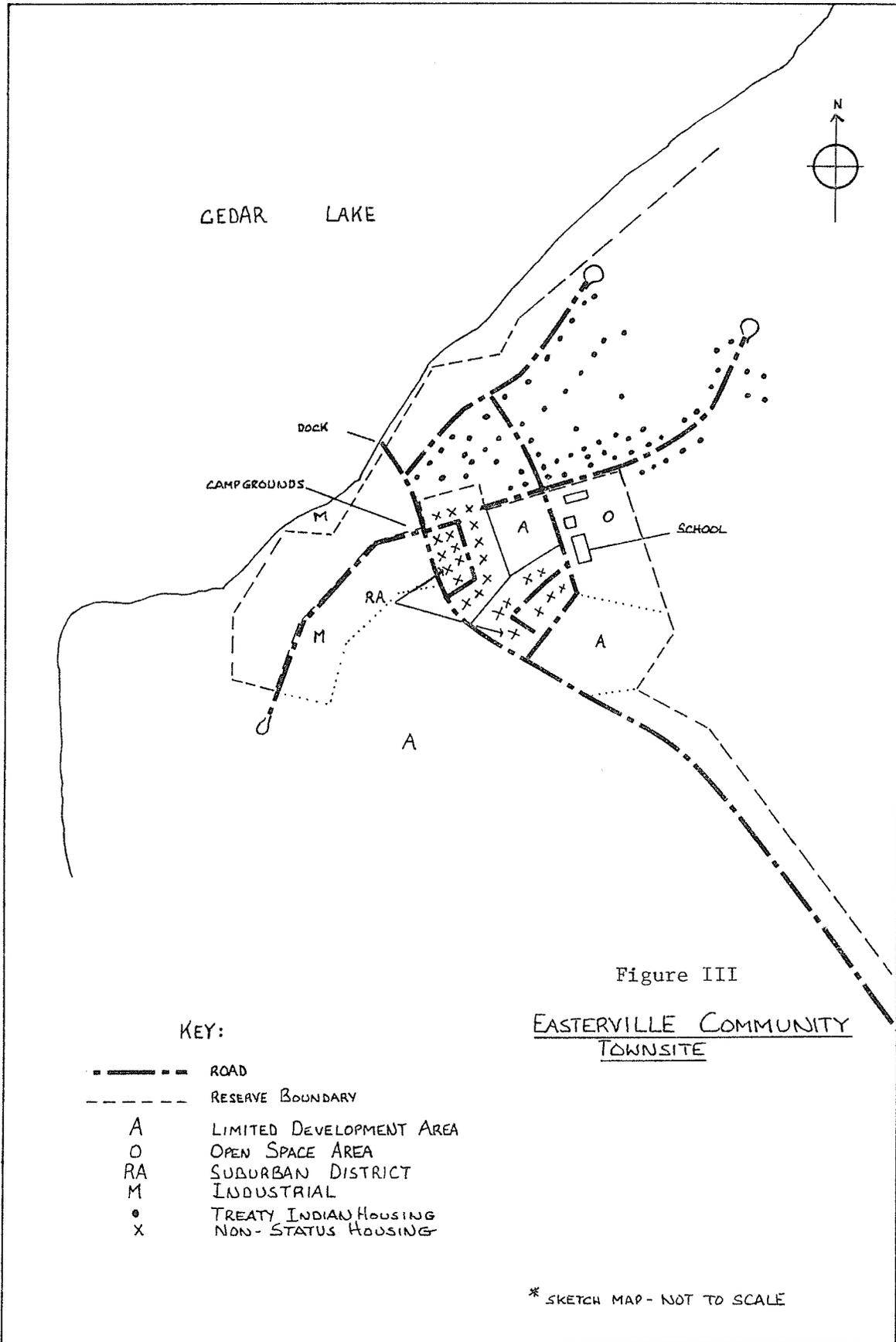
Campfens, 1972). Of interest to the topic at hand are the results of the method. When C.D. was launched in Manitoba in 1960 in response to the Lagassé study, it was the earliest such program in Canada and the example was soon taken up by other provinces. Although some measure of success was attained, by 1968 the program had fallen into decline in all areas. During its eight years in effect, C.D. had been mainly concerned with the socio-economic development of native communities and the goal was generally to raise the standard of living to bring these settlements into line with national standards. No appreciable impact occurred in the north, perhaps because this basic goal was a middle class one "based on middle class values for the middle class community development worker" (McEwan, 1968: 11). These values took little account of whether the Indian people did in fact aspire to 'national standards.' The weaknesses in the official decision-making structures of C.D. also contributed to its general lack of success. Although the communities themselves were supposed to be in control of C.D. projects, the band councils lacked the legal authority to assume the responsibility required and did not have trained administrators and others who would enable them to function like other communities (McEwan, 1968: 28). Many communities lack the resources necessary for growth and development, and the C.D. approach did not allow for regional development schemes or recognize the "close inter-relatedness of the problems of the remote north with other parts of the province" (Campfens, 1972: 13). Communication problems were in evidence and several conflicts arose: service patterns were different for status Indians and non-status people; natives often mistrusted government personnel; rivalry between government departments led to competition for extension of civil

services in various directions, which proved to be a serious block to the initiation of self-help programs as these workers came to be seen and despised as 'hand-out men' (McEwan, 1968: 33). The most significant finding of Campfens (1972: 60), after his comprehensive study of the C.D. experience in Manitoba, was that government service delivery was uncoordinated, fragmented, costly, ineffective, resented by the native people and insufficient to cope with their basic needs. He further concluded that there was a lack of any significant development in citizen participation and joint planning at local, regional and provincial levels between government agencies and native people, and that no real local political development occurred due to a tendency to water down conflicts rather than to confront them. In summary, the Community Development program in Manitoba, although it did prove useful in some respects and awakened interest in the plight of Manitoba natives, did not effect any drastic improvements.

In addition to this program, several other developments occurred during the early 1960's, which, taken together, constitute the 'first stage' in this series of events. In 1962 a national housing survey was carried out to study the housing situation among Canadian Indians and Eskimos (O'Connell, 1965). This survey revealed that at this time, 61% of the reserve housing in Manitoba was of log construction, with only the Mackenzie District surpassing this figure at 73%. It was further discovered that Manitoba Indians had the highest ratio of small houses (those with three rooms or less) in Canada--91%. In a classification rating scheme of good, fair or poor, the highest percentage of homes rated 'poor' occurred in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In terms of the

physical layouts of the communities, O'Connell (1965: 2-3), as a result of the survey, recommended that subdivision plans be adopted because such a scheme would build a sense of 'community' and community responsibility, reduce the costs of municipal servicing and allow potential migrants to adjust to an urban setting. This attitude was prevalent during this time period.

As the C.D. program evolved and housing surveys emerged, further developments were occurring in northern Manitoba which were to result in the first actual physical planning of native communities. The Grand Rapids hydro project began construction in 1961 and the flooding of Cedar Lake was to be the first stage in a series of power projects on the Nelson, Saskatchewan and Churchill Rivers. Two native communities were to be affected by the flooding--Chemahawin and Moose Lake. In 1962 a Forebay Committee, composed of provincial and federal representatives, was set up by provincial administrators to deal with the relocations of these people; no representatives from the communities or from local Indian and Metis organizations were involved (Landa, 1967: 44). In the case of Chemahawin, from which the entire village had to be relocated, a resident committee selected the new site of Easterville during mid-winter. The townsite was cleared by the Band members, who also constructed the buildings with funds made available to them by Manitoba Hydro. The plan of Easterville broke completely with the traditional settlement pattern (see Chapter V) and removed people from a long-standing land/water association where houses were loosely strung out along the shore. Instead, the plan placed the houses into an orderly subdivision laid out along streets and avenues (see Figure III, page 18). The design

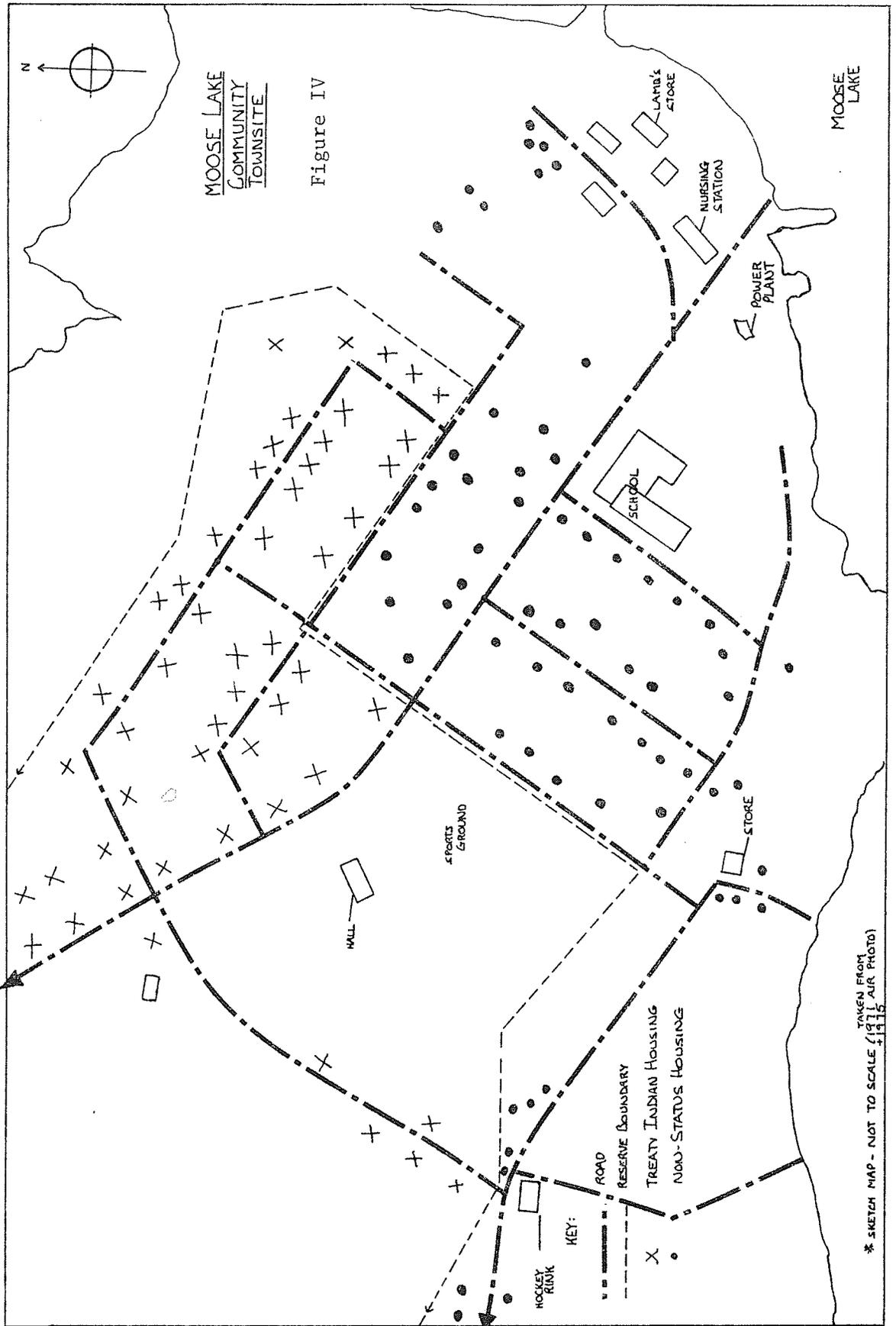


appears to have been perpetrated to maintain the tri-partite nature of northern communities, which seem to be 'zoned' for Treaty (status), Metis (non-status) and Euro-Canadian residences (Landa, 1967: 47). In 1964 the people moved onto the Easterville townsite and several reports (Landa, 1967; Matthiasson, 1970; Dickman, 1973) suggest that the relocation has been a failure in numerous respects: hunting and trapping are poor at the new site; few new jobs have arisen to replace the loss of traditional ones; status/non-status hostilities have been reported (Landa, 1967; Matthiasson, 1970); as the site was selected during the winter, people could not see that the land was rocky and impossible to grow gardens on; the few horses had to be sold due to a lack of grazing land; the road to Grand Rapids allowed for free access to alcohol, resulting in heavy drinking becoming a more common "means to counter a growing spirit of anomie in the community" (Matthiasson, 1970: 12); lack of privacy became a common complaint, as now each house looked out on other houses (ibid: 12). In short, the relocation and planning of Easterville does not seem to have been successful from a social or environmental point of view. It has also proven to be an economic fiasco--as of 1970, the provincial government was involved in some \$350,000 worth of repair to the then six year old houses because it was not foreseen that conventional vapour barriers and insulation were ineffective for the climate or for people whose preferred diet, particularly after the depletion of the moose population, is boiled fish (Dickman, 1973: 162). It appears that little attempt was made by the Euro-Canadians involved in the relocation to understand the culture of the people or the socio-political structure of the Chemahawin community. Emphasis "seems to have been with the

external environment and economics, rather than the preservation of a viable internal social environment" (Matthiasson, 1970: 16-17).

The community of Moose Lake was also subdivided during the same time period (see Figure IV, page 21) and suffered many of the same problems experienced at Easterville. This community was visited by the author during the fall of 1977 and is presently considering entering the initial phases of a comprehensive planning process with a planning consultant hired by the band. This new situation, and how the community has evolved over the past several years, will be examined in Chapter IV. Chapter V will also return to these examples in order to indicate how anthropology as a research discipline can potentially be an aid to the planning of native communities.

The data presented above represents a definite 'first stage' in the evolution of native community planning in Manitoba. The early 1960's represent a period during which the plight of native communities was just beginning to come into focus for the general public and the governments. The Community Development program initiated action and resulted in tabulation of existing settlements among other things; housing surveys were carried out; hydro development resulted in relocations which were carried out quickly and with little social research or resident involvement. A significant point to be noted here is that in both the Easterville and Moose Lake cases, and in other relocations which occurred during the early 1960's, the people affected went along with the wishes of the officials in charge and moved into the new subdivisions with little disagreement, probably due to a lack of understanding, education and political organization. This situation was not to last for long.



B. Second Stage: Mid to Late 1960's

It was not until the mid-1960's that the federal Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration became involved in native community planning. In 1964 a memorandum respecting a Community Development program was submitted to Cabinet, the main objective of which was to provide a co-ordinating framework for the efforts of several existing services (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1977a (working paper): 1). In 1965 a housing study determined that 90% of reserve housing was "sub-standard by any reasonable criteria" (Hellyer, 1969: 57). In the same year a Reserve Improvement Program (RIP) was proposed which called for 'planned townsites.' This physical development program was approved by Cabinet in 1966; the memorandum stated that any planning effort must strive towards provision of water and sewer services, electricity, roads and adequate housing.

Similar to the philosophy surrounding planning in the early slum clearing days as a result of the industrial revolution, physical improvements of Indian communities were seen as the panacea for poor health conditions and the effectiveness of other programs such as schooling, job training, adult education or resource development...Community planning as seen by the Department was to be a service undertaken by professionals...It ignored the economic base of the community, the band's relationship...to its region, the impact of improved physical conditions on education, communication, etc. and the social organization, to say nothing of the values, goals and objectives of the Indian community itself (DIAND, 1977a (working paper): 2).

The physical development program for Indian communities was to be undertaken over a five year period by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, even though the Cabinet memorandum was submitted by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, "presumably in preparation for consolidation of the two Departments into Indian Affairs and Northern Development" (ibid: 2-3).

During its initial phases (1966-68), the Reserve Improvement Program was hindered by organizational and structural problems. Compartmentalization of Departmental services was occurring, with various Divisions and personnel working in the area of community planning with no apparent coordination between their functions; conflicts and frustrations arose among agency offices, planners and bands; the Cabinet document and resulting Departmental directives failed to recognize the potential catalytic effects of planning, that planning is a continuous process, that planning requires a firm belief in its value by the residents of the community in order to be of benefit and that a reliable data base is necessary (ibid: 4-5).

In 1966 the provincial government of Manitoba was also extending its ventures and responsibilities in the north with the passing of the Northern Affairs Act. Through this act, the province assumed responsibility for providing municipal services to designated northern communities which were mostly isolated from the organized local government districts. In addition, the Metis population of the province, who live off the reserves on provincial crown land, were later to become involved in community planning activities through the planning division of the newly created Commission of Northern Affairs. Not able to benefit from the housing programs created by the federal Indian Affairs Branch for status Indians living on reserves, the Metis people formed housing associations during the 1960's and continued to lobby for housing in remote areas. These groups eventually amalgamated into the Manitoba Metis Housing Association (MMHA) and began to conduct housing surveys. In 1967 the Manitoba Metis Federation incorporated and MMHA became that body's housing committee.

By 1968, community planning activities for native communities were

increasing rapidly. Federally, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) came into existence--a move which attempted to pull together and co-ordinate many of the activities related to northern development in Canada. Throughout 1968 and 1969, the accent shifted away from paternalism and towards Indian self-determination: a direct subsidy allowed Indians to obtain grants up to \$7,000 per house and additional government loans were available; funding was made available to band councils to develop community housing projects with the long-term goal of producing self-sustaining housing programs. The provincial government was also in the process, during the late 1960's, of initiating programs for the Metis. In 1968, an advisory committee on Metis housing advised the government to adopt a plan similar to a Remote Housing Program in operation in Saskatchewan. This led to an agreement between the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC) and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) for the establishment of a Remote Housing Program (RHP). This program was to involve joint financing of 100 houses over a two year period (1969-70) in ten communities selected and ranked in terms of priority by the Manitoba Metis Federation; CMHC provided 75% of the funds required and the province 25%. An evaluative study conducted in 1971 (Kerri, 1977) found that the RHP was unsuccessful in many respects. For instance, many occupants of the units felt they were poorly constructed. People complained about the unnecessary clustering of houses, lack of sufficient information about the type of houses they were getting, failure of the program to allow for the building of the new homes on desired lots or those already owned by the recipients and also expressed frustration in trying to comprehend the nature and implications of mortgages and interests

(Kerri, 1977: 184). The following account presents one researcher's documentation of what happened when the provincial RHP for non-status natives came to Berens River, Manitoba (Dickman, 1973: 158):

Land was cleared in the usual ruthless northern fashion, by bulldozers, and the houses were built in one long row, a few paces from each other...The people, who had lived scattered along the river bank on the south side over an extended distance, were suddenly urbanized. By moving into the new townsite the people gained fairly modern houses, a road and electricity...Among other things a water delivery system was promised. Now, several years later, it begins to appear that many of the reasons for the necessity of the townsite have disappeared and what remains is a highly visible minority who are more sharply than ever demarkated from the Treaty Indians. Through environmental manipulation, attempts were made to improve their lot. The goal, better housing, was good. However, the benefits of relocation are now increasingly questionable because little or no attention was paid in the planning to the factors that play a part in successful relocation and urbanization.

Besides the initiation of the RHP, 1969 saw several other developments which were to greatly affect the northern native communities. In this year the federal government passed the Department of Regional Expansion (DREE) Act, which represented a new approach to regional development. DREE is a planning and operating department which was established to stimulate and co-ordinate more balanced economic growth and social improvement across Canada. The Act envisaged the infusion of federal funds into disadvantaged areas, required the preparation of plans and provided for citizen participation in formulating the plans (Gillespie, 1976: 3).

The Hellyer report of 1969 (Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development) brought the plight of Canada's natives into public view once again. As of that year the Metis people were barred by existing legislation from participation in special Indian-

Eskimo housing programs; "indeed, some of the housing conditions witnessed by the Task Force in Metis areas around Winnipeg ranked with the very worst one would encounter anywhere in Canada" (Hellyer, 1969: 58). By this time both the federal and provincial governments were becoming more aware of the fact that self-determination was imperative to the continuing viability of native communities. For example, the provincial Northern Affairs Commission began in 1969 to assist in the election and establishment of town councils in Metis communities. On the federal scene, the planners working within DIAND began to stress the need for 'comprehensive' or 'master' planning (DIAND, 1977a (working paper): 5).

The mid to late 1960's have been identified by the present author as the 'second stage' in the evolution of native community planning in Manitoba. Up to 1968 the Community Development program was in effect and stressed a socio-economic orientation to native community growth. By 1968 C.D. had fallen into swift decline and reorganization gave the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (MIB) complete control over the program's services for reserve areas. Non-treaty people were, up to this time, seen as mere 'clients' of Regional Welfare Agents (Campfens, 1972: 22). A major development in the late 1960's saw the transfer of the remaining C.D. positions and services to the Commission of Northern Affairs. This meant that development became re-focused on the community rather than just on individual clients. The primary purpose was now to assist in the political development of native communities "in contrast to the socio-economic focus prior to 1968 in the Department of Public Welfare." Additional emphasis throughout 1968-69 was also placed on the physical development of the settlements. There was little concern with the "perceptions

native communities had of their needs and priorities" and therefore their participation in the process leading to changes was almost totally excluded (ibid: 22-23). By the end of the 1960's, however, governments were just beginning to recognize the need for native self-determination and for comprehensive planning which would view the community as a complex dynamic system within an even larger regional system. Native awareness of their situation and how they might deal with it had also increased markedly by 1970. Unlike the early period of C.D., when people bowed to coercion and accepted relocation, the late 1960's saw many groups flatly refusing to move into the subdivisions established for them by government.

C. Third Stage: Early 1970's

The early 1970's represent what has been identified here as the 'third stage' in the evolution of native community development and planning in Manitoba. In 1970 the Northern Affairs Act was amended, indicating a major shift in the government's orientation to the north. By this amendment, Northern Affairs accepted the development of self-government as a major policy and emphasis was placed on the need to assist communities to provide their own services (ibid: 23). As of this date the status Indians and non-status Metis were under totally different jurisdictions-- Indians under the auspices of the federal government's DIAND and non-status peoples under those of the provincial Department of Northern Affairs. The early 1970's saw further gains in the organization of the native peoples; several communities set up their own councils and established the Northern Association of Community Councils. A 'back-to-the-land' movement began to emerge in a few areas, as social and economic problems became unbearable, as in the Churchill Band's move to Tadoule Lake. This band of Chippewyans,

after many false starts, finally succeeded in removing themselves from the planned urban development of Dene Village in Churchill, to which they had earlier been relocated from their original homes at Duck Lake.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was undergoing continual structural and organizational changes during this period. The five-year Reserve Improvement Program initiated in 1965-66 ended in 1970 and a review suggested that it was not as successful as had been hoped, for only about two-thirds of the housing units originally projected had been constructed. The probable reasons for this could include: an underestimation of capital funds required; a lack of accurate data based on actual community needs; no recognition of the fact that some communities were not ready for arbitrary injection of funds (DIAND, 1977a (working paper): 6). Following a series of research reports on reorganization prepared throughout 1970 and 1971, DIAND began to expand its planning function beginning in 1972 with the employment of an Associate Director of Community Improvement, four Regional Planners in Ontario, B.C., Alberta and the Maritimes, and a Planning Division staff within Community Improvement, Head-Quarters, Ottawa. Other Regional Planners were appointed in Quebec and Manitoba in 1973 and in Saskatchewan in 1976.

One of the first activities to be carried out by the Planning Division of DIAND in Ottawa in 1972 was the approval of a proposal for the formation and financing of Band Economic Development (BED) Committees. Included in the functions of the BED Committees were (DIAND, 1977a (working paper): 12):

1. prepare an official plan for the economic development of resources and employment opportunities which must provide a basis for and be related to

Community Planning;

2. co-ordinate economic activities in conformity with plans which have been approved by council;
3. provide liaison and co-ordination with other bands in the area and with local Regional Planning Board and others interested in comprehensive long-range development of the area.

Financial assistance was to be reviewed every five years. Several communities have used their BED Committees as comprehensive planning committees "primarily because it was a funded organizational unit already in place which was having difficulties in developing economic activity projects in the absence of comprehensive planning" (ibid: 12).

In 1973 Bill C-133 amended the National Housing Act (NHA) to provide for a Neighbourhood Improvement Program. This legislative initiative, like the DREE Act of 1969, focused on comprehensive planning and envisaged infusion of federal funds into disadvantaged areas, required the preparation of plans and provided for citizen participation (Gillespie, 1976: 3). In 1974 a General Development Agreement (GDA) was signed between the province and DREE. The two general objectives of this agreement were to increase incomes and employment opportunities throughout Manitoba, and to encourage the socio-economic development in the north while allowing the people to "continue their own way of life with enhanced pride and purpose and to participate in the orderly utilization of natural resources" (DREE, 1974: 5). Several such initiatives, such as the Canada/Manitoba Northlands Subsidiary Agreement (1976), have only recently come into existence and cannot be described in detail in the context of this thesis.

