"YOU DID IT RIGHT, BUT IT WAS WRONG": INTRODUCING A COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE TO A FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITY

THESIS

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OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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BY

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ABSTRACT

An economically balanced community offers work in both industrial and service sectors. Yet many northern communities, despite being surrounded by natural resources, are reliant on service jobs and have no full time secondary processing nor do they have sustainable industries. I had discovered that a textile, *moufflibou,* could be made from caribou hair. This discovery had the potential to form the basis of a northern textile and outerwear cottage industry. I wondered if such a locally-owned, sustainable cottage industry might change the economic balance in a northern Canadian community. With my adult education background, I began a two-part case study, using this sustainable industry as a learning vehicle with a participatory research and training approach. The long-term goal was to facilitate the transfer of technology and responsibility to the community under a licensing arrangement. However, I encountered difficulties introducing this concept to an aboriginal First Nations community despite various efforts. This introduction, the first part of my study, included meetings, workshops, and public meetings, plus the formation of an interested community group. This approach did not result in the industry going ahead in the First Nations community. Three years later, individual and group interviews were held with various levels of power within the community to reflect on the factors that were involved. From these meetings and interviews, I was able to acquire a deeper contextual understanding of community factors and issues. One factor was the discrepancy in vision between the grass roots community members and the community leaders on what economic development was and how it should occur. Another was how change and dominant society pressure impact on

the Cree community. Another factor was learning just how complex dealing with a First Nations community can be.

The second component of this case study was in a neighbouring settler community, where I used the same participatory animateur approach with the same industry. After 2 1/2 years, the industry has signs that portent success and, despite challenges, the participatory learning/animateur activities may have led to group empowerment (although only time will clarify that), whereas the aboriginal cross-cultural attempt failed. I analyze the different results. I identify the areas I now know need to be considered when proposing an industry to a northern community, and offer conclusions and recommendations based on my study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It seems that a master's thesis is not the solitary endeavor I assumed it to be, but rather it involves others and relies on them as well.

First, I wish to thank people in both communities in which I attempted these innovations; their patience and willingness to try something different kept me motivated.

Second, I thank the people in the adult education department of St. Francis Xavier University. In particular, advisor Leona English who was able to adapt to my material already underway, and I thank her for her timely and precise suggestions and support. I appreciated the administrative support of Angela Stewart and library support of Pam MacLean. I also appreciated the efforts of John Reigle and Leona English--I could not discern from this distance who did what--to shape my journalistic writing into an academic form. I valued as well the challenges and finishing touches suggested by reader Allan Quigley.

In advance, I thank you the readers who, I assume, will understand as you read that I was without an advisor for a year, that I am miles from any central library and unable to get to one, and that I started this thesis before journal articles were available through the internet. For these reasons I sometimes used larger published books available in the small public and private northern libraries to shed light on some of my topics.

Locally, I thank my dear friends Judy Norman, Janet Skinner, and Lyn Gregory who not only assisted me in the study in concrete ways but in those elusive ways of showing continual interest, support, and understanding in this process. I thank others involved including Richard Budgell, Jane McGillivray, Evie Plaice, and Bella Shouse and Muriel Innes.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although the adult education field historically has been linked to community economic development, this relationship is often not utilized or strengthened to the degree that it might be. As the inventor of a northern resource-based textile who also had adult education experience, I could envision forging a link between the community economic development (CED) and adult education fields. To determine if my proposed new industry could be used as a practical learning vehicle, I used an adult education approach in proposing the sustainable industry to a non-industrial First Nations community in mid-northern Canada. If the community chose to accept the proposal, community participatory planning and training would ensure an understanding of and a commitment to the industry, and the possibility of a successful business enterprise. In the First Nations community, those were not the results.

In this thesis, I describe the introductory process of the industry as it occurred in the First Nations community and the thinking behind that approach. I report on the evaluative group interviews held 3 years after the introductory process. I then analyze why the sustainable industry was not implemented in the aboriginal community. In the second component of this case study, I make a brief comparison of the First Nations introductory experience to a similar introductory experience but with a different outcome in a neighbouring "settler" community.

As an adult educator, I thought that the approach to this new industry might work in the First Nations community, but I had my questions as well. The literature offered no examples, either negative or positive. The failure of the implementation of the industry in

the First Nations community caused me to examine more closely the aboriginal culture, my own Western culture, and the adult education approach I had taken in this study. This study may provide other adult educators with some understanding of the complexities of both the role I had attempted and the role of adult educator/change agent/community economic development animateur in a northern First Nations community.

Background

In isolated northern Canadian communities, the economy consists mainly of service sector and government jobs, which require at least a moderate level of Western literacy and education. There is generally no investment, and consequently, few jobs in the secondary processing sector, where only minimal Western literacy and informal training are required. People in these largely aboriginal communities, who have traditional skills and literacy only in their native language, have little practical opportunity to participate in the economics of the rapidly changing society in which they find themselves.

Twenty years ago I worked as an adult-education/community-development facilitator in Mistamit (a fictitious name), which is an aboriginal community in northern Canada. Mistamit is a Cree community whose members only within the last 40 years had abandoned the hunting lifestyle and acceded to the dominant societal pressures to live in a settled community. While working in the community in the late 1970s, I had independently discovered that a warm, lightweight textile I called *moufflibou* could be made from caribou hair. I could see that it had the potential for a cottage industry of textile and outerwear manufacturing. Some Mistamit people already made items for their own use as well as for the craft market from caribou products (i.e., moccasins, snow shoes, tea dolls), and some machine-sewed canvas products such as tents, coats, and game bags. My community-

development/adult-education background made me wonder if the moufflibou industry could be used as a "vehicle" for learning about industry and economics. As the owner of the patent and developer of the technology, I could license a community or group for production, defining clearly and objectively the conditions (e.g., quality textile production and sewing as defined in manuals) in return for an agreed upon modest royalty, plus an as-needed technical assistance arrangement. The community or group, however, would own and be responsible for the industry in their community. My projected training for the takeover process might, I thought, take about 5 years.

