

**DRAWING
HOME**

**A CED STUDY OF THE KAMLOOPS
URBAN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY**

A CED STUDY OF THE KAMLOOPS URBAN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY

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ROYAL COMMISSION
ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

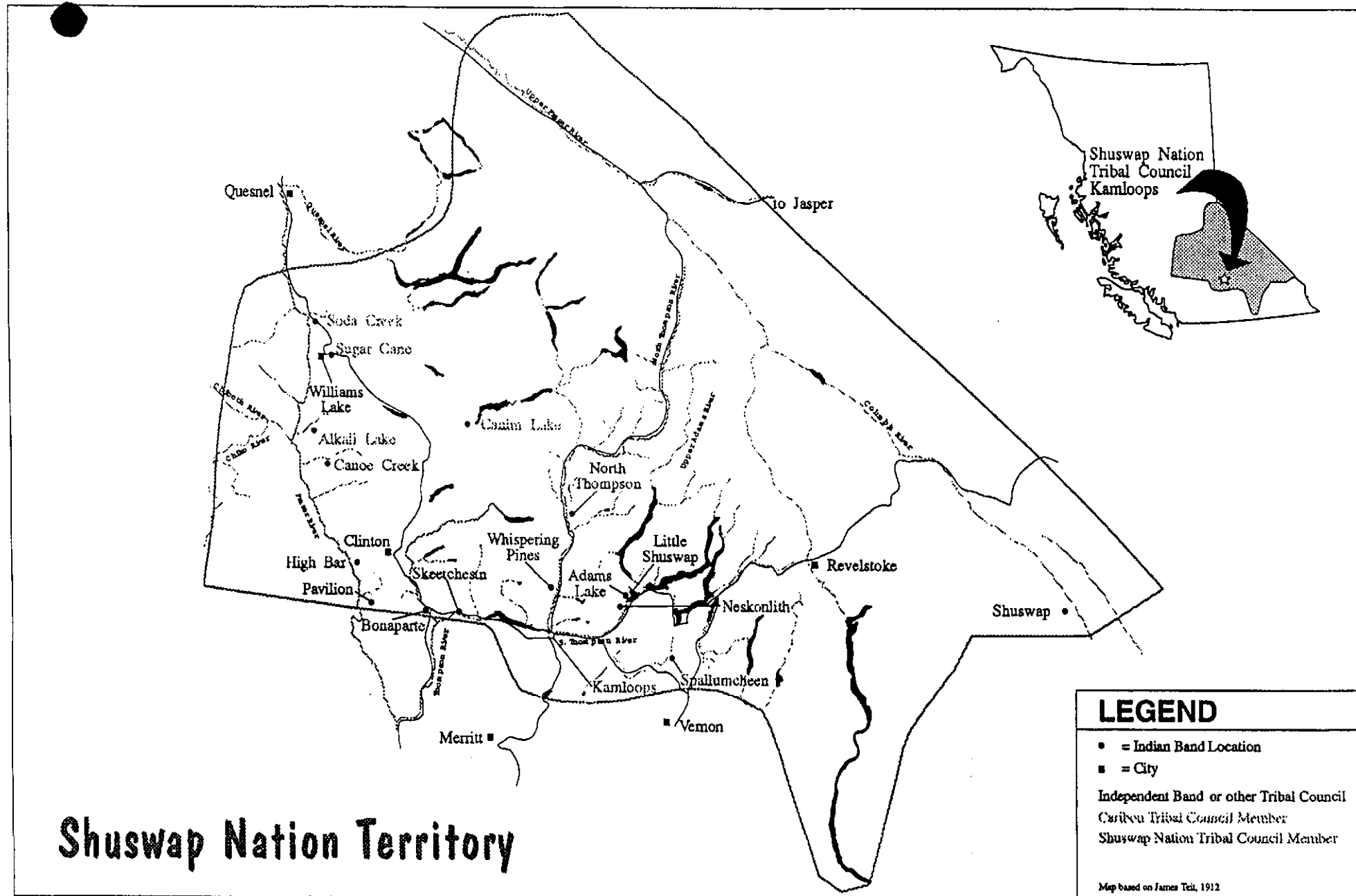


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Executive Summary

By any standard of measure the First Nations people living in the city of Kamloops are poor relative to the rest of the Kamloops population. Moreover, due to a population which is getting younger and poor on reserve opportunities the number of First Nation peoples living in Kamloops is growing.

Models to equalize relative incomes which rely on public support have come under recent criticism for being cost ineffective, and for creating dependency (Smith, 1995). In an era of federal government fiscal restraint the spectre of greater public support for an economically marginalized group seems even more unlikely. As such this "solutions orientated" report on the Kamloops urban aboriginal population was developed trying to avoid the most commonly used remedy, more public funds.

The Kamloops urban aboriginal community is difficult to identify as a geographically defined community. First Nation persons in Kamloops are spread out throughout the city with the only identifiable community of place to be found within the Kamloops Native Housing Societies housing complexes. It was therefore impossible to specify a global population from which representative samples could be drawn for research. The results presented below from interviewing some persons who make up the Kamloops urban aboriginal community should be considered with this potential statistical bias in mind.

- The primary concerns for this sample in order were employment, drug and alcohol abuse, housing and education
- The most common area for socializing for this sample in order were work, their own on reserve community, pow wows, and school
- This sample felt that education was seen as the most important method for improving their economic situation.
- 57% of the sample felt off reserve institutions served their economic development needs

more effectively than on reserve institutions with the remaining 43 % feeling on reserve institutions were more important.

- The largest proportion of the survey (25%) suggested that they had turned to their own on reserve community for financial support as opposed to an off reserve institution.

Given the dual constraints of an ambiguous community of place and the federal debt this report focussed on the institutions which support community economic development for the Kamloops First Nation population. In particular, how should these institutions be restructured to enhance cost effectiveness while sustaining their efforts to support community economic development?

Extensive interviews were conducted with over 20 such institutions in the Kamloops area in the broad community development areas of economic and business development, social services and health, social housing, and education, and politics (Friedman, 1991). Two factors were evident in these institutional interviews,

- (1) these institutions have already begun to innovate in response to the federal government imposed fiscal restraints and
- (2) the boundaries between on and off reserve community economic development program delivery is ambiguous.

In regards to the second finding, although this ambiguity has its roots in the history of federal-provincial jurisdiction over First Nations people, the net result is still program overlap and inefficiency.

To demonstrate this point and provide some basis for restructuring the community development infrastructure in Kamloops, colour maps were developed for the five community development components discussed above. The maps delineate the on or off reserve location of the particular institution, the capacity of the institution to deliver services, the particular services delivered by these institutions, and the overlaps in service delivery between these institutions. The theoretical basis for these maps can be found in the literature on economic geography (Paelink

and Nijkamp, 1985, Bergman et al, 1991).

The 5 maps corresponding to the economic development categories of economic, social, housing, education and politics appear throughout the fourth section of this report. In addition to being the principal analytical tool used in this report the maps were also developed to provide a more reader friendly spatial context to the economic development infrastructure for the Kamloops urban aboriginal community. Although some specific and detailed recommendations were made based on these maps, it is sincerely hoped that these maps will be useful and generate numerous other recommendations, in the inevitable restructuring process facing the Kamloops community economic development institutions.

Among the recommendations made in this study three general one are worth noting:

- ★ The ability of First Nation businesses and households in Kamloops to access capital is limited and in elephantine disproportion to the non-First Nation economy. Local control of local capital (savings) through either deposit insurance for the existing All Nations Trust company or through the development of a local credit union was deemed to be best method for improving access to capital.
- ★ Cost effectiveness analysis of overlapping institutions led to the conclusion that on the basis of economies of trust, that local community economic development service delivery should be favoured over more centralized institutions justified on the basis of economies of scale. Specifically this recommendation applied to health and store front school operations of the Interior Indian Friendship Centre and the post secondary education programs offered by the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society.
- ★ There were significant informational overlaps between the institutions in Kamloops. This presents an opportunity for integration and potential merger. Investment by these institutions in management information systems, publicly accessible information, and information sharing could provide a high enough return to economically rationalize the continual public support for these institutions. This recommendation is especially applicable in the current information driven economy.

Drawing Home
A CED Study of the Kamloops Aboriginal Community

A Brief History of the Kamloops Aboriginal Community

With us, when a person enters our house he becomes our guest and we must treat him hospitably as long as he shows no hostile intentions. At the same time we expect him to return to us equal treatment for what he receives. Some of our Chiefs said, "These people wish to be partners with us in our country. We must, therefore, be the same as brothers to them, and live as one family. We will share equally in everything -- half and half -- in land, water and timber, etc. What is ours will be theirs and what is theirs will be ours. We will help each other to be great and good."

Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada From the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia presented at Kamloops, B.C., August 25, 1910.

I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that the country should have to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone. . . . Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic . . .

Duncan Campbell Scott, DIA Deputy Superintendent General, 1913, cited in Brian E. Titley *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*. (Vancouver, 1986).

These two differing views on the situation of First Nations peoples in Canada, that of the Chiefs of the Shuswap and that of Duncan Scott, seem to epitomize the question of race relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal in Canada. Where the one sees the two parties negotiating and compromising as equals, the other sees a dominant class necessarily controlling a subordinate peoples. This disparity in views has been evident throughout the history of First Nations peoples post-contact, and becomes significantly more marked as settlers arrived on Canadian lands and, subsequently, as the natural resources of the land became a focal point in the arena of conquest.

The following report focuses on the situation and potential for economic development of urban First Nations peoples in Kamloops, B.C. However, we begin the report with such a wide-sweeping view of race relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal because, throughout our

study, this disparity in views appeared to rest at the base of the economic difficulties for Aboriginal in the urban centre of Kamloops. The view of cultural assimilation and paternalism held by the first non-Aboriginal leaders of the colony of B.C. has carried through into the dominant social processes and economic infrastructures of today so that Aboriginal continue to be marginalized, surveyed (by us), and disempowered in economic development.

Before examining the current-day situation, it seems necessary to have an overview of the post-contact history of Aboriginal in the area of Kamloops. Today the main reserve for the Secwepmc (contemporarily referred to as Shuswap) people of Kamloops is located near the junction of the North and South Thompson Rivers across the river from the city of Kamloops. The Secwepmc people had wintered in this location¹ for thousands of years before the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1800's. Not surprisingly, the word for Kamloops was derived from the Shuswap word meaning "meeting of the waters."

The Secwepmc reserves were established between 1858-1910 (Fisher, 1977). Between 1858 and 1860, Governor Douglas of what was then a colony of Britain, went about determining fair allocations of land for the First Nation people of B.C.. For example, in the Kamloops area he determined that a reserve approximately 4 miles wide and 40 miles long stretching along the South Thompson river between present day Kamloops and Chase would represent the main reserves for the Shuswap people of Kamloops, Neskonlith and Adams Lake.

"Douglas claimed his policy of reserving the village sites, the cultivated fields, and familiar places of resort of the Indians and securing them against encroachment by settlers had been productive of the happiest effects on the minds of the natives" Fisher, 1977, p. 156.

In 1864 a new commissioner of lands and works was appointed, Joseph William Trutch.

¹

The common name for these pithouse winter homes is "kikiwili," but the Shuswap word is "scistkten." It would not be a great leap of anthropological faith to suggest that, given its strategic location, the Secwepmc people (and potentially other tribes) likely engaged in some trade at this location well before the arrival of European traders.

He felt Douglas as a been a too generous in setting the boundaries of the reserves. In October, 1866 he redefined the borders of the Kamloops, Neskonlith and Adams Lake reserve. Each community would only receive 3 or 4 square miles of reserve.

"The Indians really have no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value or utility to them; and I cannot see why they should either retain these lands to the prejudice of the general interests of the Colony, or be allowed to make a market of them either to Government or individuals" Trutch, 1867, as quoted in Fisher, 1977, p. 164.

The reallocation of reserves in this area which occurred on January 1, 1867 was met with considerable resistance from the Shuswaps in the area. Subsequently a series of Indian Commissions were established to settle the land question. When B.C. became a province in 1871 any commissions which agreed with the boundaries established by Douglas were ignored or dismissed and any commissions which endorsed the boundaries of Trutch² were endorsed. The frustration of the Shuswap and other First Nations grew at what they legitimately viewed as unfair treatment. In regards to the unrest at the time;

"It was Sproat's opinion (an Indian Land Commissioner) that any outbreak that occurred would be logical outcome of provincial policies. An Indian rising "would not be a revolt against authority, but the despairing action of men suffering intolerable wrong, which the Provincial government will take no steps to remedy. Ottawa concurred, "It was obvious, wrote the minister of the interior, "that the discontent of the Indians is wholly due to the policy which has been pursued towards them by the local authorities. ... in the event of an Indian war the people of Canada generally would not sustain a policy towards the Indians of that Province which is in my opinion not only unwise, and unjust, but also illegal" Fisher, 1977, p. 192.

Eventually, through minor adjustments to reserve boundaries, and by playing one First Nation community off against the other, the boundaries of the Shuswap reserve were settled for the most part by 1915³. The land question, although of primary importance was not the only issue of historical importance to this report.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, fur traders established camps and forts along

²

To further appreciate Trutch's attitude towards the Indians consider that on the prairies each family of Indians was given 160 acres, whereas Trutch felt a fair allocation was 10 acres. Fisher, 1977, p. 184.

³

It is no small irony that without the stubborn, mean spirited and racist attitude of the original provincial governments of B.C. that the issue of a modern day treaty would probably not be an issue one hundred years later (Fisher, 1977, p. 189).

the North and South Thompson rivers. Relations with these first whites were relatively harmonious, with trade benefitting the Secwepemc economically, while posing little threat to the Secwepemc and their territories.⁴ The 1858 invasion by thousands of American gold miners and prospectors proved to be much more disruptive (Coffey, 1992, p.37). The gold miners brought epidemics which accumulatively reduced the Shuswap population from 7,200 in 1850 to 2,185 in 1903.

This influx of Europeans and Americans also resulted in some prospectors remaining to build ranches in the area. The arrival of settlers in Shuswap territory prompted the colonial administration in the early 1860's to assign reserves to individual bands. Current reserve lands of Kamloops Indian Band cover 33,000 acres. Both in terms of land and population, the Kamloops Indian band is the largest band within the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (see map).

As settlement in the region progressed, the self-contained character of the Secwepemc economy was gradually eroded. Access to traditional pasture lands was challenged by white ranchers, while employment opportunities were reduced by the competition of white labour. In short, industry and ranching appropriated or disturbed lands and waters that had been used by Secwepemc peoples for centuries. Increasingly, the Secwepemc were forced to rely on a settler population for supplies and markets.

In the early twentieth century Secwepemc's lands and resources continued to be dispossessed due to immigration and settlement, and in response Secwepemc leaders attempted to gain Ottawa's recognition of their land, fishing, and water rights. However, intrusions onto Secwepemc land were only further complicated by fishing and hunting restrictions decreed by local governments, interfering with traditional harvesting. Additionally, the Indian Act eroded the possibilities of economic autonomy of the Secwepemc peoples. Under the Act, enforced by the local agent, the Shuswap living on reserve were made the legal wards of the Department of Indian Affairs, which implied that all legal transactions could only be made valid and binding with the approval of the agent. The granting of a separate Indian status for all First Nations peoples via the Indian Act reinforced, if not wholly produced, the view of the Secwepemc as people lacking the capacity to govern and develop their own affairs.

A view that was undoubtedly reinforced by the tragic history of all the Indian residential

4

We are indebted to Trefor Smith's thesis, *A Very Respectable Man: John Freemont Smith and the Kamloops Agency, 1912 - 1923* for much of the historical information which follows.

schools throughout B.C. and in this case in particular the Kamloops Indian Residential School. The Kamloops Indian Residential School operated from 1923-1974⁵. It is beyond the scope of this report to evaluate the social, economic, and psychological impact of the Kamloops residential school on the Shuswap people but the following selected passages from George Manuel, the late Neskonlith chief and first president of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples provide a useful overview:

The residential schools were the laboratory and the production line of the colonial system

The younger children viewed their forced departure as a punishment for something they had done wrong. The kids were all bawling and Mums crying, and I can remember saying, 'What'd I ever do to you?' 'Why are you sending me away?' McFarlane, 1994, p.31

"after learning to see and hear only what the priests and brothers wanted you to see and hear, even the people you loved came to look ugly" McFarlane, 1994, p.31

"The abuse included poor diet, a proscription of the Indian language, forced labour and a military-style discipline that was enforced by beatings. [As one student observed] 'the priests would hammer it into our heads that we were not to think or act or speak like an Indian. And that we would go to hell and burn for eternity if we did not listen to their way of teaching.' McFarlane, 1994, p.31.

In the latter half of the twentieth century significant changes took place in the relationship between government and First Nations peoples. In the early 1970's, the Agent was removed as liaison between the Indian and federal governments, and in its place Band administration was established. This allowed First Nation community governments to have direct contact with their representatives, the Department of Indian Affairs. In the region which includes the Kamloops reservation, Shuswap community administrations joined together to form the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council. Presently there is a concerted effort of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council to renegotiate its tie to the DIA and to arrive at a settlement of a modern day treaty for the Shuswap Nation..

This brief history of the Shuswap peoples in the Kamloops area is a history that can be echoed throughout the history of First Nations peoples in Canada: the designation of reserve lands, the appropriation of lands and resources by non-Aboriginal industry, and the design of a

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It was closed down by the Chief and Council of the Kamloops Shuswap government and is now being used by All Nations Trust, Community Futures, the Little Fawn Day Care, the Indian Taxation Advisory Board, the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, and the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council.

paternalistic political and education system which denied the First Nations peoples their own political voice. And from this history we find the roots for the two problems discussed in this report which face First Nations peoples today as they seek to establish a reasonable lifestyle for themselves, both on and off reserve.

- (1) Inadequate land and resources on reserve have forced First Nation peoples off reserve in search of employment, education, and housing and
- (2) The construction of a federal jurisdiction on reserve creating institutional and jurisdictional confusion between First Nation persons on and off reserve.

These two obstacles resulting from past policy decision must be further placed in a contemporary context of:

- i) A frustrated B.C. First Nation population whose expectations were raised by the 1992 establishment of the tri-partate B.C. treaty commission, the 1991 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and a general non-native public sympathy for their cause, and whose expectations are subsequently being dashed by a changing public mood⁶ resulting from an economy under reconstruction, few if any federal government policy changes over the last 5 years, and a perception of inadequate treaty settlement offers and
- ii) A federal government forced to cut expenditures to First Nation because of a growing deficit-debt problem.