D. Summary

For the purposes of this study, it has been determined that native community planning and development passed through three fairly distinct stages in its evolution up to 1975. This is best summarized in the form of a chart (Table I, page 31) which lists in chronological order the events discussed. Stage I (c. 1960-64) represented the years during which the plight of native communities was first recognized on a large scale by the government and the general public, and during which initial action was taken to deal with the situation. The Community Development program was established and oriented towards the socio-economic development of native settlements, and housing surveys were conducted. Forced relocations occurred and the native people involved generally complied.

During Stage II (c. 1965-69) the federal government became officially involved in extensive native housing and planning projects and a rapid burgeoning of planning activities occurred at all levels of government. Essentially an 'action' period, the late 1960's saw the initiation of the Reserve Improvement Program (RIP) and Remote Housing Program (RHP), the decline and reorganization of C.D. giving the MIB control over its services for reserves, the creation of DIAND, the growth of Indian and Metis organization on both community and regional levels, the provincial Northern Affairs Act and the DREE Act, among other things. Emphasis was placed on the physical development of native communities and studies of a social nature were rarely stressed. Subdivisions were no longer accepted by native community residents as viable alternatives to their previous settlement patterns.

Stage III (c. 1970-75) is distinct from the previous one because

Table I: Some of the Major Developments in
the Evolution of Native Community Planning
in Manitoba

STAGE I:

- (c. 1960-64) - initial recognition of plight of native communities
- 1959-60 - Lagasse' study
- 1960 - Community Development Program begun
- 1962 - National Housing Survey on reserves
- 1964 - Easterville/Moose Lake relocations

STAGE II:

- (c. 1965-69) - action period; several programs begun
- 1965 - National Housing Surveys found 90% of reserve housing to be 'substandard'
- 1965 - Initiation of RIP
- 1966 - Provincial Northern Affairs Act
- 1967 - Incorporation of MMF; MMHA became its housing committee
- 1968-69 - MHRC/CMHC Agreement for RHP
- 1968 - Decline of CD; reorganization gave MIB control of CD services for reserves
- 1968 - Creation of DIAND
- 1968-69 - Emphasis on physical development of communities
- 1969 - DREE Act

STAGE III:

- (c. 1970-74) - major shifts in government orientation to the north
- 1970 - Northern Affairs Act amended; recognition of development of self-government as a major policy
- 1970 - Remaining CD positions shifted to Northern Affairs; after this date Indians and Metis under totally different jurisdictions
- 1970's - Beginnings of 'back-to-the-land' movements
- 1972 - Expansion of DIAND planning staff to include Regional Planners
- 1972 - Establishment of BED Committees
- 1973 - NHA amended to allow for NIP
- 1974 - GDA between province and DREE

STAGE IV:

- (c. 1975 to present)
- Chapter IV

from 1970 on, the governments officially recognized self-determination of the native people as imperative to the solution of their problems; the Northern Affairs Act was amended to accept the development of self-government as a major policy. The remaining C.D. positions were transferred to Northern Affairs in 1970 and as of this date, Indian and Metis populations were under totally different jurisdictions. A 'back-to-the-land' movement was brewing in many areas and resulted in 1973 in the establishment of the new settlement at Tadoule Lake. From 1972 on, major expansion has occurred in DIAND and Regional Planning Departments have been established to decentralize the planning function and better deal with the many diverse situations across Canada.

To sum, it should be noted that several of the programs and projects initiated during the 1960's have not met with great success and indeed may have aggravated an already difficult situation by creating new problems. Foremost among the reasons why these have failed is perhaps the fact that most of them were 'bandaid' solutions that were designed to fulfill an immediate need and did not attempt to discover the roots of the problems inherent in native communities. For example, housing problems have always been high on the lists of complaints of northern residents, but developers and government officials seemingly failed to note that...

The problem is not only one of shortage, but also one of quality, ...their 'siting' and lack of an integrated approach [linking] housing with other locally expressed needs (Campfens, 1972: 30).

Most of the programs lacked any long-term planning and policy formulation and failed to stress the relationship between the physical development of the communities and the human and social development of the native people;

they were often costly, ineffective and resented by the people; they lacked any significant developments in citizen participation and joint planning at the various levels of government; they led to little real local political development which tended to dampen conflicts rather than to confront them (Campfens, 1972: 60).

Some of the problems which are in evidence as a result of the planning and development efforts of the 1960's can be summed in chart form (see Table II, pages 34 and 35). Beginning in the 1970's, the growth of Indian and Metis organization, coupled with growing awareness of the importance of environmental concerns and native self-determination by the rest of Canada, led to the emergence of a very different kind of approach to native community planning and development. This approach will be examined in detail in Chapter III.

Table II: Several of the Problems Which Have Arisen in Conjunction with Early Planning Efforts in Native Communities in Northern Canada, as Compiled From a Literature Review and Observed by the Author

A. Housing:

1. pre-fabricated housing is generally not suited to the climate or the people:
 - there are no 'cold-entrance porches'
 - large picture windows are easily broken and not easily replaced
 - there are severe heating problems
 - conventional vapour barriers and insulation are not suitable
2. high density is often a complaint of the people in an area which has been subdivided:
 - houses are too close together for privacy from viewing and noise; often look out upon one another in 3 or 4 directions
 - early planners did not take any account of the culture and thus did not consider leaving empty spaces around houses for a person's relatives to move into
 - house orientations in a subdivision are directed towards the road, and houses are in rows; each house is on its own lot, a concept foreign to natives traditionally
 - servicing of northern communities presents often insurmountable problems: bedrock is at the surface in many cases; communities are often too spread out to be serviced completely

B. Transportation:

1. roads within the communities are often not planned at all, and are hastily cleared by bulldozer operators:
 - these roads often do not follow natural contours, and are thus severely eroding
 - often many of the most desirable lakefront lots are destroyed
 - roads are often dangerous to walk on: there are no side paths for walking; at Norway House there are blind hills which have snowmobile paths crossing them at the bottom
 - these roads are usually aesthetically unattractive: deep water-filled ditches along the sides; dusty; destruction of path networks; dirt and gravel heaps everywhere
2. airport planning is often poorly done
 - at the Norway House airstrip, the winds present serious problems; probable relocation in the future
 - at God's Lake, the airstrip splits the community in half and makes walking very difficult

C. Land Development:

1. the 'bulldozer approach' to land clearing has created severe problems:
 - at Moose Lake, people were forced away from the lakefront and placed in a huge field cleared of almost every tree--developers took no account of the traditional land/water interaction pattern of the people

Table II--(continued)

- this method of clearing, and the clustering of houses, has taken away a great deal of privacy
- snow drifting and wind chill problems are likely
- cesspools are common after bulldozer clearing; many of these are deep enough to drown a child

D. Social Factors:

1. the concept of private lots is changing the way the people traditionally conceived of land tenure; once land was held communally (and still is on many reserves), but since subdivision the people of Moose Lake have taken to fencing their own parcels of land
2. jealousies and hostilities erupt in many communities between status and non-status people, because one group may receive more money or better housing than the other
3. often the layouts of the community, the poor construction of buildings and the poor planning of roads present very real threats to the health and safety of the people: lack of bridges leads people to cross thin ice; houses are difficult to heat; houses set on concrete blocks at sites such as South Indian Lake have collapsed because builders have been unaware of the problems associated with construction in areas of permafrost
4. physical barriers have sometimes been created, which increase the separation of whites and local people, and Indians and Metis/non-status groups

E. Economic Factors:

1. a great deal of money is being spent to develop and plan these communities; very often this money is wasted due to insufficient research being carried out prior to implementation; at Easterville, a settlement which was relocated during the 1960's, a \$350,000.00 program had to be initiated to repair the damage promulgated by the relocation (Dickman, 1973: 162).
2. very little local material or labour is employed

These problems are only a sample of those which exist in many northern native communities to varying degrees.

CHAPTER III

PLANNING TODAY

This chapter will examine the present-day state of native community planning as it has developed at both the federal and provincial levels. The first section will consist of a review of recent planning activities within the context of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). This discussion relates to such activities on a Canada-wide basis. The second will be a discussion of native community planning as it exists in the province of Manitoba. The data for this latter section is primarily the result of interviews with the consultants and government planners who have become involved with such projects in recent years. Some information was also gathered during field trips to three native communities in the province--God's Lake Narrows, Norway House and Moose Lake--which either have been involved in planning in the past or are presently engaged in some stage of the planning process. Such first-hand observation, which included some limited discussion with residents of the settlements, proved to be of great value to this study. The third section of this chapter will present an evaluation of the existing situation and briefly compare the situation in Manitoba with that of Saskatchewan, where a different type of approach to native community planning is being developed.

A. Recent Planning Activities of DIAND

The general structure of DIAND is illustrated here in the form of two organizational charts: Figure V (page 37) shows the structure of Headquarters

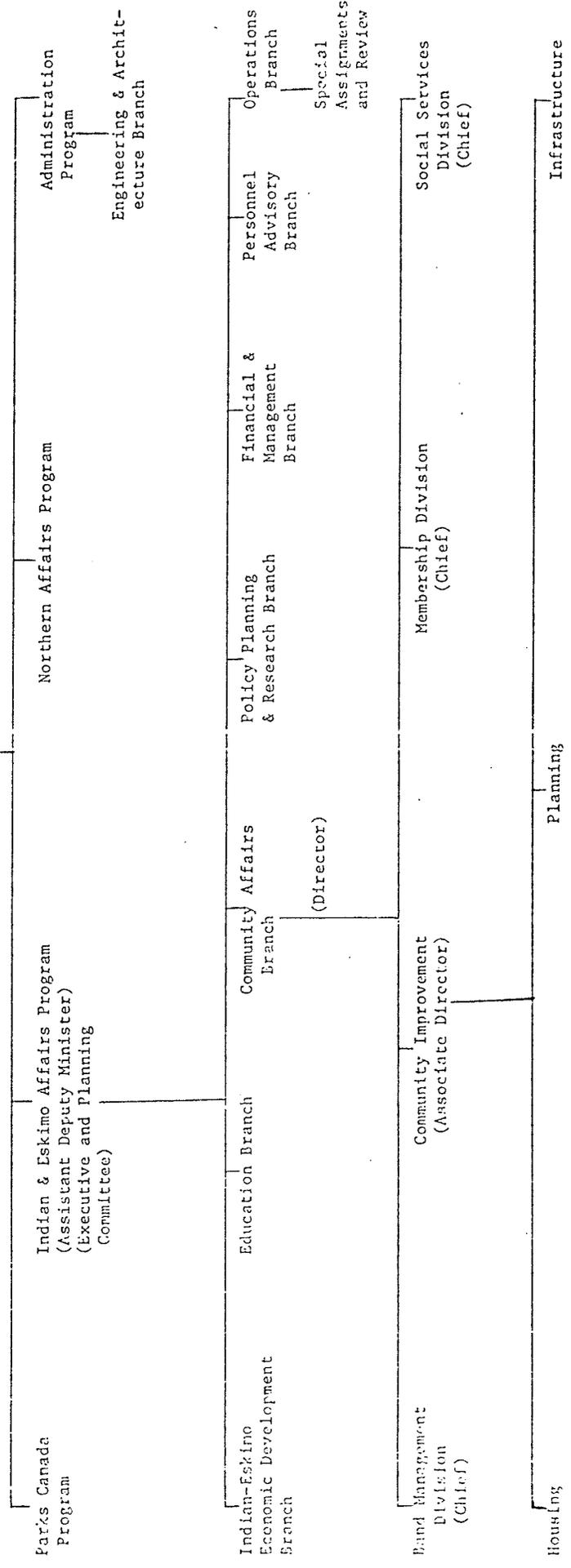
Figure V

I HEADQUARTERS ORGANIZATION

MINISTER OF INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS

DEPUTY MINISTER

(Corporate Policy Group)



Liaison (Chief)
Planner

Assistant:
Planner

(DIAND 1975:4)

in Ottawa; Figure VI (page 39) indicates the Regional organization of the Indian-Eskimo Program (DIAND (in-house report) 1975: 4-5). In most regions the Indian-Eskimo Program is decentralized further into Districts or Areas, each with a Supervisor and a staff sized according to the needs of the area and funds available. Bands deal with the District Offices, or, when in need of more specialized services such as planning, with the Regional Office.

The evolution of planning within the organization has passed through several phases. Between 1968, the year of DIAND's formation, and 1970, the planning activities of the Department were almost entirely of a technical nature, consisting of road, sewer, water and housing programs which were carried out under the auspices of the Technical Services Branch. In 1970 the concept of 'Master Planning' was adopted by the Community Improvement Division in order to strengthen and give co-ordination to the already existing programs.

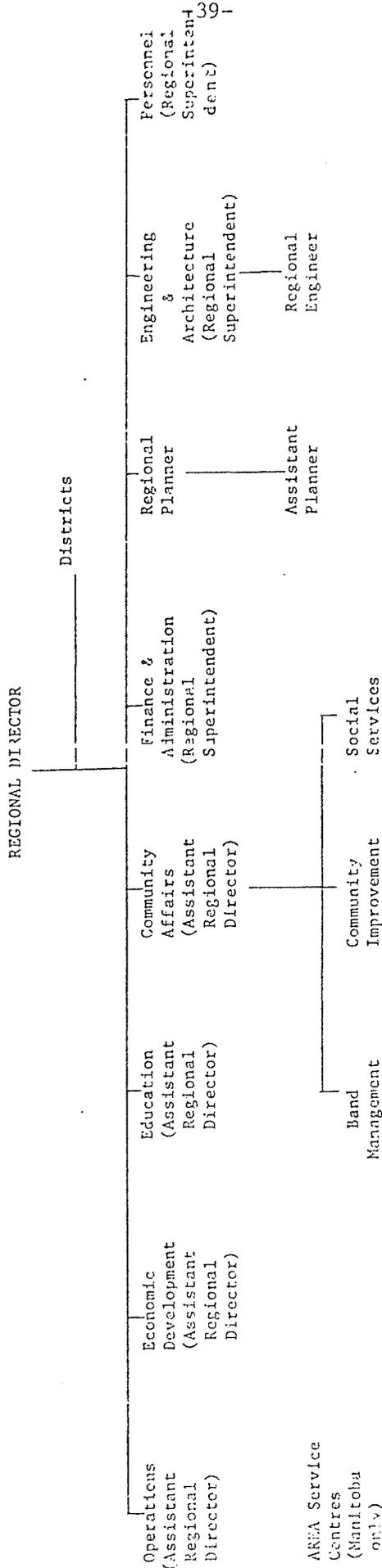
This concept also promoted decentralization of the planning function to the Regional Offices of the Indian-Eskimo Program. Previously, planning at the Regional level had been carried out by the Technical Services in Vancouver, Saskatoon and Ottawa (ibid: 3).

As decentralization continued, several Regional Planners were appointed from 1972 to 1976. Accompanying this decentralization and expansion of the planning function within DIAND's Indian-Eskimo Program was an increase in the amount of funds available for such activities. Table III (page 40) makes obvious the fact that these Planning Resources have increased significantly over the past several years (ibid: 15).

By the year 1973, all of the present Regions, except for Saskatchewan (1976), had Regional Planners. At this time, responsibilities for planning were split between five branches: Community Affairs; Regional Planning; Economic Development; Policy, Planning and Communication; Engineering and

Figure VI

II REGIONAL ORGANIZATION



(DIAND 1975: 5)

Table III: Distribution of Financial Resources
for Planning

Region	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76
Maritimes	8*	8	--	33	47	54
Quebec	24	20	77	113	111	92
Ontario	34	206	150	157	172	195
Manitoba	29	35	30	30	93	142
Alberta	26	24	27	88	137	190
B.C.		307	173	119	176	120
Yukon	152	41	31	20	20	10
Headquarters	--	34	25	86	86	100
Totals	126	403	372	646	838	903

*in thousands of dollars

Architecture. This situation created a great deal of confusion and disorganization, as channels of communication were unclear and accountability was difficult to establish.

In 1975, an in-house research report entitled Review of Planning Activities: Indian-Eskimo Program was completed, the purpose of which was to "provide a basis for understanding the needs and value of planning in Indian communities, to demonstrate the range of planning activities and to consider some possible directions for the future" (DIAND (in-house report) 1975: 1). The study indicated, among other things, that the role of the Regional Planners was expanding beyond the boundaries initially envisaged by the Department. Basically, the entire philosophy of native community planning had shifted from a period of strictly technical design orientation,

where the Master Plan itself was often the principal objective, to a point where the social, cultural, economic and environmental attributes of a community were major considerations. The total involvement of the people of the community in all phases of the planning process is a key point in this recent philosophy.

The planning profession as a whole was beginning to realize...that process was as important as product--citizens of a neighbourhood or a community had to participate in the planning process in order for the process to be effective and work (DIAND (in-house report) 1977a: 17).

The philosophical evolution of Indian Affairs' approach to planning has led to changes in the duties of the Planners. During 1974 and 1975 a number of changes were made to the Position Analysis Schedules for the Regional Planning position to reflect the changing role of the Regional Planners: whereas the original job description mentioned that one of their roles was to organize and direct the development of reserve Master Plans, the wording was changed to read 'assist Bands to plan...'; originally another task was to 'provide information and advice'--this was changed to 'provide socio-economic and planning advice.' In addition to such changes, several additions were made which gave the Regional Planner duties such as: organizing and directing a Planning Unit; co-ordinating and monitoring an environmental management program; setting up a Regional Data Bank; assisting Bands in the planning and implementation of regional development initiatives (ibid: 18).

Thus the duties of the Regional Planner have expanded from primarily providing Master Plans, to include the encouragement of planning awareness among Indians and Departmental staff, environmental management and providing a data base. The Planners are in different stages of implementing these duties depending on their manpower resources and the needs of their region (DIAND (in-house report) 1975: 22).

During 1975, a general reorganization of the Indian-Eskimo Program

took place. The Planning function at Headquarters was set up as a component of the Community Housing and Facilities Division, Local Government Branch, Operations. By 1976 the CHFDD had become a separate branch within Operations. In the same year a Program Planning Unit was established within the Program Development Branch, with the intention of providing "an integrated focus for establishing program goals and priorities and for updating these on a regional basis" (DIAND (in-house report) 1977a: 20). This unit, as initially envisaged, was to provide the following skills with the main priority of identifying client needs (ibid: 21):

1. interpreting program goals from policy;
2. defining factors to be used in assessing program effectiveness and carrying out these assessments;
3. developing a planning information reporting system to ensure client participation;
4. developing annual program priorities;
5. managing the development of program forecasts and co-ordinating the availability of data and cost projections.

The year 1976 also saw the completion of a report entitled "A Strategy for Socio-Economic Development of Indian People" (referred to as the Mair Report), which was the result of research conducted by a Socio-Economic Development Strategy Work Force (Mair, 1976). This Task Force was established to identify a long-term socio-economic development strategy for Indian people in Canada and was directed by a Joint National Indian Brotherhood/DIAND Steering Committee. The report stressed four main issues: Indian people must gain self government; the emphasis of most of the available programs must be shifted from concern with the



individual to concern for the community; a deliberate effort must be made through programming to establish for communities a socio-economic development base that brings opportunities to the people rather than using the people to serve outside interests; the Indian people and the government must engage in a sustained joint effort to achieve the objectives that will be identified by the communities within the broad goals.

The strategy plan focuses on the community rather than the individual and views human resources development as not an end in itself, but as an integral part of the total socially-oriented economic development of communities (DIAND (in-house report) 1977a: 22).

Throughout the years 1976 and 1977, DIAND made further efforts to instigate operational improvements. Efforts have been made to improve the funding, monitoring and evaluation of development projects and, particularly in view of the Mair Report (1976), there has been an attempt to review the role of economic development within a holistic framework. Some of the components which have been identified as necessary to successful economic development are (ibid: 23):

1. A community planning process which would identify needs and resources and provide a mechanism through which the interests of the members of the community can be expressed and developed;
2. Individual skill development of community members;
3. Access to technical expertise to assist appropriately in exploiting the resources of a community;
4. Compatibility and effective links with the larger economic world so that there is access to the resources, markets and support;
5. Financial support necessary to exploit community resources.

In retrospect, it has become clear that DIAND's present policies

have shifted considerably from those of the early 1970's and have progressed immeasurably from those in effect during the 1960's. No longer is the emphasis on planning for Bands, as it was just three and four years ago, but rather is on providing comprehensive planning assistance to Bands so as to allow them to carry out their own affairs as they see fit. Such assistance may include: establishment and maintenance of data systems for multi-usership in the identification of needs; facilitation of a community planning process which actively involves the Band as a whole; preparation of community planning documents as guidelines for implementation of comprehensive and inter-related physical and activity programs; active promotion of community plan implementation, including advancement of joint federal/provincial initiatives (ibid: 25). Bands have the prerogative of obtaining their own planning resources, however, they often look to the Department for staff resources or funds with which to hire consultants.

The Program Forecast for the 1978-79 fiscal year stresses that the major thrusts will be aimed at the provision of assistance to Bands to "participate in planning process for their reserves and for the general region where they are located" (ibid: 26). The Program Planning Unit will work towards the establishment of co-ordinating mechanisms by which the Socio-Economic Work Force implementation strategy can be realized and will continue to review and evaluate the Band Economic Development Committee Program. The role of the Regional Planners will likely become increasingly that of "advisor on planning matters and environmental management, of co-ordinator of research and data collection, and of liaison with other governmental agencies" (DIAND (in-house report) 1975: 24).

There are several broad means by which DIAND attempts to achieve its

planning goals. Plan preparation is perhaps the most obvious. This shall be discussed in detail further on in this chapter. Some regions, such as Ontario and the Maritimes, do most of their plans in-house, while others such as Manitoba employ consulting firms for most planning projects. Although terms vary from region to region, there are basically three broad categories of plans (ibid: 38-39):

1. The Area Development Plan, Development Plan or Project Plan--This type of plan is one-use, short-term, usually physical and is generally done for a small area within a settlement. It could involve definition of land uses, design of subdivisions, siting of a building, servicing networks, development staging and costing.
2. The Area Plan or Community Plan--This plan involves co-ordination of projects which may include input from Economic Development, Education and Community Affairs in a small area such as a townsite. This type of plan is usually expressed in physical terms and describes timing, financing and manpower.
3. The Comprehensive Plan, Overall Development Plan or Reserve Community Plan--This is a multi-action, multi-use plan taking usually a twenty year time period to implement. It includes various activities of economic development and education as well as physical items.

Besides plan preparation, a second means by which the overall goals of planning may be met is to ensure co-ordination in Regional and District Offices through the establishment of Regional Committees, informal meetings and so forth. Maintenance of contact, co-ordination and communication between the various links in the chain helps to ensure that information is shared, that the plan is used as a tool by those in charge of implementation

and that regional policy formulation is responsive to a maximum number of regional needs (ibid: 41).

The third means of achieving the overall goal of planning is liaison with other government agencies. Such interaction is invaluable in terms of information exchange and also may allow for the establishment of joint projects. Provincial government agencies are usually dealt with on an ad hoc basis according to the demands of individual projects. In Manitoba, for example, the Regional Planner may be in contact with the Provincial Ministries of Northern Affairs, Municipal Affairs or any number of other agencies which can provide him with information or whose jurisdictional concerns overlap with those of DIAND. One example of the Manitoba Regional Planner's liaison work is that of the Northern Flood Committee, which was formed in 1974 by several Bands whose lives were to be affected by hydro power projects in the province. Since the late 1960's the natives of northern Manitoba have been increasingly concerned that these projects involved little or no consultation with the communities in the vicinity. The close involvement of the Regional Planner with this committee led to federal funding of many of its activities and the Regional Office provided the group with a full-time Flood Information Co-ordinator who was selected by the Chiefs. The establishment of the Information Co-ordinator was an important contribution, for prior to this, one of the biggest problems faced by the Community was the lack of information flow between the natives and Manitoba Hydro.