I recognized that the cross-cultural aspect of Mistamit could make this industry a very complex undertaking. It could involve learning about industry--in particular this industry--and how to establish it. It could provide an introduction of the private sector-type industrial economy where productivity is linked with payment. This industrial economic approach would contrast sharply with the prevalent false economy and service employment systems and could build on the mercantile knowledge associated with trapping and craft marketing. If a community or group of northern people wanted to learn to participate in the modern economy with a sustainable industry, I thought this product might offer the opportunity to do so. With all the learning involved, it was a chance to use the industry as a real learning vehicle in a northern setting, and this was, to me, compelling.

However, I could find no helpful literature on how to do this. This puzzled me, as components of the model I was suggesting existed in adult education, community economic development, and sustainable development literature. I felt that I needed some guidance, and the St. Francis Xavier University Master of Adult Education program seemed to be one way to find the literature, if any, and provide me some support for

attempting to establish this industry using a participatory training approach.

The Problem and Focus of Inquiry

I envisioned industry establishment as an opportunity to train for local takeover in a participatory training method. This differs from the approach used in a Western industrial society, where, firstly, skills are simply taught to people who already are familiar with and accept the concepts of industry; and, secondly, where there is no expectation for the group or community to assume responsibility for the industry, nor the need for the industry to adaptation to the setting.

I was aware that, on one hand, I was offering an opportunity for the community to work towards economic self-sufficiency, but on the other, the proposed industry was steeped in oppressive dominant Western cultural values. To address this dilemma in a First Nation setting, I decided there also needed to be some element of Freire-like radical learning about Western society and values to minimize oppression, to enhance understanding, and encourage adaptation of the industry within the community's culture.

My experience and initial readings confirmed my belief that, in a First Nations setting, particular needs have to be addressed for successful establishment. These needs included ownership and control, non-oppressive yet supported learning, local choice, an industry that captures the imagination and reflects the culture in some way, and adaptation as much as possible to local, non-Western community values. The proposed industry would have to fit into the community's vision of its future. And, in the end, there would have to be enough involvement to instil commitment. A tall order for any initiative, I thought, and one that demanded a range of adult education approaches and skills.

This adaptation of entrepreneurial economic development within a traditional cultural society is only recently beginning to receive attention and generate research within

the context of international development initiatives. Within a Canadian aboriginal community development context, the concept and research is even further behind. Thus, as I pursued my efforts to initiate the combination of adult learning, community development, and entrepreneurial involvement, I decided to document and study the research process in order to assist others working in similar contexts.

Purpose of the Study

I wanted to learn what is useful for effectively and responsibly introducing a sustainable industry to a northern First Nations community with a participatory training approach as a learning vehicle. This study focuses on the introductory phase in facilitating the transfer of technology and responsibility, and includes group interviews for evaluating the introductory process. Part of the study involved implicitly asking the community members if they wanted both this empowering facilitated (participatory research and training) approach to industry and this particular sustainable industry and then, through interviews, explicitly evaluating the introductory effort.

In this cross-cultural context, industry introduction had broader issues, which I formulated as several questions: Is there a need to discern the community's level of development? Is their level of development a measure of level of assimilation? Is that a way to predict a community's readiness for this proposal? And, if not, is there another way to determine readiness for such a proposal? Is perhaps the word *readiness* pejorative, and compatibility the concept I am seeking? Does it make a difference that the community of Mistamit has no overall economic plan to compare the fit of my industrial proposal? Is the question I was asking simply: Are some people in the Cree community ready for industry--or even more simply, are there some people in the community ready and wanting to learn

something new? How much credence should I give to the concept of community decision? Is the Cree community a collective? If so, do the members want this?

I needed also to know more about the practice of participatory research and training that I was proposing. Although, in theory, the practice was an empowering method, it was not the approach being taken by other learning institutions in the community. No existing literature outlined clearly how to address the local First Nations political issues, but I considered political issues important. In fact, I saw part of this study as finding ways to understand the economic development and the political issues of the community in relationship to the proposed industry.

Although I had worked with this community in the past on development issues, I now thought that I needed a greater awareness of my own motivation to work in a First Nations community and to understand myself better in this context. Although the participatory research and training approach had evolved during my experience as an adult educator, I did not know whether other comparable models had been used successfully in other cross-cultural situations (e.g., in Third World cross-cultural and aboriginal circumstances).

When the introductory phase did not result in the industry moving ahead, the evaluative group interviews I organized after the introduction appeared to hold the key to better understand many of these issues. As well, it seemed of value to include, as the second component to this case study, some examination of the differing results when this same approach regarding same industry was subsequently used with a "settler" (Metis) group in Fort Dufferin (a fictitious name), across the river from Mistamit. What factors made the outcomes (to date) different and what pitfalls became evident in that experience? What lessons could be learned from such comparison?

Scope of the Study

This thesis is in the area of community development and the focus is on facilitating the transfer of technology and responsibility of a sustainable manufacturing industry to an aboriginal community in northern Canada. I had knowledge of the sustainable industry (it was my innovation) and a history in community-development/adult-education with the northern First Nations community. Over a 10-month period, I involved 70 community people in the project. Of these, 25 were of the general adult public, 23 were youth, 11 were political leaders, 7 were women elders, and 4 were non-Cree residents of the community. All participated in the interactive meeting/non-formal education sessions and some attended a series (4) of subsequent meetings. In the hands-on feltmaking workshop, 13 people made moufflibou felt, while up to 25 people observed the process. Evaluative group and individual interviews were held 3 years later with 9 people involved in the introductory process and 2 others living in the community at the time. Interviewees ranged from grass roots participants to leaders. Although grouped into three categories, all were asked the same questions and the interviews were recorded and transcribed. Over the course of the total introduction, my participant observations were noted in a journal, and this information was supplemented by flip chart and workshop materials used, together with meeting agendas.