These problems, historical and contemporary, form the setting for this report on the economy of Kamloops Urban Aboriginal Community. A solutions orientated report which broadly focusses on the establishment of appropriate boundaries for institutions serving the on and off reserve Kamloops aboriginal population, and derives a number of specific recommendations as a result.

The first brief section provides an overview of the Kamloops Urban Aboriginal

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No where is this changing mood better captured than in Mel Smiths Our Home or Native Land: "I can state categorically that, if the Canadian public knew what was going on, most of them would be appalled. The whole process is driven by ... the 'Indian Industry' ... -all government funded-.. Over zealous bureaucrats and compliant politicians complete the loop. But the Canadian public is out in the cold" Smith, 1995, p. vi.

Community and attempts to answer the question **how is this community defined?** A question, whose difficulty, formed the basis for the rest of the study.

The difficulty in defining community added to our research in several ways: the indeterminate connections within the community meant that later in our research, when surveying the organizations, we had to survey institutions located both in the urban centre and on the reserve so as to chart the urban community's social and economic infrastructure; our inability to easily define the community also suggested to us that any recommendations that this report may propose would not be aimed at addressing the needs of a specific community, but of a community that is defined in various ways; as well, the fluidity of the idea of a First Nations Urban Community suggested to us that the recommendations made in this report may lead to beginning a process of how this community can find the form to identify itself, if so desired.

Therefore, our research on the economic development for First Nations people living in the Kamloops urban centre took two directions. The first area of our study was directed at the population members. **How do they define the boundaries of their community? What are their concerns? How is the existing community infrastructure is meeting their needs?** In Section Two of this report we will discuss our methodology and our findings.

The third part of the study focused on speaking with community leaders and those people working within the institutions designed to meet urban First Nations peoples needs. In this organizational survey section we attempted to assess: **how do these institutions view themselves and their boundaries?, how do they attempt to assist the economic development of urban First Nations peoples?, and how successful they are?** In Section Three we discuss our methodology and findings

The fourth section of the report attempts to synthesize the findings from these first three areas of investigation. After completing the surveys of both the household members and the organizations we mapped out the proportionate territory of a number of organizations engaged in some form of community economic development in Kamloops. The purpose of this was to preliminarily establish the **institutional boundaries in the areas of economic and business development, social housing, social services, education, and politics** for the Kamloops Urban Aboriginal Community. In this section we also included "Mapside Talks," which are analytical comments made from the mapping results which are further augmented by specific recommendations based on the interviews and our own findings.

In the city of Kamloops there are approximately 5720⁷ First Nations people within the urban area. Within 120 mile radius of Kamloops there are three major tribal groups: Shuswap, Thompson, and Okanagan. The population of these bands is 53% on reserve, 47% in the urban areas. According to Stats Can figures, the First Nations population of Kamloops is 37% Shuswap, 20.8% Thompson, 13.25% Cree, 5.5% Okanagan, 3.3% Carrier, 2.2% Chilcotin, and 15.9% Other.⁸ Significantly, 72% of the First Nations people living in Kamloops are under the age of twenty-five, and 63% of both men and women are single, separated or divorced.

The migration of Aboriginal peoples to urban centres is part of a growing trend taking place throughout Canada, for all populations. Lewis, Perry, and Fontan (1992) cite the growth of urban centres, beginning in the 1920s, and making significant leaps during the latter part of this century.

"By 1965, Canada became a metropolitan country when over 50 percent of its population lived in urban centres of over 100,000 inhabitants. About 20 years later . . . 60 percent lived in centres of at least that size. . . . Since the early 1980s, the level of urbanization appears to have stabilized at about 76%." (Perry et al., 1992, pp.7-16)

According to Stats Can figures from 1985, 70% of First Nations people in B.C. live in the urban area (104,970 as opposed to 45,432 on reserve). By 1991 this figure had risen to 72% of First Nations people living off reserve (51,690 on reserve and 133,155 off reserve according to Statistics Canada 94-323). The city of Kamloops itself has a population of approx. 65,000; when the immediate trading area is included, the population jumps to 140,000.

Although there is a general trend of population movement to urban centres, the experience

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This figure is arrived at by taking the 1985 Stats Can figure of 5200 and increasing it by 10%, the measure of growth for Kamloops from 1985 - 1993. This figure may be an underestimate as the rate of birth among First Nations Peoples is 2.5 times that of the rest of the population, but we felt it was a fair enough approximation.

⁸

According to our household survey, 46% of the off reserve identifies as Shuswap, which compares well to the Friendship Centre of 1986 which identified 42.3% of the off reserve population as Shuswap. This disparity shows, once again, the difficulty in attaining relevant and consistent statistical information. However, this information is important in terms of recommendations. If a large portion of the off reserve population has ties to the nearby Shuswap community, then the involvement of the community is important.

of urban living varies from population to population. For the First Nations population, the urban environment may provide a standard of living higher than that of the reserve, for some of the reasons mentioned above, but it is standard still well below the national average. This differential is significant. The income per capita for First Nations members is falling. According to a customized report by Stats Can of males reporting Aboriginal descent in Kamloops, the average personal income *plus* one standard error is still 68% of the average of male personal income in all of Kamloops *less* one standard of error (1986). That is to say, even at these extremes for margin of error the average income of the First Nations male is still only slightly more than two-thirds of his non-First Nations counterpart. And from the information gathered from the housing applications, the average household income between 1991-1993 plus one standard deviation was 54% of the average household income less one standard deviation in Kamloops in 1986.⁹ Although the economic disparity between urban First Nations and non-First Nations populations has been documented, there has been little direction of government funds towards meeting their needs. In general, the economic development of urban communities has been left in the hands of the existing infrastructure, an infrastructure not specifically designed to address the concerns and abilities of First Nations peoples.

The alienation of First Nations peoples within the economic and social structure of the urban centre of Kamloops has resulted in statistics of poverty and low standards of living parallel to those of First Nations peoples in other urban centres. According to the 1986 Census, 52.6% of Native Persons living off reserve earned or received incomes at, or below the poverty line. At the same time only 39% of B.C.'s general population received incomes at or below the poverty line.

As researchers, we felt this economic differential indicates that the existing social and

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Although a potential bias exists, as it may be felt best for the housing applicant to show need on the application form, and although the housing application sample may not be perfectly representative, there is still a significant difference in living standards.

economic infrastructure of the city of Kamloops is failing the population of First Nations peoples in this centre. Thus, we took our primary focus to be an examination of the existing infrastructure so as to determine how it was being accessed by the First Nations population, and where it was and was not meeting the needs of this segment of the urban population.

In order to examine the potential of the existing infrastructure, the research we conducted had to tap into the community of urban First Nations peoples so as to survey their needs, concerns, and opinions. This was perhaps our first obstacle since a community as marginalized as First Nations peoples living in an urban centre is difficult to locate. As researchers we also had the difficulty of defining the urban First Nations community. Perry, Lewis, and Fontan (1992) define community in two measures, "communities of place" and "communities of interest."

1. *"Communities of place" indicate a community defined by a specific locale "within which the residents are viewed as sharing a common destiny, and where the residents do in fact so view themselves."*
2. *"Communities of interest" suggests that "the members of the specified category also share a common destiny, but they are usually scattered over different locales" (5).*

From these definitions the appropriate model of governance arises. The August 1994 draft of the Royal Commission's Governance Policy Paper outlines three models of Aboriginal government: Aboriginal nation government, Aboriginal public government, and Aboriginal constituency government. The nation government is based on a well defined land base and government is established on the basis of the inherent right to self-government. Aboriginally controlled public governments are conceived as territorial based governments, at the local or regional level with an existing territorial jurisdiction or agreement. The key component is that citizenship is based on residency, not unlike the current provincial model of government. Both the nation and public government models are derived from communities of place. The constituency model is derived from communities of interest where association is voluntary and not based on residency. What type of community, therefore, is the Kamloops Urban Aboriginal one.

● The community of First Nations peoples in Kamloops seems to fall both within and outside these two definitions: restricted to the centre of Kamloops they would seem to be a community of place, but may not in fact define themselves as such since individuals may have ties to other places, such as the reserve from which most of them originated. As a community of interest they may indeed share a common destiny, but may not see themselves as sharing this commonality, instead viewing themselves as simply linked by living in the same urban centre. The solution to this dilemma, quite simply, is to ask them.

SECTION Two: *Finding a Community*

Why do you hate surveys? Don't hate surveys: 32%
 Don't trust surveys: 15%
 Never change anything: 18%
 Don't address my concerns: 11%

Out of the fifty-two responses which we received on our householder survey, over half of the respondents showed an element of contempt for the survey method of information collection. This wasn't a surprise for the researchers as our inclusion of such a question was based on being aware of a level of mistrust within the community being surveyed, and potentially a level of information-extraction saturation.

For our householder survey we targeted two locales -- the Native Housing Project and the Interior Indian Friendship Centre. Initially our main focus was the housing project site since we felt that through the housing project we might have been able to tap into an existing urban community (perhaps a community of both place and interest). However, our survey received a far higher response from First Nations members not living in the housing project, which suggested to us that members of the housing project had been over-surveyed and, also, that our method of information collection was less than satisfactory.¹⁰ The majority of the completed surveys were from First Nations members attending functions at the Friendship Centre where the M.C. of the function endorsed the survey and requested its completion.

Since we had a base from which to derive much of the demographic information of this the urban community, information derived from the 1100 housing application forms for the 84 spaces available in the housing project (see Appendix C), our householder survey was designed to explore the economic infrastructure of the urban community, if we could indeed call it a

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Due to limited time and human resources we were not able to do a door-to-door survey. Instead, we had to rely on a cover letter from the Native Friendship Centre endorsing the survey as the means to persuade the interviewee to respond. This somewhat impersonal means of information collection has been documented to be a less successful and less efficient collection method within First Nations populations than more personalized systems (Hirshliefer and Riley, 1992).

community. The design of the householder survey was aimed at not repeating questions for information to which we already had access since we were well aware of the saturation level of the interviewees. As well, we wanted to ask questions that were not typically asked of this community in order to access information not yet available.

Specifically we asked question about how the community identified itself like "Where do you socialize?" and "What are your immediate concerns"? We asked question about the existing institutions which are intended to serve the Kamloops urban aboriginal population like "Have you ever used any of these community organizations?", and "What organization serves you best?". We asked these sorts of question in order to examine what social and economic infrastructure may exist for First Nations members living in the city of Kamloops. We felt that both the economic and social setting of the First Nations population would help us defined the community and what infrastructure exists for this community.

The results from the survey supported the idea that the social setting was directly linked to the economic situation of the individual. In fact, the survey results suggested that in the urban setting, employment provides the infrastructure for the community. Of the 52 respondents, all answered that employment opportunities were the reason they were located in the city of Kamloops, and that employment is their primary community concern. As well, work was the highest ranked locale for socializing. Thus, the results emphasize the significance of economic development; not only does work provide basic needs, it also provides a social setting for the urban community.

An interesting note to this finding is that although the Friendship Centre was the most used organization, according to the survey results, it was not the primary location for socializing. Work, Own Community, Pow Wows, and School garnered 57% of the responses, with Work receiving a significant majority to the other three locales. Thus, we might presently view work as the community base in the urban setting. This finding not only serves to emphasize the need

for economic development for the general welfare of First Nations peoples in Kamloops, it also suggests that successful implementation of government or community directives may be aimed at the work environment, or that initiatives may be directed at creating other forms of a social infrastructure for the urban community.

Thus, the importance of economic development was emphasized in the survey findings. This need for economic development is sorely emphasized by the current economic reality of First Nations peoples living in the urban centre of Kamloops. In the province of British Columbia, the Ministry of Social Services estimates that First Nations people living off reserve face a 70 to 80% unemployment rate. According to the housing applicant information, household size averages 2.82 people, with an average of 1.36 dependents. The average household income for First Nations peoples is \$1010 per month, with a great majority of the applicants receiving social assistance (\$1010 is approximately the social assistance allocated to a single parent with two dependents). From the housing applications we get a picture of the average household, which consists of a single mother or a common law couple with at least one dependent, living well below the poverty line. This is the economic reality facing those who seek to work on community economic development for First Nations peoples in Kamloops.

Along with Employment, Housing, Drug and Alcohol Abuse, and Education were the household survey respondents' primary areas of concern, followed closely by Child Welfare and Healing. Sixty-two per cent of the responses had the same first four concerns prioritized. This hierarchy of concerns was replicated in the organizational surveys as well¹¹ and indicates that, for the well-being of first Nations peoples, whether it be in the area of economics or health,

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Since each respondent was asked to rank their priority, a priority ranking system was established wherein a #3 ranking was given 1 point, a #2 ranking was given 2 points, and a #1 ranking was given 3 points. Dividing the total points by each priority's ranking points gives a percentile ranking. Employment was a priority for 19.8% of the respondents of the organizational survey, followed by housing 17.1%, drug and alcohol abuse 14.2%, education 12.2%, and child welfare 9.1%.

there is an intricate web of social issues where one area of concern cannot be easily separated from the other. Although employment is the primary concern, it cannot be separated from other issues. The most obvious interconnection for economic development is with education, where the one is ultimately dependent upon the standard and level of the other. However, as was emphasized throughout the surveys, for First Nations peoples issues of Drug and Alcohol Addiction cannot be separated from economic development. Thus, efforts for economic development can only be truly successful when balanced with other efforts of urban community building. This is what Perry, Lewis, and Fontan (1992) refer to as "progressive local development" instead of "liberal local development." "[Liberal] local economic development refers to the process in which local governments engage to stimulate or maintain business activity and/or employment" (5) whereas progressive local development "does not seek to make the existing conditions in the community more bearable . . . [but] seeks to change the structure of the community and build permanent [new or changed] institutions within a community" (5-6).

In terms of the economic development needs of the Kamloops First Nations population, the responses to the household survey indicated that both liberal and progressive economic development are needed. There is no doubt as to the respondents' desire for better economic conditions through the improvement of employment opportunities. However, when asked how they have attempted to improve their current economic situation, 29% of the 52 respondents indicated that they sought to upgrade their education, 19% sought post-secondary education, and 11% sought skills training. Only 10% had thought of setting up their own business. These responses suggest that there are basic learning measures and skills gaps that need to be crossed before most of these respondents could begin to benefit from the economic development programs presently available to First Nations populations¹². When only one-quarter of the First

¹²

The researchers recognize that education is not the only or necessarily the primary component of entrepreneurship (Daly and Cobb, 1989).

● Nations population completes high school, as opposed to half of the non-First Nations population, there would seem to be changes needed within the very structure of the educational system for First Nations people (Armstrong et al, 1990, p.vii).

Along with gauging the concerns of the Kamloops urban First Nations population, the household survey was also aimed at determining the infrastructure to which the urban population gained accessed. The questionnaire asked which organizations the respondent used, and which organization served her/him best. Fifty-seven per cent felt off reserve organization served them best, the Friendship Centre being the most highly supported, followed by the University College of the Cariboo, and the city of Kamloops (see ranking charts in Appendix C). This result suggested to the researchers that, in future, projects may be most successfully implemented through these organizations.¹³

A final note of interest as indicated by the surveys is the ambivalent connection of the urban First Nations population to an off reserve infrastructure. Albeit 57% felt off reserve organizations served them best, 26% felt that strictly on reserve entities served them best (KIB, own band, SNTC, INAC), and the remainder 17% felt joint on and off served them best (Community Futures, ANTCO, SFU, CEIC, SCES). That 43% of the population still turned to the on reserve infrastructure suggests that there is a void of support in the city of Kamloops as regards to certain areas of organizational responsibility for the off reserve population.

To further support this finding of inadequate accessibility, the survey responses indicated that most initiatives for economic development of First Nations peoples in the urban centre are not meeting the financial needs of their constituency. For those respondents who answered the question, "Have you ever applied for funding from the following organizations," the largest

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We recognize there may be a bias inherent in the survey procedure as the survey was distributed most successfully through the Friendship Centre. Yet this bias may also indicate that the Friendship Centre is the organization most closely connected to the urban population.

number -- 25% -- responded that they had turned to their own band. This result suggests that many urban First Nations members are unaware of an economic development structure accessible in their urban community.

Other responses to the funding question are as follows: Friendship Centre -- 11%; University College of the Cariboo -- 11%; Kamloops Indian Band 10%; Kamloops city -- 10%; INAC -- 10%; Kamloops Native Housing Society -- 8%; All Nations Trust Co. -- 7%. Interestingly enough, the organizations that the interviewees turned to for funding are primarily those organizations which may provide aid in meeting basic needs -- the housing society, UCC, the Friendship Centre -- which further suggests that before any economic development can be implemented in the Kamloops area, First Nations peoples must be able to meet their basic needs.

This final point leads us to the next area of investigation which is an examination of the organizations available to off reserve populations. As this final point indicates, there is no clear territorial mapping of the urban infrastructure available to the Kamloops First Nations population. Both on and off reserve services and institutions are utilized by the urban population. There are a variety of organizations which purport to support the First Nations population, but these organizations vary greatly as to how successfully they are meeting the needs of the 70% of First Nations people who live off reserve.

SECTION Three: *Unfolding the Map*

As the householder surveys indicated, First Nations peoples in Kamloops city have no clear direction as to how they can access the means to improve their economic situation. This economic insecurity is leading to what M. C. Leroy has referred to as "the neighbourhood in crisis" where "in all of the developed countries, one finds the phenomenon of the 'two-gear' city. Some areas of cities are experiencing considerable economic growth and a social redistribution in favour of [population] categories whose level of skills is rising. And then there are those neighbourhoods that are pockets of unemployed, of people in difficulty" (Perry et al., p.7). As the statistics of poverty and unemployment indicate, the First Nations peoples of Kamloops is one of those "neighbourhoods in difficulty."