The Regional Planners of DIAND also maintain close liaison with a number of other federal government agencies (ibid: 46):

1. Health and Welfare on health problems and regulations;

2. Energy, Mines and Resources for surveying and topographic maps;
 3. Department of Public Works, who are project managers for any federal construction project over \$250,000;
 4. Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) concerning general and subsidiary federal/provincial development agreements as they affect Indians;
 5. Department of the Environment concerning implementation of the Environmental Protection Service and Environmental Assessment and Review Process.
- Planners may also have contacts with other agencies such as Manpower and Immigration, Department of Transportation on air strips and northern telecommunications, Secretary of State on social impact of development or Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation on planning guidelines. Planners are becoming increasingly involved with the Department of the Environment and DREE. Environmental protection is a very great concern of the federal government in general--the Regional Planner is often able to act as an intergovernmental liaison on environmental matters which originate both off-reserve, and affect Indian communities, and on-reserve. The Regional Planner's role may also include a great deal of contact with DREE. Manitoba is one of the regions which is most extensively involved in liaison with this Department. The Manitoba Northlands Agreement was signed in June 1974 between DREE and the Provincial Department of Northern Affairs and involves input from DIAND's Regional Planner, whose role is "to ascertain that the needs and desires of the registered Indian people are met, equally with others in the designated area" (ibid: 51). Several sub-agreements have arisen under the Manitoba Northlands Agreement, such as the Northlands Transportation Study, a base-mapping project, the Northeast Initiatives

Study and others. Such projects are of great value to the Planner and the programs of the region as well as to numerous other agencies, for a great deal of information is generated which DIAND alone might not be able to afford.

Although improvements and advancements brought about within DIAND in recent years are evident, there are still several problem areas. It is proposed here that the final criteria upon which achievement of the planning process must ultimately be evaluated is whether a plan has been implemented. Despite completion of a vast number of plans, few have been implemented, even to a minor degree.

The implementation of a plan is crucial. In many cases, lack of implementation means that the plan did not meet the needs of the residents. The implementation of a plan is affected by the Planner's continued involvement in co-ordination of the implementation programs, commitment of Band members to the plan and involvement of District staff in the process (ibid: 40).

Lack of implementation results not only in a large waste of funds and manpower, but also may create disillusionment with government services and with planning in general on the part of the natives involved. The severe communication problems between all interactants involved in the planning process, coupled with a lack of accountability, structural problems within DIAND and the fact that the Regional Planner does not have a mandate for plan implementation, has created a situation whereby any meaningful degree of implementation is all but impossible.

Overall, the issue of communication is perhaps the one which is most responsible for planning problems, from the initial stages of the planning process through to the implementation--or lack thereof--phase. The structural problems which have been inherent in DIAND throughout its ten year history, whereby several sub-departments, programs and branches are involved

in native community planning, create serious communication problems. Further difficulties exist in relation to DIAND's interaction with other agencies of government. Almost every region has run into some situations where...

...improved communication between the agencies involved might have prevented or relieved an unfortunate situation...The only solution is to have co-operation from the beginning of the planning process ...The importance of improved communication with other governmental agencies before the fact cannot be over-emphasized (ibid: 53).

This section has briefly summarized the structure and recent planning activities of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Through development of the Regional Planning Function, the Department has been attempting to prepare approaches to native community development which reflect the uniqueness of the various areas and communities and to place the initiatives for an control of planning at the Band or 'grass roots' level, within a regional framework.

B. Native Community Planning in Manitoba

In this section, three basic components of native community planning in Manitoba will be examined: the structural organization of such efforts, the planning issues involved, and the planning processes which have been developed in response to the particular situations within the province.

Any planning activities which take place on reserve land are conducted under the auspices of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development through its Regional offices. The provincial Department of Northern Affairs is responsible for the planning of those non-status native communities which are located north of the Department's jurisdictional boundary. Most non-status populations in northern Manitoba reside in areas immediately adjacent to the Indian reserve townsites. The planning projects

carried out through Northern Affairs have usually been conducted 'in-house' rather than by consultants, although over the past two or three years, the native Community Councils elected by non-status communities have shown interest in working with private consultants. In communities such as Moose Lake, where the status and non-status peoples live in the same townsite, and Norway House, the Community Councils have recently engaged in discussions with the Band Councils regarding joint planning projects. Such projects would supposedly be guided by a Joint Planning Authority, which would include members from both Councils plus representatives from DIAND and Northern Affairs, along with a planning consultant agreed upon by the two segments of the settlement or one hired by each group. At the present time no such Joint Planning Authorities are operational. The planning activities of Northern Affairs on behalf of the non-status populations in northern Manitoba have most commonly been of a physical nature, aimed at the provision of housing and basic servicing. A condensed version of the basic planning process followed by the Northern Affairs Department is included here as Table IV (page 51).

Most of the native community planning projects which are presently underway in Manitoba involve status Indian communities. The balance of this chapter will deal primarily with this situation, although a reader should keep in mind that the planning issues which will be raised are generally common to all northern natives and the planning processes to be discussed have applicability to all. Indeed, it is suggested here that many of the problems in 'mixed' communities, involving inter-group hostilities, jealousies over differential treatment and so forth, could be dealt with more effectively if both status and non-status populations were

Table IV: Subdivision Planning Checklist*

	Pending	Complete	Other Action
Stage I:			
- Project Justification			
- Land Ownership/Availability			
- Mapping/Photography			
- Biophysical/Geotech Required			
- Local Preferences re lot size, location, layout			
- Probable Water Supply			
- Probable Waste Disposal			
- Garbage Disposal			
- Elevation Problems			
- Co-ordinator/Engineers			
Stage II:			
- Prepare Design Alternatives			
- Cost Estimates of Designs			
- Prepare Preliminary Report			
- Recheck Site if Necessary			
- Potential Problems identified re: Health, Water, Hydro			
- Discuss Alternatives with Council and Occupiers			
- Revisions Based on Above			
- Resolutions from Council			
- Street Names from Council			
- Advise Co-ordinator/Engineer			
- Cost Estimate of Final Plan			
Stage III:			
- Prepare Report and Circulate			
- Revisions Based on Comments			
- Request Survey			
Stage IV:			
- Prepare Site Development Guidelines			
- Notify Appropriate People Development can Proceed			
- Follow Through with Developer, Housing Agent, Council			

*Department of Northern Affairs

involved in common planning efforts geared towards the resolution of their common problems.

The Structural Organization of DIAND in Manitoba

During the 1960's, the Manitoba Region of DIAND consisted of several District Offices throughout the province. In 1971 these offices were phased out and the staff was centralized in Winnipeg. This arrangement proved to be unsuccessful due to service delivery and other problems. In 1973 a Regional Planner was hired. In 1974 a new Regional Director was appointed who proposed in January 1975 that nine Area Service Centres be established. This concept was implemented in April of 1975, the purpose of which was to bring "program delivery and resource personnel closer to the Bands and at the same time avoid the unnecessary bureaucracy in the field offices" (DIAND (in-house report) 1975: 12).

The planning function is not conducted out of the service centres, but rather is centralized in Winnipeg, where the Regional Planner and Assistant Regional Planner are located. In Manitoba, the planning section of the DIAND Regional office has not been expanded beyond these two people in order that consultants may be employed by the Bands to conduct their planning projects. In other provinces, less reliance may be placed on the hiring of consultants, and indeed there is some controversy among the Regional Planners over their use. Generally, those who are in favour of using consultants feel that despite the added expense, they may have more credibility and be more trusted by the Band than government personnel. A consultant can also spend more time on an individual study than the Department can, and may also provide expertise that is not available in a small Regional Planning office. The consultant method also allows a Band a

greater element of participation and self-direction, for they themselves make a choice as to who will be hired. It has also been suggested that the government Planners may have a tendency to focus on internal demands placed upon them by the bureaucratic structure rather than concentrating their efforts on Band work. Those Regional Planners who do not generally use consultants for planning studies...

...indicated that they feel consultants probably do not encourage as much Band involvement as a Planner who has maintained a regular contact with the Band over a couple of years. In addition, the difficulty in monitoring consultants was stated as a disadvantage in their use (ibid: 34).

In Manitoba, the Regional Planner and Assistant Planner function essentially as liaisons between the Bands and the consultants which they employ. They facilitate the planning process by acting as a focal point around which such activities can resolve. Much of the Planners' time is spent travelling to the communities, where they attempt to determine what kinds of skills are needed by the Band, how committed the Band is to actually doing something with regard to planning, and so on. Once a Band demonstrates an interest in planning, they may make their formal requests to the Planner by letter or telephone. The Planners then explain planning to the Band Council and community at large, familiarize them with other such activities which are in operation and discuss the mechanisms by which a planning process may be initiated. If the Band responds to these discussions and decides to proceed, the Planner asks for proposals from private planning consultants. Copies of these proposals are sent to the Band and they select those whom they wish to interview. On occasion a Council may add its own choices to the list. Appendix I (page 156) is an example of a 'Consultant Selection Checklist' which has been prepared by the

Regional Planning staff to assist Bands in the selection of a consultant. Each group from this point on engages in a selection process and ultimately in a planning process which is geared to its own unique desires and needs. Once a consultant has been selected, some Bands carry out their own business affairs without direct administrative assistance from the DIAND office, while others elect to have the Regional Planner act as administrator during the planning process.

The cost of the consultant's services are generally included as part of his initial proposal to the Band and is thus considered during the selection process. While some provincial DIAND offices handle the funding of planning projects for the Bands, "in Manitoba payment for consulting services is also done via the Band, rather than directly from the Regional office, to increase the responsibility of the Band" (ibid: 35).

The Issues: As Viewed by the Natives

Once the planning process has been set in motion by DIAND and a Band, and a consultant has been hired, the first questions that must be resolved are: what are the planning issues? what are the priorities among these? what problems is the planning process expected to solve? Obviously, some of the planning issues will have arisen during earlier stages, during initial discussions between the Regional Planner, Band and consultant, yet the consultant must be able to recognize and understand all the issues within a realistic, holistic framework before he can act to hopefully resolve them via a planning process. Identification of the issues, it is proposed here, is a most important step towards the development of a planning process which will be responsive to the needs and desires of the people involved.

In 1969 a provincial Task Force on Northern Affairs was established

in order to identify those issues which the native peoples felt were important with regard to their communities and livelihoods. Several public hearings were held in the northern settlements. Some of the comments which arose are presented here, indicating only a few of the issues discussed (Manitoba, 1969-70):

"We do not think Government officials who come out here think they are discriminating against us but the first place they head for is always to white people, and talk to them of the things that are concerning our community. We are the people who know what we need and want."

"We want to be able to build our houses on our own land and not on land chosen for us by some government official."

"Something has to be done about the high cost of food in all northern communities."

"The roads that are presently being built...are too dangerous. They are narrow and torturous. There are blind hills just before reaching sharp blind curves and intersections...There is a ski-doo trail that must cut across the road at the foot of a completely blind hill... It is difficult to understand why the patterns of travel in the community were so flagrantly ignored."

"Water pollution is becoming a serious problem here."

"Economic and community developments are most needed."

"The residents of this reserve want permanent bridges to link the different sections of the reserve."

In terms of community planning, those things most often mentioned as being desirable include: more and better quality housing, improved transportation facilities for travel and lowering costs of imported goods, better roads, development of tourism facilities, job creation, better communications, development of recreational facilities and more control over community development, among other things.

During field trips in 1977, this writer briefly discussed some of the present-day planning issues with the Band and Community Councils in

three communities--God's Lake Narrows, Norway House and Moose Lake. Although the planning situation is much improved over that of 1969 from the standpoint of the natives, in that they now have control over decisions, there are still several problems associated with past planning efforts and recent attempts at community development which they have not been pleased with. Overall, it appears that many of the issues identified during the 1960's, as discussed in the 1969 Task Force briefs for example, are still issues today. Many of the same problems exist because the subdivisions and housing established during the 1960's are still in use (note Table II, pages 34-35). Some of the major issues communicated to this writer via discussions with the people in the three communities may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a great need for more and better housing. The residents of the Moose Lake community have begun to order in their own housing materials and construct the dwellings themselves rather than accepting what they felt were lower quality materials sent in by the government.
2. There is a need for all forms of transportation planning, at both local and regional levels.
3. Land development problems were an area which was mentioned repeatedly. The residents often expressed a desire that more space be left between houses and that trees be left standing between lots so as to allow for privacy. The 'bulldozer approach' to land clearing was clearly seen as undesirable, particularly to residents of those areas which had been subdivided. Also expressed was the desire to be able to build on the land of one's choice rather than to be allocated a lot. People tend to cluster in small family groups (i.e. note the Flett family residences on the map of

Norway House, page 90), and therefore allowances should be made for lots to be left vacant so as to allow for future expansion of the extended family. Generally speaking, the people spoken to felt that land development must proceed, but that it must be carried out in accordance with their culture, the northern climate and the fragile environment to a much greater degree than has been demonstrated in the past.

4. Creation of local service industries, exploitation of local resources and use of readily available indigenous materials were issues often cited as necessary developments which would lead towards the ultimate goal of total self-sufficiency and self-determination. Creation of jobs is a high-priority issue and thus development of such projects is critical.

5. Development of recreational facilities is important to the administrators of all the settlements. Nurses working in some of these communities suggested that the lack of recreational pursuits available was likely one of the major factors which contributed to the severe gasoline sniffing problem among the children. Although the New Careers Program sponsored by the government has been training native personnel as recreation directors, at least one community expressed widespread dissatisfaction with the situation, as no monitoring of the individual was carried out and no recreational programs or facilities were created despite the availability of funds and the needs of residents.

6. Education is often viewed as a major issue: older students must often leave the reserve to obtain a high school education; some of the courses taught are considered to be useless to someone who will be living on a reserve; training programs are needed to provide people with useful skills.

7. Social problems are common in these communities: alcoholism, gas

sniffing, depression and apathy are common complaints. Residents have expressed a need for more police officers, social workers, educational programs on alcohol and gas sniffing and so forth. In conjunction with severe social problems there are also widespread health problems brought on by poor nutrition, unsanitary and overcrowded living conditions and drinking of polluted water.

The Issues: As Viewed by DIAND's Regional Planners

In March of 1977, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development held a Regional Planning Program Review meeting, during which the Regional Planners attempted to identify some of the major planning issues which appeared to be critical at the community level and how the Planners and the communities are involved in attempting to resolve some of these (DIAND (in-house report) 1977b: 7). The issues raised were grouped into seven broad areas of concern as summarized below. It should be noted that the report discussed here is an internal document written within the Indian/Eskimo Affairs Program and as such is not an official publication of DIAND. The issues noted may not necessarily represent all of those in existence, nor are they necessarily indicative of government policy.

1. Community Control of Activities and Programs

- financial long-term planning based on Band-defined goals and objectives;
- flexibility in the planning process--respecting local community priorities and time frames;
- recognition of the uniqueness of and differences between communities;
- involvement of the total community in the planning process.

2. Capabilities for Planning at the Band Level

- control over decision to plan and selection of outside consultants and resources;
- commitment to implement;
- Departmental awareness of local planning activity;
- education to facilitate the planning process;
- interaction of planning with local culture and land tenure patterns.

3. Information: Data Base

- need to define three levels of information systems--Headquarters/Region/Band;
- assistance required to Bands for preparation of their own data needs;
- resources will be required at Regional level to develop and maintain effective information base.

4. Employment

- opportunities do exist for employment creation, but the multitude of different 'actors' involved, inadequate information, etc. make them difficult to attain;
- need integrated employment approaches which recognize inter-relationships between the various client needs such as education, capital facilities and infrastructure, economic development and local government operations;
- need for community planning process which is continuous and relates development strategies to needs and ends in a manner that many actions taken over time can be mutually supportive and where Band members can foresee future benefits resulting from their present endeavours.

5. Band Control over Opportunities and Impacts of External Developments

- need a new model for Indian participation;
- Regional staff can provide services to Band by promoting co-operative participation, providing advocacy support, technical support and so on.

6. Evaluation of Planning

- need periodic evaluation of community planning services which results in modifications to the process;
- evaluations need to be internal (by Department and Band) and external (independent sources outside the Department evaluate the Department's effectiveness).

7. Off-Reserve Indians

- nearly one-quarter of status Indians live off-reserve;
- when living in urban centres, problems arise as a result of lack of marketable skills, lack of suitable housing, clients' lack of knowledge about city life and peoples' expectations and a confusion as to which agencies provide what kinds of services (ibid: 7-9).

The Issues: As Viewed by the Planning Consultants

The information for this section was gathered from a half dozen consultants who are or have been involved in planning activities with native communities in Manitoba. Some of the material is available in written form (i.e., Witty, 1977; Gillespie, 1976; planning documents), but for the most part was verbally communicated to the writer in response to a questionnaire administered in open-ended fashion to allow for elaboration (see Appendix II for sample questionnaire). Basically, the questionnaire was designed to elicit responses to three broad areas of investigation:

1. What are the major planning issues associated with native community

development in northern Manitoba?

2. How do the consultants respond to these issues in terms of their planning processes?
3. What are their assessments and evaluations of the situation--are the issues being dealt with and why or why not?

Several major issues appear to be agreed upon by the planners. There is a general consensus that many of the problems associated with the northern non-industrialized settlements are of a fundamental nature which can be dealt with effectively in the context of a comprehensive planning process. It is also recognized, however, that there are some critical issues and problems which can be dealt with only if very great changes are brought about in the overlying structure of government and in the attitudes of both the native peoples and the southern Canadians toward the true situation that exists in the north and what future prospects it holds. The issues identified by the planners range throughout this entire spectrum--from those that are fundamental, and can be dealt with by relatively straightforward means, to those that border on the esoteric and cannot be dealt with in the context of an individual planning process.

Colin Gillespie expressed the close inter-relatedness of these two types of issues in his address entitled "Social Planning Issues in the North," which was presented to the 'Northern Habitat' Canadian Institute of Planners Conference in 1976. Gillespie suggests that in any discussion of comprehensive planning in northern remote-rural communities, two elements are paramount--social planning and transportation planning. He stresses that...

Our concept of social planning in the north must respond to the nature of the policy problem--that is, mass poverty and mass unemployment as a result of neglect. Conventional government policies and programs are unlikely to deal effectively with these problems...On the other hand, the provincial government's transportation policies for northern Manitoba, which clearly reflects an emphasis on social problems (gross disparities in accessibility and reliability and consequent socio-economic disadvantages), will yield few social benefits as long as transportation planning continues to muddle along, more by habit than anything else, guided by the conventional dictates of narrow economic considerations (Gillespie, 1976: 7).

These examples correctly suggest that the so-called 'fundamental' issues (i.e. provision of an all-weather road; building of recreational facilities; creation of new housing) and the more 'esoteric' issues (i.e. mass unemployment; loss of traditional ways of life) are closely inter-related.

Examination of the actual problem areas identified by the local consultants can perhaps be best facilitated by an initial discussion of the two concepts of 'social planning' and 'physical planning.' While some of the planners interviewed were of the opinion that the two concepts were parts of a whole, and could not be discussed independently of one another, it is suggested here that some degree of distinction should be made between them. Gillespie (1976: 2) distinguishes the two as follows:

1. Physical Planning--concerned with development targets such as transportation, housing, work and training facilities, public utilities and other community facilities;
2. Social Planning--concerned with both the social implications of physical development planning and programming, and the availability, access to and distribution of such social and economic benefits as educational opportunities, job training, employment, economic opportunities, health services, recreational and cultural opportunities, public transportation, public safety and justice, citizen participation and other social concerns.

While the two should be intertwined within the framework of any comprehensive planning effort, the simple fact of the matter is that they are often not "co-ordinated in the functional manner which comprehensive planning implies and government policy dictates" (ibid: 2).

Under the heading 'social planning issues,' Gillespie suggests that the foremost difficulty which besets social planning in the north is the division of jurisdictions, both between levels of government and between departments within each level (ibid: 7). This issue is one of those most commonly mentioned by the consultants:

"Piecemeal planning results due to bureaucratic mixups and fragmentation of service provision."

"DIAND is not structurally sound."

"DIAND is totally unorganized and its relationship to other departments is problematical."

"Because of bureaucratic battling nothing gets done--there is constant friction at all levels."

"Planning is a political process...Planning is not for actually doing, but only for bureaucratic purposes."

The ultimate victims of this disorganization, as perceived by the planning consultants, are the Indians "who find that their own lives and futures become a demoralizing exercise in not participatory democracy but participatory bureaucracy" (ibid: 8).

The lack of employment, lack of economic base and lack of a suitable job training program are other issues which are stressed by all of the planners, but a perusal of their various comments suggests widely diversified ideas on the topic. Note the following two opinions:

"The main issue is whether there should be native towns at all... Natives must move into the white world and take the northern jobs."

"Job creation on the reserves is an important issue...the way to do this is to create a local technology...shelter and energy sources are available on-the-spot because of all the wood...local service industries such as bakeries could be set up to reduce reliance on transported goods...use of local materials may be more expensive in the beginning but in the long run will be more economical...developing a local economy heading for self-sufficiency is the underlying planning goal."

The planners also mentioned other socio-economic issues, such as the need for health services, safety and law enforcement programs, more specialized educational opportunities and expansion of recreational and cultural programs.

While recognizing the need for solutions to these social and economic issues, most of the planners necessarily focused their attention on actual physical development issues within the various communities. Given the relatively short span of time most planning projects are allowed, and the demand by the bureaucracy that an actual 'plan' be produced, this situation is not difficult to understand. Indeed, some of the planners suggested that in fact most of the problems facing the northern Indian communities are fundamental and can be acted upon with positive results if the people themselves are committed to action and the planner is able to help them to handle the bureaucratic difficulties and obtain funding. Some of the commonly mentioned issues pertinent to formulation of a community development plan include: inadequate and overcrowded housing; need for adequate servicing; absence of recreational facilities; lack of social places; inadequate and poorly constructed roads; absence of Band tourist facilities; lack of public works; lack of resource management programs; lack of Band food processing and storage facilities and so forth. These issues obviously relate strongly to the socio-economic issues noted above, yet are things which can be acted upon directly by the Band and their planning consultant. As one planner

noted, once the residents of the community see some physical manifestations resulting from the planning process, they may begin to realize that they can in fact resolve a great many of their problems and return to a state of greater self-sufficiency, thereby strengthening their sense of dignity and pride.

In summary, it can be said that most of the major issues are agreed upon by the natives, the government's Regional Planners and the planning consultants. There are, however, differences in how these issues are perceived and prioritized. The Regional Planners are concerned mainly with administrative aspects and their ultimate goal is to establish community control over all phases of the planning process. The planning consultant is hired by the Band and generally is expected to work with the people over a short period of time and turn out a document--namely the plan--which may take the form of a model, map or comprehensive booklet describing in detail the various findings and recommendations. The native clients appear to be mainly concerned with the 'here-and-now' issues and often express the desire to see three-dimensional physical results arise from the planning process. Thus it can be noted that there are three distinct orientations present here--primary concern with liaison work and administration (DIAND), primary concern with production of 'the plan' (consultant) and primary concern with immediate results (community).

The Planning Process

For the purposes of this study, the term 'planning process' is taken to mean "the course of activity from the time a problem is perceived to exist through to the decision on a preferred course of action, its implementation and review" (Sarly, 1972: abstract). This section will discuss

the various processes that have been developed by planning consultants employed by Bands in Manitoba.

Common to any community planning framework for northern communities are four main elements (Witty, 1977): government policy and recommendations, which are examined in order to determine possibility for development; regional relationships, which are examined to determine development potential; community desires, which suggest what types of development are desireable; human and natural resources, which suggest capability for development (see Figure VII, page 67). Although different elements may be stressed in different planning processes, depending on individual circumstances, all are important to the overall exercise. Aside from these four main considerations, Witty notes that the actual decision-making environment within which these elements interact also must be recognized (1977: 2.2):

For the most part this environment consists of cultural values, history, perception of government and society at large and political structure...these variables are never static...As a result the planning process must be flexible and adaptive to specific local needs, functions and cultural aspirations.