Although I did not initially plan to include a second community in the study, one year after the Cree initiative, I did introduce the industry to the settler community across the river from the Cree community. Due to the differing responses to the same process, I judged it instructive to include it as the second component of the case study. I noted the settler interest in hearing a local TV channel public discussion on economic development and thought that industry establishment might be worth trying there. I was already aware

that up to 15 townspeople were hired annually in "make-work" projects. By eliciting local government agency support in calling a meeting, the process of finding interested people began. I also asked people if they might be interested, and offered background literature on the industry when interest was evident. After 2 meetings, a core group of 4 was formed and I worked with this group in a participatory learning manner. The group appealed for more members and 2 members were added. After 2 1/2 years of intensive participation--meaning weekly meetings plus related events--4 members still remained. During that time I was able to observe the evolution of learning through four, 3-month projects and one 16-month pilot project involving a total of 22 employees. The earlier activities took place in various places in the community and the later, major activities took place in a local commercial building acquired by the group. Additional events included four outsider-facilitated workshops, public meetings and meetings with funders and resource people. The evaluation of the process to date is based on the observable results as a participant, as recorded in journal entries, together with public documents.

Limitations of the Study

This case study describes my initial step towards the establishment of an innovative sustainable industry in a Cree community in northern Canada throughout 1996 as well as its reflective evaluation through group interviews three years later. It does not outline all my previous industry establishment attempts in other communities, but does review my adult education history pertinent this study. Mistamit is a community under stress. This stress impacts upon the level of health and coping of the residents, and can interfere with learning and community projects; however, it is not within the scope of this study to delineate the levels of stress in all their complexity nor to analyze their possible effects on

this community case study.

The similar process of industry introduction started in late 1998 in the neighbouring (non-Cree) settler community of Fort Dufferin produced different results; this experience is briefly highlighted as a second component to the case study only to add further understanding and contrast to the First Nations community case study.

I am female, Caucasian and originally from "outside". These factors may have affected some community dealings with me, but they are not within the scope of this study. This report does not attribute credit and or blame to particular persons, nor does it cover in detail various non-public meetings held. Due to confidentiality, some meetings are not extensively reported on.

Assumptions

I first became familiar with Cree people while working as an occupational therapist in a distant northern regional health centre of our province in 1968. I moved to the Fort Dufferin community in 1975, and worked in the neighbouring Mistamit Cree community as an adult education coordinator between 1977 to 1980. During that time, I worked with varying learning approaches and economic development activities in the community. On my return to the Fort Dufferin/Mistamit area in 1995, I saw what approaches, including those with which I had been involved, had taken root. Specifically, I noted that the dominant language literacy program identified as important by the survey I had administered back then was well attended, affirming my belief in the process of asking people what they wanted to learn. Secondly, I noted that the craft economic product development initiative continued to bring in money for the craftspeople, indicating to me that learning about production techniques and marketing can be learned "by doing" in this

cross-cultural setting. And, thirdly, I noted that, although there appeared to be some stronger ties between Mitsumi and other Cree communities in another province, and an enhanced familiarity with outside society, a discernible degree of isolation still existed. These observations plus other related adult education experiences in both northern and southern Canada provide the basis for my assumptions. As seen next, I made assumptions in three particular areas that would apply to all stages of industry establishment in the Cree community.

Assumptions About Learning in This Cross-Cultural Setting

From my past experience, I knew that practical skills can be taught in a First Nations community when the participant's knowledge of the dominant language is minimal, especially when another Cree speaker can be present and supportive. I had seen that in the craft skills and other areas, participants appeared more comfortable with group learning than with individual learning, particularly when the source of new information was a non-Cree person.

In the cross-cultural setting, I had observed that theory taught in a lecture format was the least effective when compared with hands-on learning and active participation. As an extension of that assumption, I believed that an authentic hands-on learning situation (such as this industry) could serve well as an educative vehicle in not only practical skills, but also the understanding of economics, marketing, manufacturing, and legal issues.

As well, I assumed that opportunity for reflection, counselling, group support, discussion, and esteem-building needs to be an integral part of the learning process. I derived this assumption from my observation of past successful community programs such as job readiness training and healing programs offered both outside and inside the local community.

Assumptions of Community Economic Development and This Community

I believed that projects succeed only when the people involved have had major input. I also believed that the greatest challenge is getting people involved, committed, and wanting to learn new concepts. I also knew that there had to be some agreement that the hair of the caribou could be used since the caribou forms the basis of the Cree culture and there were cultural implications. For these reasons, I assumed I needed grass roots support.

Although I was not aware of the more formal definitions of community economic development, I did know what was involved and, based on my readings, believed that this industry could be used in a CED and participatory training approach in order to transmit learning about economics and industry. But to accomplish CED, I decided that I needed a community group to understand and advise on some of the issues that inevitably would accompany the CED and participatory training process.

Assumptions About Politics, This Project, and the Community

I was aware that this project carried with it the implications of some social change, from commercialization to industrialization. I decided that it was important to ensure that these changes were of choice and not imposed. I knew that not only did the people from the local Cree economic development office have to be supportive, they also had to help direct its introduction to the appropriate leaders and decision makers, and that it was important that Cree economic development people and I work together.

I was particularly concerned that the total project should not be handed over to me by both the leaders and the community to "do." I was not interested in a solely entrepreneurship model because of the enormous risk and responsibility, and because I never assumed that I knew everything about industry establishment itself. Instead, I envisioned the process as one of working together to strive for success, as in successful

participatory training models. I assumed as well that experts in business and the garment industry would eventually work with us.

Definitions

Cree in this context refers to aboriginal Cree who live in the boreal forest area of mid-northern Canada, and whose culture is, or was, closely associated with the hunting of caribou. When I use the word Cree I am referring to the aboriginal First Nation people of Mistamit, unless stated otherwise.