Although organizations aimed at economic development for First Nations peoples do exist, they are layered throughout jurisdictional mazes, from federal agencies to community based organizations, off reserve to on reserve, and private institutions to public. In order to begin deciphering this puzzle of bureaucratic formations, our research attempts to map out the jurisdiction of some of the more relevant institutions concerned with economic development. We began this charting by conduction interviews with individuals from twenty different organizations, as follows:

- ☎ The Department of Indian Affairs
- ☎ The Department of Industry, Science and Technology -- Aboriginal Business Development
- ☎ The Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs
- ☎ The Ministry of Social Services
- ☎ United Native Nations
- ☎ Aboriginal Peoples Business Association

- ☎ The Metis Association
- ☎ Shuswap Nation Tribal Council
- ☎ Kamloops Indian Band
- ☎ Interior Indian Friendship Society
- ☎ Native Outreach for Women
- ☎ Shuswap Native Economic Development Association
- ☎ Secwepemc Cultural Education Society
- ☎ All Nations Trust Company
- ☎ Western Indian Agriculture Producers Association
- ☎ Native Advisory Board to the University College of the Cariboo
- ☎ All Nations Business Services Society
- ☎ Central Interior First Nations Community Futures
- ☎ Aboriginal Management Board (CEIC Programming)

As the above list indicates, not all the organizations which we spoke with are directly aimed at economic development for urban First Nations peoples. However, we felt that all of the organizations were concerned, in some measure, with the economic well-being of urban First Nations members, as based upon the household survey answers and/or from our own experiences.

Although the right to self-government for Aboriginal peoples has never been entirely extinguished (Partner in Confederation, 1993), the means and abilities of First Nations people to achieve self-government has been circumscribed and curtailed through federal legislation.

"Beginning in 1869, Parliament passed a series of provisions dealing specifically with the governmental powers of Indian chiefs and councils. These provisions defined the legislative powers of chiefs and councils and subordinated them to the discretion of federal officials" (Partners in Confederation, p.34).

In this process of defining Aboriginal people's rights, the federal government became the paternal guide for First Nations peoples. It is for this reason that our examination of the organizations begins with a discussion of the Department of Indian Affairs, the federal branch responsible to First Nations peoples.

In talking with individuals at the Department of Indian Affairs, it became apparent that urban First Nations peoples fall outside of the paternal grasp of the DIA. All three individuals interviewed emphasized that DIA is responsible for First Nations members living on reserve; the provincial government is responsible for those living off reserve, although there is no clear mandate for responsibility as there is with on reserve and DIA. As well, all three individuals noted that Indian Affairs is not the department budgeted to focus on economic development. The only means DIA has to support for employment projects is Resource Access Negotiations (RAN) which levers assets from off reserve businesses to negotiate business deals, a form of federal business advocacy.

More specific to economic development on and off reserve in the federal government, the Department of Industry, Science and Technology does have a separate branch for Aboriginal Business Development. The Aboriginal Business Development Program has funds to invest \$12 million dollars annually in First Nations Business ventures, with an average investment of \$80,000 per project. The program receives approximately 800 to 900 applications annually, with 120 successful candidates. The office for ABDP is in downtown Vancouver where all interviews and consultations take place. Dave McDougall, Assistant Regional Director, remarked that the funds are used more by on reserve members than off as, generally, there is more information and publicity available to on reserve members. Again, the difficulty of locating and reaching the off reserve community becomes apparent.

The interviews with Brian Olding, Lyle Wood, Bob James (all three from DIA), and Dave McDougall led to the conclusion that federally sponsored programs and departments have

● difficulty in meeting the needs of the 70% of First Nations peoples living in urban centres, and, more specifically, have difficulty in locating and delivering the needs for First Nations peoples living in Kamloops. The centralization of offices in the city of Vancouver means that First Nations peoples in Kamloops will have difficulty in accessing the services provided. And, again, hopefully not to over-emphasize this point, there is no specific directive within these federally-run institutions to meet urban First Nations peoples needs.

The situation of federal involvement in governing First Nations peoples highlights an area of concern that will be reflected throughout this report; that is, the lack of a clear and specific mandate for guaranteeing the needs of urban First Nations peoples. With the current political focus on Aboriginal self-government, and the scramble to sort out what self-government means to the various levels of government, the concerns of urban First Nations members has been sidelined.

However, it would be unfair to blanket this statement to all levels of government. Within the B.C. Ministry of Social Services there have been specific efforts made to address the needs of urban First Nations peoples. Among these efforts is the hiring of two Native street-level social workers to provide services to the street youth of Kamloops. This project was put in place by the recommendations of the Interior Indian Friendship Society of Kamloops, and funded through the Ministry of Social Services.

The example of the Native street-level social workers highlights another issue of our jurisdictional mapping that became apparent throughout our research. The effectiveness of programs, and thus, the most productive expenditure of funding, was directly proportional to the locatedness of the programs within the community of Kamloops. For instance, although the United Native Nations is the political and cultural voice for urban First Nations peoples, there is no office of the UNN in Kamloops city. This lack of direct contact with the urban population in Kamloops explained the lack of connection that the Kamloops urban population has with the

UNN. Instead, the Friendship Centre of Kamloops is accessed as the organizational voice for the community, as noted in the household survey results.

In general, our study found a lack of clear directives for urban economic development among the organizations that are designed to aid the economic and social well-being of First Nations peoples. As noted above, provincial and federal governments are not expending their energies towards these communities. And, at the community base, there is no clear design yet as to how best coordinate resources to aid economic development. Of the community groups surveyed, there was a general consensus as regards to the barriers for economic development for off reserves population: those are, lack of access to capital 73%, lack of education or training 60 %, poor information and coordination of resources 33%.¹⁴ However, the challenges to redress these structural gaps seemed greater than the stop gap measures that most of these organizations could hope to implement.

The representative interviewed from Native Outreach felt that his program was quite effective in meeting its goals. In the past fiscal year, they successfully made 715 job placements in casual and regular work, and placed 207 people in CEIC or non-CEIC training programs. The Native Outreach employee sees the biggest concerns for the off reserve population to be housing, education, employment, drug and alcohol abuse, and aboriginal language. Of these concerns, Native Outreach is able to address issues of education and training by providing information of available jobs, business plan development, training, and skills development with the writing of resumes, cover letters, and one to one counselling. Although these are all important areas to cover, Native Outreach, rather than creating new employment opportunities, is providing the support systems for First Nations employment that would seem to be the responsibility of other organization: CEIC, secondary schooling, CAEDS, etc. Such are the stop gap measures that are

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"Lack of cooperation", "lack of information", and "no communication" are answers that formed the category "poor information and coordination of resources."

being required of Native-focused community economic development programs.

All Nations Trust Company also experiences a similar level of responsibility for economic and social development. ANTCO's services include providing loans, information, expertise, and training. ANTCO is considered primarily as a loans institution but it also provides pre- and post-business development support. However, according to All Nation Trust's Loans Officer, the existing programs and policies are not adequate for allowing the organization to meet its objectives. Access to capital -- ANTCO is not legislated to accept deposits -- and support must be improved if ANTCO is to meet its objectives. Pre- and post-business development support is needed for First Nations business development as the skills needed for business management are not necessarily already developed. Thus ANTCO is providing more support than is generally expected of a loans institution which may effect its perceived effectiveness; it is difficult to place a direct monetary value on the business support which is provided. This simply means that, as an economic institution, ANTCO is also taking on responsibility for areas of economic development that are generally not the responsibility of a lending institution.

Generally, what we found in First Nations economic development institutions is that they are carrying the workload for an inadequate infrastructure. The examples of ANTCO and Native Outreach suggest that there are gaps in the infrastructure of economic development, gaps which are only being seen and addressed at the later stages of the process. This requires that organizations which are designed to assist with economic development of First Nations peoples are addressing concerns that should have been addressed much earlier, concerns of education and training. And due to this, resources are being spread thinly and, perhaps, not used in their most effective capacity.

From these two examples, the interlocking concerns of social and economic development become clearly apparent. We can see that issues of economic development cannot be solely concerned with funds or funding, but with ensuring that social institutions are meeting the needs

of the First Nations population. Thus, communications and awareness of the activities of social and economic programs would seem to be a necessary step if we hope to see an improvement in the economic situation of First Nations peoples in Kamloops. The analysis and comments from the remaining institutional interviews appear in some or another in the next section of this study.

In their concluding remarks on economic development on American Indian reservations, Cornell and Kalt present the contradictory position that "economy follows sovereignty". They found that

"[t]he most striking characteristic of the relatively successful tribes . . . studied is that they have aggressively made the tribe itself the effective decision-maker. . . ." (Cornell and Platt, 1989, p. 40)

Following this finding, and our own findings of overextended use of limited resources for economic development, we have designed Section Three as an aid in the communication of resources available, and as a means to illuminate how these resources are being used. We believe that this mapping of urban jurisdictional resources is a means to see how and where the needs of urban First Nations people are being met. And with this bank of information to rely upon, we feel that we have provided a resource for groups to see where gaps exist in the social and economic infrastructure of urban First Nations members in the city of Kamloops, and to communicate how funds can be used more effectively. We see this mapping as our means of providing information which may assist in the urban community in designing its own social and economic infrastructure.

SECTION Four: *Uncertain Boundaries*

We live with acts of God. But God isn't in it like us. Not in any way. He's the one who owns the land allotments, the words. He sends the little people to mess up our lives. . . . We stand our ground. We're the watchdog of the world. The sayers of the way life is.

-- Diane Glancy, from *Firesticks*

Buzzwords bug people. Ask any "expert" to define Integrated Resource Management, Community Economic Development, or Comprehensive Community Planning. A common definition is unlikely. We recognize that this report is as guilty of shamelessly using the CED (community economic development) phrase and the "I" (integrated) word as any other expert study in this field. The crime, however, is not vagueness; it is expediency. Throughout the conduct of this research a common plea was made, "Show me how this specific research, and the Royal Commission process is going to help this community." Community leaders already know what community economic development is; they want to have some help in achieving these objectives. Manuel (1974, p 151) states:

If the common goal of the community was to learn how to build a better bootleg still it would be the job of the community developer to help them gain the means to accomplish this goal. If housing, jobs and schools appear to be more admirable goals than a still, it is because most communities have a sound sense of their own needs.

It is not the expertise of the expert which is at issue; rather, it is the ability to have a real impact on the community under investigation.

This section is intended to address the most common question given back to us from the community leaders, "What are you going to provide me with to help solve this community's problems as discussed in Sections One and Two?"

The real question for the Kamloops aboriginal community and its leaders in 1995 and beyond is clear. In an era where the buzzwords are restructuring, streamlining, and downsizing,

how does one engage in the economic improvement (read: growth)¹⁵ of one under- privileged section of the community? Moreover, how does one accomplish this in an integrated and coordinated fashion to ensure that one component of development is not overlooked? Is it possible to improve the economic welfare of this community without spending more money? This would seem to be the definition of a conundrum.

This riddle is not new, however. It has been studied statistically, in case studies, in a piecemeal fashion, and in an integrated fashion by the best and the brightest. And inevitably the solution is that something gets cut and a fragile community infrastructure is further depleted.

Perhaps, therefore, the most useful tool that this study can offer the Kamloops community, under these rather tight constraints, is a different perspective on the nature of the problems. That is, a perspective more conducive to communication, education and integration; a perspective understood by more persons than are statistics (if that is possible) -- a spatial perspective. In a nutshell this section of this study proposes to illustrate the existing social, political, economic, and educational infrastructure of the Kamloops urban aboriginal population on a number of maps (yes *maps*).

On the following pages, maps are presented of the territory covered within the Kamloops area by a number of organizations in five community economic development components:

1. Economic and Business Development
2. Social Services and Health
3. Education

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In the economics literature (Blanschard and Fischer 1989) there are three primary sources of growth; capital accumulation (savings), human capital accumulation (education) and technological change. Although elements of standard growth theory are considered here, the emphasis is clearly on the institutional support for economic growth.

4. Social Housing and
5. Politics

These maps purport to demonstrate the relative size of the organization within its economic development component (its importance), its services, the organizations with which it would appear to overlap, and the extent of that overlap. The questions which these maps seeks to address are:

1. How might the resource of current institutions be reorientated for improved cost effectiveness?
2. Where should the jurisdictional lines between on and off reserve institutions in area of business development, social housing, social services, education and politics be drawn?
3. Which institutions might be appropriate for merger with other institutions or for administrative and information sharing with other institutions?¹⁶

The basis for these maps is the information integration afforded by the proliferation of Geographical Information System (GIS). For the uninitiated, the following introduction to the essentials of GIS is provided:

Many perceive GIS as a software package (such as Quikmap, ARC-INFO, Terrasoft, and others). In reality it is much more. GIS refers to Geographic Information System. Geographic Information System is a method of linking geo-referenced information to its geographical location. In simpler terms, if there is a particularly fruitful huckleberry bush on the Neskonalith Reserve, then a geographical information system would place a huckleberry bush in the correct geographical location on a map of the Neskonalith Reserve,

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These maps also serve at least two other purposes. 1) The organizations serving the Kamloops aboriginal community could use these maps as a reference guide to clients, an interorganization communications instrument, and/or a tool for comprehensive community economic development planning and 2) Academics and community economic developers could take a theoretical, and practical interest in these maps as analytical or planning instruments, especially when these layers of spatial information are integrated with more conventional economic development information.

thereby giving the bush a home on the map. Software packages allow the huckleberry bush (in technical terms the piece of data) to be placed onto the appropriate computerized map of the Neskonlith Reserve.

This is in no way meant to trivialize the importance of GIS software packages (or for that matter, the value of the huckleberry bush to the Shuswap people of Neskonlith). But in the beginning, at least, it is crucial to remember GIS is about geo-referenced information. (Le Dressay, 1993, p. 127)

Traditionally, GIS is used for applications in resource management (especially forestry), and municipal planning and administration. A street, a forest, a mountain, a city, a house and others are relatively stable geo-referenced entities. Generally, they stay in the same place on the earth. The use of GIS as it is proposed here, for socio-economic/organizational "boundaries" is quite rare. In fact after reviewing the contents of three separate GIS symposiums containing over 400 papers, only one effectively addressed the methodological and mapping issues involved here. And even then only an abstract of their proposal could be found¹⁷:

A GIS should not only store spatial data for representation, but should also be able to generate relevant information that enables the support of decision making, this at all levels of an organization using such a spatial decision support system. Ideally, spatial decisions should refer to the social, economic, political realities of the land. (Ferland and Chevallier 1993, p. 949)

The maps which appear on the following pages are intended for demonstration and discussion purposes¹⁸.

¹⁷

In fairness the general ideas presented in this study are hardly new to the location theories of regional economics (Paelink and Nijkamp, 1985), or the emerging network theories in economic geography. "economic space, geographical space and socio-cultural space. Infrastructure services and urbanization in geographical space influence the behaviour and success rates of the actors." (Kamann, 1991, p. 36).

¹⁸

These impetus for these maps arose from discussions with Chief Manny Jules of the Shuswap people of Kamloops, and Ruth Williams, executive director of the Interior Indian Friendship Society. Both had expressed concerns about the lack of jurisdictional lines between on and off reserve communities.

The Methodology

The metaphorical foundation of any GIS presentation is the base map. Since the focus of the study is the Kamloops area, it has been chosen as the base map. In our research, we found territorial jurisdiction to be an issue. Therefore, the jurisdictional uncertainty between on and off reserve First Nations must be demonstrated if these maps are to be useful in conflict resolution. As such the initial question is how much of this map represents off reserve territory and how much represents on reserve?

Fortunately, three coincidental factors concerning the appropriate proportions on the base map made the proportionate representation a relatively simple decision. The on reserve territory takes up about 30% of the map for the following reasons:

1. The actual geography of the Kamloops area is approximately 93 km² of Kamloops Indian land (reserve) and 318 km² of Kamloops municipal land (off reserve)¹⁹. This translates to about 29% on reserve and 71% off reserve²⁰.
2. The aboriginal population in B.C. is about 70% off reserve and 30% on reserve (according to 1989 Post Secondary Education study)
3. Estimates (INAC figures) within an 80 km radius of Kamloops suggest that about 2500 aboriginal live on reserve and about 5720 live in Kamloops city. This translates to about

¹⁹ Kamloops reserve #1 is approximately 9 miles x 4 miles which converts to about 93 sq. km. Stats Canada 95-384 reports that the total area of both Kamloops and Kamloops reserve #1 is 410 squared km.

²⁰ The official tourist street map of Kamloops is not to scale so it was not simply a matter of digitizing (tracing) an existing map. Interestingly, this tourist map proportionately under represents the size of the Kamloops Indian reserve #1.

30% on reserve and 70% off reserve.

To provide useful spatial reference points, the base map used for this demonstration exercise contains relatively proportional representations of the North and South Thompson rivers, Highways # 1 and #5, the approximate location of the Chief Louis Centre for Shuswap government administration on the Kamloops reserve, and the rough location for the Interior Indian Friendship Society off reserve in North Kamloops. On the 8½" x 11"²¹ paper used, the on reserve area takes up about 28 in.², or about 30% of the map.

The next issue is the spatial representation of an organization or service. In this regard several questions have to be answered:

1. How big is the particular organization in relation to the other organizations on the map?
2. Where is the organizational boundary located on the map? If is on reserve, off reserve or both?
3. How are a particular organization's services represented on the map?
4. How are overlaps between organizations defined? What do these overlaps represent?

A methodology for each of these question appears below:

1. **Size of organizational polygon (shape) in relation to other organizations**
 - a. From the organizational survey in Section Two, the client/target group of an organization (on and/or off reserve) was determined.

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The authors are well aware that Canada uses the metric system. However, letter sized paper is commonly referred to as 8½" x 11" so English measurement were considered more tractable. Obviously, the metric conversions could be made.

- b. The population of an organization's client group²² was estimated from a variety of sources including Stats Can, INAC data, a detailed Community Futures report, or data collected by the SNTC.
 - c. Audits were obtained, or best guesses of expenditures were considered for each organization
 - d. A per capita expenditure for each organization was calculated: $\text{Total annual budget}^{23} \div \text{client size} = \text{per capita expenditure}$
 - e. A proportionate representation for each organization was formed on the basis of per capita expenditure²⁴ (pce). The smallest organization (pce) was used as the base and the others were scaled up in proportion.
 - f. Organizational boundaries are square in shape for ease of proportionality
- 2. Location of organizational shape on base map**
- a. Each organization defined its own jurisdiction during the organizational survey.
 - b. In those situations where an organization served both on and off reserve population a 50-

²² Not surprisingly, the accuracy of the data for First Nation populations is rather dubious. In the interest of fairness given the difficulty of a more rigorous methodological review, each organization will be allowed to define its target group. Where such self definitions are unavailable, Statistics Canada estimates will be used.