Given this type of overall framework, the various planning consultants have developed processes which vary from one to another. One planner may elect to set out a flow chart whereby each minute step along the way can be dealt with one at a time until a final plan is produced and accepted; another may regard such detail as unnecessary, preferring instead to produce a preliminary plan as quickly as possible in order that it may be used as a discussion tool and 'money-getting' document. The first approach is primarily geared to production of the 'plan' as its end product, while the latter idea suggests that the plan itself should not be the final product,

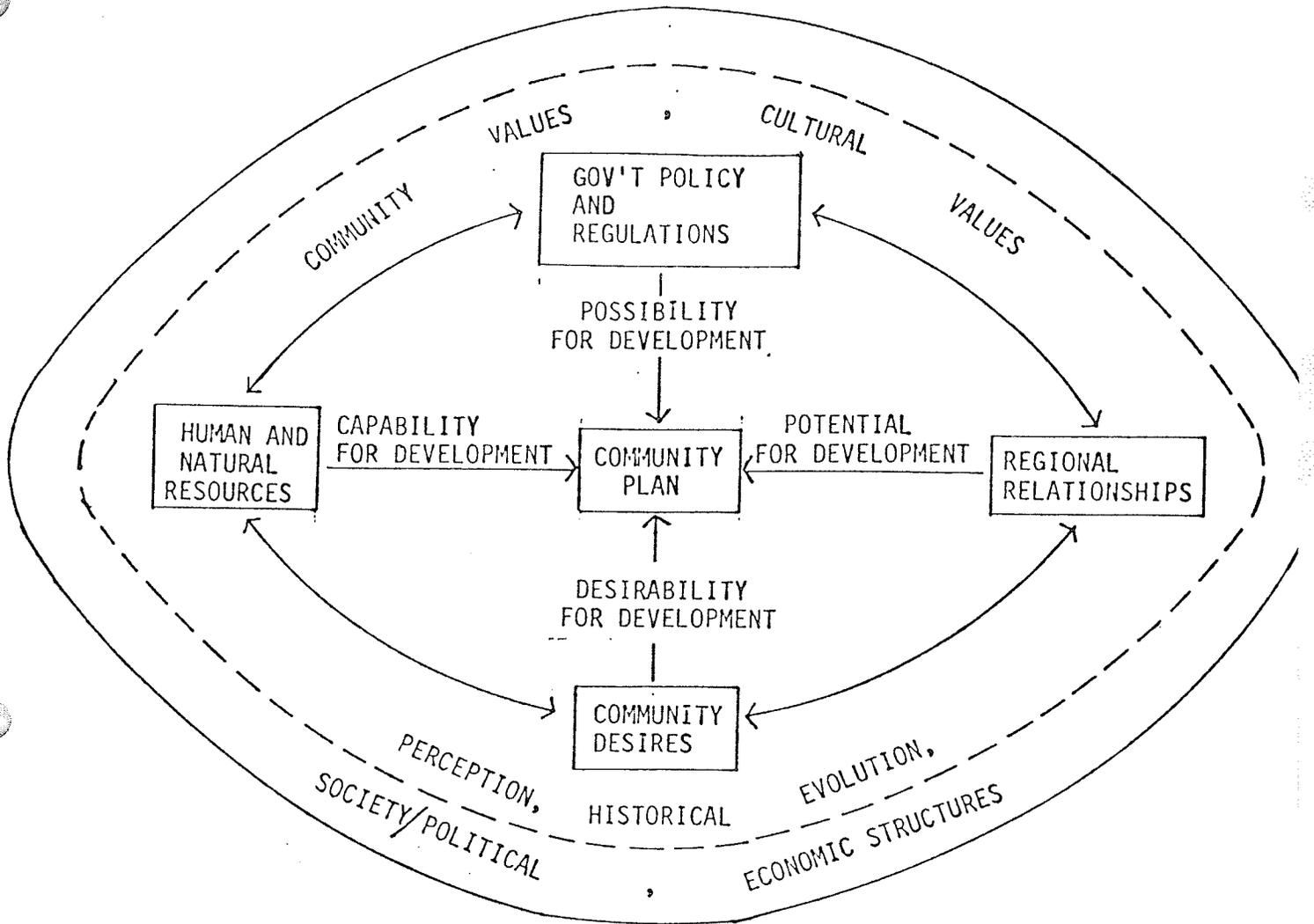


Figure VII

Framework for Community Planning

(Witty 1977)

but rather the beginning of a planning process which will direct itself towards revision and partial implementation at various stages along the way. Both of these broadly defined approaches are valid and represent attempts to be as comprehensive as possible while at the same time assuring that some kind of positive action will result from the planning process which will be based on firm factual data and will respond to the needs and desires of the people.

In general, most of the planners interviewed appear to conduct their planning studies according to one or the other of these broad approaches identified here, or may integrate features of both. There are also vestiges of the 'subdivision syndrome' in evidence in the approach of at least one of the consultants, but such efforts are most usually only carried out today if the Band specifically requests it or circumstances demand such action.

David R. Witty is one of the consultants who has worked extensively with Bands in northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Witty suggests (1977: 2.2.1):

The steps through which a planning process moves are iterative, cyclical and definitive. The number of steps may vary depending upon the specific project and goals. Nevertheless, there are a number of minimum steps in the planning process which are necessarily to ensure that the process is meaningful and fruitful.

The minimum steps identified are as follows (ibid: 2.2.1):

Identification of Need for Study

Development of Terms of Reference (so as to ensure that all parties have a similar understanding of the task at hand)

Establishment of Local Study Committee

Employment of Professional Planner

Development of Methodology

Formulation of Goals and Objectives
Collect Background Data
Community Questionnaire
Resource Analysis
Regional Relationships and Existing Land Use
Local Community Meeting
Priorization of Development Options
Determine Relation to Government Policies and Programs
Formal Review of Alternatives
The Final Plan
Implementation

The steps do not necessarily follow in order, but are all necessary. This approach stresses 'the plan' to a large degree.

It is the feeling of the consultant that a formal plan document must be completed for any community planning exercise to ensure that the data, rationale, synthesis and recommendations are recorded for future reference. The production of graphics and short-term development programs will not suffice over the long run. The betterment of community living is at stake. Nothing short of substantive and well-documented evidence supporting proposals is acceptable (ibid: 2.2.1).

Community newsletters and graphics also accompany the formal plan.

The basic approach outlined by Witty is utilized by more than one of the other planners interviewed. There are still others who prefer not to proceed within a step-by-step framework and do not turn out a large written planning document. Mr. Robert Kirby, for example, who is employed as a consultant by the God's Lake Narrows Band, maintains that there is no one 'rational' series of steps which a planning exercise must follow, no 'recipe' for the design process and no linear sequence of activities which must occur during a planning process (personal communication, February 1978). Arguing

against rigid methodology, synectics and regimentation of thought, Kirby proposes an approach to native community planning based on imagination, sensitivity to the situation and the ability to communicate effectively with the client. This avenue of thought stresses that the planner must become directly involved with the people, tap into local wisdom, utilize local ideas and resources to their fullest extent and constantly keep in mind questions such as 'What is possible?' and 'What can be capitalized upon?' Hand in hand with this approach, Kirby stresses graphic presentation of all ideas rather than compilation of a written document. He feels that graphics aid comprehension and act as focal points for questions at the local meetings.

The differences between the two approaches, which have been discussed only very generally in terms of their overall frameworks, are obvious. The major variance appears to be that the first type of approach is much more process-oriented and geared towards production of a comprehensive long-range planning document, while the latter is project-oriented and primarily concerned with immediate results and 'making something happen.' Both of these approaches represent valuable contributions to native community planning and both have points for and against their use. There may be a danger, when utilizing the former method, that the large, comprehensive planning document may overwhelm the people involved by simply being too detailed for them to digest at one time. The basic 'poster' type of plan produced as part of the latter approach may be more useful in sparking interest in the planning effort, is easily distributed to all residents of a community, is useful in gaining funding due to its simplicity and is easily modified or changed to reflect new input. On the other hand, the comprehensive planning document,

which includes several maps, a detailed description of all elements in the plan, background information, recommendations about implementation, development priorities and costing structure, may prove to be of greater value on a long-term basis: data collected is organized into a cohesive, permanent form and need not be gathered again but merely added to and revised when necessary; the Band can follow the development steps one by one if they choose to and can use the document to gain funding and for future reference.

What then is the answer? Is there one planning process which can resolve all the issues? Is there, in fact, one planning process which can be applied to all native communities? It is proposed here that both of the above approaches have merit in dealing with the complex problems one encounters when involved with native community planning. Despite the discrepancies, with one stressing 'process and plan' and the other stressing a 'back to basics' or 'grass roots' approach whereby process and plan are all but irrelevant in comparison to implementation of actual projects, the two sets of notions are similar in many respects: both are heavily reliant upon community participation and involvement for their final results; both are geared towards community development which will be carried out in harmony with the ecological/environmental situation and the culture of the people, including their traditional settlement patterns and lifestyles; both are directed at holistic study of a community whereby social issues such as employment creation are considered, rather than at purely physical issues; both produce 'plans' (comprehensive written document versus bilingual colour poster) which can be used in any number of future situations by the Band; both demand good communication and per-

sonal interaction between the planner and his clients; both approaches are iterative and allow for continual revision based on new input.

It is suggested here, then, that both of these planning processes, representing the two consultants in the province who are conducting the most extensive planning projects for native communities, are useful, but that any planner embarking upon such a project should not just arbitrarily follow one or the other without first paying close attention to the particulars of his own situation. Primarily, any planner must become cognizant of the fact that although the residents of all of these northern Manitoba settlements do have common traditional backgrounds which give them certain traits in common, the towns are not all carbon copies of one another. Some, perhaps those which have been exposed to heavy and continuous interaction with Euro-Canadians, may be more highly developed in terms of their political structures and so forth than other more isolated or less economically established places. Such Bands may articulate their needs and wants and be able to make full use of a comprehensive planning document. Other groups may benefit from the more basic 'grass roots' approach, whereby they will be able to see their settlement develop during the planning process and thus become more aware of the benefits and more interested in its continuation.

Overall, both approaches are of value in different situations. Neither can be fully evaluated at the present time because it will be several years before they will be completely implemented and their manifestations can be observed. The ideal situation, as theorized at this point in time, would seem to lie somewhere in between the two, whereby the best of both could be utilized. The two consultants cited here are

presently discussing some possible joint efforts, the results of which will undoubtedly prove to be exciting. The final analysis lies in the future but the hope lies in the present--joint co-operation and continuing research are vital if the planning function is to aid native peoples in establishing viable communities.

C. Evaluation

The data presented in the preceding chapter is indicative of the fact that present-day native community planning has progressed a great deal from the situation which existed during the 1960's and early 1970's, due to the increasing awareness of the federal and provincial governments and the development of local government at the Band level. Despite great advances in service delivery, social programs, education and so forth, however, planning for native communities is still an immensely complex and difficult task. There are so many issues involved and so many 'actors' in so many diverse roles that the planning activities carried out to date have not resulted in as many improvements as one might initially surmise, despite the advancements in government policy, the potential availability of funds, the ability of Bands to hire their own planners and several other factors.

During the administration of the questionnaire to the planning consultants, this writer attempted to determine not only how they perceived the issues and what type of planning process they engaged in, but also how they would assess or evaluate the overall existing situation. All of the planners expressed frustration in their efforts to deal with native community planning. Some comments were as follows:

"The dilemma is trying to develop long-range plans for communities which suffer from massive poverty, unemployment, lack of available skills and lack of an economic base. These factors indicate that a solution to the problem is impossible. However, local enthusiasm and expectations are high and therefore economic stability can be achieved and the standard of living can be raised. Natives must realize that there is a difference between what they want and what they have to work with."

"Ideally, to deal with the situation I would like to be the Chief and act in the role of a 'social animator.' I'd try to turn them on to what they can do and get rid of the apathy. They need effective leadership to help create a sense of belonging and a sense of dignity...The main problem is not social or physical, but cultural. It's the people's responsibility to shake off existing models... they can come up with a totally new way of living which is not wholly traditional nor entirely modern. They can achieve a blend of the best of both technologies."

A major criticism of the entire native community planning situation by the planners is the fact that so few of the adopted plans are ever implemented. This was also discussed as a major problem by the DIAND Regional Planners as noted in Chapter III A. It is obvious that "a criteria of achievement of the planning process is whether a plan has been implemented" (DIAND (in-house report) 1975: 40). The lack of implementation is a function of several underlying problems. First, the Regional Planner does not have a mandate for plan implementation--this is up to the Band Council, who may use the planning document to obtain funding from such sources as Canada Works to get a project underway. A further complication is often the fact that there is a lack of political stability and cohesion, whereby new chiefs and councils are elected every few months. DIAND does make money available for continuing consultation and places much of the responsibility for implementation on the consultant, out of necessity. The Band itself is ultimately the determining factor--they must be able to focus their attention upon the plan. The planner can certainly be of value here and can act as a catalyst for action. An approach such as the one propounded by Kirby may be useful

in this regard, whereby the planner and his clients begin to implement certain parts of a plan before it is totally completed. Generally, it appears to this writer that lack of commitment on the part of either the planning consultant or the Band, in conjunction with the fact that there is no one at DIAND who is responsible for implementation, will lead to more and more frustration with an already unacceptable situation. One of the consultants interviewed suggested that there are basically only two ways in which a planner can get action started: he can get into the political milieu or he can go into the community himself and actually show the people how they can make things happen on their own. Obviously something must change before large-scale implementation of plans can occur. The wasting of money and increasing disillusionment of all parties involved is intolerable. This issue will be discussed further in the concluding chapter, where some recommendations for the future will be suggested.

In addition to problems of implementation, several other issues can be identified which act as impediments to native community planning.

1. There is a lack of co-operation and co-ordination between the various levels of government involved;
 2. There is a lack of information exchange and communication between the planner and the native people. The level of local participation is not high enough;
 3. Regional planning is non-existent;
 4. There is an inadequate amount of interdisciplinary work;
 5. There is a deficiency of information about the north, its people and the activities and plans of the various agencies involved in the area.
- There is no centralized data base.

Native Community Planning in Saskatchewan

In Manitoba, many of the complaints and frustrations expressed by the consultants are related to one overlying problem area--native community planning is a piecemeal operation involving a diverse range of departments, agencies and individuals, which has no cohesiveness or overall structure to co-ordinate, assess and compare the various efforts. In Saskatchewan, the DIAND Regional Planner has been attempting since 1976 to define a suggested approach to Indian community planning which would co-ordinate policies and activities and put an end to the former ad hoc situation where planning approaches and methodologies varied from one community to another. The purpose of this suggested approach was threefold: to improve rates of performance; to assist Bands in the planning of their own communities; and to assist all participants in identifying their roles in the process. Five basic principles are involved (Alam (in-house report) 1977: 2-3):

1. The community plan is a means to achieve the end, not an end in itself;
2. Community planning and budgeting should be closely related;
3. Community plans should focus initially on the specific issues, expanding later to a wider range of community considerations;
4. Plans are worked out by Band Councils who have the responsibility and authority to act on the issues in question;
5. Planners assist and advise as facilitators to make things happen.

The emphases here are different than those in evidence in Manitoba: a continuing planning process is stressed rather than short studies and a plan product; public participation is not merely for information-gathering

but to ensure the Band has opportunities for meaningful involvement in policy-making; a critical part of the planning is the 'program forecast period budgeting program,' which includes all potential sources of funding. This is a 'decision-making' approach to planning which stresses the financial aspects equally with the physical and social ones.

The main aim of planning is to help Band Councils to make better decisions. Planning unites all related Band decisions in a single process so that decisions on capital investment flow from the same policy base as those on management of land resources and facility development (ibid: 4).

Basically, this approach encourages Band government to recognize its power and responsibility to plan for the future. A plan produced in accordance with the principles and philosophies noted above can aid the Band's government by: promoting increased co-ordination of all parties with consequent implications for implementation; create better awareness of alternatives; allow for realization of objectives more expeditiously by anticipating future problems; allow for realization of objectives in a more economic manner with respect to resources and monetary investments; provide a framework for negotiations of individual interests (ibid: 5).

D. Concluding Remarks

To provide a clear transition point between the data presented in the previous chapters and that to follow in subsequent ones, some statements with regard to the linkage between the two topics should be made at this point. In Chapters II and III an attempt was made to present a concise overview of the evolution of native community planning activities in Canada and specifically in Manitoba, as per the first objective of this thesis. The compilation of this material from a wide variety of sources will hopefully prove to be of some value to people working in the area or

to anyone interested in development of the north. But this material was not only discussed towards this end--perhaps most importantly a reader will be aware that although great gains have been made over the past ten years, many of the prominent issues have not yet been resolved, and, given the problems involved in trying to deal with them, may only worsen if something is not done to deal with the situation.

The following chapters represent an attempt to identify one way in which the situation can be eased. It is proposed here that the social sciences, specifically the discipline of anthropology, can contribute a great deal to the planning of native communities. There is an adage which states... "In order to understand the present we must understand the past." It is this type of orientation which is stressed here. Anthropological literature has much to offer, and anthropological field techniques may be of great value to the planner. Chapter IV will summarize such data. In Chapter V a theoretical basis for an 'anthropology of planning' will be discussed.

It is not suggested here that this approach is a panacea solution to an extremely complex and problematical situation. It is, however, an initial thrust towards much-needed interdisciplinary co-operation.

CHAPTER IV

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE PLANNER: APPLICATIONS

This chapter will basically be a review of some of the anthropological literature which the planner may find useful. There are two major reasons for presenting such data: to illustrate that knowledge of traditional native settlement patterns is important to the native community planner, and to demonstrate the potential value of anthropological field techniques to the planner. The ultimate goal of this chapter and the next is to build a link between anthropology with its traditional emphasis on the study of cultures (see Chapter V) and the pragmatic realities encountered by planners. If such a link could be developed, it is proposed here, communication between planners and their clients will be facilitated.

This chapter has been divided into three sections. The first discusses general anthropology. The second examines traditional settlements as they developed prior to the intervention of planners from outside the settlement. This data is the result of a literature review and field observations made by the writer. The third section is a discussion of various field techniques which are used within the discipline of anthropology to facilitate study of traditional societies. In the following chapter the potential value of such research to planners will be discussed within the context of an 'anthropology of planning' prospectus.

A. Anthropology: What is it?

In order to be able to define and hopefully begin to 'operationalize'

a prospectus for an 'anthropology of planning,' it is first necessary to briefly discuss anthropology itself, in terms of its basic premises and its applicability to planning.

Anthropology is, most basically, the study of man, and as such has immediate relationships to almost every other field of study. There are four main categories within the discipline, in addition to several sub-areas of study: cultural anthropology, archaeology, linguistics and physical anthropology. "The collaborative effort of these four fields achieves the broad coverage of space, time and aspect that is the anthropological hallmark" (Harris, 1971: 1). Cultural anthropology deals with the description and analysis of the various lifestyles of past and present times. Archaeology provides a critical dimension to this by providing great temporal depth--it involves excavation of the material remains of past cultures. Anthropological linguistics is concerned with the totality of world languages, the origin of language, the relationship between the evolution of language and the evolution of society and patterns of verbal behaviour among non-Western peoples. Physical anthropology examines man's physical origins and his genetic nature by examining fossil remains, the distribution of hereditary variations among modern populations and so forth. In view of the specialized nature of most anthropological research, it is imperative that the general significance of anthropological facts and theories be preserved.

This is the task of general anthropology. General anthropology does not pretend to survey the entire subject matter of physical, cultural, archaeological and linguistic anthropology. It strives to achieve a general orientation toward rather than a mastery of these and other related fields. General anthropology does not teach all that one must know in order to become an anthropologist, but rather how to identify and evaluate significant facts about mankind in the broadest possible context of time, space and theory (ibid: 5).

It is evident that there are many other fields and disciplines which are concerned with the science of man. Perhaps the major relevance and value of general anthropology is that its scope is panhuman--it is the only discipline that "offers a conceptual schema for the whole of human experience" (De Laguna, 1968: 475).

Anthropology is implacably opposed to the insularity and mental constriction of those who would have themselves and none other represent humanity, stand at the pinnacle of progress, or be chosen by God or history to fashion the world in their own image...Because of its multidisciplinary, comparative and diachronic perspective, anthropology holds the key to many fundamental questions of recurrent and contemporary relevance (Harris, 1971: 5-6).

Perhaps the over-riding contribution to be made by general anthropology is the search for the causes of social and cultural differences and similarities. Hopefully the answers which are emerging to this question will allow humanity to "begin to understand the extent to which we can increase mankind's freedom and well-being by conscious intervention in the processes of sociocultural evolution" (ibid: 6 (italics mine)). Is this not what planning is all about?

B. Traditional Settlements

To better understand modern native communities, and thus be able to evaluate their planning needs more comprehensively, it is proposed that a Euro-Canadian planner must become aware of the traditional settlement pattern which existed and attempt to recognize the forces behind these patterns. It would appear to the writer that without some prior knowledge of why a community has taken on a certain form, what forces brought it together, what social relationships are expressed in physical terms and so forth, a planner cannot communicate as effectively as is possible with the residents nor guide the development of a comprehensive planning process

that will be responsive to their needs and desires. A brief discussion follows on the traditional settlement patterns of the native peoples of Manitoba.

'Northern Manitoba' is defined here as that area of the province which falls under the jurisdiction of the provincial Department of Northern Affairs (see map, page 11). Most of this territory falls within the sub-arctic boreal forest zone, except for a small section in the northeast which is tundra. Hundreds of lakes are scattered throughout this pre-cambrian peneplain and three major rivers--the Hayes, Nelson and Churchill--flow through it into Hudson's Bay. The boreal forest of northern Manitoba has a woodland environment which includes a permanent big game population of moose, deer, bear and woodland caribou, along with an abundant supply of fish, waterfowl and fur-bearing animals.

Human habitation of Manitoba likely began as far back as 10,000 years ago. Glacial ice covered the province during the early Holocene (ca. 12,000+ years ago) and by 8,000 B.P. (years before present) had receded from much of northern Manitoba, leaving glacial Lake Agassiz covering the central part of the province. The grasslands which opened up in the south were inhabited first and several successive occupations occurred (see Pettipas, 1970 and Nash, 1970 for a fuller discussion of early man in Manitoba).

Historic contact between the native people and the Europeans began with the spread of the fur trade in the late 1600's. At this time two widely dispersed tribes were known to have been in northern Manitoba--the Chippewyan and the Cree, along with a small number of Inuit along the Hudson Bay coast. At the time of Kelsey (1690's), the predominant group

in north-central Manitoba were the Woodland Cree, who subsequently moved to the west and were replaced by the Swampy Cree from the more northerly areas.

The present distribution of native groups in Manitoba includes a group of Chippewyans in the far north at Tadoule Lake, a small number of Dakota (Sioux) groups in the south-west, a larger population of Sauteaux (Ojibway) throughout the central section of the province and the numerically dominant Cree peoples of the northern half of the province. The present population is concentrated in several small groups ranging from a few families to three or four thousand people. There are long distances between concentrated settlements, unlike during the pre-contact period when the entire population was more evenly spread out throughout the whole province and no concentrations existed. This later situation began with the advent of fur trading posts which sprang up along the several rivers and lakes and culminated when natives signed treaties which restricted their movements. Beginning in the 1870's, the Cree and Sauteaux of present-day Manitoba became involved in Treaties 1 through 5, whereby they ceded their rights to several hundred thousand miles of territory and came to be under the reserve system which still exists.

Prior to contact, the native populations that inhabited north-central Manitoba numbered less than a thousand (Hlady, 1970: 95). There were no permanent settlements which were occupied all year long. The nature of the environment and level of technological and social development of the natives necessitated a semi-nomadic lifestyle. Once the fur trade began, people began to congregate around the trading posts and soon became more reliant upon trade goods and less reliant upon their traditional ways of subsistence.

Given a ready food source and exposure to a new way of life, the natives became increasingly sedentary--"settlement patterns were one of the first aspects of Indian culture to change after the coming of the white man" (Vanstone, 1974: 39-40).

In order to delve into the question of what an Indian community is and what has transpired as a result of the people becoming sedentary 'townsmen,' it is first necessary to briefly discuss the culture and social organization of the peoples under discussion. The Algonkian (Cree, Saulteaux) and Athapaskan linguistic groups (Chippewyan) were hunting and gathering peoples. As such they were very mobile, as mentioned, and travelled in cyclical patterns to harvest food resources, sequentially exploiting one resource after another within loosely defined territories. The socio-economic situation reflects the severe carrying capacity limitations imposed by the boreal forest/sub-arctic environment. Subsistence patterns varied from one ecological niche to another, based on what was available in each area. Due to high mobility, accumulated material wealth was scanty and production and harvest were normally aimed at satisfying the immediate needs of the people directly involved.