Community economic development (CED) occurs when a community or group from a community coalesces around one or more initiatives to address the socio-economic conditions of their community. In this process, local knowledge is respected, and local control inevitably results in local learning. Co-ordinating or animating a community economic development process requires the use of a diverse range of adult education skills--including working with a community, group work, and passing on one's own skills by working oneself out of the co-ordinating role. Successfully accomplished, something is established in the community that was not there before, resulting in the community feeling, and being, more economically independent. The group or community with their newly-acquired skills, knowledge and accomplishments feels rewarded and, particularly in cross-cultural settings, it becomes empowered rather than marginalized. Due to the comparable activities in *community development* and community economic development in the proposed project, these 2 terms are used interchangeably in this study.

Training for takeover is a broader training where people learn not only several practical skills associated with a project, but also they acquire the skills and understanding required for community or group assumption of responsibility for the proposed project.

Group interviewing is the process of bringing people together over some common topic and seeking their opinion through group discussion. In such a process, an opinion can evolve among the members, as compared to individual opinions arising from single interviews that have not been exposed to group discussion.

Sustainable development, in this context, refers to industry using products that are renewable, rather than relying on finite resources. As a broader concept, it is economic development that is people-centred and non-hierarchical, compared to production-centred and hierarchically managed.

Empowerment is today both an over-used and ill-used word. However, in the context of social change initiated by a group, particularly by marginalized people such as native groups or institutionalized people (i.e., people who are oppressed or marginalized by the society around them), I know of no more succinct word. The process of marginalized persons feeling knowledgeable, competent, and confident enough (i.e., empowered) to change their social and economic condition is social change, and in the realm of radical adult education. When changing society, a group inevitably is challenged. Group preparation for these challenges involves critical thinking, reflection, consciousness-raising, and non-compulsory learning, often presented in the form of dialogue, problem-posing, maximum interaction, and discussion groups (i.e., a radical adult education approach). I believe empowerment is the basis of community economic development.

Participatory training is the process that facilitates the training for takeover. It is based on different assumptions and power relationships between learners and trainers than is the case in *conventional* or *traditional training*. The process is nonformal and aims for the development of increased coping skills, then the acquisition of assertive/transforming behaviour, progressing on to self-reliance and a transcending behaviour. The *participatory*

training approach has been proven effective in rural and Third World development.

Participatory research is the process whereby both the co-ordinator and group members research and learn things together. According to Brown (1982), "The events and activities of a participatory research project are by definition under the joint control of researchers and participants, in contrast to the pre-planned and largely research-controlled events of laboratory experiments or survey research" (p.208). I consider participatory research to be a part of participatory development, participatory training, and empowerment.

Oppression occurs when one's culture or way of doing things is not accepted or is denigrated by people who have more power. Examples include aboriginal people in Canadian society, or women in Western society.

Aboriginal, in the Canadian context, refers to all original inhabitants of Canada and their descendants. Aboriginals in this context are either Inuit, or First Nation (i.e. Indian). In a world context, I use the word aboriginal to refer to the original or tribal people in the world and their descendants. This is in contrast to others who moved into an area and occupied the lands formerly used by aboriginal people.

Settler in this case study refers to people in northern Canada and their descendants who historically fished and trapped for a living. They generally came from places such as England or Scotland, or possibly Lower Canada in the 1800s and, after completing their contract with a trading company such as the Hudson's Bay Company, settled in the area, sometimes marrying women who had some Inuit-ancestry, and assumed some of the adaptations of both Cree and Inuit. The earlier settlers lived off the land in family groups. The Hudson's Bay Company was established in Fort Dufferin in 1836 and Fort Dufferin developed into a settler community. (Although the Cree traded at Fort Dufferin, the Cree

community of Mistamit across the river from Fort Dufferin was not established until the 1960s.)

Recently, the land claims' process asks that Fort Dufferin people identify themselves as either aboriginal or non-aboriginal. According to Statistics Canada, just under half of the population of Fort Dufferin consider themselves to be aboriginal--whether Metis, or Inuit. However, even though their lifestyle reflects a type of hybrid of aboriginal and Western societies (Budgell, 1997), it appears to me that the culture of Fort Dufferin is Western and northern-rural, rather than aboriginal. For the above reasons, I refer to the population of Fort Dufferin in this report as settlers. In contrast, I refer to the population of Mistamit as aboriginal.

The use of the word *Metis* as a word and concept are recent introductions to Fort Dufferin and the region. Some settler descendants now consider themselves to be Metis or "part aboriginal" as well as settler and/or Inuit.

Distressed community denotes a community where the demands and pressures from both within and outside a community are not matched by the talents and interests of the leaders of the community, thus resulting in great stress on a few local leaders.

Animateur refers to someone who encourages, enlivens, and promotes a particular project to happen. The project is somewhat of a creative or artistic undertaking that requires a high degree of work and commitment. The use of the word animateur, in this study, implies that there is not a broad gap in education and experience between the participants and the animateur.

Co-ordinator, community development worker and *facilitator* are used interchangeably. In this study these terms denote the role of the trainer in participatory training. Unlike the term animateur, use of these terms implies a broader gap in education

and experience between the participant and the co-ordinator, community development worker or facilitator.

Plan of Presentation

Following this introductory chapter, I review the literature pertaining to aboriginals and community economic development in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I describe the study, which includes the preparation, the introduction, the evaluative group interviews, and lastly, the comparison with the same CED approach used one year later in the settler community. In Chapter 4, I discuss the process and outcome in comparison with the literature, draw conclusions, and offer recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The First Nations context of this study is key to understanding the thrust of the community adult educational efforts in northern Canada. Thus, for the theoretical framework underpinning of the study, I review a broad range of literature in this chapter with an emphasis on First Nations learning. The role of First Nations peoples forms an essential component of the history of Canada, and their well-being remains a topic of critical importance and concern for Canadians. However, the literature on First Nations community development and learning is sparse, with only a few researchers contributing to theory and a few others contributing to practice. In contrast, the broader issues of cross-cultural practice, aboriginal world history, adult education practice, and the role of the community worker and community economic development are adequately covered in the literature. Together, all these aspects help create the broad background of literature in this chapter.

Cross-Cultural Community Development and Adult Education

Adult education, when applied to community development--particularly in cross-cultural settings--extends beyond knowledge and skill acquisition. The emphasis is on the processes of democracy, and the area of adult education practice includes group work, community organization, and discussion methods.