²³ This measure is inappropriate for chartered banks and Trust companies so annual budgets will be assumed to be change in annual gross assets. These were thought to indicate approximately how much new money is managed within these organizations in that particular year. This is relatively comparable to the annual budget figure used for the other estimates.

²⁴ Monetizing each organization seemed to be the most tractable form of comparison. Although it can certainly be argued that these figures do not adequately represent the sphere of influence of a particular organization or its effectiveness in meeting its objectives, these issues were felt best discussed within an interorganizational forum which these maps are intended to induce. Since all the organization under discussion were dependent upon financial resources, the scope of these resources allows for a type of spatial comparison.

50 distribution was assumed. These maps do not demonstrate usage by region (on or off reserve) as the data is inadequate for such assertions.

3. Representation of services delivered by an organization

i. Monetary symbols

- a. A symbol represents a particular service offered by that organization. The type of services are defined in the legend of each map.
- b. Audits and/or annual reports, and/or staff estimates were employed to determine the amount of dollars dedicated to the delivery of a particular service
- c. Per capita (client) expenditures were calculated
- d. The smallest organizational unit represents the base
- e. The number of symbols within an organizational boundary will indicate its proportionate delivery of that service. Where data was insufficient only one symbol appears per service. These situations will be noted.

ii. Non - monetary symbols

- a. For services such as expertise or advice, salaried staff were divided by client population for proportionate comparisons identical to the monetary symbols.
- b. For other services such as information only one symbol was used per organization, unless interviewer expertise, or organizational surveys compellingly indicated a difference between groups. A complete legend of the symbols is contained in Appendix B.

4. Overlaps between organizations

- a. An overlap indicates a duplication of the broadly defined services
- b. The location of the overlap indicates the location where services are most commonly

duplicated on or off reserve. The expertise of the interviewer and the results of the organizational survey were employed to determine the most appropriate overlap location.

- c. Each organization is colour coded. These codes are consistent throughout the maps and are included in the legend of each map. Overlaps are indicated by bold boundaries. Within each overlap a colour for each duplicating organization is included (i.e. stripes).
- d. The size of overlap accommodates **one** symbol being duplicated, unless interviewer expertise or the results of the organizational surveys deem otherwise
- e. Multiple overlaps may necessitate non-square shapes for some organizations. An effort will be made to maintain proportionate representations.

Economic and Business Development Infrastructure

As an example of this methodology, consider the first map representing a number of organizations involved in economic and business development within the Kamloops area. The organizations and their services offered which appear on the map include:

- a. All Nations Trust - loans, expertise, information
- b. Chartered Banks - loans, expertise, and information
- c. Central Interior community futures - loans, expertise, training and information
- d. Kamloops Economic Development Corporation - expertise and information
- e. Shuswap People of Kamloops - funding
- f. Native Outreach for women - information and expertise
- g. Shuswap Native Economic Development Association - expertise and information

The monetized organizational size and service delivery estimates are translated to a spatial

representation²⁵ on the map are provided below:

a. All Nation Trust

Estimated annual per capita expenditure = new assets ÷ target population

New Assets (1992 annual report) \$4,038,074 - \$2,507,584	\$1,530,490
B.C. aboriginal population (Stats Can 95-384)	74,415
Estimated target population (60%) ²⁶	44,649
Annual per capita expenditure	\$34.27

Spatially this per capita expenditure translates to approximately 9 in.² on the accompanying map using KEDCO (the smallest monetarized organization) as the base.

Loans per capita

1992 loans (1992 annual report)	\$1,196,436
Estimated target population	44,649
Per capita loan expenditure	\$26.79

Employing Central Interior community futures as the base this translates to approximately 1.5 loan symbols on the map.

Operating budget per capita

Operating budget (1992 annual report)	\$367,571
Estimated target population	44,649

²⁵

Obviously, the usefulness of this procedure is related to the quality of the information employed in the estimates.

²⁶

After reviewing the loan portfolio briefly discussed in the All Nations Trust 1992 Annual report, it was apparent that the geographical location of the loans were concentrated in the south western portion (including the mainland and Vancouver Island) portion of the province of B.C.. According to 1986 Stats Can figures, this encompasses approximately 60% of the B.C. aboriginal population.

Per capita operating expenditure \$8.23

This is spatially represented as 2.5 expertise symbols on the accompanying map (KEDCO as base). Summaries for the other economic development institutions appear below. The calculations appear in Appendix A.

b. Chartered Banks

Estimated annual per capita expenditure \$1125

The proportionate size of the chartered banks in the economic/business development landscape is phenomenal. To maintain an appropriate scale the square representing the banks would have to be 305 times the size of the smallest unit. Since the base unit is 1 in², tabloid paper could not proportionately accommodate banks. As such the per capita expenditure has been further divided by 3.55.

Subsequently, the banks take up approximately 86 in.² on the map. It should be noted that even this dominating presence of the chartered banks on the map is an under representation of 355%.

The bank section of the map also contains 2 Loans symbols and 21 expertise symbols. For a statistical explanation see Appendix A.

c. Central Interior Community Futures

Per capita expenditure \$52.10

On the map this translates to a shape encompassing 14 in.².

Community Futures has one loans symbols, one and a half expertise symbols, and one training

symbol.

d. Kamloops Economic Development Corporation

Per capita expenditure \$3.68

This is the base unit for organizational size and the expertise symbol.

e. Shuswap people of Kamloops (more commonly called the Kamloops Indian Band)

Annual per capita expenditure \$45.05

This translates to about 12 in.² on the map. Since there are no programs for which this money is earmarked for, it was assumed to be in its own separate category of economic development infrastructure.

f. Native Outreach for Women

Per capita expenditure \$7.35

A 2 in.² rectangle with 2 expertise symbols appears on the map to represent the native outreach for women program.

g. Shuswap Native Economic Development Association

Per capita expenditure \$9.26

A 3 in² rectangle with 3 expertise symbols represents this organization on the map.

A number of these organizations access some of their funding from the federal and provincial governments. In order to avoid double counting these federal and provincial government programs were left off this map. Their importance in the economic and business development infrastructure of the Kamloops areas should not be underestimated. Particularly in the event that local

bureaucratic darwinism²⁷ breaks out after inevitable budget cuts.

Canadian Employment and Immigration Canada

Per capita expenditure \$656.27

Indian and Northern Affairs

Per capita expenditure \$86.77

Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy²⁸

Per capita expenditure \$147.81

First Citizens Fund (B.C. Government)

Per capita expenditure \$23.49

MAPSIDE TALKS

This section of the paper briefly analyses some features of the economic development landscape appearing on the opposite page and on this basis offers some recommendations. The recommendations are delineated with a ★.

Mapside talk # 1 -- *Economic and Business Development*

Inadequate access to capital is often mentioned as a primary impediment to economic and business development for First Nation persons. Yet it is evident on the map that there is plenty of capital within banks. Is this capital not being accessed?

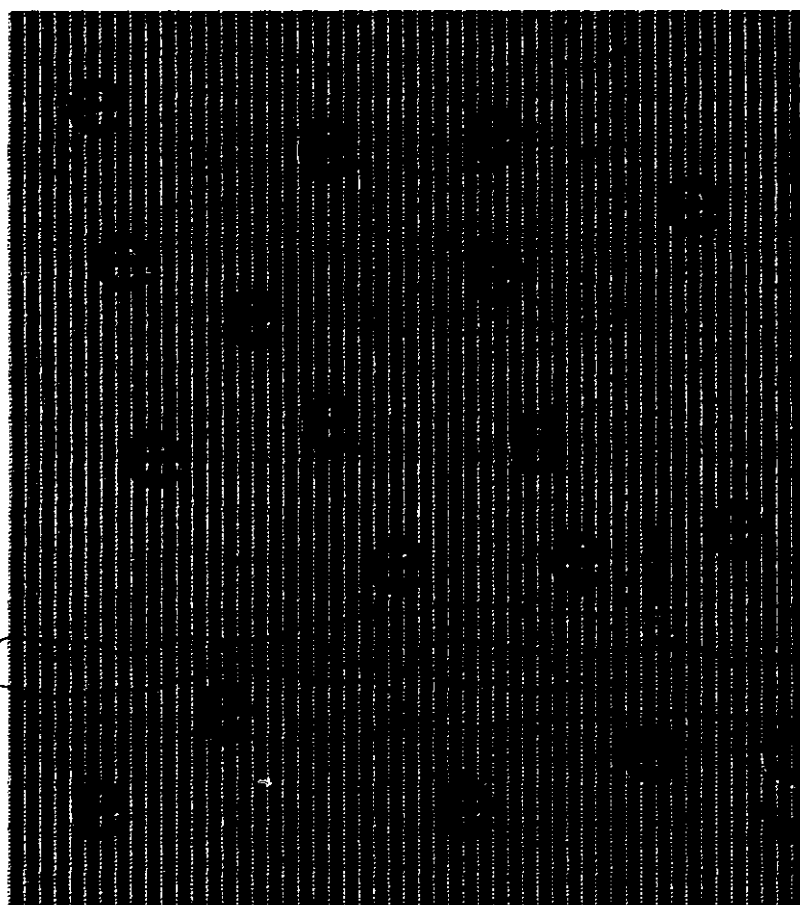
²⁷

This term refers to the natural survival instinct within bureaucracies. When faced with a dwindling pool of resources to sustain itself a bureaucracy will fight with other bureaucracies to the detriment of its collective self.

²⁸

Since CAEDS funding is largely an independent program it could have been placed on the map, but given its rather uncertain future such inclusion may have only further confused a cluttered situation. Incidentally a spokesperson for the Aboriginal Business Development Program stated that over 50% of their projects took place off reserve.

Kamloops Aboriginal Economic and Business Development Landscape



■ S.N.E.D.A. ■ K.E.D.C.O. ■ BANKS ■ A.N.T.C.O.
 ■ K.I.B. ■ NATIVE OUTREACH ■ COMMUNITY FUTURES

Kamloops
Indian
Band #1



English

i

As an answer to this question, if the income per capita and unemployment statistics provided earlier in this paper are not enough, consider that in our research only one aboriginal off reserve business was reviewed. And this business was operated by the Friendship Centre²⁹ -- an organization with considerable assets. Of course, there may be other off reserve aboriginal businesses in Kamloops but not many. The Community Futures report estimates that there are forty-seven businesses within their district, which encompasses much more than the Kamloops area. And most of these are probably located on reserve.³⁰

This same Community Futures report asserts that banks generally lend to medium or low risk clients. Due to credit problems, historical mistrust, a lack of collateral (land base), and perhaps systemic racism,³¹ most off reserve First Nations people would be considered high risk clients.

This lack of business development has important repercussions for economic development. Among First Nations businesses, the hiring rate of First Nations people is 95% of the staff; among non-First Nations businesses, the hiring rate of First Nations people is 2.7% of the staff (Community Futures Report, p.11). Thus, this lack of business development means that First Nations members are not only not getting the opportunity to run their own businesses, but they are also not getting the opportunity to work as staff in businesses.

²⁹ The profits from this store help make the Friendship Centre partially self sufficient and provides an opportunity for employment, experience, and training for off reserve aboriginal.

³⁰ The Section 87 tax exemption encourages on reserve businesses.

³¹ This is always a difficult accusation to make, especially in the self interest driven market economy. However, there is some cursory evidence from the U.S. to suggest that it does have some basis. There is 23% chance that a white American earning less than \$28,000 will be denied a mortgage and a 21% chance that a black American earning more than \$42,000 will be denied a mortgage (Harpers, 1992, p. 15)

It was precisely for these reasons that All Nations Trust Company (ANTCO) was established. It was designed to be the capital base for First Nation economic/business development in the area. However, as we can see on the map, it is dwarfed by the banks. Why is that? Perhaps it has something to do with its source of capital; its base of capital is derived from government programs (the First Citizens Fund and others).

Generally, a large source of bank capital comes from people savings. Because ANTCO does not have deposit insurance it can not accept deposits. This is unfortunate considering the potential scope of aboriginal household and government savings within the immediate ANTCO area. The results of the 1991 and 1992 leakage studies for 457 on reserve households (Appendix C) suggest annual savings of over \$720,000.³² If one assumes similar savings for off reserve aboriginal, then there would be an additional \$3.7 million³³ in potential capital within ANTCO. Moreover, First Nations governments in the area circulate over \$9 million in their day to day operations (Appendix C). Much of this money is circulated through off reserve banks. Still further, the prospect of financial compensation for land claims in the area would dramatically swell the assets of the off reserve area banks.³⁴ From a community economic development perspective, the question is simple: Are the on and off reserve First Nations people in the area

³² In very rough terms this translates to about a 7% savings rate for on reserve households.

³³ Employing the housing application results the average household size is about 3 for off reserve households. This roughly translates into 1900 off reserve households from a population of 5720. If each household saved the same amount as an on reserve household, which is not unreasonable given the assumed slightly higher income per capita of off reserve households (1986 Stats Can aboriginal profile of the aboriginal population in selected off reserve areas) total off reserve savings in Kamloops would be about \$3 million.

³⁴ It is no coincidence that a number of banks (CIBC, TD, and the Bank of Montreal) are attempting to establish on reserve branches.

receiving sufficient return on their investment (deposits) in the local banks?

The first recommendation from this analysis therefore is:

- ★ Legislative changes should be pursued to grant ANTCO and other First Nation quasi banks the status of a full lending institute so that it will be able to accept deposits from its customers.

In the event that ANTCO was granted deposit insurance, a number of integrations could take place which may cost effectively enhance community development opportunities for the Kamloops aboriginal community.

- a. The Kamloops Native Housing Society could use the equity it has built to date to leverage more development funds for social housing projects. In line with recent trends these would create a situation of self sustaining community based social housing, rather than government controlled constantly subsidized housing.
- b. Using the equity of the Kamloops Native Housing Society, or special deposit funds, ANTCO and Community Futures could implement the micro lending circle program into the off reserve community³⁵.
- c. A more conventional type of bank/co-op for the Kamloops aboriginal community could become the source of capital and subsequent integration of a host of integrated community projects

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Section 89 of the Indian Act is an important factor because its provisions all but eliminate the use of on reserve property as collateral. Ironically, Section 87 of the Indian Act encourages development on reserve and Section 89 of the Indian Act encourages development off reserve. Not surprisingly, the net result from these confusing incentives is to have limited development in both on and off reserve communities.

Capital, though, is just one (rather large) component of the economic/business development landscape. Training and experience are two other important components. On these maps it would appear that only the Central Interior Community Futures offers entrepreneurial training and development programs. Are these adequate for the area? Perhaps not. Although intended equally for off and on reserve persons, it was apparent in discussions with the director of the Community Futures, that mostly on reserve persons took advantage of its program³⁶.

We would be remiss if we did not discuss the significant overlaps on reserve on the map. These overlaps do not indicate an identical duplication of service, expertise, or information delivery, but just a duplication in service type. The presence of these overlaps, though, indicates an opportunity through integration, communication network development, or even merger for more comprehensive and efficient delivery of information and expertise.

- ★ The First Nation economic and business development organizations serving the on and off reserve Kamloops aboriginal population should convene a discussion on the integration, communication reconstruction, and possible merger of their organizations. Some possible topics and examples for such a discussion are listed below.

An example of one such integration is between Community Futures and All Nations Trust in the delivery of the micro lending circle³⁷ program. Loan and investment fund management

³⁶ This might be a result of poor communications, jurisdictional overlap with an off reserve non-aboriginal Community Futures in Kamloops, or even political reasons.

³⁷ Loans up to a maximum of \$5000 are given to a community based lending circle. The circle then administers this fund to micro businesses within the community. These lending circles are primarily located on reserve.

expertise from ANTCO combines with a more community development orientated approach in Community Futures to deliver a potentially self sustaining program to "high risk" individuals and communities in need.

Another example of integration is the sharing of information and expertise which the SNTC and Community Futures have already discussed for using the leakage study information as an important resource tool in their business development centre. The potential for an extensive electronic newsletter, or other instrument of communications network between the various community development organizations should be encouraged.

Finally, in integration, there is the potential of working with the non-First Nations population to develop economic potential. Presently, in Kelowna, there is an apprenticeship program ongoing between non-First Nations businesses and First Nations, negotiated through INAC, and generally thought to be successful. As well, there is the potential of working with business organizations, such as the Kamloops Chamber of Commerce, to have First Nations interests become part of the existing urban infrastructure.³⁸

Even innovative programs like this, however, are not enough to eliminate one stark reality on this map. If the banks are not the key component to the off reserve economic/business development infrastructure, than who is? This apparent absence of infrastructure is especially disconcerting when we consider that 457 on reserve individuals spend \$4.3 million annually in

The link between politics and community economic development is a rather contentious issue. A Canadian political party's placement on the left-right spectrum is often determined by its attitudes and policies about integration of economics and politics. It is certainly impossible to achieve a consensus opinion. Perhaps, however, if the debate were focussed on the issues of each politician's accountability and appropriate economic accounting, more practical community-suitable solutions could be developed. First Nation communities (be they on or off reserve) are not immune from such considerations.

Kamloops, and their governments spend over \$5.5 million annually in Kamloops (Appendix C)³⁹. How large of a contribution are the estimated 5720 aboriginal residing in Kamloops making? As a result of this analysis it is recommended that:

- ★ That a thorough leakage study be conducted for a representative off reserve First Nation population. This would provide:
 - (i) invaluable economic development information
 - (ii) the initial capacity for an off reserve First Nation community to collect their own survey type information.⁴⁰

From 1991-1993 the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council conducted community economic development studies in its nine member communities -- sometimes referred to as leakage studies. The census type surveys were primarily concerned with the expenditure behaviour of the households, government and businesses on reserves. In theory, if you know where the leaks are, you can plug them⁴¹.

In February, 1993 political representatives from a number of Shuswap communities decided to undertake some initial economic development projects supported in the results of these studies.

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The obvious recommendation for the on reserve communities is to develop within the Kamloops Indian reserve. A number of projects to plug the economic holes have already been initiated by organizations like the Shuswap Native Economic Development Association, and ANTCO, Community Futures, and a number of individuals who have applied the invaluable information contained in appendix C.

40

Statistics Canada's Aboriginal Peoples Survey is inadequate in this regard because it only asked for the general location of purchases and not the dollar value or specific First Nation location of such purchases.

41

For those interested in a methodological review of these studies see LeDressay, 1994.