Given the absence of state security and the presence of inter-tribal strife (tied to minimal levels of survival), there was little scope for stockpiling goods in seasonal, tribal base areas. Hence, transportation and settlement realities blocked greater accumulation of wealth. A material basis for a long-term economy did not exist (Rothney, 1975: 46).

The lifestyle that traditionally existed among these groups has been referred to as a 'feast or famine' situation whereby an individual band would at several times during a year be either in dire need of food or have a surplus, depending on the season, availability of food sources, size of the group and so forth (Feit, 1973). Feit (1973: 135) concludes that this type of lifestyle

is a reasonable adaptation to boreal forest existence.

The mechanism of control for maintaining an equilibrium of the resources utilized with the resources accessible in the ecosystem is the fluctuation of local population densities through starvation and migration and culturally controlled growth. 'Feast or famine' is not the absence of a strategy of adaptation--it is the strategy, and it is a reasonable strategy.

The socio-political organization of these groups revolved around the family hunting band, generally led by the head of the family. At certain times of the year, several of these bands would congregate for social, economic, religious and other activities. Politically, the Athapaskans and Algonkians of the mid-Canadian north were the least formally structured of all the native groups in Canada (Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1970: 7). Each band was politically autonomous. The tribal group as a whole (i.e. the Cree nation) never functioned as a corporate entity as there was no overall authority structure.

Traditional concepts of land holding are one point which should be noted by planners. Neither the treaties signed a hundred years ago, nor many of the planning efforts enacted during the 1960's have been congruent with traditional views of land ownership. This is one of the areas of misunderstanding which has very likely been a source of many communication problems between the natives and the Euro-Canadian bureaucrats. Land development issues, for example, cannot be discussed comprehensively by the two sides unless both are aware of the other's concepts of land ownership. Traditionally, land was communally owned as tribal territory and could not be bought or sold but might be seized by force or used temporarily with the consent of the owner Band (ibid: 8). Some authors (Feit, 1973) suggest that specific areas within the tribal (i.e. Cree) territory were held by each of the family hunting Bands. Individuals did not own

land, as the activities of the group were the important issue.

Once the fur trade began, the entire situation changed. Rothney (1975: 110), in his thesis entitled "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of Residents of the Hudson Bay Basin : A Marxist Interpretation," says:

Indian and Metis settlements of a lumpen-proletariat nature--highly unorganized and heavily subordinate to fur company officials--began to emerge around trading posts as shelter was sought from exhausted fur terrain.

Basically, there are two major factors which prompted the changes to larger settlements and a more sedentary way of life (Rogers, 1963: 77-78). One is the impact of European agents, traders, missionaries, government officials and businessmen on the Indians; second is the Indians' reactions to the impact of the Europeans--their views, values, goals and aspirations changed along with their socio-economic situation. Traders and missionaries acted as catalysts but did not explicitly formulate a program which resulted in today's settlement pattern. There was a distinct lack of planning during this phase. The major instrument of change was the government (ibid: 80). In Manitoba, the Indians were offered a treaty in 1871 to protect some land for themselves. They did not grasp the concept of 'reserves' and asked for an area fully two-thirds the size of the province (Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1970: 105). Finally after much deliberation Treaty Number One was concluded, giving each family of five 160 acres of land plus a few dollars a year. The Bands were, from this point on, no longer able to live in politically autonomous kin groups. After World War II, the government began to look more closely at the reserves and eventually began some school construction, encouraged natives to build permanent houses and established welfare programs. This last occurrence was an important settlement factor, as it allowed people to remain in town rather than tend to their trap lines

or fishing nets.

The native settlements, then, grew up around focal points established by the Europeans--stores, churches and schools offered what the Indians either independently desired or were convinced they needed. According to Rogers (1963: 85), once these focal points were established, Euro-Canadians became a 'reference group' in the eyes of the Indians, who desired to emulate them, and the natives developed a 'dependency complex.' Obviously these additions to their culture were an impetus to changes in settlement patterns.

The question now to be examined is how these groups of people organized themselves once they had come together. The question of how different cultures perceive space and utilize their habitats has long been one of interest to anthropologists. Several studies have been published on the topic, including works by Edward T. Hall (The Hidden Dimension, Beyond Culture), Amos Rapoport (House Form and Culture), Yi-fu Tuan (Topophilia), Douglas Fraser (Village Planning in the Primitive World) and several others.

When native communities first came together in central and northern Manitoba the people lived in tents and log cabins, and this situation prevailed until very recent years. Traditionally, and this is true even today, the people were little concerned with their shelters, for they regarded them primarily as places for sleeping and little else--by far most activities were carried on out-of-doors. As was true of most native North American dwellings, the skin or bark structures of the pre-contact Indians of Manitoba consisted of one open area which was generally circular (note the tipi, bark house and igloo of other groups). Once they began to build permanent log structures in settlements this one-room concept was retained. An interesting

point to note about traditional dwellings and the log houses which were used up to the present day, is that each member of the community constructed his own house in accordance with his own needs, unlike in more specialized, urbanized societies, where experts handle each phase of the operation. This indicates an important conceptual difference regarding the production process. As Rapoport (1969: 3-4) notes, the traditional native situation is a result of diffuse knowledge of everything by all, and represents a situation in which the owner is still very much a participant in the design process rather than simply a consumer. Hall (1977: 39) calls such societies, where information is highly shared, "high context cultures;" in these situations people are deeply involved with one another, as opposed to low context cultures which are characterized by alienation, fragmentation, individualism and low involvement. Native-built dwellings were constructed in close association with the environment, in accordance with the site and micro-climate, and with respect for the other people and their houses. No designs or drawings were necessary, as knowledge of the model was shared by all.

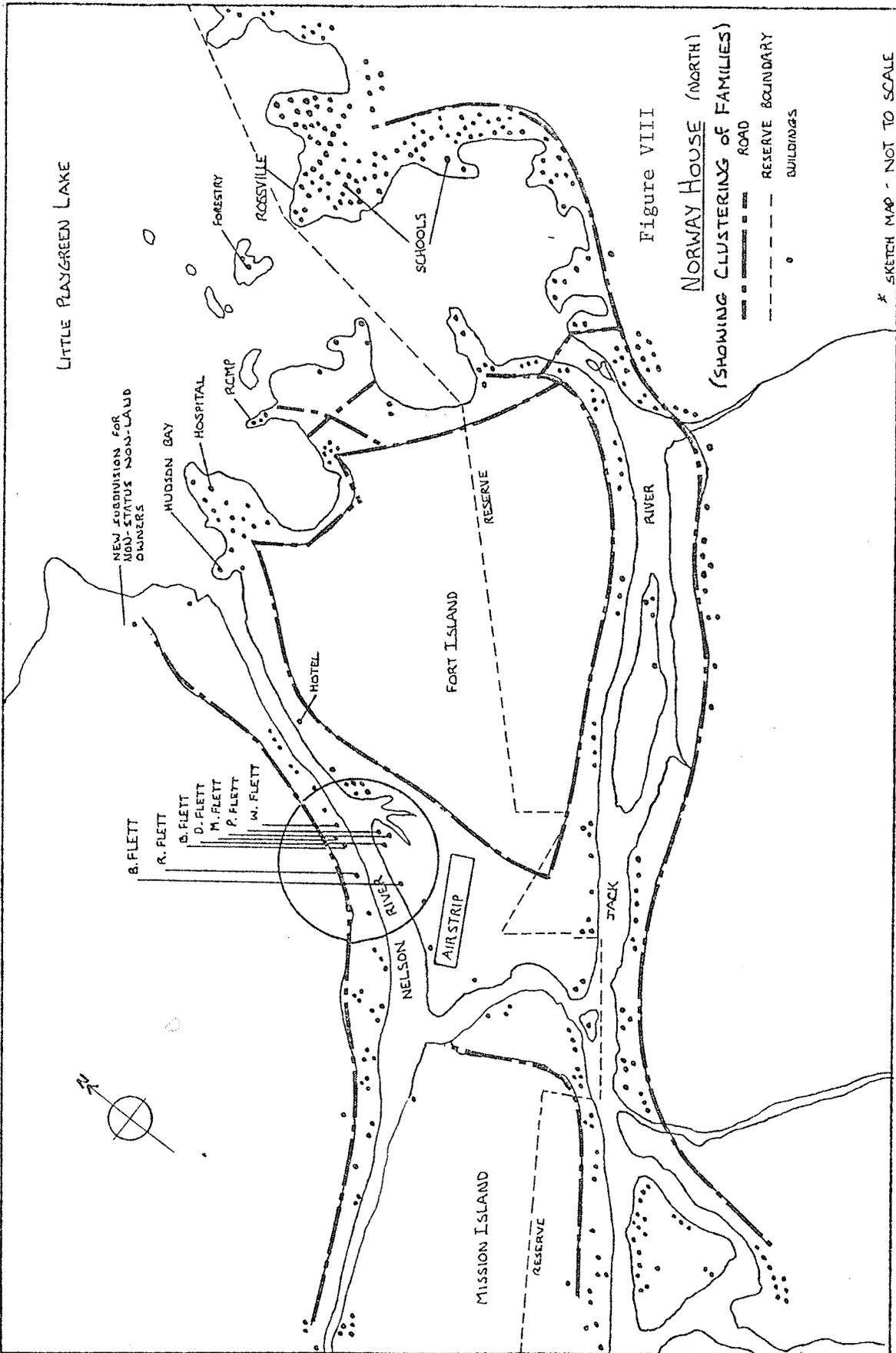
Very few building types existed within these settlements, and few variations on the model occurred. This lack of differentiation is a major characteristic of what Rapoport (1969: 8) would call the 'primitive' building style. He summarizes three such types of built form as follows (ibid: 8):

1. Primitive--very few building types; a model with few individual variations; built by all.
2. Preindustrial Vernacular--greater, though still limited number of building types; more individual variation of the model; built by tradesmen.
3. High-style and Modern--many specialized building types, each building being an original creation; designed and built by teams of specialists.

In terms of actual settlement form and planning, most of the historic native communities in northern Manitoba evolved in much the same pattern, growing up around trading posts or being splinter groups which split off from larger settlements and relocated themselves to another area. The most important factor in the location of such a permanent village was immediate proximity to a river or lake. Houses were generally spread out along the shoreline, often stretching out for several miles and allowing for easy access to the water by all and privacy from other dwellings. Relatives would normally locate their homes near one another (see Figure VIII, page 90), and often these family bands would leave the settlement for several months of the year to follow their trap lines or to go fishing. In general then, the primary criteria for locating one's house were proximity to navigable water and closeness to family.

An example of the linear settlement pattern taken on by many communities is diagrammed in Figure VIII, page 90. This is a sketch map of a portion of the community of Norway House, which is one of the earliest and largest of the native settlements in Manitoba. It is located at the strategic point where Lake Winnipeg connects with the Nelson River system, leading to Hudson Bay. It was here, at an early Hudson Bay Company fort, that Treaty Number Five was signed in the year 1875, whereby the Cree and Saulteaux ceded their rights to approximately 100,000 square miles of land in the vicinity. As in many other situations, activities and buildings began to cluster around the fort and gradually this conglomeration came to include a nursing station, an R.C.M.P. office, a government conservation office, a town hall, a school and so forth.

Since the 1950's and 1960's, airstrips have been built in most remote



communities and many have regularly scheduled daily flights to major centers such as Winnipeg, Thompson or The Pas. Most settlements have an intra-community road system, and several have all-weather roads connecting them with other towns. A few remain, for the time being, relatively isolated from other places except during the winter season when winter roads allow access over frozen terrain. When the housing programs of the 1960's began, native settlements began to take on different forms, as discussed in Chapters II and III. Generally speaking, the traditional concern for and harmony with the environment once so characteristic of the Indian lifestyle seems to have all but disappeared. As this author noted during several trips to northern Manitoba from 1973 to 1977, garbage disposal, water pollution and other environmental problems are common. Such problems are partially a consequence of early planning efforts, as clustering of houses created much higher densities, and partially the result of a lack of education regarding hygiene, spread of disease and so forth.

This section has attempted to show how and why native communities came into existence and to what forms they evolved. In general, it can be said that whenever people come together in a settlement, they must juxtapose their dwellings and other structures in some fashion. Sometimes this may appear to have been done with little conscious planning in mind, but this is not the issue.

The important thing is the choices that are made and why they come about. The choices are significant because they are symptomatic of the attitudes and values of the community, whether large or small, that accepts the final placement of buildings (Fraser, 1968: 8).

Planning, in non-industrial or traditional societies, is not a mechanism of socio-political control, but rather is "likely to be largely a matter of consensus" (ibid: 8), where formal design schemes per se are of little

concern and the solutions chosen are usually traditional ones.

Several principal points can be summarized from the above data which it is imperative for the planner of native communities to recognize:

1. Each present-day native community is unique, despite a common traditional background, and therefore the planner must be aware of investigative techniques to evaluate each of them. The following section will discuss such techniques.
2. Native political structure was traditionally based on kinship ties, and to this day such relationships are very important. The planner must realize that the Euro-Canadian decision-making structure is foreign to many Indian peoples and must learn to deal with the situation in a sensitive manner.
3. While in Euro-Canadian society the house and yard are important activity centers where a great deal of action takes place, a planner working with native communities must realize that to the Indian the house is like a bedroom--to be used almost exclusively for sleeping--while the entire settlement and surrounding lands and waterways are his 'home.' Very little activity actually occurs in the house itself. An understanding of such a concept is important, for it means that the planner must concern himself with this whole picture, including the vast area surrounding the settlement, rather than just with lots, houses and basic services within the townsite itself.
4. If the planner is aware of the fact that the native's house is seen as primarily a utilitarian object, rather than as a status symbol or any other such thing, perhaps southern contractors will cease construction of housing which is not suited to the people or the environment (i.e. picture windows, no cold-entrance porches, thin walls, several small square rooms and so on).

These are only a few of countless examples of how valuable knowledge of traditional native lifestyles and so forth can be to the planner of native communities. Most importantly, knowledge of how the people traditionally lived, plus how and why their communities came to be the way they are, will allow the planner to communicate with the residents on a plane more comprehensible to them.

Planners must become aware of data such as that discussed in this section in order that they can better carry out their work in a realistic framework based on the values and expectations of the people involved. Planning cannot be approached in a purely morphological, design-oriented manner--one must "examine the local attitudes that underlie the preferred plans along with the way the layout expresses and interacts with other aspects of the society" (ibid: 10). This latter approach is referred to as the "structural-functional method" in anthropological terms, and undoubtedly can prove to be of great value in providing increased insight into specific settlement plans. In summary, a perusal of the anthropological literature, including data on such diverse topics as settlement archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnographic case studies, proxemics and several others, can be of great value to the planner in his efforts to understand the native community.

C. Anthropological Technique and the Planner

While it can be assumed that the more knowledge a planner has about a community the better equipped he will be to carry out the planning process, the ways in which such data are collected are much more important to the final results of the planning exercise than one might initially suspect. While it is imperative that as much material as possible is collected, given

time and budgetary constraints, an investigator must be constantly wary of where and how this research is conducted. Erroneous information, second-hand reports, biased surveys and so forth can greatly damage the validity of a data set and be a hindrance to the planner in his efforts to establish a good working relationship and open communication channel with his clients. It is thus important that a planner who works with a native community, or indeed in any number of other situations, be aware of the traditional setting and of ways in which he might best be able to obtain information and come to understand the expectations and needs of the people.

Cultural anthropologists have studied non-western man for decades, and have developed methods for conducting ethnographic (description of cultures) research which are based on several underlying principles. The concept of 'systems' is very important--this involves the recognition that human behaviour and all of its products are so closely inter-related that any division is arbitrary, and that everything has to be understood as a part of the whole. A corollary of this is the concept of 'naturalism,' which requires that human behaviour be viewed in the context in which it naturally occurs (Edgerton and Langness, 1974: 4). A further principle of anthropological field research is that the anthropologist tries to discern, along with his own observations, how the society is viewed by the group itself. Another generally accepted principle of fieldwork is that the time spent in the community under observation must be of at least several months duration.

There is no single detailed method for the study of culture, but rather a varied set of procedures which may differ from one case to another. Despite this lack of a formalized method which can be systematically pre-

sented or universally applied, this author agrees with Williams (1967: 64), who is convinced that "whatever their temperamental bent anthropologists must follow certain basic procedures in the field"--perhaps the same should be said of the planner of native communities. While a great deal of flexibility is necessary in any field situation, it is still important, both from an ethical and scholarly point of view, to work within some sort of predetermined framework. Without such a construct, the data collected will not be structured and therefore will be of limited value when the field research has been concluded. The primary research tool employed by the field anthropologist or ethnographer, and the traditional core of such studies, is known as 'participant-observation.' As a participant-observer, the anthropologist lives intimately as a member of the chosen group, while trying to maintain a good deal of objectivity as well. Although this general procedure and others such as informal interviewing are the earliest such techniques devised for use in the study of culture, they are still very important.

These traditional anthropological techniques are indispensable for identifying the significant questions, as well as for finding out how these can be studied in terms of the local setting...Once the anthropologist begins to lay hold of significant cultural relationships through intuitive hunches, the next essential step is to devise means to test and verify these hunches through systematized research routines (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 36).

Something which should be noted at this point is the difference between the terms 'methodology' and 'research techniques:'

...the latter term is useful for referring to the pragmatics of primary data collection, whereas methodology denotes the 'logic-in-use' involved in setting particular observational techniques, assessing their yield of data, and relating these data to theoretical propositions (ibid: 3).

The discussion presented in this chapter is mainly directed at those

techniques by which the planner, or the anthropologist on the planning team, can gather data about a community. Methodologies will generally vary from one situation to another, depending on what kinds of questions are being examined, but a thorough knowledge of available techniques will prove useful in all cases.

Aside from the general research tools of participant-observation and informal interviews, there are several other more specific techniques, both of a verbal and non-verbal nature. Summarized below, in point form, are some of the verbal techniques, which involve direct interaction with members of the community:

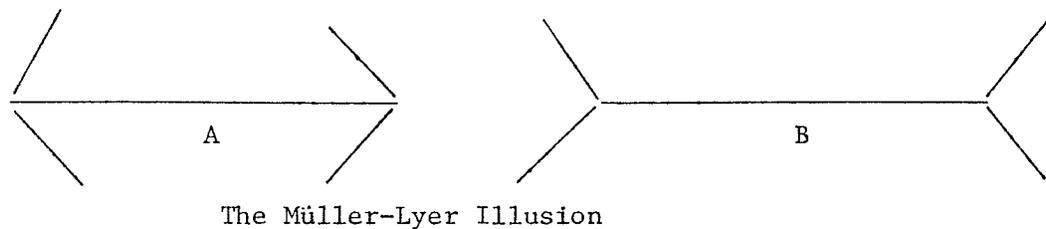
1. Key-informant interviews: Key-informants are those members of a group with whom the fieldworker develops an especially good relationship and who are willing and able to provide information about their culture.
2. Structured interviews and surveys:
 - Interviews: Basic interviewing techniques used by anthropologists have in recent times been refined and formalized by the development of interview schedules and other survey research instruments;
 - Census-taking: This involves the enumeration of family units and their membership;
 - Collection of life histories: Detailed life stories are often useful for understanding particular lifestyles;
 - Depth interviews: These are interviews conducted about subjects that rarely come up in everyday conversation;
 - Photo-essay interviews: Here the researcher prepares a series of photographs of the community, the people, activities and so forth and shows them to the people in order to elicit responses to queries.

This is a feedback approach designed to stimulate the people to express their feelings about themselves and their culture. "Methodologically, the only way we can use the full record of the camera is through the projective interpretation by the native" (Collier, 1967: 49). This technique could be of great use to the planner, who could use it to stimulate conversation in public meetings held in the community about planning activities.

- Questionnaire: As opposed to interview schedules, questionnaires are filled out by the respondent rather than by the interviewer. Special questionnaire techniques include such things as: ratings and rankings; selecting; sorting; triad sorting (i.e. 'pick out the item that does not fit'); arranging; semantic differential technique.

3. Projective Techniques: "The concept of 'projection' involves the assumption that humans have a basic psychological tendency to project their personal needs and themes into their verbal responses and behavioural styles" (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 89). This assumption is the basis for a variety of personality tests which have been adapted for cross-cultural research by anthropologists, such as the Rorschach ink-blot test, Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) and sentence completion test. Other psychological research instruments are used by anthropologists and several of these produce results which could provide valuable information for planners and architects working with non-western cultures. "The importance of these tests...lies in the possibility that differences in perceptual ability are produced by specific aspects of people's physical and cultural environment" (Edgerton and Langness, 1974: 49). For example, it has been determined that people who live in round houses and those who live in rectangular houses perceive things differently:

people who live in circular dwellings prefer straight line figures in their art styles, while those with rectangular ones prefer curvilinear figures; Segall, Campbell and Herskovitz (1966) report that people who live in angular featured houses tend to be more deceived by optical illusions--they perceive line A as being shorter than line B in the Müller-Lyer illusion (Edgerton and Langness, 1974: 49-50).



All of the techniques noted above involve some kind of verbal communication whereby the researcher imposes some kind of stimulus on the subject to solicit information. Another very important facet of anthropological fieldwork, and certainly an aspect of research that can be of great use to planners in a wide variety of situations, is systematic observation using 'unobtrusive measures.' Some of these non-verbal techniques are as follows:

1. Mapping: The mapping of a community, which can be facilitated by the use of aerial photo mosaics, should identify the dwellings of the people and their significant relationships to one another and other elements of the environment. Such information is very useful to the planner.

Mapping such things as where persons live, which way their doors face, where their fields lie, the location of the religious center, of water, of pasture and so on, may help tell a story about the conditions of present social relations in the community and may indicate some of the reasons for their coming about. Mapping physical features of the adjoining countryside may reveal several problems which certain cultural practices have been designed to solve. Mapping neighbouring groups and resources may point out important factors outside the community which nevertheless affect relationships within it (Edgerton and Langness, 1974: 27-28).

Cognitive mapping, produced by the residents themselves, is another extremely valuable tool.

2. Photography: Photography helps the field worker in his efforts to gain 'whole vision' of a community and see culture in its complex detail. Collier (1967), in his excellent book Visual Anthropology, discusses how valuable pictures, slides and air photos can be in helping the researcher record descriptive data about a settlement (i.e. land use, ecological relationships, path networks, home relationships, land divisions, soil and landscapes, erosion, growth). Photographs also capture the community as an organism--their designs often reflect ecological and cultural relationships. Collier (1967: 20) suggests that community designs can be photographed in various ways to give indications of their: physical schemes (scattered? centralized? clusters? divisions?); economic schemes (advertising? propoganda? stores? businesses? major offerings?); socio-cultural schemes (recreation areas? churches?).

3. Observation of physical traces: 'Physical traces' of a community are those signs of accretion and erosion which can be of great informational value if carefully noted by the fieldworker. Physical remains of human action can also, it is proposed here, tell the planner a great deal about a community. In terms of erosion, for example, well-worn path networks can provide "excellent, though incomplete, evidence concerning the volume of traffic" between two locales (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 115), and thus give indications of major thoroughfares, traffic networks, favourite play areas and so on. Traces of accretion such as pollution can be very important--where is garbage being disposed of? is sewage being expelled into the lake in the vicinity of where people get water?

4. Written narrative protocol: A fieldworker's written records can include data drawn from any number of sources. Some specialized techniques which allow for the recording of information in written form are:

- Event analysis: Careful analysis of public and private social events often illustrates such factors as social relationships and use of a physical setting;
- Case method: This method involves the study of some delimited class of events of which the fieldworker can observe a large number of instances, such as law cases or economic transactions (ibid: 208).
- Network analysis: This is the study of the patterning of action-- the interconnecting links among various individuals. Such analysis is often useful in the determination of such things as the basis of political power in a community or the interethnic relations in a settlement, data which can most certainly prove useful to the planner.

5. Kinesic and proxemic research: Kinesics refers to the study of details of bodily movement, which vary from culture to culture. Proxemics is a term coined by anthropologist Edward T. Hall to refer to the study of "man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture" (Hall, 1969: 1). Although this type of research involves such fineness of observational detail that special training is usually required, experts like Edward T. Hall (1963, 1969, 1977) and O. M. Watson (1972) have described these techniques in detail in their respective publications. The 'anthropology of space' is a field of study which is rapidly expanding and the implications for planning are enormous.