Adult Education as a Context for Community and Cross-Cultural Learning

According to Selman and Dampier (1991), early adult education in Canada was focused on the waves of immigrants and their adaptation to their new country. Selman and

Dampier contend that the changing racial and ethnic mix of early Canada, coupled with the omnipresent influence of the United States, challenged the social policy-makers of citizenship education. This broad sense of citizenship education was described by Selman and Dampier as "the various ways in which citizens play a role in determining the nature of the society of which they are a part"(p. 46).

A frequently-cited practical example of this philosophy in action was the Antigonish Movement of the Saint Francis Xavier University Extension Services. From Alexander's (1997) book on the Movement, it is clear that adult education was used to respond to the social conditions of the 1930s. The grassroots people helped to define the programs and the adult educators were agents for social change. As described by Selman, Selman, Cooke, and Dampier (1998), the Movement was based on the belief that members of an organization should participate in management decisions. However, in order to do so, the members required appropriate information and understanding. This was facilitated through community adult education or community development.

By examining the philosophical underpinnings of adult education, the broad range of adult education practice becomes easier to analyse. For example, Elias and Merriam (1995) describe the adult education philosophical foundation as based on the liberal, behaviourist, progressive, humanist, and radical philosophies. The practice of adult education ranges from the acquisition of knowledge, the learning of new behaviours, the building of skills, and the understanding of oneself, to the changing of conditions of one's society. It is the latter radical-based philosophy, which can be a part of community development, about which adult educators can be hesitant; "the prospect of encouraging real thinking seems too radical and not applicable to their professional role" (Alexander, 1997, p. 188). Yet, according to Lotz (1998), it was the professions of adult education and social work that

claimed the community development field of practice.

The concepts of adult teaching in various cultures has also been studied. For example, Pratt (1998) researched the teaching of adults in the different societies of the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Singapore, United States, and an aboriginal group in Canada's Yukon. Pratt presents five qualitatively different conceptions of teaching that are, in varying forms, found in all five cultures. The conceptions are engineering (delivering content), apprenticeship (modelling ways of being), developmental (cultivating the intellect), nurturing (facilitating personal agency), and social reform (seeking a better society). He notes that these conceptions are not mutually exclusive. Pratt points out the close connection between a teacher's cultural belief structure and what is learned by students. He advocates that in cross-cultural teaching settings, we as adult educators need to become aware of our own conceptions, then try to understand the belief structure of the group in order to accept that our own conceptions can be problematic and potentially in conflict. It takes critical self-reflection to change teaching conceptions in order to make sense for the learners and provide growth for ourselves. These cultural considerations are especially important when the learning is within the context of community development.

Community Development as a Site of Learning

Although there are many definitions of community development, Harris (1987) endorse Haygood's (1962) definition (as cited in Harris, 1987)--a definition that withstood 25 years of practice at Memorial University of Newfoundland Extension Services

> The term community development refers to a process of community education and action that combines outside assistance with democratically organized local initiatives in an effort to attain goals that the members of the community hold in common for the improvement and enrichment of the entire community. (p. 158)

According to Harris (1987), community development is the most controversial and

least practised form of adult education today. She contends that because community development can be instrumental in fostering social change, and because it is relevant and involves a broad range of people, it is the most potent form of adult education. Harris points out that there is a greater need than ever for competent citizens and healthy communities to face issues of today such as unemployment.

Lotz (1998), drawing on his 38 years of community development experience in both northern and southern Canada, refers to volunteer groups, community development groups, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations as places that are not based on government bureaucracy nor are they business-profit enterprises. They are places where people with shared interests can work together for their own personal development and that of their community. Lotz believes that innovative and creative approaches to change happen far from the centres of power, such as in remote places, away from media glare. Lotz (1997) also notes the part that community development has had in aboriginal communities, where members of organizations like CESO (Canadian Executive Service Organization) "learned to respect strengths of aboriginal people--and their shortcomings. And, in turn, some aboriginal peoples have come to recognize the demands of the outside world, and how to deal with them" (p. 143). Like Harris (1987), Lotz believes that community development should have a strong role in Canada.

Selman et al. (1998) remind adult educators of the social roots of their vocation. They bring attention to the growing gap in the adult education field between the vocational/academic learning and social-change/citizenship education. However, whether associated with adult education or not, the social change agenda moves on. Kuyek (1990) acknowledges the growing movement of social change in Canada and includes aboriginal and other marginal groups as real examples. Her work makes it clear that social change is

changing the status quo, and there is a place for that change in society. Kuyek contends that when dealing with any group or community, one has to consider, know, and work in all areas of culture, society, economics, and politics beyond the group work and facilitation of learning skills in order to accomplish change. Thus, such community development practice is complex.

With such a complex set of skills required, one would hope for a place or a person to help with acquisition of the community development skills. However, Lotz (1998) confirms that, at this stage, there are no "experts" of community development offering advice, methodologies, ideologies, or formulae; rather, "there are only those who have travelled further along the road and can point out some of the promises and pitfalls of the way" (p. 111). The same may be said of cross-cultural situations.