The Chief of the Whispering Pines community outside of Kamloops even suggested that eventually off reserve persons could be bussed to on reserve shopping facilities⁴².

- ★ That the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) support the development of information management infrastructures within suitable First Nations organizations, such as Friendship centres in the urban community.

From 1991-1994, the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council attempted to develop First Nation government software and information management capacity within the SNTC communities. The intent was to allow First Nation governments an opportunity to more effectively control and utilize the information which flows through their offices⁴³. Although the project failed for reasons of cost over runs it and other project like it such as the Integrated administration software may one day provide the necessary technological tool for the integrated and effective management of smaller governments⁴⁴.

⁴² This Chief used two arguments to support his suggestion. First off reserve persons undoubtedly contribute significantly to the off reserve economy. The projections for the off reserve community could be 5 times higher than the leakages from the original six communities. Secondly, Section 87 of the Indian Act allows for a partial taxation exemption for goods and services purchased on reserve (LeDressay, 1993b). A price advantage could thus be offered to on reserve shoppers.

⁴³ It should be evident in this study that the reliability of statistics associated with First Nations persons is slightly dubious. Much of the information used here was gathered by survey and the last question of our household survey (67% have negative attitudes towards surveys) indicates the basic collection problem of this type of information. If First Nations became the coordinating body of their own information perhaps it would alleviate the survey problem, lead to greater information accuracy, lower research costs, and maybe even better information usage.

⁴⁴ A company owned by the 10 communities of the SNTC called the Resource Integrated Information Management System (RI²MS) has evolved from this project.

Sharing and integrating information for smaller governments or service organizations could be the key to making them more efficient, cost effective and responsive than the existing larger institutions (Bergman et al, 1991) Off reserve in Kamloops, the most obvious place for such information integration to take place is within the Interior Indian Friendship Society. The widely dispersed Kamloops aboriginal community would make efficient service delivery difficult at the best of times, but without knowing who or where they are, the problem is almost futile. Since the Kamloops Native Housing Society already has over 1100 applications on file, the development of a community membership data base perhaps integrated (through name, or social insurance number) with other existing data bases, could lead to more cost effective service delivery from a more community sensitive organization.⁴⁵

Social Housing Infrastructure

There are three primary source of social housing in this area; the government for the Shuswap People of Kamloops, the Ministry of Social Services and Kamloops Native Housing Society which is closely affiliated with the Central Interior Friendship Society. Their main service is the same -- adequate housing for individuals and/or families which could otherwise not afford it. This makes this map on the opposite page, slightly less cluttered than the previous one. The relevant per capita figures below and their supporting calculation can be found in Appendix A.

Shuswap People of Kamloops per capita expenditure	\$409.81
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The area of this rectangle has been rounded off to 42 in.².

⁴⁵

Some might view such a suggestion as the beginning of the Orwellian nightmare. However, the current trend towards mass integration and selling of information (mailing lists, driver's licences, etc.) suggests that the creation of a series of little sisters and brothers may be the best protection against the much scarier larger sibling.

Ministry of Social Services per capita expenditure	\$9.45
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This is the base unit at 1 in.²

Kamloops Native Housing Society per capita expenditure	\$336.41
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The area of this square is 36 in.²

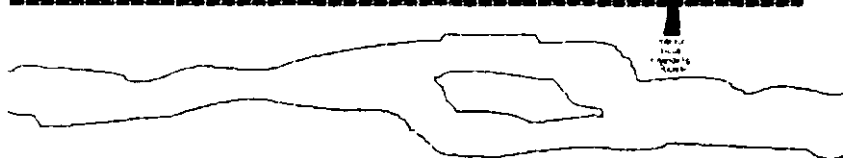
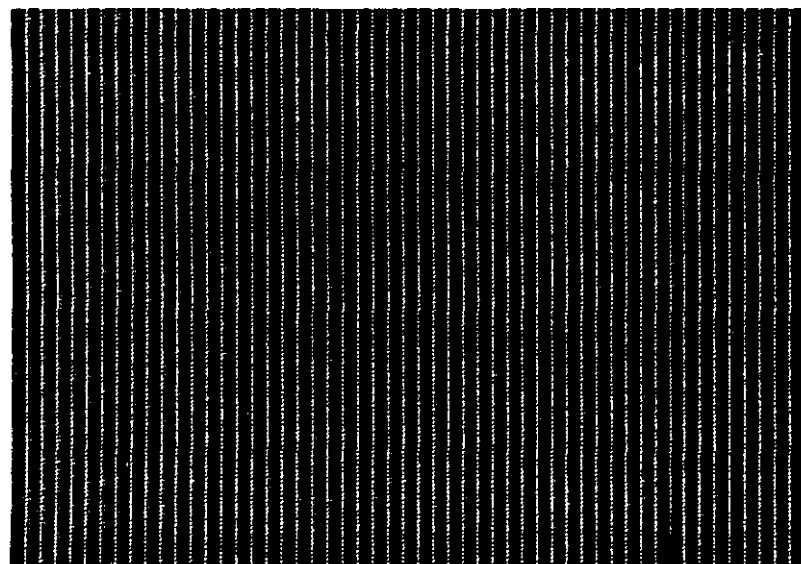
Mapside Talk # 2 -- *Social Housing and Infrastructure*

Despite appearances, it is doubtful that the social housing infrastructure for either on or off reserve community is inadequate. One need only consider that there are 1100 applicants at the Kamloops Native Housing Society for accommodation, and the KNHS has only 84 units⁴⁶. A placement rate of about 7.6%. Furthermore, 29% of the respondents to this survey listed housing as the reason they left the reserve. However, as of this year, the federal government has cut its programs to fund cooperative and non-profit housing. Although the need is great, there

⁴⁶

With only 84 native housing units, the existence of a geographical identifiable off reserve community of place is questionable.

Kamloops Aboriginal Housing Landscape



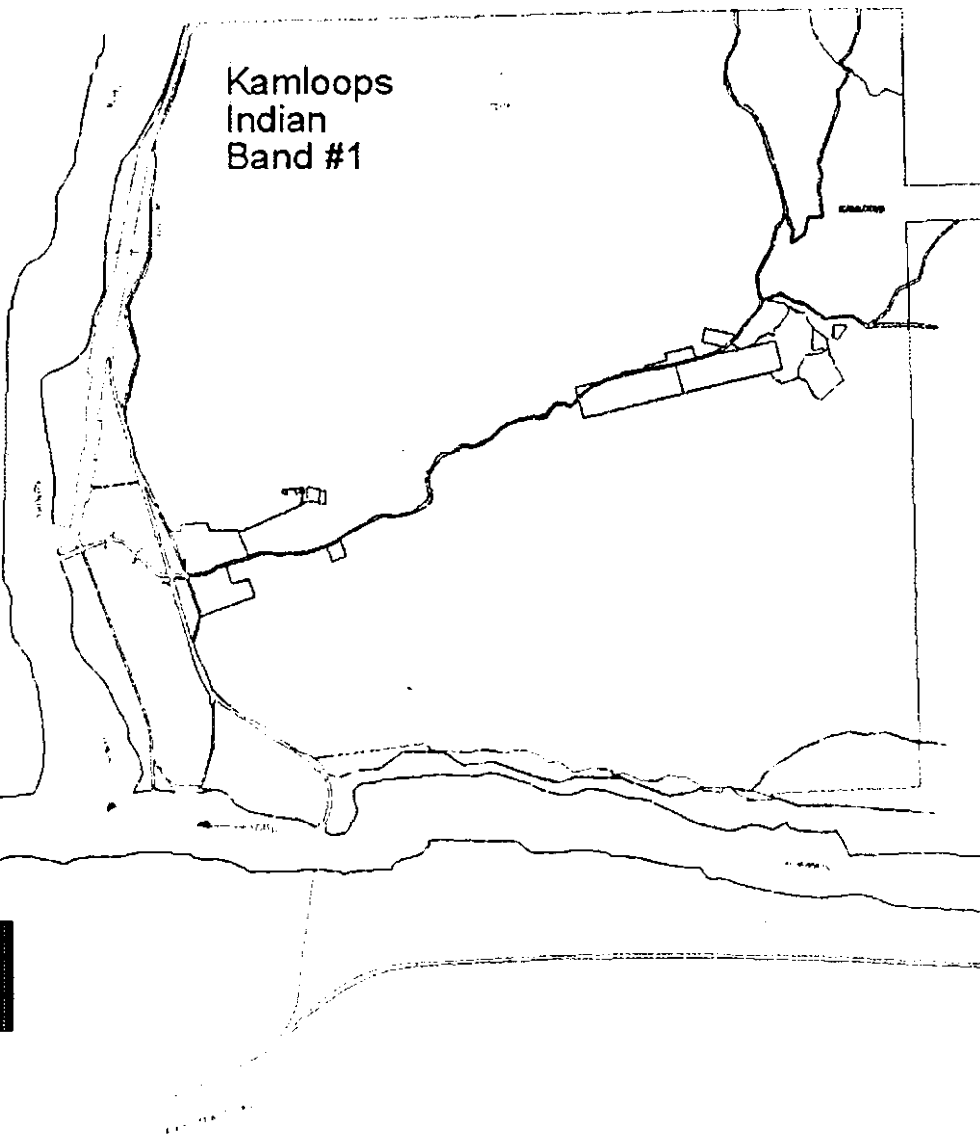
Ministry of Social Services



Kamloops Native Housing Society

K I B

Kamloops
Indian
Band #1



are no federal resources specifically earmarked for future Native housing projects.

It would also appear that a number of off reserve aboriginal are renters. Based on observations and interviews, there are few off reserve aboriginal property owners. This would seem to be another symptom/cause of the relatively poor state of economic/business development off reserve. And, in terms of economic development, property is a common form of equity and collateral for bank loans -- especially for first time businesses. Since few off reserve aboriginal own property, the necessary collateral for business start up is absent. By renting instead of building up their own equity and credit rating, off reserve aboriginal are building up someone else. And so the circle starts. If you don't have equity, collateral, and a credit rating you can't get a loan, and if you don't get a loan you can't buy a house (or start up a business), and if you don't buy a house you don't build up equity, collateral and a credit rating⁴⁷. Who is to blame?

The obvious starting point is banks. Bank mortgages are the primary tool⁴⁸ for potential off reserve home buyers. In the interest of their investment (other people's savings), banks are understandably cautious. There are a number factors which financial management reason for the existence of this problem⁴⁹, but essentially it boils down to one ingredient -- trust. If economic trust is built through reputation (Dasgupta, 1986) and, given the history of trust between the First Nation people in the Kamloops area and the non-native community, it is perhaps well beyond the

⁴⁷ This problem is not unique to aboriginal. Co signing is a common method for other groups of the community to overcome this barrier. Who co-signs, though, for the aboriginal community?

⁴⁸ The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation does offer a method for "higher risk" home buyers to finance their purchase, but these are generally concentrated on reserve.

⁴⁹ One such property owner is contemplating a rent to own scheme for other off reserve aboriginal who are having trouble arranging financing.

patience of the current First Nation home seekers to wait for help from the banks. This is yet another compelling reason to provide deposit insurance to First Nations lending institutions like All Nations Trust as was previously recommended.

If the importance of this argument is still underestimated than consider the following. On average (Stats Can and CPI calculations) estimate that 25% of one's income should be spent on shelter⁵⁰. Using the upper end of the average household income estimates (average + standard deviation), this would imply that the amount spent on rent per month for the average 3 person aboriginal family should be \$375. In Kamloops, the lower end (Residential Renters) of one bedroom accommodation start at this figure. This leaves the renter with some choices. They can spend more than 25% on accommodation and sacrifice other necessities. They can acquire cheap and inadequate accommodation. Or they can arrange alternate living arrangements (shared rent, common law, etc.). None of these is adequate and in the latter case, economic necessity may supersede social issues such as abusive relationships and child welfare.

In the interim, however, this does not mean that housing cannot be made available. The land and complex of the existing Native housing units is owned by the Friendship Centre, giving the Friendship Centre the collateral needed to build another (other) housing project(s).

When considering the design and development of a future Native housing project, the following demographics should be considered: 72% of the population is under the age of 25 (Friendship Centre stats), with a high percentage of young parents, single or common-law and, the birth rate of this population is 2.5 times that of the non-First Nations population. As such we

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In fact the Kamloops Native Housing Society uses this figure as the rent charged for employed individuals within their units.

make the following recommendation:

- ★ Future social housing for the Kamloops urban aboriginal community should take into the account the demographic features of this population.

As it is, the present housing complex has more one bedroom suites than any other kind, with a minimum number of three and four bedroom units.⁵¹ A future housing project may be best designed with an emphasis on two, three, and four bedroom units. It may also be designed to meet other needs of the residents, beyond that of the basic need for shelter. For instance, the unit could be designed with a courtyard in the centre where the children could play, and where they could be easily supervised from the surrounding housing units. There may also be a daycare or child care area designed to be part of the complex. This would allow the housing project to address some of the child welfare concerns which were voiced by some of the people who were surveyed.

- ★ As part of the housing project, the community room (given there is one) could be utilized for the teaching of life skills courses or where drug and alcohol addiction meetings could take place.

This recommendation is made so that the housing space of the urban community is used

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Although we have not stated this before, we recognize that the number of one bedroom suites may bias the information gathered from the housing applications. Applicants were aware of the limited number of two and three bedroom suites so that there were fewer of larger family applicants. For this reason, the statistical information drawn from the housing applications may underemphasize the size of the average First Nations household.

to meet other needs and concerns which were voiced by the population, and also to help centralize support systems to where the community members might most easily access the support. The focus of these recommendations is to best utilize a potential urban infrastructure to address the populations concerns and needs.

Although housing units would seem to be the first priority, not all urban First Nations people are interested in living in a housing complex. For this reason, other types of housing and housing support could be made accessible. There may be segments of the population who would benefit from an alternative housing situation.

- ★ The downtown hotels of Kamloops or other suitable locations should be identified as possible residents for people "at risk".

A similar program already exists in the downtown hotel of Vancouver. Depending on the needs of urban First Nations members in Kamloops, similar efforts could be made in order to reach people who might be most difficult to reach.

The issue of racism is an important issue in housing. In Kamloops, there may be the opportunity to address the concept of First Nations people as undesirable tenants through liaison work with the non-First Nations community, perhaps through representation on tenants' rights and landlord associations community boards as was suggested in an interview with the United Native Nations representative.

- ★ That information on tenants' right and housing options be available, in brochure format as well as in group workshops, at localities easily accessed by the First Nations

population.

Consistently, throughout our research, we found that First Nations people felt that there was a lack of communication and information available in regards to meeting differing concerns in terms of basic needs. Housing was no exception. Thus, it would seem that the urban population would benefit from learning more about tenants' rights, and from learning more about different housing options that may be available to them, such as joint ventures and independent cooperative housing ventures as sponsored by the province of B.C. With this knowledge, we are recommending that housing workshop and information sessions, and tenants' rights workshops may be a benefit to the population. And as the Friendship Centre was the most highly used urban institution, these workshops could take place at this locality. However, it may also be advantageous to have workshops available on reserve for several reasons. First, off reserve members continue to have ties to their reserve and, thus, may access the workshop on reserve rather than off. As well, housing is one of the primary reasons people move off reserve. Thus, it may benefit the future off reserve population to be aware of the housing situation in the urban centre while still living on reserve.

Social Services and Health Care Infrastructure

There are four principal social services and health care organizations for aboriginal within the Kamloops area; the Friendship Centre, the Shuswap People of Kamloops, the B.C. Ministry of Social Services, and B.C. Ministry of Health. Collectively, these organizations provide counselling, child and family care, health care, income support, and training services to the

population (including aboriginal) of Kamloops.

The relevant per capita for the accompanying map appear below and their calculations appear in Appendix A. The representative size of the organization (its area on the map) and its service delivery capacity (the # of symbols) are also listed beside each estimate.

Friendship Centre total expenditure per capita (9 in. ²)	\$257.84
Friendship Centre Health Care per capita (1 symbol)	\$152.04
Friendship Centre counselling programs per capita (1 symbol)	\$ 38.62
Friendship Centre training per capita (1 symbol)	\$ 47.59
Friendship Centre child care per capita (1 symbol)	\$ 19.59
Shuswap people of Kamloops expenditure per capita (30 in. ²)	\$836.41
Shuswap people of Kamloops income support per capita (1.7 symbols)	\$553.25
Shuswap people of Kamloops family and child care per capita (8 symbols)	\$155.64
Shuswap people of Kamloops other programs and admin per capita	\$127.52
Ministry of Social Services expenditure per capita (18 in. ²)	\$519.20
Ministry of Social Services income support per capita (1 symbol)	\$310.17
Ministry of Social Services family and child care per capita (2.5 symbols)	\$49.02
Ministry of Social Services other services and admin per capita	\$160.10
Ministry of Health per capita expenditure (54 in. ²)	\$1501.52

Mapside Talk # 3 -- *Social Services and Health Care*

These are the big ticket items for governments. Any serious attempt by the next federal government to combat the debt/deficit will probably affect the delivery of social services and health care.⁵² Comparing the size of the on reserve income support per capita figure (and assuming it is similar for off reserve aboriginal) to the per capita figure for the Ministry of Social Services⁵³ suggests that any "downsizing, restructuring, streamlining" of the current social welfare system will impact on First Nations more than other groups within society.

Given the apparent inevitability of a reduced social support/welfare system, the issue is simple: in the best case how does the current system do more with less? Or more realistically, how does the current system maintain its current level of delivery with fewer resources? This question relates to the importance of the overlaps on this map. If the Ministry of Social Services and the Friendship Centre are both delivering similar services, then which organization is most efficient? Is greater integration possible?

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A related topic of recent interest is the disincentive line. This refers to people not feeling compelled to seek salaried employment because their disposable income would be less while employed than what they would receive on social assistance. Among suggestions to alleviate this perceived problem, is a cost of living adjustment to social assistance payments. This would imply lower social assistance payments in area of lower living costs (such as Indian reserve) and higher social assistance payments in areas of high costs of living (Vancouver). Supporters of this proposal claim that this would create the necessary incentive to move to Vancouver where there are better chances of employment. They believe that persons are only staying in low opportunity poor areas because there is no incentive to leave. However, to turn this logic on its head, if the true incentive to remain in a community is only standard of living, then why are there not more persons from Vancouver moving to Indian reserves (or other lower costs of living communities) because their social assistance income would make them relatively richer in these communities. Perhaps this basic economic model is too simplistic.