This writer has summarized only some of the major techniques and approaches to field research which have been developed and/or adapted by

anthropologists over the years for the purpose of studying culture. While it is true that many of these techniques are presently used by planners, they are not used over long periods of time nor stressed to the extent that they are in the field of anthropology. It should be noted at this point that although the applications of such research tools may appear to be straightforward, there are many problems associated with fieldwork which the planner, or any one else in a similar situation, must be aware of. Establishing a communication network and good rapport with the people involved is generally the initial major concern of any field researcher, and is certainly of critical concern to the planner. Anthropological fieldwork is normally of much longer duration than that engaged in by the planner and thus the types of relationships established by the two are of a different nature. Today the people being studied are often wary of the anthropologist and his reasons for investigating them. They may also have a good idea of what the anthropologist would like them to say and may resort to altering their behaviour in order to please, confuse or deceive him (Edgerton and Langness, 1974: 32). For this reason, it is suggested here that perhaps the planner may have somewhat of an advantage over the anthropologist--he is generally hired by the people themselves and thus has a more well-defined role within the group. As such, it would seem likely that the problem of establishing initial communication links would be lessened and would put the planner in a position where his queries would be more accepted. Planning research also has physical manifestations, unlike most social science research, and is 'action-oriented.' Unfortunately, there have been poor researchers in all fields of study, and others such as journalists who have posed as social scientists, who have created an aura

of mistrust among many native groups who have been the subjects of so many studies that they are simply unwilling to engage in further projects which do not benefit them in a recognizable tangible sense.

Other problems exist with regard to fieldwork even after a communication network has been established with the residents of the community. Psychological stress is likely to occur in relation to many field situations, stemming from 'culture shock' or any number of other problems. Long term fieldwork may result in dysadaptation syndrome or conflict of involvement. It is very important to any type of social studies that the researchers maintain as much objectivity as possible and somehow protect themselves from their own subjective assumptions and value judgements. Training in anthropology will not rid an investigator of all cultural bias, "but methodological training can provide ways of minimizing the researcher's personal biases by means of systematic, objectifiable research tools" (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 36).

The above paragraphs, which deal with some of the potential problems involved with ethnographic research, conclude the discussion on anthropological field techniques. In the early days of anthropological research, the major concern was to collect descriptive ethnographic data about non-western cultures by techniques such as those noted above. In more recent years, anthropologists have moved into several other directions of study. Today research may take place in an urban neighbourhood or in any number of other settings involving ethnic groups who are moving into the modern world. Studies are often carried out according to systematic research paradigms whereby hypotheses may be tested. Some such paradigms are summarized below (Brim and Spain, 1974):

1. Pretest-Posttest Paradigm: In this situation the anthropologist will examine a community before a certain feature or activity is introduced. After the fact he will return to see what change has been effected or whether his hypothesis has occurred as predicted.

i.e. Treatment Group $\begin{array}{ccc} 0 & X & 0 \\ \hline \end{array}$

where '0' (observation) represents a measure of the dependent variable and X represents exposure to a high level of the independent variable.

2. Static-Group Comparison Paradigm: The anthropologist might elect to compare one group already exposed to a certain thing with another group not exposed.

i.e. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Treatment Group} & X & 0 \\ \hline \text{Comparison Group} & & 0 \end{array}$

3. Nonequivalent Control Group Paradigm: This is like the Pretest-Posttest Paradigm, except that as a control the same measurements as were taken in the treatment group are also taken in a comparison group not affected by the independent variable.

i.e. $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Treatment Group} & 0 & X & 0 \\ \hline \text{Comparison Group} & 0 & & 0 \end{array}$

The researcher must always be aware of factors which are potentially creating an error factor in his research: extraneous variables might be affecting the dependent variable; the research technique used to obtain measurements might have 'reactive effects' on the dependent variable (i.e. an interview may affect people's thoughts). Despite the problems involved with the use of such research paradigms, they are of potential use to planners. At the present time, as indicated in Chapter III, planning for native communities is conducted on an individual basis by various consultants. Perhaps some

comparative and evaluative studies, set up along the lines of the paradigms discussed here, would be useful in helping to determine how various elements of the planning process employed have manifested themselves within the communities.

In conclusion, this chapter has attempted to summarize some of the anthropological literature and techniques which may be of value to planners working for native communities, with ethnic enclaves in the urban environment, in developing countries or in any number of other situations. The time generally available for planning exercises rarely allows for a planner to spend several months in a community and so perhaps it is even more critical that information gathering is carried out in a methodologically sound manner so as to ensure that as much useable data as possible is collected in the period of time allotted. The true significance of basic descriptive information is an aspect of anthropological research which is often misunderstood. While predictions of consequences and forecasts are usually made by planners, administrators or other agencies, and not by social scientists, "their policy decisions, we may assume, are most effective when they are based on accurate descriptive data" (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 248). This section has stressed the fact that methodological objectivity is critical, and that anthropological techniques are the best way to achieve their end. The following chapter will discuss in greater detail how a functional link between anthropology and planning may be developed.

CHAPTER V

THE 'ANTHROPOLOGY OF PLANNING:' AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PROSPECTUS

This chapter will discuss a prospectus for an 'anthropology of planning in light of the historical data presented earlier. The second chapter in this thesis provided an overview of the evolution of native community planning in Manitoba. This data should illustrate some of the issues involved, how and why the present-day situation arose, some of the forces involved, how government thought evolved and how the people reacted to and felt about the situation. Chapter III discussed 'Planning Today' and demonstrated many of the changes which have occurred recently, the improvements that have been made in service delivery, planning processes, resident involvement, government policy and so forth, and how modern planners are attempting to deal with the situation. The ultimate objective in presenting this data, beyond its innate value as a concise data base from which future studies may benefit, is to conclusively substantiate three facts which must be recognized by anyone working in the area of native community planning:

1. The entire situation is extremely complex. There is a vast range of issues and problems, and a wide variety of 'actors' in diverse roles, which makes communication difficult.
2. Despite apparent improvements in recent years, very many long-standing issues have yet to be dealt with effectively and no resolutions to most of these are in sight within the near future.

3. Although there is no one answer which will resolve all of the issues, there are ways in which the situation may be improved. The ultimate goal of this thesis is to attempt to define and operationalize one approach which will hopefully prove to be of some value in reducing some of the problems associated with native community planning. This chapter will discuss the proposed approach--which may be called an 'interdisciplinary prospectus for an anthropology of planning.'

A. Applied Anthropology

With specific reference to the topic at hand, there is one particular branch of anthropological research which is of interest and should be discussed in some detail. This is the branch known as 'applied anthropology' or 'action anthropology.' Applied anthropologists use their "theoretical concepts, factual knowledge and research methodologies in programs meant to ameliorate contemporary social, economic and technological problems" (Foster, 1969: vii). Traditionally anthropologists have devoted most of their time to university work and theoretical pursuits, but in recent years a few of them have shifted their attention to problems of social and cultural change. What makes anthropology 'applied' is the kind of relationship the anthropologist enjoys with an innovating organization--he is, in effect, hired by an organization and expected to apply his knowledge to a specific project such as public health or community development. Applied anthropology, then, is one branch of the discipline which is oriented not only towards investigation of social issues from a theoretical perspective, but rather is explicitly devoted to practical, problem-solving research.

Applied anthropology, it is proposed here, is of immense value to planning. Specialists in the field have been included in several types of

projects, particularly in the United States where such work is much more common than in Canada. In one instance an Indian community asked the applied anthropologist to help them with their public relations; in another, the researcher acted as monitor and advisor in connection with a hydro-electric project; community health programs sometimes include an applied anthropologist--doctors have been aware for some time of the importance of understanding folk medicine practices when dealing with non-western cultures; in at least one instance, an anthropologist aided in the architectural design of a facility for senior citizens in a native community.

The applied anthropologist is of particular value to the planner in today's world, when 'planned' or 'directed' culture change is common. It is at this point that a distinct link between planning and applied anthropology can be noted: directed culture change goals are dual, almost always involving changes in the physical environment and in the behaviour of the people; "if the appropriate changes in behaviour do not accompany environmental modification, a project is of dubious merit" (Foster, 1969: 5). In terms of planning for Euro-Canadian urban areas, perhaps the planner himself can deal with both of these directed culture change goals. In the case of native community planning he may not be able to deal with either of them. That communication and other difficulties are common should be evident after a perusal of the data presented in previous chapters. Perhaps it can be said that one of the factors which causes a lack of understanding between the planner and his native clients is that the problems as cited by the professionals are often defined within the narrow frameworks of the profession itself, whereby answers are sought within the same

context.

'Improved' design as seen by the professional is not necessarily improved design as seen by the potential user. The best solution to a specific need is not a professional absolute, capable of application anywhere in the world. Rather, the appropriate answer is a function of local cultural, social and economic forms, one element in a complex of related factors (ibid: 7).

Foster, in his excellent book Applied Anthropology (1969), cites several examples of cases where a 'problem' perceived by planners did not in fact exist.

It is proposed here that a most important factor towards the operationalization of an 'anthropology of planning' is that native community planning must involve employment or at least consultation of an applied anthropologist, whose task it would be to ferret out expectations and needs of the native peoples prior to the actual beginning of the planning exercise and possibly monitor activities during the planning process. Often the major contribution provided by the anthropologist will be descriptive information. Such a researcher may be asked to reconstruct past events, for example, from available evidence, and such studies have proven to be of great value in such things as court cases involving native territorial claims. The applied anthropologist sometimes functions in the role of a 'cultural broker,' whereby he will act as a liaison between the natives and the planner or government official. Such efforts would very possibly increase the usefulness and acceptability of the planning exercise and would hopefully help the planner to communicate more effectively with his clients.

B. Culture: An Anthropological Perspective

The term 'culture' is often referred to in many contexts, as it has been several times throughout this thesis. What the term actually means

should be clarified at this point, in the context of a discussion on anthropology. While 'culture' is referred to extensively within other disciplines it is most obviously important within this broad field of study. Indeed, the two basic questions towards which virtually all anthropological research is directed, despite the diversity suggested by its various sub-areas, are:

1. how do different cultural systems, in their considerable variety, come to be as they are?, and
 2. how do these different cultural systems work? (Kaplan and Manner, 1972: 2).
- The central problem is the explanation of cultural similarities.

Only in examining those mechanisms, structures and devices lying outside of man--the means by which he achieves his own transformation--can we learn why some groups differ in their beliefs, values, behaviour and social forms from others...These collective mechanisms, structures and devices lying outside of man (outside in an analytic rather than some metaphysical sense) are what anthropologists have called culture (ibid: 3).

Although culture is one of the discipline's core concepts, there have been dozens of different definitions put forth. Basically, while there are various orientations, it can be said that culture...

...refers to those phenomena which account for patterns of behaving that cannot be fully explained by psychobiological concepts...In other words, anthropologists are concerned not simply with human behaviour, but rather with traditional or institutionalized behaviour (ibid: 3).

In terms of a more specific definition of culture, the one proposed by Leslie White (1949) will be presented for use here. White proposes that culture is the name of a distinct order, or class, of phenomena, namely those things and events that are dependent upon the exercise of a mental ability, peculiar to the human species, that has been termed 'symboling' (White, 1949: 363). Culture is composed of material objects, acts, beliefs and attitudes that function in contexts characterized by symboling. It is

an elaborate mechanism--an organization of exosomatic ways and means employed in a struggle for survival, which is transmitted from one generation to the next. The overall concept is said to consist of three sub-systems (ibid: 364):

1. Technological System: composed of the material, mechanical, physical and chemical instruments, together with the techniques of their use, by which man is articulated with his natural environment; includes tools of production, materials of shelter and instruments of offense and defense.
2. Sociological System: made up of interpersonal relations expressed in patterns of behaviour; includes a social, kinship, economic, ethical, political, military, ecclesiastical, occupational and professional, recreational etc. systems.
3. Ideological/Philosophical Systems: composed of ideas, beliefs and knowledge expressed in speech or other symbolic form; includes mythologies, theologies, legend, literature, philosophy, science, folk wisdom and common sense knowledge.

White professes that the primary role is played by the technological system, basing his contention on the fact that culture is dependent upon the material, mechanical means of adjustment to the natural environment. Man must have food, be protected from the elements and defend himself-- "These three things he must do if he is to continue to live, and these objectives are attained only by technological means" (ibid: 365). This writer accepts the basic concept, and although White carries on to formulate a concept of cultural evolution which is debated, further expansion is not necessary within the context of this paper. What is of interest here with reference to planning is the idea that the three sub-systems of

culture are proposed to exist in what might be called hierarchical horizontal strata. This may be diagrammed as follows:

- PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM - expresses technological forces and reflects social systems

- SOCIOLOGICAL SYSTEM - functions of technology

- TECHNOLOGICAL SYSTEM - basic, primary level

If we accept White's contention that the technology level is the most important one, and that the other two condition the operation of technologies but do not determine them, then it follows that they key to an understanding of the growth and development of culture is technology.

From a planning standpoint, such a concept is important: the technological level is the one which the planning process generally affects directly. This means that the results of planning, which often include the introduction of new modes of building, tools, means of subsistence, materials of shelter and so forth to native communities, has a great effect on the basic level of culture and thereby indirectly will supposedly create changes in the sociological system and eventually in the ideological system. Recognition of this by a planner is of critical importance and cannot be overstressed. As was noted in a previous chapter, early native community planning efforts did not appear to recognize this interrelationship. Today's planners are becoming increasingly cognizant of the fact that their activities will have decided ramifications on the lives of the people involved. It is proposed here that an understanding of culture in general and of northern native culture in particular will

undoubtedly aid the planner and his clients, and that this information can be derived only by the use of anthropology--the one discipline which revolves around the concept of culture and has attempted to explain it.

C. Perceptions, Attitudes and World Views

The study of environmental perception has long been of concern to scholars in many fields, among them anthropology and planning. It is proposed here that this type of research is of extreme value and must be considered an integral part of an 'anthropology of planning.' Euro-Canadian planners must learn not only that native peoples have a different system from theirs, but also the nature of that system. In other words, to get along within the boundaries of another culture "without being unexpectedly battered, one must transcend one's own system" (Hall, 1977: 51). This writer suggests that anthropology can be of extreme value to the planner in this regard.

It is important first to define the various terms which are used here. Those devised by Tuan (1974: 3) in his fine study Topophilia are very useful:

Perception is both the response of the senses to external stimuli and purposeful activity in which certain phenomena are clearly registered while others recede in the shade or are blocked out.

Attitude is primarily a cultural stance, a position one takes vis-a-vis the world. It has greater stability than perception and is formed of a long succession of perceptions, that is, of experience.

World View is a conceptualized experience. It is partly personal, largely social. It is an attitude or belief system; the word 'system' implies that the attitudes and beliefs are structured, however arbitrary the links may seem, from an impersonal (objective) standpoint.

When two different cultures come into contact with one another, there will almost inevitably be communication problems which lead to misunder-

standing and frustration on both sides. In the case of the Euro-Canadian planner and the native community, the situation is no different--indeed, one consultant noted that... "It is difficult to say who is more frustrated--the planner or the people who are planned for." Given two very different cultural heritages, each of which leads to different perceptions, attitudes and world views, it is not surprising that problems arise.

Perceptions of native peoples have been touched upon briefly in the chapter on traditional settlements. It is imperative that the planner become aware of how these people perceive their environment--only then may he perhaps begin to understand how and why their living space is structured the way it is, why the people live the way they do and so forth. This is not a simple task, by any means, and certainly the study of anthropology will not in itself provide all the answers. It has been suggested, however, that there are likely only two even partially effective means of overcoming one's own cultural biases and beginning to understand the system of another group (Hall, 1977: 53-54):

1. spend a lifetime living in a foreign situation, or
2. undergo extensive training in language and culture.

Given that the former proposal is not possible for most planners, the second implies that anthropological data can be of help. While a detailed account of all of the available literature on the subject of environmental perception cannot be presented here,* some specific examples will be discussed in order to illustrate a few conclusions which can be drawn from

*see Hall (Beyond Culture), Perin (With Man in Mind), Rapoport (House Form and Culture), Relph (Place and Placelessness), Tuan (Topophilia) and others in bibliography.

anthropological research that should be of great value to the native community planner.

One such example is the research into cross-cultural perception of time, conducted by anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1977). Hall notes that there are basically two broad systems of time perception--polychronic (P-time) and monochronic (M-time). P-time systems are characterized by several things happening at once; time tends to be viewed as a point rather than a linear ribbon. With polychronic people, "nothing seems solid or firm, particularly plans for the future, and there are always changes in the most important plans right up to the last minute" (Hall, 1977: 18). This appears to be very much characteristic of the Algonkian peoples of northern Manitoba and many other native American groups, as Hall notes it is of such populations as the Arabs and Turks. M-time systems, characteristic of western Europeans, are those whereby time is continually scheduled and ordered; time is seen as linear and segmented, extending forward into the future and back into the past. In monochronic societies, time is so thoroughly "woven into the fabric of existence that we are hardly aware of the degree to which it determines and co-ordinates everything we do" (ibid: 18). The relevance of such intriguing data to native community planning should be very clear--while the Euro-Canadian planner most likely looks upon time as a tangible thing, and even speaks of it as being 'saved,' 'wasted' or 'lost,' the native cannot easily comprehend such a thing, and is more concerned with the immediate moment. It is not difficult to understand, given this information, why the residents of the native communities so often stress their desires for immediate physical manifestations of planning and are not so concerned as the planner with

concepts such as 'long-range planning' or 'budgeting of funds.' Hall notes (ibid: 21) the example of some Inuit men who were employed in a factory and were expected to start and stop work according to whistles. To them the idea that men would work or not work because of a whistle seemed sheer lunacy. Traditionally, people would work according to their own creative feelings, or according to natural conditions such as the tides. Obviously an understanding of such factors on the part of the planner would be an extremely valuable means towards facilitating communication with native clients.

While involved in a discussion of perception of time, there is one particular concept which this writer feels is important to take note of--the concept of 'futuraity.' Alvin Toffler (1970) coined the term Future Shock to describe "the dizzying disorientation brought on by the premature arrival of the future" (p. 11). 'Future shock' is "the disease of change" (p. 2):

The concept of future shock--and the theory of adaptation that derives from it--strongly suggests that there must be balance... between the pace of environmental change and the limited pace of human response. For future shock grows out of the increasing lag between the two (ibid: 3-4).

Toffler's theory of adaptation revolves around the concept of futuraity: in order to survive, humans must be able to adapt to constant and rapid change, and this means they must be able to conceive of the concept of 'the future' so as to be able to plan for it and deal with it.

With relation to the topic at hand, it is interesting to note that futuraity is precisely a trait not found among the native groups of northern Manitoba (Dickman, 1973: 148).

It may be that a concept of futuraity as a working force in life is equally absent from any ethnic group which retains the basic

personality structure that was necessary for survival in a hunting and gathering economy (ibid: 148).

The hunter/gatherers of northern Manitoba were tied for survival to a capricious Nature and present use "was the only orientation that could bring much promise of satisfaction in life" (ibid: 148). Anthropological research has shown that the basic personality of the Saulteaux people of Manitoba has not changed to this day (Hallowell, 1955).

With reference to planning, recognition of this information is of obvious importance, for "the more strongly oriented an individual is to the present, or to the past, the less likely he is to be able to successfully handle change" (Dickman, 1973: 148). The early relocation projects did not take into account that if there is one characteristic which is essential for the success of such ventures, "it is an ability to adapt to changing situations" (ibid: 148) and an orientation towards the future.

What is significant is that if survival, or successful adaptation, depends upon modification of one's response to a situation, and upon one's ability to plan how one will manage one's life in the future, then the absence of an orientation towards the future predisposes one toward failure (ibid: 149).

This issue of futurity will be referred to in subsequent pages, for it is a concept that is very central to the problems involved with native community planning.

Another example of perceptual research conducted within the field of anthropology which can potentially be of value to planners is the study of how various cultures perceive and utilize space (i.e. Hall, 1969; Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Sealey and Kirkness, 1973; Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1966; Sando and Scholer, 1976; Pothier, 1968; Rapoport, 1969). The Saulteaux peoples of Manitoba traditionally perceived space on a cosmographic level, whereby their world was believed to exist on three planes.

"This combines existential space and sacred space with ideas of cognitive and perhaps elements of pragmatic space" and can be illustrated as shown in Figure IX (page 118) (Relph, 1976: 27). An understanding of such notions is of importance to the planner. In the past, there seems to have been an underlying attitude that space within a native community had to be organized in the 'best' way to maximize efficiency, and little concern was paid to areas which held significance for the people.

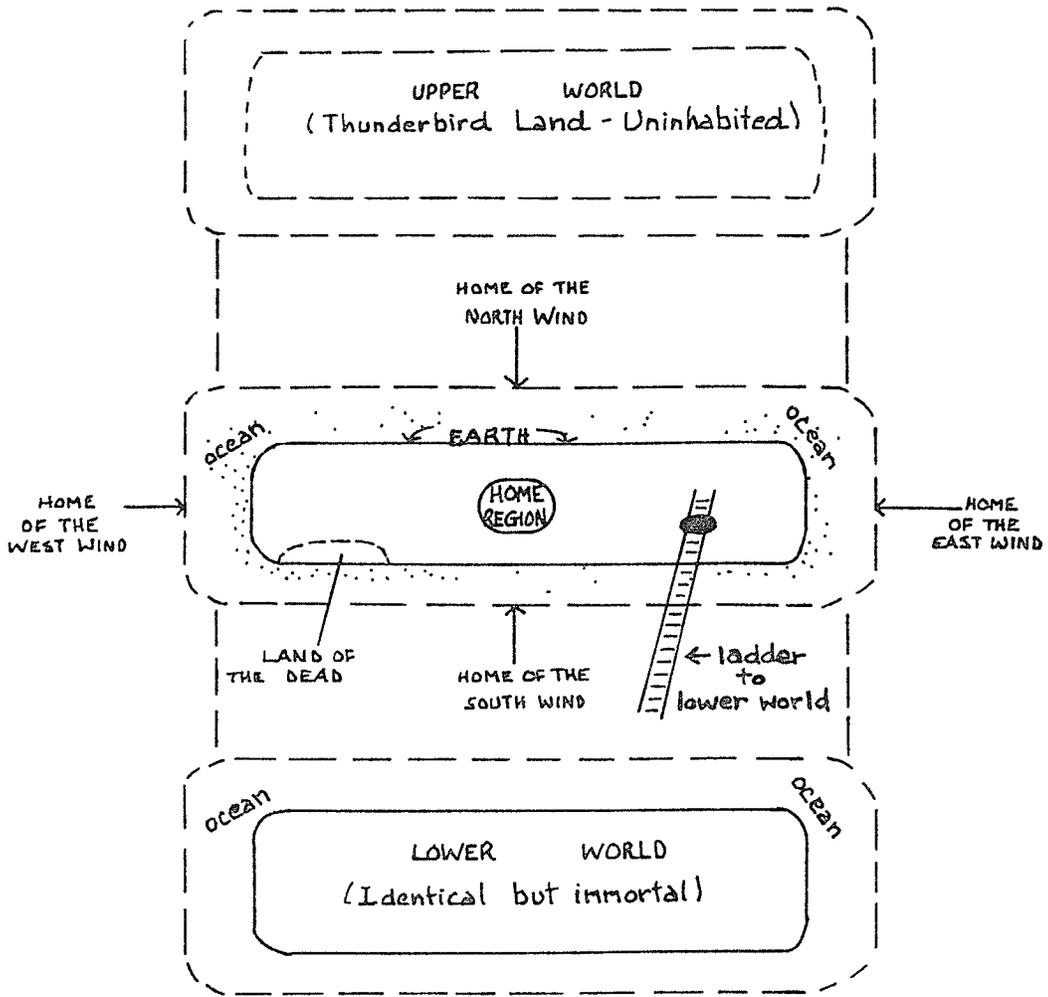
Much physical and social planning is founded on an implicit assumption that space is uniform and objects and activities can be manipulated and freely located within it; differentiation by significance is of little importance and places are reduced to simple locations with their greatest quality being development potential (ibid: 87).

Tuan (1974) also stresses that the significance of place must be considered-- indeed, he has coined the word 'topophilia' to describe an encounter with a place that is intensely personal and profoundly significant.