Cross-Cultural Practice and Social Change

In discussing people handling cross-cultural situations, Casse (1981) claims, "Most peoples have not been prepared to interact with foreigners or individuals who do not share the same ways of thinking. They do not realize that their patterns of thinking and behaving, their assumptions and values, are not universal" (p. 252). According to Arensberg and Niehoff (1971), some people are enculturated to believe that their system is the "right" one -- this attitude is called ethnocentrism (p. 66). Examples of Western ethnocentrism include the abiding belief in democracy, scientific rationalism, impersonal community cooperation rather than kinship cooperation, and the importance of literacy. Another example of a Western ethonocentism is the notion of all peoples being equal (having "equality"). Yet Arensberg and Niehoff state:

> Except for the very simply organized societies (hunters and gatherers), all societies have patterns of leadership and power control. Individual men have been seeking throughout history to achieve a state in which absolute freedom

> was a birthright of all, but in fact once the simple hunting band level of society was passed, this condition seems to have been lost for all time. (p. 51)

Arensberg and Niehoff (1971) note that change is constant, and non-forced change often took long periods of time, but "today, socio-economic change is expected to take place rapidly"(p. 4). Now, change is expected to occur in a year or 2, or at the most 5 to 10 years, "otherwise, government funding is usually cut off"(p. 4). To illustrate the point, they explain:

> if the time required were of no significance, or if law imposed the new idea, these practices would be accepted with time, although likely with some modifications. However, if the changes are to be accepted voluntarily in a relatively short time, considerably more effort is required other than merely explaining or demonstrating the new ideas to the potential adapters. (p. 4)

According to Arensberg and Niehoff (1971), in cross-cultural situations, technological change is simpler and less resisted, followed in difficulty by economic change and, lastly, by cultural change (e.g., social organization or ideas about the supernatural) which is the most resisted form of change. Arensberg and Niehoff describe two types of planned change--the process of change through force or coercion (for example by a conquering state) and voluntary planned change. Of these two types, voluntary planned change has become more prevalent in this century, particularly through agricultural extension and community development programs. In effect, a community development worker is a social change agent. Arensberg and Niehoff add, however, that despite the increased practice of voluntary change, coercive change still exists: "In fact, government hierarchies find it next to impossible to abandon coercive change; and even when they give lip service to voluntary participation, they still tend to rely on coercive pressure" (p. 81). Arensberg and Niehoff mention, specifically, change agent activities in relation to the American Indian. They note, as an example, that what appears as laziness "is

more probably a result of the Indian having lost his *[sic]* original cultural values without substituting the Euro-American ones" (p. 13). They also observe:

> The biological background.... is of little consequence when weighed against the enculturation process (p.18)....so when darker-skinned people claim to have a black or brown or red racial integrity, they are ignoring the effect of cultural change and implying that there is something special about darkness (p.24)....there is no evidence to prove that any group of people differs systematically from any other in mental endowment. (p. 25)

Arensberg and Niehoff conclude: "The North American Indians in general seem to have generated from their experiences quite negative images of Indian service personnel, as well as a diffuse mistrust of other Euro-Americans" (p. 108). Similarly, Bishop (1994) discusses from a social psychological point of view why oppressed people may unconsciously oppress others due to their own history of oppression.

Cross-Cultural Community Development Methods

In the complex area of cross-cultural work, specific methods have evolved as being more effective than others in community development. Wallace (1994) traces the great shift since the mid 1970s to participatory training in rural development. In comparing participatory training to conventional training, he describes the Freire-influenced, learner-centred, informal, two-way flow of learning approach as based on different assumptions and power relationships between learners and trainers. A teacher of agricultural education and training with Third World experience, Wallace argues compellingly for the use of participatory training, saying that it works better, particularly for process skills such as social and managerial competence. Brown and Tandon (1983) agree that participatory research is an effective tool in people-centred development within political and economic systems that encourage local empowerment. Bhasin (1991) has also drawn these links. She adds that the process should begin,

> a process of questioning and challenging authority and domination.... should liberate the participants from the burden of ready-made answers which are given by the dominant cultural and political structures...training should bring out the best in every individual....training should be fun and joyful. (pp. 11-12)

Kindervatter (1979) claims that non-formal education is most compatible with empowerment and social change, both in cross-cultural Third World circumstances, and in industrial factories, where shop floor committees (consisting of both managers and workers) jointly solve work problems. Kindervatter re-emphasizes the importance of people doing things themselves. This concept of personal agency is especially important in aboriginal society.

Aboriginal Culture and Development

The practice of adult education in cross-cultural settings, such as with new immigrants, is based on the assumption that participants who may not have a Western cultural background are learning to adapt to the dominant society norms. However, in the aboriginal setting, the culture is not Western value-based, and the situation for the adult educator is not as clear. An adaptive (to the dominant society) adult education approach can be oppressive, and not necessarily compatible with aboriginal strivings for self-government and cultural retention. Therefore, the linking of aboriginal culture and development requires some broader understanding of the cultural issues in both an historical and world context.

Tribal/Aboriginal Culture in History

One of the most comprehensive resources on world aboriginal culture I found was done by Bodley (1988). He assembled a collection of papers about tribal history and concerns from all over the world, all linked by his observations. He noted that, 10,000

years ago, there were an estimated 75 million people in the world, living in 150,000 tribal nations. The technical definition of tribe or tribal nation for him is a non-hierarchical political organization that disappears when conquered by a state. Bodley refers to these peoples as tribals, indigenous peoples, nations or Fourth World peoples.

According to Bodley (1988), these tribal groups were politically autonomous, decentralized, with a low density of population (e.g., 0.5-person/ square kilometre), and based in local ecosystems. They were economically self-sufficient. Anthropologist Redfield (1947/1988), in contrasting tribal people with urban people, describes the tribal society as small, relatively isolated, homogeneous, integrated, and self-sufficient (they produced what they consumed, and consumed what they produced). As a society, they communicated by word of mouth and he believes that they were much alike both physically and in thought and that there was a strong sense of "we-ness." The older people had both prestige and authority, and there was little change in the society. There was not much division of labour, except that what-adult-women-do and what-adult-men-do was clearly defined. Bodley sees the value of tribal life, believing that the lack of social classes, communal ownership of resources, household level production decisions, and human needs met in an egalitarian way all contribute to the quality of tribal life. Jelliffe, Woodburn, Bennett, and Jelliffe (1962/1988) concur with these perceptions, noting that "even the simplest tribal cultures, under traditional conditions, can do an excellent job of meeting basic human needs" (p. 22). This idea contrasts sharply with the popular view that tribal life is both difficult and unpleasant, and that technological progress was driven by necessity and retarded by ignorance (Sahlins, (1968/1988). In fact, Sahlins believes that the hunter-gatherer lifestyle took less energy, with food needs met in either 2-3 days a week hunting (e.g., in the !Kung Bushmen camps) or by gathering food 2 hours a day (e.g., by

the Hazda women). It seems that wants were easily satisfied by either producing a lot, or desiring little. In the nomadic lifestyle, people had few possessions. Sahlins goes on to say that there was an attitude of making a feast of everything, and of laughing even through the hard periods. According to Sahlins, there was "a confidence in the capacity of the environment to support them, and in their own ability to extract their livelihood from it" (p. 20). Stefansson (1939/1988), based on his observations of the tribal Copper Eskimo in northern Canada (in 1910), noted the general acceptance of people and cooperation rather than competition and individualism. These values are typical of tribal nations. However, with increased population came major changes such as the formation of nation states.