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The Ministry of Social Services estimates in their annual report that 51% of the children in care are "native".

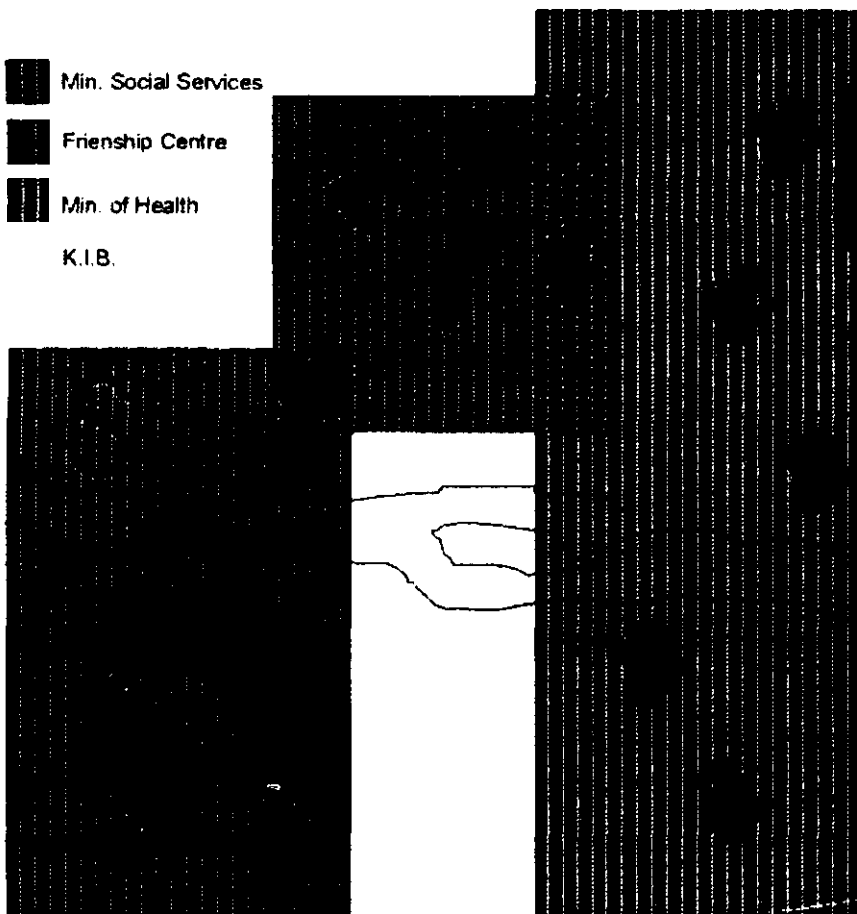
Kamloops Aboriginal Social Services Landscape

 Min. Social Services

 Frienship Centre

 Min. of Health

K.I.B.



Kamloops
Indian
Band #1

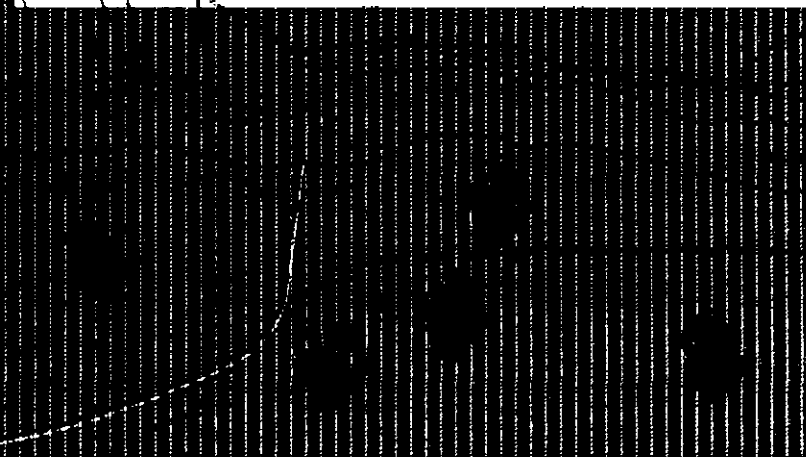
\$



KAMLOOP



\$



- ★ That the Ministry of Social Services utilize sites existing in the urban infrastructure to address First Nations clients.

Social service programs are best accessed at a community base; therefore, we suggest that most programs be implemented at a community base, with the Ministry of Social Services making use of the existing urban infrastructure where possible. For instance, courses and counselling could take place at the Friendship Centre, StoreFront School, the Healing Centre, or at the Native Housing Project, localities where a First Nations population would be comfortable at attending.

Social services being located at a community base, and with the input and directive from First Nations people also leads to another area of concern -- self-esteem. By locating services in the community and with community involvement, projects then are given the shape of being owned by the community. This is important for First Nations people in that by owning a community program it shows what the community can accomplish and feeds into a sense of self-esteem. This requires, however, that the funding that goes into any social services project is given over to the community to design programs in the way it seems most fit. To clarify this point, superficial acknowledgement of community involvement will not be sufficient; there must be full support and a handing over of responsibility to First Nations people, with support and expertise given when asked for.

Specifically, more cost effective community based care favours the more community sensitive Friendship Centre⁵⁴. The recent construction of the Ku-Li-Lu (butterfly) Circle of Health

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Common reasons cited for such gains in efficiency and cost effectiveness include higher levels of trust and comfort between client and agency, and better quality information due to the higher level of trust. The proliferation of smaller and more efficient management information systems may further enhance this gain.

Centre beside the Friendship Centre is an example of more community based service delivery. Secondly the basis for greater integration would appear to be information. Both organizations have information which would improve the efficacy of social service and health care delivery.

- ★ That a Native Advisory Board be designed to work within the Ministry of Social Services to address the needs of First Nations people.

Throughout our research, we found that the two main areas of concern which directly related to Social Services are Drug and Alcohol Addiction and Child Welfare. In Vancouver, although not in Kamloops, the Ministry of Social Services has recognized the need for a special focus on child welfare by having two separate offices, one for Aboriginal Child Welfare and the other Aboriginal Child Protection. As well, in an independent Tribal Council employee forum, child care for single mothers was the issue that garnered the primary concern. Thus, our research indicated to us that child care and welfare is of primary importance to the Kamloops urban First Nations population. However, our knowledge and understanding of First Nations attitudes also suggested to us that there is an undercurrent of mistrust between First Nations people and the Ministry of Social Services.

Based on the understanding of limited trust between First Nations people and non-First Nations organization, we felt that it would be beneficial if the MSS work closely with a Native Advisory Board. The success of the Native street-level youth workers, a program suggested by the Friendship Centre and followed up by the Ministry, suggests the benefits of close communications between the two groups. Presently, the street-level workers have offices at both

the Friendship Centre and with the Ministry.⁵⁵

- ★ That funds within Child Welfare and Child Protection are budgeted for life skills courses and single parenting courses.

The rate of child apprehensions among First Nations people is much higher than among the non-First Nations population. Child apprehensions are not only very disruptive for all people involved, but they are also very costly. Therefore, we feel that prevention of apprehensions has economic as well as social merits. Life skills courses and single parenting courses might be the type of social service programs that can be part of addressing concerns for child welfare. As many of the parents are young people, and as parenting and life skills are not on the curriculum of most secondary schools, access to these course would benefit both First Nations parents and the children.

In this regard, a noteworthy on reserve development which will impact off reserve social services is a precedent setting agreement between the provincial government and the Shuswap people of Spallumcheen (Enderby, B.C.) concerning the jurisdiction over children in care. The Spallumcheen government now has jurisdictional authority (within B.C.) over the offspring of its citizens. The Shuswap people of Kamloops are considering similar steps⁵⁶.

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Another example of a successful joint project is Aries, an alternative school for street youth in Vancouver which was initiated at a community base and is funded through the Ministry of Social Services. It is located in the Vancouver Friendship Centre. Further information is available on the Aries school.

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Interestingly enough, in a women's forum at the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council it was widely agreed upon that off reserve day care/child care facilities were of higher quality than on reserve facilities.

- ★ Traditional healing process for urban First Nations people work and are thus cost effective in the long term (Wilson Schaef). The delivery of such programs should be locally based.

Drug and Alcohol abuse is a primary community concern, and a concern that needs to be addressed in ways relevant to the community. One such way would be through programs supporting traditional healing practices. The urban community could learn from other communities such as the Alkali Lake Reservation, a Shuswap Nation community, which confronted issues of addiction and went from 100% addicted to 95% in recovery (Wilson Schaef, p.242).⁵⁷ Although substance abuse is often a problem that is related to issues of self-esteem, and we would hope as other issues that involve First Nations people's self-esteem improve, the situation of Drug and Alcohol addiction also lessens. However, issues of Drug and Alcohol addiction need to be addressed, and support implemented. Information sharing and support could be implemented at a community base such as the Ku-Li-Lu Circle of Health Centre, the Friendship Centre, or the Housing Project.

This recommendation could also impact on the non-First Nations community as Drug and Alcohol addictions cross community lines. There is a growing interest in non-First Nations people in healing processes of indigenous peoples (Wilson Schaef). With the growth of substance abuse, other populations of the urban community are looking for means to address substance abuse problems. Developing alternative healing programs could potentially financially benefit the First Nations community as this resource is tapped by others in the urban setting.

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Video available from Four Worlds Project, University of Lethbridge, Alberta, T1K 3M4.

Educational Infrastructure

The accompanying map represents the conventional education infrastructure, primary, secondary, and post secondary education. There are three main organizations involved in the conventional education infrastructure, the Shuswap People of Kamloops, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Advanced Education (recently amalgamated with the B.C. Ministry of Labor Skills and Training).

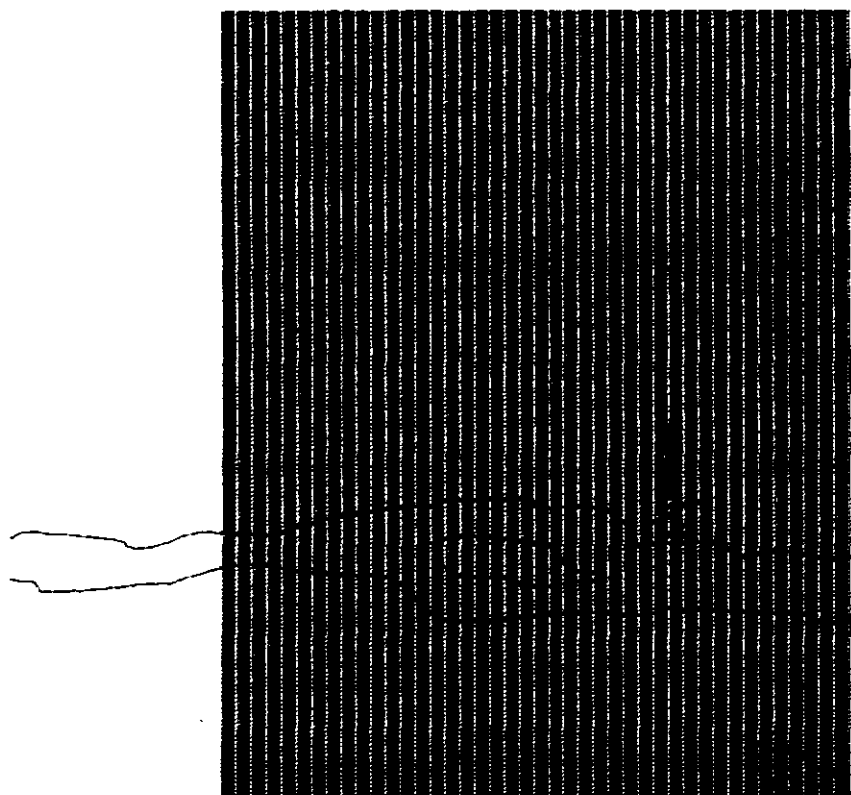
The relevant per capita estimates for the accompanying map appear below and their calculations appear in Appendix A. The representative size of the organization (its area on the map) are listed beside each estimate.

Shuswap People of Kamloops annual per capita expenditure (42 in ²)	\$967.77
Shuswap people of Kamloops primary and secondary school expend.	\$351.58
Shuswap people of Kamloops post secondary per capita expend.	\$616.18
Ministry of Education primary and secondary per capita expend. (40 in. ²)	\$908.28
Ministry of Advanced Education post secondary per capita expend (14 in. ²)	\$309.56

Mapside Talk # 4 -- Education

Next to employment, education was seen as the primary area of concern for the urban First Nations population. As well, it was generally remarked that before any economic development can take place, First Nations people must attain the basic skills level and education

Kamloops Aboriginal Education Landscape



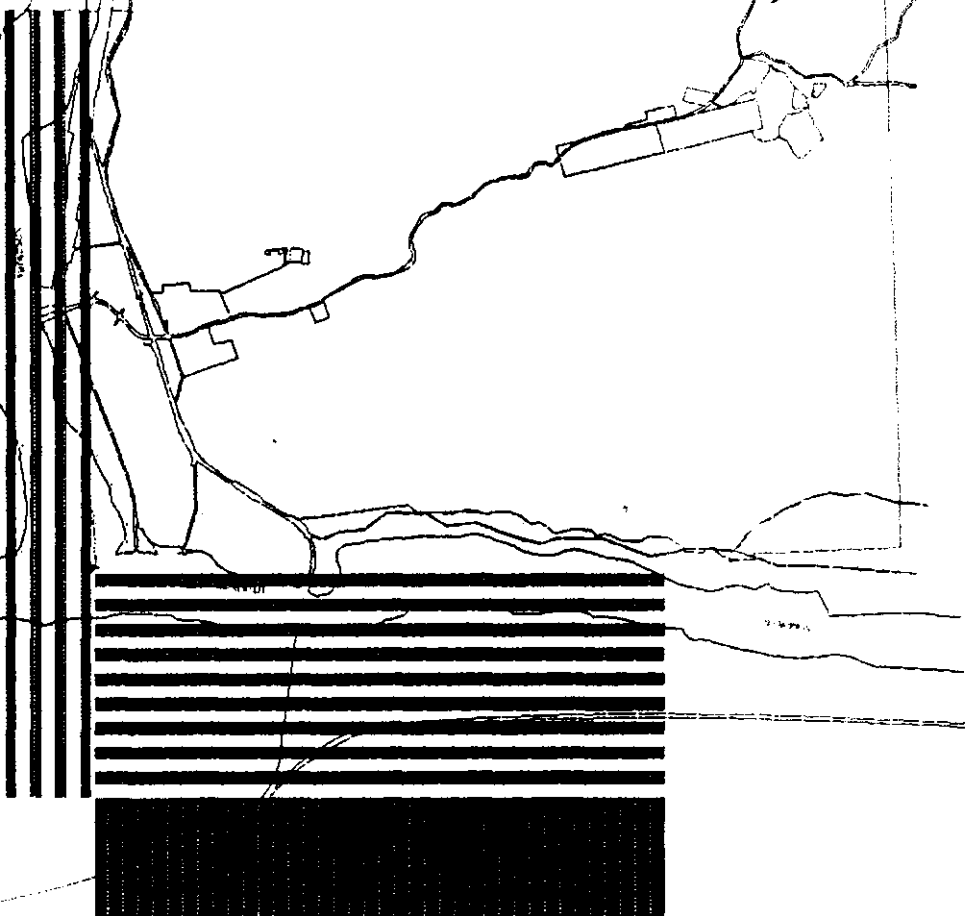
Min. of Education



Min. of Advanced Education

K.I.B.

Kamloops
Indian
Band #1



needed for any independent enterprise.⁵⁸ At present, this isn't happening for First Nations people throughout Canada. Only one quarter of the First Nations population completes high school as opposed to half of the non-First Nations population. If they chose to go on after completing high school, only 25% of the First Nations population earn a degree as opposed to 55% of the non-First Nations population (Armstrong, Kennedy, Oberle, p.vii). In regards to these statistics, Kamloops is no exception although there are specific features of the area that differentiate it from other parts of Canada.

Within Kamloops there are three institutions of post-secondary learning: University College of the Cariboo (UCC), Simon Fraser University (SFU) at the Kamloops Indian Band, and Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT). All three of these institutions recognize the differing needs of their First Nations population. University College of the Cariboo has a Native advisory board so as to address the concerns of the First Nations population. Nicola Valley Institute of Technology provides an alternate educational facility that effectively responds to the specific needs of Native students and also provides courses which respond to the Human Resource needs of the Native Communities (Community Futures report, 6). And, SFU at KIB specifically addresses the interests of the Native population by being located on reserve. In addition to these resources, the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, located on reserve at KIB, plays a large role in providing educational opportunities to the students. The link between First Nation education and long term employment can not be underestimated.

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First Nation reservations are particularly vulnerable to the chicken and egg trap of community economic development. The community's bright young people get educated elsewhere on community funds and never return because of the lack of opportunities at home. Employment after all, was the number one reason for leaving the reserve in the household survey.

To begin with, while the median age of the mainstream population is 34 years, the median age of the Native male is 15-19 years and of the female is 20-24 years. This means that First Nations people are going to become an increasingly significant portion of the employment market. In 1980 the average age of the workforce was 30 years of age; by the year 2000 the average age will be 40. This aging trend means that 25% of youth entering the labour market in the next 10 years will be Native. This means that in the next 10 years, 25,000 jobs will have to be created for Native people, and 52,000 jobs in the next 20 years (Community Futures Report, 43). Needless to say, addressing the employment and needs of First Nations people will be beneficial for all segments of the Canadian population.

However, despite these opportunities, First Nations people are not gaining the education and skills necessary to begin the process of economic development. The map, though, suggests that the problem may not be entirely a matter of fate. The lack of continuing educational pursuits rests in the systemic discrimination of present education institutions, a systemic discrimination that exists in the primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels of education.

- ★ If First Nations students pay the full average cost for off reserve education (like foreign students) than perhaps education programs should be delivered where they are most effective, locally.

The total size of the off reserve conventional education infrastructure is 28% bigger (54 in.² compared to 42 in.²) than the on reserve infrastructure. This is rather interesting since per capita estimates were used and demographically more on reserve aboriginal are in school because

they have a younger population. This is even more ironic when on reserve students pay the full average cost, according to the master tuition agreement with the province of B.C., when they are enrolled off reserve in primary and secondary education facilities. The costs of sending children to these off reserve facilities, and running the Sk'lep school (1-6) on reserve are reflected in the per capita figures for the Shuswap people of Kamloops.