Hall (1969) has examined how various cultures perceive space on several different levels, noting that different cultures inhabit different sensory worlds whereby sensory data is selectively sifted through culturally patterned screens. He discusses such things as kinesthetic space (body movement, position and tension), thermal space (skin sensations; 'contact' versus 'non-contact' peoples), tactile space (touching) and visual space (judgement of distance and so forth). Hall concludes that knowledge of how a culture perceives such space is critical to a planner and that "psychologists, anthropologists and ethologists are seldom, if ever, prominently featured as permanent member of planning departments but they should be" (Hall, 1969: 169).

This brief section has only summarized a small amount of the anthropological data related to the cross-cultural study of perception. Hopefully

Figure IX



COSMOGRAPHIC NOTIONS OF
THE SAULTEAUX

(Relph 1976: 27, based on account by Hallowell 1955)

it has illustrated several areas from which planners can, and occasionally do, draw valuable information. The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada prepared a report in 1966 which summarized some of the cultural/perceptual differences between natives and Euro-Canadians, and perhaps an overview of some of their views can be presented here to demonstrate some of the major areas which the planner should become aware of (pages 18-21):

1. The Euro-Canadian way of life is future-oriented, while the native way of life is present-oriented;
2. Time is of less real importance to the Indian, while it is the hub of the Euro-Canadians' economic and social relationships;
3. The Euro-Canadian tends to find pride in "work for work's sake," while the Indian tradition "lies in harmony with nature and 'just living'";
4. Euro-Canadian society functions in terms of planning and organization and therefore tends to plan for native people in terms of its own frame of reference. Education to the values of punctuality, efficiency and expediency is necessary for the native if he is to achieve social mobility and success in the modern job market;
5. The Indian traditionally solves problems on a day-to-day basis, rather than through long-term planning.

In addition to these factors, the planner should take note of other features of native culture (Sealey and Kirkness, 1973: 58-60):

1. Social organization is based on ties of kinship and personal relationships. Impersonal relationships are avoided whenever possible and work is carried out in co-operation with relatives and friends;
2. The Indian is not 'general oriented,' and needs personal relationships;
3. Euro-Canadians are taught to react in unstructured situations, while

the Indian is taught to rely on experience;

4. The organization of the native community is based on 'group thinking'-- an idea which is contrary to the Euro-Canadian's notion of bureaucracy.

In summary, the native community planner must become aware of the factors involved in how the people perceive their environment, how they use space, how they perceive time and so forth, in order to be able to carry out planning which will be sensitive to the existing situation. As has been indicated, due to the vast differences between the two cultures involved, the expectations of the Euro-Canadian planner will not necessarily correspond with those of his clients. Knowledge of the anthropological data, and certainly that from other fields of study such as psychology, will aid the planner in his attempts to appreciate the cognitive orientation and the perceptive reactions of the people, and thus likely improve communication at all levels of the planning process.

D. Anthropology and Planning Theory

Now that the basic anthropological data has been presented, and discussed in brief as to its relevance to the actual planning of native communities, some attempt should be made to discuss it within the context of general planning theory.

Planning and anthropology, it is proposed here, have actually moved through a similar transition phase--this is a key point in the establishment of an 'anthropology of planning.' Anthropology was, in the past, a field which was restricted almost entirely to university research and theoretical pursuits, whereby fieldwork was carried out primarily to collect data for these purposes. Over the past several years, the discipline has been moving more and more towards such things as 'action,' 'applied'

or 'advocacy' anthropology, and anthropologists are now often engaged in active pursuits involving solutions to modern problems. Planning has also gone through a change, which is in some respects very much akin to that experienced in anthropology, although there are obviously some very germane differences between the two situations. Planners of several years ago were often viewed as technicians and often engaged in their assignments primarily from a physical point of reference. Today's planners are active participants in the planning process and are concerned with social issues. It is at this point that a clear link between the two fields can be made evident: the recently-evolved 'action planner,' in order to act within the planning process, must be involved and interact with other experts who can contribute skills and knowledge that are different from those of planners. The 'action' or 'applied' anthropologist is in much the same situation--he must interact closely with experts in other fields in order that his research results can potentially be put to use. The native community planner requires an intimate knowledge of the culture of his clients, among other things, and here the anthropologist can be of aid.

Shifts in planning thought accompanied the transition from the planner's traditionally passive role to an active one (i.e. note Friedmann and Hudson's 1974 article entitled "Knowledge and Action: A Guide to Planning Theory"). Planning can be defined as...

...an activity centrally concerned with the linkage between knowledge and organized action. As a professional activity and as a social process, planning is located precisely at the interface between knowledge and action (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974: 2).

At least four different areas of thought have been proposed which grapple with this relationship. These may be summarized as follows (ibid: 3-4):

1. Philosophical Synthesis--The authors categorized under this tradition

are those whose work lies outside of any of the major traditions, but who nonetheless have had decisive influence on planning theory. All authors stress interdisciplinary study, and have moved into whatever areas of knowledge seemed to be necessary for achieving an integrated view of planning as a social process (i.e. Dunn, 1971; Etzioni, 1968; Friedmann, 1973).

2. Rationalism--This school of planning theory is predominantly concerned with how decisions can be made more rationally, or how the 'best' answer to a stated problem can be arrived at.

3. Organizational Development--This field of study is primarily focused on ways to achieve desired changes in organizational structure and behaviour. It is heavily rooted in psychology and the sociology of organizations.

4. Empiricism--The focus here is on the functioning of large-scale political and economic systems. The central concern is with studies of national and urban planning processes.

Of greatest interest to the directives of this thesis is the 'philosophical synthesis' tradition, particularly the paradigm which arose in the early 1970's. The new paradigm moved away from the 'humanistic' bent of the 1960's and stressed "man's psycho-social development as a central focus of planning, and portrayed planning itself as a form of social learning" (ibid: 7). Authors such as Friedmann (1973) and Dunn (1971) rejected the traditional bureaucratic model of organization and saw planning as a form of social learning that occurred in loosely linked task-oriented work groups:

They emphasized interpersonal transactions as the basic means of exchange between technical experts and clients. In this process, scientific and technical knowledge was seen to fuse with the personal knowledge of client actors in a process of mutual learning. They also pointed to the spoken word of dialogue as the medium

through which mutual learning would occur, facilitating the transition from knowledge to action. The direct object of such planning was the innovative adaptation of social organizations to a constantly shifting environment, but its ultimate purpose was to support and enhance man's own development as a person in the course of the transforming action itself (Friedmann and Hudson, 1974: 7).

The answer to the problem of how to link knowledge to action has been variously called "social learning" (Dunn, 1971) or "transactive planning" (Friedmann, 1973). These proposed solutions involve a process of mutual learning, whereby increasing numbers of people are drawn directly into the decision-making process for their own society. This notion goes beyond that of 'participation'--it implies total involvement where each member of the group can actively contribute to a learning society.

Towards the development of a model of 'transactive planning' ("a process of mutual learning between experts and client groups, in which interpersonal relations acquire central importance"), Friedmann suggests that planning has two main elements: forethought and reason (1973: 10). With regard to the data presented earlier, where it was noted that future orientation--or forethought--was a trait foreign to northern Canadian native peoples, it can perhaps be intimated that the initiation of a transactive planning process within these groups will be extremely difficult, to say the least. The key to any process of social learning or transactive planning is dialogue--how can a Euro-Canadian planner and a northern native become engaged in any such interaction unless they first both undergo intensive study of one another's culture to understand that several factors, such as potential lack of a comparable futurity concept, exist which will impede communication? It is proposed here that anthropological data can help the planner to overcome this communication problem by increasing his knowledge about his clients.

Friedmann notes that a major problem with regard to planning is how to translate decisions into actions. This is an extremely common problem with regard to native community planning in Manitoba, where few plans are ever implemented even after they have been officially adopted by the Band. Unfortunately, "the idea that planning and implementation are two distinct and separable activities dies hard" (Friedmann, 1973: 17-18). What is needed is a way by which action and the planning process can be fused into a single operation so the conceptual distinctions of planning-decision-implementation-recycling are washed out: all should be viewed as inseparable parts of the whole (ibid: 19). This kind of conceptualization demands a transactive relationship between the planner and his clients, and successful planning will depend upon the planner's skill in establishing and managing interpersonal relations. In order to achieve this state of affairs, "planners must possess a relevant knowledge of the society" (ibid: 95). Anthropology will most certainly, then, be an aid towards creation of a transactive relationship between the native community planner and the community.

The transactive planning model proposed by Friedmann, it is agreed upon here, is the only way by which native community planning can be carried out to its fullest potentials. Basically, it attempts to change "knowledge into action through an unbroken sequence of interpersonal relations" and is a "response to the widening gulf in communication between technical planners and their clients" (ibid: 171). Friedmann's words could have been written in specific reference to the topic at hand when he noted (ibid: 172):

The barriers to effective communication between those whose knowledge rests chiefly on personal experience are rising...Messages may be

exchanged, but the relevant meanings are not effectively communicated. As a result, the linkage of knowledge with action is often weak or non-existent...The real solution involves a restructuring of the basic relationship between planner and client (italics mine).

This last statement relates back to the central theme of this paper. The planner works mainly with processed knowledge, theories, methodologies and so forth, while the native client draws his personal knowledge from experience. Given that the planners' presentations of documents, charts and graphs are unfamiliar and confusing even to members of his own society, it should not be difficult to recognize the magnitude of the natives' confusion, considering cultural and language differences on top of all else. A primary question posed by Friedmann is 'how can the barrier between planner and client be overcome?'--"The traditional means, an exchange of formal documents, has not proved spectacularly successful in the past" (ibid: 176).

If the communication gap between planner and client is to be closed, a continuing series of personal and primary verbal transactions between them is needed, through which processed knowledge is fused with personal knowledge and both are fused with action (ibid: 177).

From the data which has been presented earlier, and that to follow, this thesis is attempting to illustrate how the use of anthropological data, theory and techniques can help to overcome this barrier. Creation of an 'anthropology of planning' is one way by which a process of mutual learning can be facilitated by creation of better understanding.

E. The Anthropology of Planning: A Prospectus

This thesis has thus far examined two fields of endeavor--planning and anthropology--with specific reference to native community planning. Throughout the paper the writer has attempted to link the two fields together at several points and to support the contention that many of the problems associated with this type of activity can be relieved if the two

fields could become more closely aligned with one another, in order to increase knowledge all around and thus encourage productive action.

A reader might argue that planners already know about anthropological literature, and that interdisciplinary co-operation is common in the planning field. It is this writer's contention that while 'lip service' is paid to such things, in fact there is very little actual co-operation between the two fields, despite the fact that both can be of immeasurable value to one another and can ultimately contribute more to native community development if closely intertwined than either can alone. This thesis is an argument against what might be referred to as 'academic chauvenism.' Planners and anthropologists, and indeed researchers in many other disciplines, must begin to overcome the pre-existing concepts that are seen as delimiting their respective fields and learn to co-operate with one another to the fullest possible extent.

In terms of anthropology and the other social sciences, it is important that research be concerned with current public issues as well as with methodologically sound information gathering. Perhaps most important is that anthropologists must begin to communicate their findings more effectively so that those who are in a position to put the data to use may do so. Social scientists can aid the planner and policy maker "by providing valuable insights into factors which influence the process of developmental change" (Chance, 1968: 11) as well as in numerous other ways, as noted in previous sections, if only they can learn to get information across to people other than those within their own discipline, with whom they communicate via their professional journals and closed conferences. Collaboration will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

One other area in which sociological and anthropological data and principles may potentially be utilized is towards the prediction of the results of social planning and action...

The professional literature is rich in POST FACTUM analysis of social and cultural change. Have we reached the stage where we can predict not only what will fail but also what will succeed? Can our universities train sociologists and anthropologists for action programs as well as for teaching and research careers? Older sciences such as medicine, pedagogy, social work etc. have more professionals in the action field than in teaching and research. The contrary is true for sociology and anthropology, at least in Manitoba. Are we soon coming to the stage when, according to Sol Tax... 'Social scientists will refuse such easy escapes from a real problem as our formulae involving the scientist qua scientist versus qua citizen or qua human being?' He could have added... qua planner and qua administrator (Lagassé, 1961-62: 237).

The value of social science data has often been noted in planning literature:

Interdisciplinary research is necessary... [It] implies a joint role for all the social sciences. All have a necessary contribution to make in specifying the nature and pursuing the exercise of social learning (Dunn, 1971: 257).

...social science theory can be scientifically valid, can be intellectually relevant and can serve as a springboard for active participation... We reject the idea that there is no more to social analysis than neutral research (Etzioni, 1968: viii).

Participant-observer studies of anthropologists and sociologists are helping to supply the planning field with a fuller appreciation of modes of human behaviour of significance in land use planning. They involve a specialized form of investigation which shows promise of adaptation to city planning needs and becoming a part of the continuing survey and study effort of planning agencies (Chapin, 1965: 38).

Despite the profusion of comments such as these which strongly support the basic premises of this thesis, it is still true that the link between anthropology and planning is all but non-existent in any real sense. The construction of this 'bridge' is important to all different types of planning, but with regard to native community planning it is perhaps particularly

so at this point in time, when industry is proceeding at such a rapid rate in the north, native populations are expanding too rapidly for existing facilities and the urban native problem is becoming severe. Northern natives in Manitoba are people "with a foot in both worlds--the close world of the community and kin and the open world of individualism and technical skills" (Lotz, 1977: 83). This situation makes planning an extremely precarious pursuit--does one carry out planning activities which would provide these communities with all of the amenities of the industrialized world? Is it better to plan totally within the traditional framework? Perhaps the ultimate query along this line is, should these communities be planned at all? In response to this last question, the answer is clear when one examines the facts--most of the native communities in Manitoba do require some form of planning. There are several reasons to support this position:

1. Reserve populations are increasing two to three times as fast as those in southern Canada, but the extent of land is not. Despite the recent land claims of several Indian and Eskimo groups in North America, there is an immediate scarcity of reserve land for many Bands. This situation necessitates that the best possible use must be made of the available land.
2. If the northern reserves are not made socio-economically viable on a long-term basis, recent migration/population trends suggest that the Indian/Metis population of Winnipeg could increase from 40,000 to 100,000 by the year 1985 (Winnipeg Free Press, 1977). If such projections are correct, "we are going to have to come across with some great planning to avoid creating a massive ghetto in Winnipeg" (ibid). Immediate and action-oriented planning on the reserves may be one way by which such a situation may be alleviated.

3. The need for comprehensive, long-range, 'systems' planning is obvious when one observes first-hand the adverse impacts which have resulted from haphazard, piecemeal development, as discussed in previous chapters. While in God's Lake Narrows, Manitoba, in 1977 for example, the writer observed several examples of how thoughtless, piecemeal development created problems for the residents: the airstrip was built so as to segment the settlement into two distinct halves, which has affected social relations within the community; the non-status people were provided with a subdivision far back away from the water's edge, despite an abundance of lakefront land, which they are extremely unhappy about; the roads do not follow any natural contours and thus there are continual problems with erosion and drainage; the roads were also cut across prime lakefront land in some cases and many of the path networks were destroyed. Long-range plans are needed to co-ordinate all such development activities into a framework whereby the community is regarded as a system of inter-related parts, and it is kept in mind that every development will have an effect on other parts of the whole.

4. Another reason why planning is desirable for native communities is that often the residents themselves request it. As noted by Mr. Rabi Alam, Regional Planner for Saskatchewan, "the power and responsibility to plan for the future is perhaps the most important function of Band Government" (Alam, 1977 (in-house report): 5). Alam stresses that the plan can assist Band government in this regard through (ibid: 5):

- promotion of increased co-ordination of all involved parties with consequent implications for implementation;
- a better awareness of alternative possibilities and their comparative costs and benefits;

- realization of objectives more expeditiously by anticipating future problems;
- realization of objectives in a more economic manner with respect to human and natural resources and monetary investments;
- provision of a framework for negotiations of individual interests, whether they be similar, complementary or conflicting in nature.

The question, then, is not 'to plan or not to plan,' but rather how best to plan. No longer can planners intervene and force their 'professional' views on the residents of a community, as was seen during the Easterville and Moose Lake relocations of the early 1960's; neither, however, can idealistic social scientists oppose development in the north and succeed in their efforts to maintain the social and natural environment in a non-industrialized state. Part of the answer which will lead towards a melding of the two extremes of the past is interdisciplinary co-operation of the highest possible order--in this thesis it is proposed that an 'anthropology of planning' can be developed as a recognizable prospectus towards the goal of improving native community planning efforts, but the idea is equally applicable to any number of other situations. Already there are 'cross-over' fields which have successfully reached the point where two different disciplines have come together to produce results which would not have been borne in either alone. 'Ethnomusicology', for example, links anthropology and musicology together in order to scientifically study music in a cross-cultural context.

The 'anthropology of planning' can be initially defined as that field of study which links anthropology and planning together in order to establish a comparative base by which planners can learn that non-western peoples

do not always fit into those traditional planning frameworks which are useful only in the context of western society. More succinctly, the 'anthropology of planning' may be said to deal with planning as it relates to groups traditionally outside of western civilization. It should be stressed that the emphasis here is on creation of a process of study whereby the hows and whys related to planning within another culture are examined. In other words, it is not sufficient to simply describe traditional community planning of various cultures or groups and plan according to these prototypes (there are some books which do deal with such descriptive data, such as Fraser's Village Planning in the Primitive World and Rapoport's House Form and Culture)--this is a trap to which many planners appear to be susceptible. Instead planners should be able to use such knowledge, derived from comprehensive anthropological study, to come to some kind of an understanding as to how and why a Cree community, for example, came to be the way it is, and perhaps how such knowledge can be used to plan for the future. The 'anthropology of planning,' then, makes its unique contribution in welding together aspects of anthropology and planning in such a way that each complements the other and leads to a fuller understanding of both.

F. Operationalizing the Prospectus

Perin (1970: 2) has noted that interdisciplinary collaboration is often exhorted but that "the specifics of how to collaborate have been elusive." This section will attempt to operationalize an 'anthropology of planning' prospectus in order to illustrate the problems associated with trying to link up the two fields, how some measure of collaboration between the two may be accomplished and how positive action with regard

to native community planning may be stimulated as a result. As Perin notes (ibid: 6):

Collaboration is sparse, and even then inadequately productive. Why is it that what seems just a simple matter of getting together--an idea borne of common sense--is so complex and difficult?

A most common complaint of collaborators is that they have difficulties communicating with one another. Given the contrasts in thinking between most anthropologists and planners, this is not difficult to understand. In fact, it should be stressed at this point that any attempt to discuss operationalization of an 'anthropology of planning' is unwarranted unless one realizes how difficult it is to intellectually link the two fields. For planners and designers, making decisions is a main responsibility; for the social science researchers this is the least responsibility. One reason why collaboration between the two is important is that the decision-makers must justify their recommendations, and to do so must have a substantial data base. The social scientists, who often view their work as having no connection with actual decisions, must learn to make their research data available to those who can put it to use.

To be relevant, newly discovered information must be communicated. We need to develop new kinds of research reporting channels (and language styles) that will maximize the flow of useful knowledge to the people and agencies of social action (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 249).

Problems in collaboration also arise in field situations, when planners and anthropologists must work within the same planning program. One anthropologist who was employed as part of a planning project in Venezuela noted several areas of conflict which made collaboration between herself and the team planners difficult (Peattie, 1967). From the inception of the project, this anthropologist found that the two styles of work were not always compatible:

I found myself troubled by the planners' sense that they were able to define the problem areas at the outset; the planners were troubled by my vague openendedness (ibid: 266).

Methodology was also an area of conflict--the anthropologist's desire to live in the neighborhood under study was sometimes questioned or referred to as romantic identification with 'the people.' Another problem which arose was that the anthropologist's discussion of 'social problems' and the social consequences of physical and economic planning likely appeared as criticism of the planning profession--"The tendency to talk about the way in which 'the planners' relate to 'the people' is readily experienced as criticism" (ibid: 267).

Also, the tendency of the social anthropologist to treat instrumental activities as embodying value positions is in some sense a threat to the planner. In a world which is pluralistic as to values and rapidly changing, the defining of social interventions as technical activity is an important mechanism for getting consensus and for proceeding to act. Thus the social scientist thinks in ways which are not only different from the planners, but may be experienced by them as hostile (ibid: 267).

From these few examples it can be seen that there are several problems to overcome if anthropologists and planners are ever to work together in a productive and mutually supportive fashion. Nevertheless, the collaboration is necessary. Planning needs some system of feedback whereby interventions and their consequences can be monitored. As Peattie and others have suggested, the anthropologist's style of work has some unique advantages: it focuses on the dynamics of program operation at the 'grass roots' level; it proceeds in an open-ended manner, and thus provides opportunities to continually examine questions of what is actually relevant to the planner (ibid: 268).

Perin (1970: 67), in her excellent book With Man in Mind, proposes that what is needed to effect collaboration between the social/behavioural

sciences and the design professions is...

...redefinition of the design program as the instrument of collaboration, to involve the human sciences as they have not yet been involved in creating a more humane environment...Federal programs affecting the built environment should begin to fund...just this kind of human study for environmental change.

Perin goes on in her book to stress that an anthropological approach to environmental design is preferable to a sociological or psychological one because anthropology tends to deal with the human individual at the scale most relevant to issues of environmental design--"The actual movement of the whole individual, carrying out his various purposes, is a primary component of a theory of human nature for environmental design" (ibid: 74). Planners must design an environment so as to allow a person to engage in his expected behaviours, and anthropological research is certainly of critical importance in the determination of such things as 'behavioural circuits.'

It is proposed here that in order to operationalize an 'anthropology of planning' and devise a means whereby collaboration between anthropology and planning can be facilitated, two levels of collaboration must be dealt with: a theoretical or conceptual level and a practical design process level. In terms of the more broad theoretical level, it is proposed that before any actual co-operative project-oriented efforts can be carried out some stronger conceptual links between the two fields must be produced. Perin suggests that the design professions provide few criteria to bridge the designed environment with its satisfying use, because they are concerned mainly with such concepts as efficiency, safety, economy and so forth. She thus proposes that it is up to the human sciences to find a more natural entrance into environmental design issues and help "to unearth values,

customs and priorities" (ibid: 110). In the context of this thesis, it is proposed here that anthropologists must conduct much more action-oriented research, and, very importantly, must learn to translate their data into terms a planner can deal with. The sections presented earlier in this chapter have hopefully illustrated ways in which both anthropology and planning can contribute to each other's overall productiveness. It is thus suggested that the first step towards operationalizing an 'anthropology of planning' is that both planners and anthropologists must become aware of the conceptual differences and similarities between their fields in order that an understanding of the other's perspectives can be brought into focus. The conceptual linkage proposed here can be initiated in several concrete ways, with specific reference to native community planning:

1. University anthropology departments in Manitoba, and elsewhere, must begin to stress courses such as 'Applied Anthropology,' 'Urban Anthropology' and 'Anthropology in the Modern World,' and teach students how to use their knowledge in real situations;
2. University planning schools must incorporate classes in the social sciences, such as 'Urban Anthropology,' into their programs;
3. Government planning departments responsible for native community planning should have anthropologists on staff to work in conjunction with the planners. Given common planning goals, such a situation would undoubtedly lead to a sharing of ideas.

In short, ignorance of the other's area has created severe, but not indestructible, impasses on both sides. What is needed is a breakdown of the traditional barriers between the two fields. Mutual understanding can do nothing but alleviate the situation.

The 'practical design process level' is mentioned here as the second level on which collaboration must take place if an 'anthropology of planning' is to be operationalized. What is meant by this is that in conjunction with building a conceptual link between the two fields, which should begin at the university level, it is also necessary to propose means by which anthropologists and planners can collaborate in actual working situations. As Perin suggests, the design process itself must be redefined to involve the human sciences and federal programs should begin to fund collaborative studies on the topic of environmental change. Towards this end, Perin suggests that, for example, research toward the design programs for housing should become an allowable building cost covered by federal mortgage insurance programs (Perin, 1970: 67). If funds were made available for the participation of human sciences...

...a new influence would enter their career and reward structures, and we might eventually see students and their teachers viewing collaboration as desirable for their own discipline's development. Only the strongest of measures will legitimize interdisciplinary collaboration and move it beyond its present catch-as-catch-can condition, and funding is always one beginning (ibid: 66-67).