Nation states. Six thousand years ago, after the intensification of subsistence effort and increased population, "nation states" were created, according to Bodley (1988,p. 1), and they were considered to be quite progressive. However, these more modern nation states were larger than the tribal nations, politically centralized, class-based societies, with expansionist tendencies. All this meant that the benefits in this new society were now unequally distributed. As well, the nation states were unstable, making existence more difficult for tribal nations.

When states assumed effective control and extracted resources for state interests, tribal nations found it difficult to sustain their original adaptive systems (Bodley, 1988). The result for the tribals was demographic upheavals, resource depletion, internal inequality and conflict, and increased social pathologies. It was, according to Bodley, a grossly inequitable and discriminatory economic relationship with the dominant state society, resulting in insecurity and poverty for the former tribals, and a major dilemma of development. When dependency and integration of the tribals is complete and they remain on the land, they are then peasants. If they move to the cities, they became ethnic

minorities. This process has continued for 6,000 years. Bodley claims that, by 1800, tribes controlled only half the globe and formed 20% of the population. Over the next 200 years, known now as the colonization period, nation state expansionist activities intensified, to the detriment of tribal societies .

Colonization period. In the past 200 years, the modern nation states became more numerous and expansive. This period--which had an major negative impact on tribal peoples that has been only recently acknowledged--is known as the colonization period. In this period, according to Bodley (1988), hundreds of tribes were extinguished with millions of tribal people affected. At the time, extermination and blatant exploitation were seen as inhumane and an integration policy was seen as the predominant solution. That policy was based on the following assumptions: (a) the way of life of the tribals was materially inadequate; (b) integration with the dominating culture would upgrade the quality of tribal life; (c) the tribal people's interest in new technology was interpreted as a desire for integration; and (d) progress was inevitable.

Bodley (1988) contends that after nation state contact with tribals becomes routine, there is a potential for rapid cultural collapse and physical extinction of the tribe. There is usually surrender of both political autonomy and territory. According to Bodley, the intervention of uncontrolled traders, military, or peaceful civilians all have the potential to increase the impact. The usual effect is increased mortality, subsistence disruption, kin group dispersion, the breakdown of social support systems, a new religious movement, and sometimes armed tribal resistance. At first mortality goes up, but then, as fertility controls become eliminated in the transition, populations either disappear or dramatically increase.

Bodley (1988) notes that although the modern development of the nation state was thought to improve the quality of life of the tribals, it actually lowered and impoverished

the tribal quality of life. The ownership of property or productive resources creates the class system. Participation in market economies assumes private ownership of key resources and great differences of wealth. According to Bodley, "The development of natural resources for export in order to generate individual wealth becomes the rationale for action under the development system"(p.10), but the two systems--tribal and development--are incompatible. Bodley claims that "it is virtually certain that if outside interests decree the kind of development changes that occur, the results will be very destructive" (p. 10). He estimates that between 1800 and 1950, 50 million tribal people died as industrial states expanded.

Aboriginal People, Tribals, and Development Today

Despite the negative impact of development on tribal peoples, some have survived the changes. Bodley (1988) estimates that there are currently 200 million tribals and ethnically distinct near-tribals that maintain their ethnic identity world wide, but no longer display characteristics of the tribal culture type. He contends that "ethnocide" has been a long-range outcome of development, with a less dramatic process extending into a second integration phase of development. Tribal people continue to assert autonomy, and have become a major challenge to developers because they can be so successful, yet they are so so different from the dominant society. According to a 1975 statement by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (cited in Bodley), "there is nothing inevitable about the advance of frontiers and the absorption of tribals--not if human rights are recognized" (p. 250). The major issue remains the unwillingness of nation states to grant full control over natural resources to tribal peoples. Bodley contends that tribal claims for autonomy today are basically just. Bodley sees it as progress that independent indigenous nations have a legitimate human right to be independent.

Aboriginal Response to Acculturation

However, how to maintain aboriginal independence is the challenge of the 21st century. Bay (1970/1988) believes that in countries with endangered indigenous populations (such as the Yanomami on Brazilian and Venezuelan land); "there should be strict enforcement of a total ban on passage through their territories, except by invitations issued at their [the Yanonami's] initiative"(p. 264). Bay believes that most of the now-isolated or semi-isolated indigenous will choose to integrate to some degree with the larger society, but adequate time must be allowed to make that choice, and to determine freely how it will adjust -- if that is the choice. Prematurely enforced contacts have again and again destroyed vulnerable communities and whole peoples. This is confirmed by Kroeger and Barbira-Freedman (1982/1988), who note that a gradual evolution is preferred, and add that urban capital intrusion into the area is notably disruptive.

Kroeger and Barbira-Freedman (1982/88) contend that the common response of tribal peoples to development is "deculturation," with a dependence on the outside value system. However, in their opinion, the preferred response would be one of "transculturation," meaning the emergence of a new differentiated culture that includes new components. Clarkson, Morrisette, and Regallet (1992) refer to the effects of the dominant Western forces on indigenous peoples that range from assimilationist (as in the use of mainstream theories of economic development) to aggressive deculturation (as in the establishment of residential schools).