SFU and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society (SCES) run an accredited university degree granting program on the Kamloops reserve #1. This institution was recently given an award for excellence by the Canadian Association of Universities for its high completion rate, and in recognition of the competency of its graduates and students. Other post secondary facilities such as the UCC in Kamloops city are not as successful⁵⁹. Fewer dropout means lower long term societal costs⁶⁰ are associated with the on reserve SCES/SFU facility.

These, however, are just the conventional educational institutions available to aboriginal. What about those who fall through the cracks? What is there to catch these individuals?

Following from the above recommendation consider, that the Friendship Centre offers a store front school for drop outs who want to upgrade their education, and life skills training for those in need. Native Outreach for Women also provides education and training support for under skilled individuals. SCES/SFU and UCC both offer a number of high school equivalency (college preparation) and life skills courses. Most organizations mentioned in this paper, also contribute

⁵⁹ The most recent Native Students Profile from the University College of the Cariboo (91/92) reports a cumulative course passage rate for native of 50.4%. Disappointing as this rate is, it has climbed from previous years (88/89 - 35%).

⁶⁰ There are two costs to the tax payer for every drop out. The cost of the subsidy to educate that individual, and the reduced tax revenue which that individual will pay due to their lower skill level. This assumes that there will be jobs for the SCES/SFU grads.

practical education opportunities to aboriginal through employment⁶¹. These crack filling programs and methods are an altogether different animal than the conventional education system and should be studied separately. Insufficient data, however, prevented their inclusion, here.⁶²

Political Infrastructure

There are only two political organizations to note in this area; the Shuswap People of Kamloops, and the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council. Both concentrate their activities on reserve. See Appendix A for the calculations underlying the per capita figures below.

Shuswap people of Kamloops expenditure per capita (\$240,000/799) 24 in. ²	\$300.37
Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (\$600,000/2400) 20 in. ²	\$250.00

Mapside Talk # 5 -- Politics

In the mapping section of the report, the most visible gap in the urban infrastructure exists in the area of politics. The political voice for urban First Nations peoples is the United Native Nations, but its head office is in Vancouver, with the closest office to Kamloops being in Merritt. As such, the UNN has little direct impact on Kamloops, other than being a national lobbying group whose efforts may well effect First Nations people in Kamloops.

⁶¹ Interestingly, of the 17 aboriginal employees working for the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC), 12 reside off reserve. Three of these permanent employees are also graduates of SFU/SCES co-op program.

⁶² The absence of these programs demonstrates the problem which these maps are trying to overcome in the first place - inclusion of other factors in the standard decision making processes.

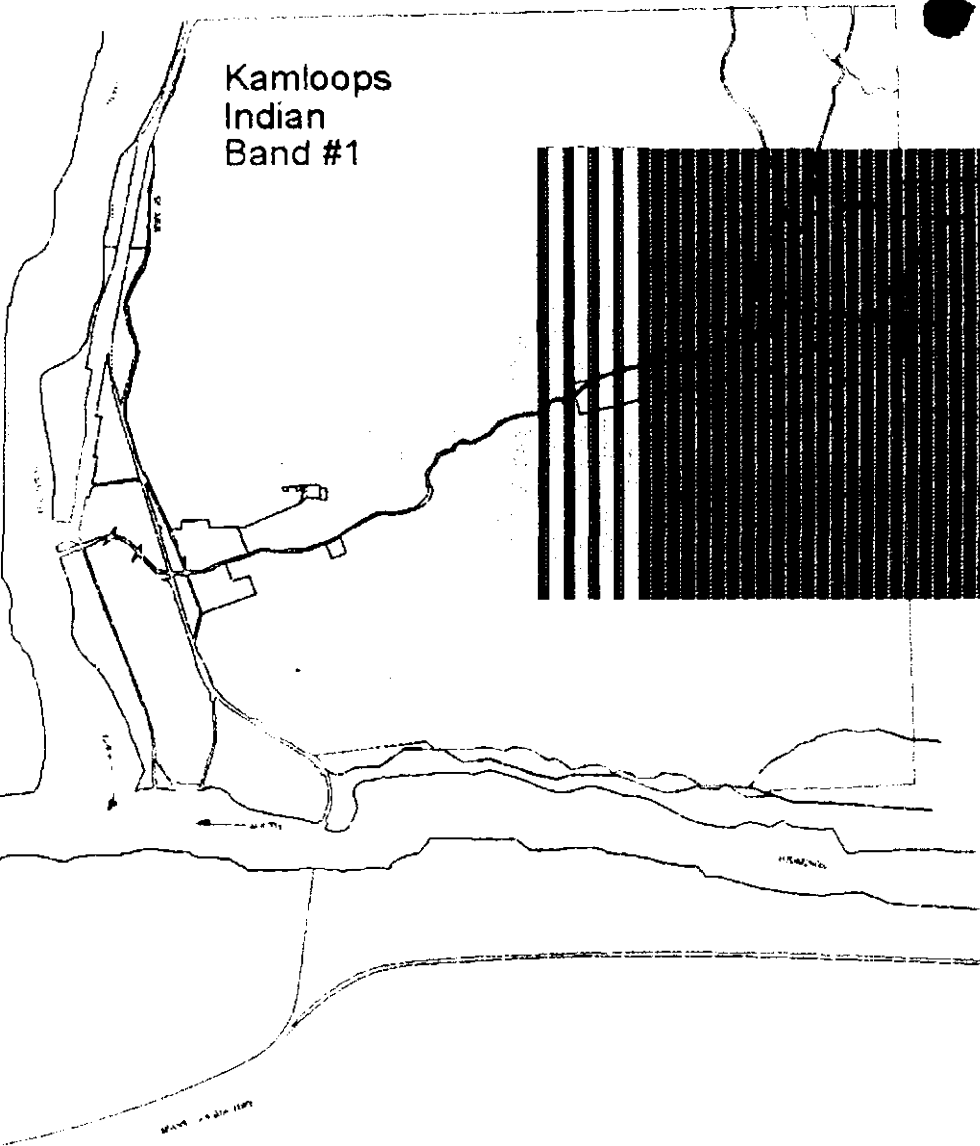
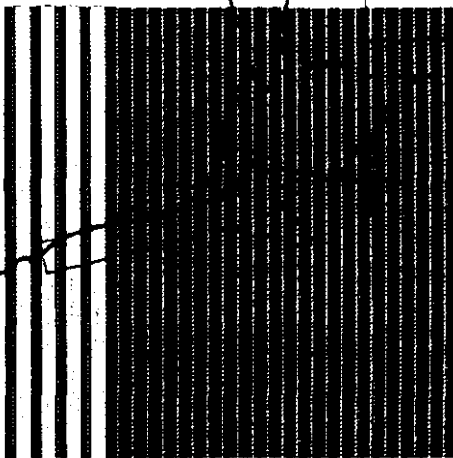
Kamloops Aboriginal Political Landscape



S.N.T.C.

KIB

Kamloops
Indian
Band #1



This lack of political voice in the urban centre seems to reflect directly back onto the fact that the social and economic infrastructure is unclearly demarcated. Without a political voice there is little means to unite First Nations people in the urban centre so as to address common concerns and interests. Instead, the politics that guides the urban First Nations people is directed from either Victoria or Ottawa, in areas such as Child Welfare, Land Claims, and Status.

The recent Harvard study on Economic Development on American Indian Reservation suggests that there is a correlation between political infrastructure and economic development,⁶³ that "economy follows sovereignty" (Cornell, 1989, p.40). This correlation becomes more significant as the policy of fiscal restraint becomes more and more ominous. The lack of effective off reserve political representation may entail an uncoordinated approach to the looming budget cuts and subsequent destructive bureaucratic darwinism. The problem, though, is not so clear cut. Is there sufficient political will⁶⁴ among the off reserve aboriginal community? How does one organize a spatially fragmented community for political support? What type of political representation is most appropriate? Should it be a separate governing entity? Should it be part of a city council? Should it be part of a provincial government? Or should it be on reserve council delegated to off reserve concerns?

These questions are obviously well beyond the scope of this paper. However, we can note both that political infrastructure is missing off reserve, and that the off reserve community has

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At a more local level, it has been observed over the last three years that a strong connection between political will (demonstrated by lobbying and community organization) and economic development projects exists. Moreover, many emerging Shuswap entrepreneurs got their confidence and connections by succeeding in the highly developed on reserve political infrastructure.

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Recent history in the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, various parts of Africa, and even Canada clearly indicate that nationalism is a powerful unifying political force for a group of persons. At the core of nationalism is a common culture. Does such a common culture exist within the off reserve community to make political formation possible? This is clearly a question for an anthropologist.

as its strongest ties the Friendship Centre, the University College of the Cariboo, and to Kamloops City (see Appendix C). Along with this, we also know that many urban First Nations people have ties to their home reserve or to the Kamloops Indian Band. For this reason, the political voice may be spread across a variety of localities, and in a variety of ways.

Community development is the ongoing process of bringing together people working in disparate areas of social and economic development to talk about their concerns and interests. It is a base for developing a process for community networking and integration. For the Kamloops area, the community members involved could be from both on and off reserve, and both within and outside of First Nations members. Throughout the recommendations we have suggested some political links that can be made, such as with the Chamber of Commerce, with Landlord and Tenants' Rights Activists, and with the Ministry of Social Services. These can be extended to both on and off reserve social, economic, and political organizations such the Friendship Centre, UCC, and KIB.

Conclusions

The problem identified for the Kamloops urban aboriginal population is certainly not new, poverty. The question of what is the best way to alleviate poverty for a particular group and its associated characteristics (social, education, political and housing) is also not new? What may be new are the additional constraints of a fluid and difficult to identify urban aboriginal community, a government fiscal crisis, and an increased resistance from the economically better off in the community to share.

"Sixty one per cent of the elite insiders and 41% of the economically secure middle group expressed disagreement with the statement 'The government should do more to help the needy Canadians even

if it means going deeper in debt" Globe and Mail, June 30, 1995, p A19.

The existing institutions designed to support economic development within the Kamloops urban aboriginal community will see their funding cut. They will be forced to restructure. How should they do so?

Drawing heavily on the methodologies of institutional analysis (Agressano 1991, Cornell and Platt, 1989) and economic geography (Paelink and Nijkamp, 1985, Bergman et al, 1991) this study developed spatial representations of the existing Kamloops aboriginal economic infrastructure. The intent was to provide a tool for the coordinated planning of the inevitable economic development support system reconstruction. The recommendations which follow from the spatial analysis focus on overlaps in service delivery, and unequal access to economic development infrastructure between on and off reserve individuals. Drawing from the community economic development and network literature most of the specific recommendations favour locally delivered services as opposed to centrally. This was justified because economies of trust and understanding combined with smaller more efficient management information systems were thought to be greater than the economies of scale arising from more centralized systems. These recommendations combined with the development of an effective First Nation capital institution were the principal conclusions of this study.

Appendix A

Mapping Calculations

This appendix contains the calculations and information sources of the per capita expenditures estimates for the remaining economic and business development, housing, education and social services infrastructure maps.

Economic and Business Development

b. Chartered Banks

New Assets 1990 (Stats Can 61-006 ¹ , 90(3) - 89(3))	\$30.37 billion
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	26,994,045
Per capita expenditure	\$1125

Loans per capita

Loans for consumers and business in 1990 (Stats Can 61-006)	\$917,255,000
Target population	26,994,045
Per capita loans	\$33.97

Operating budget per capita

Stats Can 61-006 (wages and salary + property)	\$2.1 billion
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	26,994,045
Per capita operating expenses	\$77.80

This implies that there are 21 expertise symbols within the bank shape.

c. Central Interior Community Futures

Per capita expenditure

Total expenditures 1992 (director's estimate)	\$857,000
Target population (own estimate Community Futures Plan, p. 40)	16,448
Per capita expenditure	\$52.10

On the map this translates to a shape encompassing 14 in.².

Per capita loans

Investment Fund 1992	\$250,000
Target population	16,448
Per capita loans	\$15.19

This constitutes the base unit for the loans symbol.

Per capita training

Business Development Centre & Self Assistance Program	\$370,000
Target population	16,448

¹ These were the most recently available statistics at the University College of the Cariboo in Kamloops. Estimates from 1991 and 1992 would in all likelihood have been larger making this a conservative estimate.

Per capita funding	\$22.50
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There are no other directly reported training monies within the other organizations so this becomes the base unit for the training symbol.

Per capita operating

Operating budget (1992)	\$80,000
Target population	16,448
Per Capita operating	\$ 4.86

This is 1.5 expertise symbols on the map.

d. Kamloops Economic Development Corporation

Operating budget (1992 annual report)	\$250,000
Target population (Stats Can 93-384)	67,855
Per capita expenditure	\$3.68

This is the base unit for organizational size and the expertise symbol.

e. Shuswap people of Kamloops (more commonly called the Kamloops Indian Band)

INAC ec dev expenditure (1991)	\$36,000 ²
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	799
Annual per capita expenditure	\$45.05

This translates to about 12 in.² on the map. Since there are no programs for which this money is earmarked for, it was assumed to be in its own separate category of economic development infrastructure.

f. Native Outreach for Women

1991 expenditures (1991 audit)	120,947
Target population (Community Futures estimate)	16,448
Per capita expenditure	\$7.35

A 2 in.² rectangle with 2 expertise symbols appears on the map to represent the native outreach for women program.

g. Shuswap Native Economic Development Association

1992 budget	\$38,000
Target population (on reserve Shuswap Nation Tribal Council - INAC data)	4100
Per capita expenditure	\$9.26

A 3 in² rectangle with 3 expertise symbols represents this organization on the map.

Canadian Employment and Immigration Canada

² Until 1992, the nine communities of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC) pooled their economic development funding from INAC into a SNTC economic development program, intended for the construction of a "national economy". This program, though, dissolved in 1992.

Expenditure delineated for aboriginal (1991 annual report)	\$200 million
Target population (1991 INAC departmental data)	304,751
Per capita expenditure	\$656.27

Indian and Northern Affairs

Economic Development loans (Public Accounts 1991)	\$26,442,982
Target population (1991 INAC departmental data)	304,751
Per capita expenditure	\$86.77

Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy³

Budget for B.C. (1991)	\$11,000,000
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	74,415
Per capita expenditure	\$147.81

First Citizens Fund (B.C. government)⁴

Budget for First Citizens in B.C. (1991 Public Accounts)	\$1,745,000
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	74,415
Per capita expenditure	\$23.49

Social Housing

a. Shuswap people of Kamloops

Housing budget	\$327,444
Target Population (Stats Can 95-384)	799
Per capita expenditure	\$409.81

b. Ministry of Social Services

Housing Budget (1991 annual report)	\$31,000,000
Target Population (Stats Can 95-384)	3,282,000
Per capita expenditure	\$9.45

c. Kamloops Native Housing Society

Average value per unit 1989-92 Kamloops (Stats Can ?)	\$80,178
# of new units built in 1992	24
Approximate value of new housing	\$1.92 million
Target population (1986 Stats Can estimate + 10% growth)	5720
1991 per capita expenditure on housing	\$336.41

³ Since CAEDS funding is largely an independent program it could have been placed on the map, but given its rather uncertain future such inclusion may have only further confused a cluttered situation. Incidentally a spokesperson for the Aboriginal Business Development Program stated that over 50% of their projects took place off reserve.

⁴ A major portion of the 1991 growth in All Nations Trust Co. assets came from this fund.

Social Services and Health

a. Friendship Centre

Per Capita Expenditure

Social Services and Health programs (1992 audit) ⁵	\$1,474,871
Target Population	5,720
Per capita expenditure	\$257.84

Health per capita

Health Programs (\$ on provincial health and health care centre - 1992 audit)	\$869,675
Target Population	5,720
Health Care Per Capita	152.04

Couselling Per capita

Counselling programs (alcohol and drug, sexual abuse, family violence - 1992 audit)	\$220,915
Target Population	5,720
Per capita expenditures	\$38.62

Training per capita

Training programs (Life skills and High Valley Camp - 1992 audit)	\$272,220
Target Population	5,720
Training per capita	\$47.59

Child Care per capita

Child care programs (day care, and child care)	\$112,061
Target Population	5,720
Per capita child care expenditures	\$19.59

b. Shuswap People of Kamloops

Expenditure per capita

Social Development expenditures (1991 audit)	\$668,294
Target population (Stats Can (95-384) ⁶	799
Annual expenditure per capita	\$836.41

Income support per capita

Social Assistance and Welfare payments	\$442,051
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⁵ These included expenditures on day care, and programs for alcohol and drug abuse, child care, family violence, youth treatment, and health.

⁶ Since some of this target population is off reserve and subsequently subject to provincial social development jurisdiction, a more accurate estimate for annual social development per capita expenditure would use the on reserve population of 410. The percapita estimate would then be \$1629.98.

Target population	799
Annual expenditure per capita	\$553.25

Family and Child care per capita

Expenditures (1991 audit)	\$124,358
Target population	799
Family and child care annual per capita expenditure	\$155.64

c. Ministry of Social Services

Per Capita expenditures

Total budget (minus social housing 1991 annual report)	\$1.704 billion
Target population (Stats Can 95-384) ⁷	3,282,000
Per capita expenditures	\$519.20

Income support per capita

1991 expenditure (1991 annual report)	\$1.018 billion
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	3,282,000
Per capita expenditure	\$310.17

Family and Child care per capita

1991 expenditure (1991 annual report)	\$160,900,000
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	3,282,000
Annual per capita expenditure	\$49.02

d. Ministry of Health

Per capita expenditure

Health care expenditures (1991 Public Accounts)	\$4.928 billion
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	3,282,000
Per capita expenditure	\$1501.52

Education

a. Shuswap People of Kamloops

Annual per capita expenditure

1991 expenditures (1991 audit)	\$773,250
Target population	799
Annual per capita expenditure	967.77

⁷ To illustrate the jurisdictional problem consider that this represents the population of B.C., but persons living on reserves are outside of provincial jurisdiction. Transfer payments, however, are based on total provincial population.