Such funding would be an important step towards the establishment of the link proposed here. Perhaps a good way to encourage the initiation of such projects is to work from the 'grass roots' level up, rather than to attempt to approach the bureaucracy with proposals along this line. In the case of native communities, it is very important that the planner approach his assignment at this basic level--if the people themselves can be convinced of the value of interdisciplinary community research projects, the possibilities are almost limitless. There are several funding sources available to native communities such as the Canada Works program, the New Careers program and so forth, and if the people can be advised of the

possibilities for action, and encouraged to apply for funding, many new avenues related to community development can be opened up.

In addition to obtaining funding for joint projects which would lead towards collaboration between the two fields under discussion, and encouraging total resident involvement in all such efforts in order to make them aware of the value of co-operative ventures between all parties who can be of use, there are other ways in which individual anthropologists and planners can begin collaborative efforts without the benefits of an overall framework. Changing the perspectives of university anthropology and planning departments, or trying to encourage government planning departments to employ a staff anthropologist may appear to some to be overly idealistic at the present time. It must be noted, however, that the situation is slowly changing; some collaborative efforts are proceeding and native community planning has improved over the past decade. Perin sums up the feelings of this writer, saying:

I am not...identifying supposedly eternal truths only awaiting exposure to their place in the sun, for I do not believe that they exist. I am only entering a plea for acknowledgement of the designers' limitations--as any one specialist would be limited in trying to deal with no less than the full spectrum of all activities of society needing to be housed (ibid: 67).

Given this perspective, and in full realization that achievement of a conceptual link between the two fields may still be a good distance off, it is proposed here that despite the difficult situation, planners and anthropologists in Manitoba who are interested in the development of native communities in northern Manitoba can learn to collaborate in such efforts. Indeed, perhaps this is the level on which to begin to effect change by illustrating to the universities, the government departments, the general public and their colleagues that collaboration is both possible and desirable.

In this writer's discussions with several of the planners presently engaged in native community planning projects, it became clear that most of these individuals were extremely positive towards the idea of interdisciplinary teamwork with anthropologists, although they were generally not in a position, in terms of finances or time, to become involved in such work. Recent advances in actual collaborative efforts have been made between afore-mentioned planner Dave Witty and an archaeological consulting firm, Paleo-Sciences Integrated. One native community planner interviewed is, in fact, not a planner at all in terms of actual professional training, but rather has an academic background in anthropology. Such intermixing of ideas is becoming more common all the time, and is likely at least in part responsible for recent advances in the native community planning field. This writer proposes that such activities can be potentially increased by such simple mechanisms as informal meetings and seminars, where all interested planners, anthropologists, archaeologists, government officials and others could come together to discuss ideas and possible joint research. Interaction on this basic, informal level could prove to be very valuable, as has already been demonstrated in the handful of cases where the two fields have already come together in reference to actual planning situations.

To summarize, it should be made clear that an 'anthropology of planning' is an important and relevant concept which can be operationalized if the 'actors' involved are willing to effect change. The basic premise is simple--since "planning concerns the use of knowledge in action" and in order to act effectively "planners must possess a relevant knowledge of the society" (Friedmann, 1973: 98), it is safe to assume that the more knowledge

a planner has the better equipped he will be to deal with a situation. As "the anthropologist's method of gathering ethnographic material is probably the most reliable" (Dickman, 1973: 169), it logically follows that the native community planner, in order to obtain adequate knowledge about the people he is working with, must learn to integrate anthropological data with planning data. The planner must learn to communicate his data to the residents of the community and to the ultimate decision-makers within the bureaucracy. Mutual exchange and education is certainly a critical key towards the eventual destruction of the communication barriers presently in existence at all levels. Ultimately, it is hoped that eventually, through means such as those discussed here, it will be possible to "develop and to identify bridging organizations and individuals who can understand and operate" in both the natives' world and the modern industrialized world (Lotz, 1977: 83), and to train a person to function in the role of 'anthropologist qua planner' or 'planner qua anthropologist.'

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis represents an attempt to trace the evolution of native community planning in Manitoba, to identify the issues and problems involved with such activities and to propose how anthropological data can potentially be of direct use in this area of planning. It is not suggested that creation of an 'anthropology of planning' is a panacea for all of the problems which arise in conjunction with such efforts. It is proposed, however, that the discipline of anthropology can be used to much greater advantage than it has been to date, to the benefit of all parties concerned.

Basically, it can be concluded that the emphasis in native community planning should be on interpersonal transactions as the basic means of exchange between technical experts and their clients, and that anthropology can be of value in facilitating such transactions. The recommendations that have been derived as a result of this investigation will be summarized under the following sub-headings: planning process, economic issues, social issues and policy. In addition, this chapter will include suggestions regarding how anthropology might be integrated into the present native community planning framework and will suggest areas for future research.

A. Recommendations Regarding the Planning Process

In terms of the planning processes utilized in modern native community planning efforts in Manitoba, there is every indication that the situation has improved markedly over the past five years, as discussed in

earlier chapters. There are, however, some areas which must be dealt with if these new, comprehensive processes are to prove successful in the long run. One point of principal concern is the question of why so few plans are ever implemented. After several thousand dollars and many man-hours are spent on the development of a plan, why is there rarely any subsequent action? It is suggested here that the 'plan' must cease to be regarded as an end product, and rather must be viewed as only one step in a planning process which should begin with a 'strategy' and proceed through to an 'action' phase. Ideally, the recommendation of this writer would be that there should be a restructuring of DIAND's planning departments to allow for a planning consultant to follow the plan through with the native community. Since this would obviously take time, involve a great deal of funds and is perhaps not realistic at this point in time, it is suggested that it is up to the planning consultant himself to begin implementation while he is involved in the preparation of the plan with his clients. This can be done by several means:

1. The planner can educate the people about the benefits of planning and build up their enthusiasm by holding community meetings, distributing newsletters and so forth. This type of activity is already being carried out by some of the planners, such as Witty and Kirby.
2. The planner can actually go into the community and begin to implement various segments of the plan himself, as Kirby has done at God's Lake Narrows.
3. The planner can seek out all of the funding sources available to the people and encourage them to apply for these. Canada Works, for example, may supply funds to a community that wishes to create jobs by carrying out

their own construction or other projects.

This writer also suggests that the planning processes employed in native community planning could be improved if the planners and government personnel involved could get together and exchange ideas more frequently. Given the competitive nature of the business, whereby consulting firms compete for contracts, this may not be a simple task. Each consultant interviewed has his own ideas about the 'best' way to go about the planning process, and several are adamant that their's is the correct way to proceed. Nonetheless, it is recommended that seminars or meetings be held with the objective of exchanging information. The few planners who have discussed joint work have expressed satisfaction with the results of the information exchange. Perhaps some kind of overall structure should be imposed in Manitoba to give the various native community planning efforts a measure of cohesiveness and allow for evaluative measures to be undertaken. Many of the crucial issues dealt with by the consultants are common to all native communities, and as such should be examined on a broader scale than purely at the community level by each individual planner. There needs to be greater sharing of information and greater co-operation among planners if those solutions that are truly useful are to be determined.

B. Recommendations Regarding Economic Issues

While any recommendations pertaining to economic issues will obviously be related to all of the other aspects of community life, these are proposed under separate heading for clarity. Certainly the problems associated with the economic situation in the north are of paramount concern and consideration of these will enter into any planning exercise. As noted in the Mair report (1976: 14), most actions which have been initiated in relation to the

economic situation in native communities have proved ineffective in meeting the needs of the people, because they have been insensitive to the real economic, social and cultural aspirations of the Indian people.

The individualistic programming of assistance for disadvantaged people in Canada reflects the individualism of our competitive society. This conflicts with the sharing and reciprocal life style of Indian people (ibid: 14).

It is suggested here that there must be fundamental changes in the entire approach to the economic situation in native communities. It is recommended that the Manitoba region should adopt some of the guidelines developed by the Saskatchewan region of DIAND, and begin to stress the linkage between planning and financial management much more strongly. As suggested by Kremmers (1977: 2), all of the programs and funding sources should be coalesced into one consolidated fund for planning. Such programs and activities as the Band Economic Development (B.E.D.) Committees, Community Planning programs, water and sanitation, recreation and so forth should all be brought together into a larger unit for planning. Such an effort would facilitate plan implementation as funds would not be so scattered and disorganized.

Further recommendations related to the economic picture in native communities are as follows:

1. Emphasis must shift from reliance on outside assistance and more towards the idea that growth can be based upon the resources of the self-governing community. There is a great need for local technology development and local food production industries.
2. Planners and government officials must continue to shift their concern away from immediate financial concerns and begin to evaluate programs in terms of their long-term costs and benefits. Establishing a bakery in a

native community, for example, might initially be very costly but would be a useful investment over the long term, while creating jobs and lowering food prices.

3. The recommendations of the Mair report (1976: 15-20) regarding economic development of native communities should be followed up on. Some of these suggestions include:

- communities should have control over the delivery of public services and the development of community capital;
- communities should be provided with basic funding;
- communities should participate fully in long-term programs to meet specific needs;
- traditional resource activities should be supported and developed to maximize employment;
- the cost of labour should be subsidized to encourage employment opportunities in the communities;
- more economic institutions, such as specialized development agencies, co-operatives and so on should be encouraged;
- human resource development programs must be expanded.

C. Recommendations Regarding Social Issues

Some of the social issues relevant to native community planning have already been discussed in previous chapters, and need not be repeated at this point. Overall, this writer has three recommendations to make regarding issues which have not yet been discussed and are of importance to planning:

1. There is a great need for the creation of social places in native communities. Recreation planning is critical. Anthropological knowledge

will certainly be of value to the planner in this regard. As noted by Sando and Scholer (1976: 24):

Failure to program adequately for this ethnic group frequently is a result of understanding or knowledge of the cultural and social structure of the Indian...A knowledge of the differences in the various tribes and their values becomes very important in the planning process...The leisure pursuits of the Indian reflect tribal or traditional cultural values.

2. In addition to planning for native communities themselves, it is suggested that additional attention should be paid by federal, provincial and municipal governments to off-reserve planning programs for both status and non-status Indians who are moving into urban areas in great numbers. Such persons often have nowhere to go, do not know how to go about finding work and so forth, and projects such as native cultural centers should be initiated to function as places where these people can go for assistance.

3. It is this writer's contention that planning efforts in native communities must become much more sensitive to the needs and desires of the women and children than they have been in the past. There are few special areas for play and even fewer places for the women to congregate.

It is strongly suggested that a female anthropologist and/or planner should be enlisted to attempt to form women's groups in some of the communities in order to determine what their feelings are about community planning needs. In recent years the discipline of anthropology has become cognizant of the fact that many early ethnographic, archaeological and other studies were severely biased in favour of male-oriented activities. Later research by female researchers has shown that knowledge of the activities of the women is of critical importance to a thorough understanding of the culture, and that there are some types of data which are not available to a male researcher.

D. Policy Recommendations

During the 1960's questions began to arise regarding whether the Canadian government's aim--most briefly described as economic integration through equal opportunity--is a veridical policy. Briefly, the government's position was that...

Indians must be provided with equal opportunities to realize their potential and thus be able to contribute to the fullest possible extent to the social, economic and cultural life of Canada (Chance, 1968: 27, quoting Indian Affairs Branch policy paper of 1967).

As Chance (ibid: 28) suggests, perhaps "many of the economic and social 'opportunities' offered by the dominant society are not sufficiently attractive" for the native peoples to commit themselves to change. In light of this situation, a few policy recommendations are suggested here (note also the recent government policy discussed in Chapter III):

1. There is definitely a need to focus on the relationship between policy problems and planning problems. As noted earlier (Gillespie, 1976: 7), social planning must respond to the nature of the policy problem--that is mass poverty and unemployment--and transportation planning must become more closely linked with existing policy, which reflects disparities in accessibility and so forth, rather than continue to be guided by narrow economic considerations.
2. There must be more emphasis placed on regional planning. Policy should reflect the fact that the community must be viewed within the context of its surrounding region. This would facilitate delivery of government services and improve management of environmental resources, among other things.
3. Policy must be written up in a clear, concise manner which is understandable to all parties involved in the planning process.
4. Financial policy must be included as an integral part of the overall

policy for native community planning.

5. Policy for native community planning should reflect a 'systems' approach whereby the community is viewed as a complex organism where all its parts are in mutual interaction.

6. This writer's major policy recommendation is that government policy should stress that social science research must accompany all native community planning projects. Ideally, it is suggested here that each Regional office should include an applied anthropologist, who would be responsible for co-ordinating all of this social science research, establishing a data bank for the region and co-ordinating field research, so as to avoid duplication of data. At the present time, data on these communities is scattered throughout several sub-departments, programs, committees and offices, and a planner who may wish to obtain information about them cannot easily compile sources. Government policy which stressed not only the necessity for social science research with regard to native community planning, but also the need for co-ordinating such material into an easily accessible data bank, would be of extreme value.

E. Education Recommendations

It is this writer's contention that ultimately the key to all of the problems and issues presently associated with native community planning is education, not only of the native peoples, but also of the planner and the anthropologist. The social scientist/anthropologist must learn to communicate with the planners and the bureaucrats in order that he might make his value known to them. As plan communication is important, the planner must learn to communicate effectively with a diverse group. He must be responsive and responsible to the decision-makers and be able to translate plans into

decisions, budgets, staff and products (Rettie, 1968: 300). He must also learn how to gather information from and transmit data to the native peoples, as well as how to utilize anthropological and other material to increase his knowledge in order that he may eventually initiate positive action. It is strongly recommended that there should be more emphasis on planning workshops, seminars, meetings and so forth, whereby information can be exchanged.

Education of the native peoples is also a critical issue. Changing from a traditional lifestyle to a completely different one is extremely difficult. Well-known anthropologist Margaret Mead (1965) argues that, in fact, it is much more difficult for a non-western group to accept fragments of western technological culture than it is for them to adopt a whole new way of life at once.

Each human culture, like each language, is a whole...[if] individuals or groups of people have to change...it is most important that they should change from one whole pattern to another (Mead, 1965: 415).

Mead's book New Lives for Old (1965) supports this position by illustrating how successfully the Manus tribe made a total transition. Alvin Toffler (1970: 371) notes that there is sense in this idea...

...for it is clear that tensions arise from incongruities between cultural elements. To introduce cities without sewage, anti-malarial medicines without birth control, is to tear a culture apart, and to subject its members to excruciating, often insoluble, problems.

Given that this situation is representative of what has happened to native Canadians, it should be clear that immediate and culturally sensitive educational programs are needed to deal with the problems of directed culture change. With specific regard to planning, the native community planner can educate the people in the following kinds of ways:

1. Any planning effort must include an education program about the bureaucratic structure of planning, the funding sources available and how to get them, and so forth. The planning process itself must be carefully explained, so the people can become directly and totally involved and understand the possibilities available to them.
2. The native people in Manitoba often express their desires for "the same kind of houses that are in Winnipeg" and sometimes refuse to consider the possibilities of using local materials to build other types of dwellings. The planner should be responsible for educating his clients about new techniques, such as stackwall construction, and new sources of energy, such as solar power, in order to make them aware of the fact that there are alternatives which might prove beneficial to them.
3. There should be greater emphasis on planning workshops and training sessions. While there is some of this type of activity going on, there should be more funds channelled towards this area so that people can become more aware and involved.
4. Dickman (1973) stresses that there is one aspect of education which is critical to native peoples--he says that some way to teach the concept of futurity must be found.

Participation in the prevailing society demands a fully developed concept of futurity as a prerequisite for effective participation. Location of a house, participation in a co-operative and use of Band funds all demand the ability to plan ahead to postpone gratification (ibid: 166).

Dickman stresses that the study of proxemics, begun by anthropologist Hall, is essential to persons working with native communities. Until a way to teach futurity is developed, it is suggested here that anthropological data can thus contribute a great deal.

5. One other recommendation which will be made here regarding education is that applied anthropologist should be employed to contribute to the information exchange between planners and their native clients. One example of how the natives might be educated about planning could be to have the applied anthropologist design a 'comic' booklet, perhaps written in both Cree and English, describing certain facets of the process, complete with drawing and diagrams, in a format based on their culture and traditions. This approach has been used to advantage in other situations and does have merit if properly prepared in consultation with the leaders of the community.

F. Suggestions for Future Research

There were several problems which arose during the preparation of this thesis. First, there is little data available on the subject of native community planning--it is hoped that the compilation of diverse sources presented here will be of value to future research in this area. It was also difficult to find out from many of the planning consultants how they approached their planning projects and why they plan the way they do. They would be unlikely to admit that they were not cognizant of native culture and yet some of them, although they saw themselves as experts in their fields, obviously had little consideration for such things. It is proposed here that some sort of evaluative feedback structure is needed whereby the work of the various consultants is compared and examined as to its merits.

Future research must include much more time in the field than the few weeks which this writer was able to spend. Again, some overall structure, or centralizing person, such as an anthropologist employed by the DIAND Regional office, should be set up to co-ordinate and compile the data into

a format where it can be easily retrieved by anyone who may need it.

More studies in the areas of perception, proxemics, topophilia and so forth must be conducted and tied directly into the planning process. Planners and government officials tend to base their decisions on the environment as they see it, not as the native people see it, and yet their decisions are affecting the real environment which the natives must live in on a day-to-day basis. Perception research should thus be considered very important to the planner. Proxemic studies can be very useful in measuring acculturation or culture change (Dickman, 1973: 164). As Dickman notes, for example, in his 1973 article, fences were almost never observed around the private dwellings of the residents of the several northern Manitoba communities he studied. At Island Lake he noted (ibid: 165):

One Treaty Indian has built a chain link fence around his house, thus announcing to the rest of the community that this land is his. He seems to be defining the area of interaction and setting limits upon people's use of the grounds about his house. This man is one of the very few successful, independent entrepreneurs in any of the communities [studied].

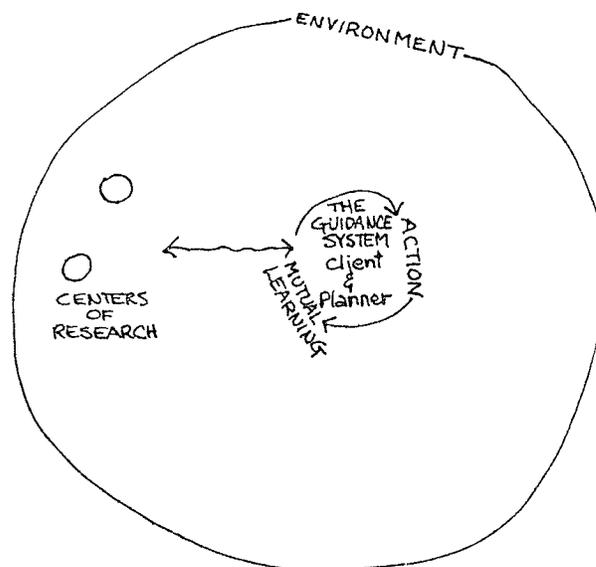
During this writer's field trips in 1977 several fences with barbed wire along the top were noted, particularly in Moose Lake, which was one of the communities subdivided during the early 1960's. This phenomenon demands further study, as it appears that it does indeed reflect degrees of culture change--no fences were noticed around native houses in God's Lake Narrows, which is a very isolated community that has undergone almost no planning of any kind.

In summary, what is most critical in terms of future research in the field of native community planning is the creation of a useful link between environmental design and what knowledge of man there is (Perin, 1970: 138).

It is hoped that this thesis provides a step towards creation of a theory of human nature for environmental design, whereby a more responsive environment can be developed in the north. The solution, however, to the severe problems associated with native community planning, does not end here, with the strengthening of the communication link between the planner and his clients. Now that this link has been discussed it is hoped that future studies will be conducted with the aim of strengthening the important link between the community and the government. Solutions will not arise from good planning alone---until implementation strategies are developed, planning will continue to produce few results no matter how progressive or responsive it is.

G. Concluding Statements

The key to successful native community planning is working within the culture, from the 'grass roots' up, rather than having decisions made at the top of the bureaucratic structure and filtering them down through the planning superstructure. Friedmann's (1973: 187) model of transactive planning is a useful paradigm:



Planners Contribute

- concepts
- theory
- analysis
- processed knowledge
- new perspectives
- systematic search procedures

Clients Contribute

- intimate knowledge
- realistic alternatives
- norms
- priorities
- feasibility judgements
- operational details

This thesis proposes that with relation to planning efforts involving non-western clients and western planners, the process of integrating or bringing together these two groups of contributions can be facilitated by the anthropologist. As noted by Lotz (1977: 83) and touched upon earlier, the way to avoid confrontation and manipulation is...

...to identify bridging organizations and individuals who can understand and operate in both worlds. They should be able to scan and screen both the traditional world and the linear world, and act as enablers in the planning and development process.

No longer is it sufficient for the planning 'expert' to do the planning and expect the community to react. The anthropologist is not an 'expert' on native culture any more than the planner is--the only experts on Indians are Indians themselves. The anthropologists are, however, the most likely candidates to bridge the gap between planners and their native clients, as they do attempt to understand and operate in both worlds. Their field techniques, cross-cultural perception studies, culture theory, case studies and so forth can be of immense value to the planner. In short...

Anthropologists Can Contribute

- knowledge of native culture
- systematic field research techniques

- culture theory
- evaluative feedback system
- social indicators (i.e. the example of fencing may be a measure of culture exchange)
- communication techniques
- comparative perspective
- analysis
- concepts
- alternatives
- mutual understanding
- case studies
- historical perspective
- co-ordination of social planning efforts
- co-ordination of social science and physical planning
- cross-cultural perspective
- proxemic studies, and so on.

There is at present a lack of interdisciplinary research and co-operation, and a lack of information about the north and its inhabitants. Since the study of a community must reflect a wide nexus of inter-relationships, and is an extremely complex endeavour, the incorporation of anthropological research into the planning process can certainly be of nothing but value. Perhaps most important, all of the participants involved in the planning process must embark upon an educational course of mutual learning, whereby all can learn to transcend their own cultures and truly understand that of another.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Planning Consultant Selection Checklist

Prepared by DIAND Manitoba Office

		Name of Consultant	
Questions			
A.	<u>REPUTATION AND EXPERIENCE</u> Does the consultant have a varied experience including experience in similar sorts of situations that are presently being faced by the Norway House Band?		
B.	<u>BACKGROUND OF PERSONNEL AVAILABLE</u> What is the background of the firm's personnel, particularly those who will be working directly with the Bnad? Will other people be assigned to do fieldwork with the Band other than those who are being interviewed? Who will be responsible for reporting to the Band on a regular basis?		
C.	<u>WORKLOAD</u> Given its present workload commitments, do they have the capacity to immediately undertake a comprehensive community planning program with the Norway House Band and meet regular deadlines?		
D.	<u>AVAILABILITY OF ALL REQUIRED FIELDS OF EXPERTISE</u> The Norway House community planning program may require special expertise. What resources can your firm draw upon, and what is the experience and reputation of these resources?		

Appendix II

Questionnaire Administered to Planners

1. List those communities which you have acted as planner for. Community Dates Adopted? Implemented? Who hired?
2. For each of the communities you list, what were the objectives of the planning exercise as expressed by the group that hired you? What were the reasons that planning was seen as being necessary? What were the basic concerns expressed as terms of reference for your work?
3. What do you identify as the major planning issues/problems associated with native community planning? What priorities exist among these?
4. How/where did you obtain information about the native communities?
5. Are there any literature sources which you found particularly helpful to you in your planning efforts?
6. Approximately how much time do you/did you spend in a community before _____, during _____ and after _____ the planning process (time and duration)?
7. How is resident participation accounted for and encouraged in the planning process?
8. What are your feelings about the bureaucratic structure involved with planning for native communities?
9. Do you feel that the process employed in the planning of native communities is important to their long-term success? If so, how?
_____very important _____important _____of little importance _____rela-
tively unimportant _____don't know/depends on situation.
10. Generally speaking, how much value do you place on the final 'plan' or document? Why? _____of great value _____some value _____limited value
_____little or no value.
11. Who is responsible for implementation of a plan?
12. Do you feel hindered or frustrated in your planning efforts related to native communities? Are there any constraints imposed by the system, the community etc. which hinder successful planning?
13. If you were totally free of all constraints, what would you do differently in terms of the native communities you have planned?
14. Apart from your involvement on a business level, do you feel that native communities should be 'planned' at all? Why or why not?

15. How would you evaluate the 'state-of-the-art' of native community planning in Manitoba and Canada? Are the issues being dealt with? What does the future hold?

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