● Primary and secondary school expenditures

1991 expenditures (Sk'lep school, tuition agreement and trans. - 1991 audit)	\$280,917
Target population	799
Annual per capita expenditure	\$351.58

Secondary school expenditures

1991 expenditures (fees, books, and living allowances - 1991 audit)	\$492,333
Target population	799
Annual per capita expenditure	\$616.18

b. Ministry of Education

Expenditure per capita

1991 expenditures (primary and secondary school - 1991 Public Accounts)	\$2.981 billion
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	3,282,000
Annual Per capita expenditure	\$908.28

c. Ministry of Advanced Education

1991 expenditures (post secondary institutions - 1991 Public Accounts)	\$1.106 billion
Target population (Stats Can 95-384)	3,282,000
Annual per capita expenditure	\$309.56

Politics

Shuswap People of Kamloops (salaries of politicians)	\$240,000
Population represented (Stats Can 95-384)	799
Per capita expenditure	\$300.37
Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (wages, travel and admin)	\$600,000
Rough population (INAC estimates)	2400
Per capita expenditure	\$250.00

Table I Leakages by Expenditure Type for 7 Shuswap Communities

Expenditure Type	Adams Lake	Bonap.	Canoe Creek	Neskon.	Skeetch	Spall.	W. Pines
Grocery	100.00%	100.00%	74.65%	98.86%	77.28%	98.01%	100.00%
Tobacco	44.95%	62.30%		36.90%	24.48%	9.36%	22.92%
Restaurants	97.79%	94.42%	95.76%	99.85%	92.63%	98.14%	95.75%
Household Repairs	99.17%	96.09%	100.00%		2.97%	84.69%	95.84%
Utilities	67.45%	65.82%	88.49%	69.43%	69.74%	70.10%	100.00%
Housing	6.40%	21.55%	25.00%	26.65%	65.02%	14.90%	56.31%
Gasoline	68.22%	98.23%		18.09%	99.86%	1.41%	51.49%
Car Repairs	88.67%	95.40%	34.41%	91.72%	87.04%	75.98%	100.00%
Transportation	36.46%	16.67%	26.00%	77.11%	60.12%	90.39%	0.00%
Payments (loans)	100.00%	98.70%	87.53%	94.36%	100.00%	88.36%	100.00%
Clothing	99.49%	98.76%	96.44%	100.00%	100.00%	96.68%	100.00%
Health and personal care	100.00%	96.97%	100.00%	88.02%	75.71%	98.14%	100.00%
Special Health	100.00%	100.00%		100.00%	54.76%	28.57%	100.00%
Insurance	100.00%	100.00%	87.67%	100.00%	81.16%	97.30%	100.00%
Daycare	78.48%	46.67%	0.00%	51.07%	50.39%	46.73%	95.26%
Leisure	59.25%	100.00%	71.00%	74.07%	92.79%	80.09%	100.00%
Culture	68.30%	100.00%	100.00%	35.29%	95.82%	28.02%	100.00%
Recreation	94.90%	79.61%	97.53%	85.37%	86.92%	95.80%	97.59%
Hunt/Fish	84.19%	83.45%	73.92%	50.35%	69.49%	75.31%	97.56%
Education	100.00%	83.94%	94.19%	85.60%	85.96%	100.00%	100.00%
Savings	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	97.19%	100.00%	89.58%	100.00%
Gifts & Donations	98.57%	81.38%	81.53%	98.61%	71.37%	84.19%	100.00%

Appendix B

Legend of Symbols

Economic Development Landscape

 - expertise

 - funding

 - training

 - information

Social Services Landscape

 - income support

 - training

 - child care

 - health care

 - counselling

Appendix C - The SNTC Leakage Studies

This SNTC leakage studies referenced in this report were conducted in the summers of 1991 and 1992. They entailed intensive expenditure, income, and employment analysis of the households of 6 SNTC communities, their governments, and the businesses on their land. It is well beyond the scope of this appendix to present all of the methodologies and biases in each of these studies (see Le Dressay (1993 a) for a thorough review of these). Instead below are the summary survey responses and two tables summarizing the expenditure information for the SNTC households and their governments.

Table I Survey Response Summary

Survey	Date of Survey	Instrument	Potential Respondents	Respondents	Response Rate (%)
Adams Lake Household	July 1992	Household Expenditure and Human Resource Profile	72 Households	48 households	67
Bonaparte Household	June 1992	Household Expenditure and Human Resource Profile	54 Households	35 households	65
Skeetchestn Household	May 1992	Household Expenditure and Human Resource Profile	39 Households	31 households	79
Canoe Creek Households	August 1991	Household Expenditure and Human Resource Profile	49 Households	34 households	69
North Thompson Household	May 1991	Household Expenditure and Human Resource Profile	75 Households	45 households	60
Kamloops Household *	September 1991	Department of Finance Taxation Survey	148 Households	118 households	80
Shuswap Government	February 1992 - September 1992	Expenditure and Employment Survey	12 Governments	7 governments	58

* The Kamloops Survey represents an anomaly in this research since the survey instrument and methodology employed a more production orientated technique as guided by the Canadian Department of Finance. The Appendix contains a methodological review from the original report for the interested reader.

For a detailed discussion of the estimates in Table 2 and 3 see Le Dressay (1993 b).

Table I Expenditure Summary for 7 SNTC Communities

Expenditure Type	On reserve	Ashcroft	Williams Lake	Chase	Salmon Arm	Kam City	Other	Total
Grocery	\$9,895	\$11,110	\$11,545	\$17,293	\$16,356	\$49,598	\$44,611	\$160,407
Tobacco	\$9,112	\$273		\$915	\$278	\$1,525	\$1,851	\$13,952
Restaurants	\$2,922	\$408	\$1,799	\$2,329	\$1,359	\$10,092	\$9,366	\$28,276
Household Repairs	\$11,672	\$1,217	\$58	\$488	\$772	\$3,661	\$6,112	\$23,979
Utilities	\$13,788	\$1,729	\$2,742	\$6,003	\$811	\$19,592	\$14,829	\$59,495
Housing	\$65,049	\$385	\$638	\$764	\$1,121	\$5,551	\$6,086	\$79,595
Gasoline	\$11,520	\$1,178		\$4,640	\$227	\$8,052	\$10,685	\$36,303
Car Repairs	\$7,891	\$77	\$587	\$1,445	\$483	\$13,580	\$9,044	\$33,108
Transportation	\$3,415	\$31	\$131	\$919	\$739	\$4,209	\$2,866	\$12,309
Payments (loans)	\$2,635	\$573	\$2,036	\$4,067	\$645	\$26,916	\$10,053	\$46,924
Clothing	\$2,404	\$1,833	\$1,682	\$1,208	\$994	\$53,441	\$9,406	\$70,968
Health & personal	\$617	\$844	\$525	\$1,385	\$129	\$4,985	\$2,890	\$11,375
Special Health	\$434	\$123		\$1,408	\$783	\$1,468	\$4,390	\$8,606
Insurance	\$2,665	\$1,610	\$2,310	\$4,357	\$2,634	\$8,014	\$14,357	\$35,946
Daycare	\$9,492	\$0	\$0	\$2,877	\$707	\$2,571	\$4,937	\$20,584
Leisure	\$5,477	\$531	\$291	\$1,252	\$26	\$10,990	\$7,058	\$25,626
Culture	\$2,681	\$32	\$290	\$411	\$223	\$3,061	\$4,470	\$11,168
Recreation	\$1,228	\$738	\$189	\$319	\$170	\$4,847	\$7,360	\$14,850
Hunt/Fish	\$686	\$203	\$537	\$375	\$212	\$1,908	\$1,846	\$5,766
Education	\$293	\$200	\$667	\$1,385	\$30	\$1,822	\$4,302	\$8,698
Savings	\$159	\$228	\$667	\$1,601	\$1,340	\$20,057	\$8,499	\$32,551
Gifts & Donations	\$1,766	\$354	\$160	\$654	\$210	\$4,295	\$3,498	\$10,936
Total	\$165,797	\$23,678	\$26,853	\$56,094	\$30,248	\$260,235	\$188,516	\$751,421

Note: These represent the normalized expenditures for the households from the Shuswap communities of Adams Lake, Bonaparte, Canoe Creek, Neskonlith, Skeetchestn, Spallumcheen and Whispering Pines.

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \frac{165,797}{751,421} = 22.1\% \\
 & \text{of total household expenditures on reserve} \\
 & (77.9\% \text{ of reserve})
 \end{aligned}$$

Table II Expenditure Estimates by Location for 11 Shuswap Governments

Type of Expenditure	On Reserve	Kam City	Other	Total
Stationary		\$350,000		\$350,000
Printing	\$3,000	\$97,000	\$10,000	\$110,000
Furniture		\$20,000		\$20,000
Computer Costs		\$240,000		\$240,000
Copier Costs		\$250,000		\$250,000
Fax Costs		\$270,000		\$270,000
Phone Costs		\$300,000		\$300,000
Equipment Purchase		\$80,000		\$80,000
Plumbing Supplies		\$40,000		\$40,000
Janitorial Supplies		\$60,000		\$60,000
Construction*		\$4,400,000		\$4,400,000
Vehicles		\$400,000		\$400,000
Electricity		\$420,000		\$420,000
Travel		\$400,000	\$350,000	\$750,000
Postage		\$25,000	\$40,000	\$65,000
Institutional Care	\$60,000	\$200,000	\$50,000	\$310,000
Post Secondary	\$1,000,000	\$150,000	\$100,000	\$1,250,000
Insurance		\$200,000		\$200,000
Chief and Council Wages	\$500,000			\$500,000
Support Staff Wages	\$3,500,000			\$3,500,000
Oper. and Mainten. staff	\$1,800,000			\$1,800,000
Teacher/Instructor wages	\$490,000			\$490,000
Daycare salaries and operation	\$160,000			\$160,000
Accounting fees	\$70,000			\$70,000
Legal Counsel fees		\$75,000	\$250,000	\$325,000
Auditing fees		\$150,000		\$150,000
Pension Plan Contributions	\$550,000			\$550,000
Other Consultants**		\$200,000		\$200,000
Totals	\$8,133,000	\$8,127,000	\$800,000	\$17,060,000

These results are based on survey results from Skeetchestn, Kamloops, Whispering Pines, Bonaparte, and Canoe Creek governments, the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council and the Secwempmc Cultural Education Society, and on estimates from the Adams Lake, North Thompson, Spallumcheen, and Neskonlith governments.

* Construction includes expenditures on roads, community buildings, and housing.

** Other consultants include fees paid to engineering, advertising, economists, public relations, and other professionals.

$$\frac{8,133,000}{17,060,000} = 47.7\% \text{ on reserve}$$

Table III Leakages by Expenditure Type for 7 Shuswap Communities

Expenditure Type	Adams Lake	Bonap.	Canoe Creek	Neskon.	Skeetch	Spall.	W. Pines
Grocery	100.00%	100.00%	74.65%	98.86%	77.28%	98.01%	100.00%
Tobacco	44.95%	62.30%		36.90%	24.48%	9.36%	22.92%
Restaurants	97.79%	94.42%	95.76%	99.85%	92.63%	98.14%	95.75%
Household Repairs	99.17%	96.09%	100.00%		2.97%	84.69%	95.84%
Utilities	67.45%	65.82%	88.49%	69.43%	69.74%	70.10%	100.00%
Housing	6.40%	21.55%	25.00%	26.65%	65.02%	14.90%	56.31%
Gasoline	68.22%	98.23%		18.09%	99.86%	1.41%	51.49%
Car Repairs	88.67%	95.40%	34.41%	91.72%	87.04%	75.98%	100.00%
Transportation	36.46%	16.67%	26.00%	77.11%	60.12%	90.39%	0.00%
Payments (loans)	100.00%	98.70%	87.53%	94.36%	100.00%	88.36%	100.00%
Clothing	99.49%	98.76%	96.44%	100.00%	100.00%	96.68%	100.00%
Health and personal care	100.00%	96.97%	100.00%	88.02%	75.71%	98.14%	100.00%
Special Health	100.00%	100.00%		100.00%	54.76%	28.57%	100.00%
Insurance	100.00%	100.00%	87.67%	100.00%	81.16%	97.30%	100.00%
Daycare	78.48%	46.67%	0.00%	51.07%	50.39%	46.73%	95.26%
Leisure	59.25%	100.00%	71.00%	74.07%	92.79%	80.09%	100.00%
Culture	68.30%	100.00%	100.00%	35.29%	95.82%	28.02%	100.00%
Recreation	94.90%	79.61%	97.53%	85.37%	86.92%	95.80%	97.59%
Hunt/Fish	84.19%	83.45%	73.92%	50.35%	69.49%	75.31%	97.56%
Education	100.00%	83.94%	94.19%	85.60%	85.96%	100.00%	100.00%
Savings	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	97.19%	100.00%	89.58%	100.00%
Gifts & Donations	98.57%	81.38%	81.53%	98.61%	71.37%	84.19%	100.00%

Appendix D - The Household Survey Results and Methods

On a question by question basis this section contains the summary results of the mailed out household surveys, and the summary results of the random sample selected from the housing applications at the Kamloops Native Housing Society.

Part I The Household Survey Methods

After a pretest in June, the survey was mailed out to the householders of the Kamloops Native Housing Society housing project in late June. The completed surveys were returned to the Friendship Society via the housing managers.

Surveys were also handed out at functions put on by the Friendship Society and given verbal endorsements at these functions. A number of surveys were also left at different locations in the Friendship Centre, the Art Shop, the Storefront School and the Health Centre. At each location there was an explanatory poster and completed survey deposit box.

Approximately 300 surveys in total were distributed and 52 were returned by the end of July. The results of this sample compare similarly to other surveys (Community Futures 1992) implying the possibility of a normal distribution. The gaping information gaps, however, concerning the off reserve aboriginal population as discussed in this report, prevent any definitive comment about the normality of this sample. The pending release of the Aboriginal Peoples Survey results from 1991 will be used for more rigorous statistical testing in the final draft of this report.

Part II The Household Survey Results

1. Where do you live? 40 off reserve 11 on reserve
2. Do you live in a native housing project? 7 live in housing project 45 do not
3. With what aboriginal nation do you and your household most closely associate with? (choose as many as you like)

36 Shuswap 11 Metis 11 Thompson 7 non-status 6 Okanagan

6 other 1 Chilcotin
4. Are you a band member? 35 band members 17 not band members
5. How would you classify your household? 16 Common law 13 married

11 Single Mother 3 Single Father 5 Single
6. Why did you leave your home community (reserve)? Rank the top three reasons. For ease of data base translation the top ranked selection counted 3, the second ranked selection counted 2 and the #3 reason counted 1. Where only one choice was made, it was given a value of 3 and if check marks were used instead of numbers each received a value of two. An attached graph summarizes these results.

64 Employment 58 Education 30 Always off reserve

25 Housing 14 Lifestyle 12 Personal Healing

7 Politics 7 Marriage 7 Health 1 other

7. Have you ever considered improving your economic situation in any of the following ways? (choose as many as you like)

23 upgrade education 15 post secondary education 15 start up business
9 skills training 9 career change 6 moving 3 other

8. What do you think are three most important concerns for your current community? Rank the top three. See the above methodology and the attached graph.

52 Employment 45 Housing 37 Drug and Alcohol Abuse 32 Education
24 Child Welfare 21 Health 16 Aboriginal Languages 11 Taxation
11 Aboriginal Businesses 10 Culture 3 Other

9. Where do you socialize with members of your community? Rank the top three. See attached graph.

50 Work 46 Own community 39 Pow wows 31 clubs
28 School 25 Friendship society 24 bingos 15 rodeos
12 Church 10 Housing Projects 8 Don't socialize 4 other

- 10 Do you or anyone in your family use the programs or services provided by any of following organizations: (choose as many as you like)

32 Friendship society 28 UCC 17 own band 15 Kamloops city
15 Native outreach 15 KIB 14 Housing society 12 INAC
10 SCES 6 SFU 6 Min. of Abor. Aff. 5 SNTC
5 ANTCO 3 CEIC 1 KEDCO

11. Have you ever applied for assistance or funding from any of the following organizations: (choose as many as you like)

18 own band 8 Friendship Society 8 UCC 7 KIB
7 INAC 7 Kamloops city 6 Housing Soc. 5 ANTCO
2 CEIC 1 Native outreach 1 Min of Abor. Aff. 1 Min Ec. Dev

12. Which organization serves you the best? Rank the top 3. See attached graph.

103 Friendship Society 57 UCC 36 Own band 35 KIB
33 Kamloops city 27 Nat. Out. 16 ANTCO 14 INAC
10 SCES 9 SNTC 9 CEIC 7 SFU
7 Min. of Abor. Aff 6 Housing Society 2 Comm. Fut.

- 13 Where should the services you use be located? 33 off reserve 19 on reserve

14. Why do you hate surveys? (pick as many as you like) 24 don't hate surveys

13 never change anything 11 don't trust how used 8 don't address concerns

8 boring 5 inconvenient 4 other

Part III The Housing Applications

The summary results extracted from the 100 randomly selected housing applications are presented below.

1. Demographics (see attached graph - the Pinkening of the Kamloops Aboriginal Population)

Table 1 Housing Application demographics

	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 19	20 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 64	65 +
Males	31	21	13	7	34	25	10	0
Females	19	12	15	25	25	42	22	2

Of course, housing applications should be bias towards a younger population but note that the Kamloops Native Housing Society has family and single units (preferred by elderly and young) intended to meet the housing needs of each part of the demographic community.

2. Socio - economic indicators

Average # of dependents 1.36 Standard deviation 1.21

Average # of persons per household 2.82 Standard deviation 1.26

Average household income \$1010.56 Standard deviation 493.83

For comparison to on reserve indicators the following table has been taken from Le Dressay (1993 b)

Table 2 SNTC Socio - economic Statistical Comparisons

	Bonaparte	Skeetchestn	Adams Lake	North Thompson	Canoe Creek	Kamloops City	Merritt	Ashcroft
Persons per household	3.5	3.4	4.2	3.4	4.2	2.75	2.69	2.79
% UIC claimants*	28	29.5	30.3	30	49	8.7 (1990)	11.7 (1990)	6.2 (1990)
Mean Household Income**	\$27,400	\$21,000	\$22,500	\$26,100	\$14,000	\$43,714 (1990)	\$40,423 (1990)	\$38,584
% pop. > Gr.12***	23	18	26	31	14.3	37	29	32

* The was calculated by dividing UIC claimants by the sum of all employed and UIC claimants.

** For the SNTC communities this mean was calculated from household income estimates where given, and from total household expenditure estimates where the direct response for household income was not given.

*** This is the percentage of the population (normalized from sample) which has completed either a university degree or a vocational program over and above high school.

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