Culture change theory, as described in the Kurtness and Girard (1997) study of the Montagnais of Quebec, refers to the acculturation phenomena differently. In studying the Montagnais of Quebec, they advanced the idea that multiple paths are open, freeing us from the notion of traditional-to-modern, so important to Max Weber. The image that best

represents Kurtness and Girard's approach is that of an individual at a crossroads who is faced with three paths (axes) of cultural progress. Kurtness and Girard say that in the first traditional/modern axis, people will choose to commit themselves to their ethnic past and traditional values only, and reject anything that reminds them of the dominant society; or they will attempt to join the majority society and become a part of that, through a rejection of their own origins. According to Kurtness and Girard, either direction involves a rejection of part of the whole reality and the individual shows erratic behaviour, feels stress, and experiences a feeling of rejection by doing this. They add that although comfort may be found through assimilation into a reference group, this requires openness from the reference group. This openness is notably lacking, particularly from the dominant group.

Kurtness and Girard's (1997) second path at the crossroads is where the person rejects both the *dominant* culture and the *dominated* culture and withdraws into marginality, where one does not feel at home anywhere, resulting in feelings of powerlessness and inactivity. Both of these first two paths are grounded in having to reject something and being necessarily rejected by others.

Kurtness and Girard's (1997) third path at the crossroads of acculturation is "cultural synergy." In this case, individuals dissociate themselves from both the majority society and their minority society of origin. In Kurtness and Girard's study of the Quebec Montagnais, these individuals do not recognize themselves as either Indians or Quebeckers --but they may be both at the same time. They are then capable of performing a "synergetic synthesis" between the two societies. Members of this group were found to have a low level of stress, according to Kurtness and Girard, and their marginality, though real, is accepted positively by these individuals.

Aboriginal People's Health and Sustainable Development

From their studies of health and cultural change, Kroeger and Barbira-Freedman (1982/1988) conclude that tribal people's public health depends on the maintenance of socio-economic well-being. Development can cause disordered relationships due to overcrowding. This can lead to loss of social order. When development includes the imposition of a new, alien order such as the cash economy, the problems are compounded. Kroeger and Barbira-Freedman note that nutritional problems increase in the rapid transition from a subsistence economy to a cash one. As well, when the society was conditioned by its subsistence base, then the loss of this base and environment can be destabilizing. However, they indicate that stability may increase if new economic activity is found. Similarly, Shephard and Itoh (1976/1988), in their study of Alaska First Nations s and resource exploitation, link economic activity with health. They believe that "attainment of good general health depends on the establishment of social parity and a sound economic base of support"(p. 220).

Sustainable development is considered by many to be the most just, humane and intelligent form of development. Clarkson, Morrisette, and Regallet (1992) point out that sustainable development was the traditional way of the aboriginal people, and it is due to their knowledge and experience in sustainable development that they [indigenous people] hold the key to the survival of humanity today. Hanson (1992) agrees, but notes that despite this fact, "the current development path is not sound" (p. ii).

There is a discernible pattern throughout history of evolving nation states taking over the original or aboriginal resources with devastating consequences to the people of the original hunting-gatherer life-style. Only recently is there some recognition of this process, the root causes, the clash of values in a world context, and the aboriginal peoples'

response. In the next section I examine some of these concerns among Canadian First Nations people.

First Nations People in Canadian Community Development

In this section, I connect the world issues of aboriginal people to the Canadian context of First Nations people. The issues include defining an appropriate community development approach for colonized First Nations people. Descriptions of First Nations community contexts -- historically, politically and socially -- in relation to community development provide some understanding of the complexity of First Nations community development, as seen next.

Decolonization Theory and Principles

Unlike immigrants who have chosen to come to Canada, aboriginal people were already here and were colonized by the newcomers. There is now an increased awareness of the negative effects of the colonizing process and the need for decolonizing strategies in First Nations communities. First Nations writers Absolom and Herbert (1997) compare the required awareness needed in First Nations community work to the difference between insider and outsider perspectives

> "Community development" models from the past create images of "outsiders" coming into a community and voyeuristically engaging in some form of community manipulation. Community development also implies that "underdevelopment" exists, and that "development" must occur in ways similar to those in the Third World.... underdevelopment is an example of how language from the dominant society implies superiority over the developing subordinate community that needs help.... Community action for growth and change, as opposed to community development, denotes active participation and ownership of planning from conception to the implementation of a project. (p. 206)

Absolom and Herbert contend that community action with a goal of liberating the community from oppression is, in fact, an act of freedom. They credit their perspective on

community action to the ideas of authors bell hooks and Paulo Freire. As a first step towards the practice of freedom, Absolom and Herbert advocate a process of decolonization, using the principles of consciousness raising, critical thinking, and critical education.

In consciousness raising, Absolom and Herbert (1997) indicate their support for Freire's point that education is never neutral, and that most education domesticates people rather than liberates them. They contend that grasping this concept is the first step towards the aboriginal people's (and other's) understanding of oppression by the dominant society. In explaining this they cite Freire: "all domination involves invasion -- at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend.... invasion is a form of economic and cultural domination"(p. 206). In the First Nations context, the invasion is hidden under the attitudes of the First Nations people "needing development" -- a way of "civilizing" the "Indian savage" (p. 206).

Absolom and Herbert (1997) say that in today's First Nations society, particularly for women, there is a need to understand and recover from internalized oppression. Similarly, bell hooks (1993) associates internalized oppression among black women with racism, sexism, and patriarchy. In terms of First Nations communities, Absolom and Herbert observe: "[Aboriginal] cultures have been so permeated with Euro-Canadian values and beliefs that it is impossible to experience tradition in its purest sense"(p. 211). In support of this observation, they point out that the traditional female role of decision making in aboriginal communities is usurped by the sexist assimilative policies and practices of the Indian Act. Such sexist issues of Western society are also reflected in the writings of Belenky, Clinchy, Goldenberger, and Tarule (1986). In discussing the dual nature of Western society, they describe the separate way of knowing (intellectual development) as

exemplified in scientific thought and as defined by the mostly male-dominated Western cultural institutions. Belenky et al. contrast this separate way of knowing to the connected way of knowing (intellectual development) of Western women.

Absolom and Herbert (1997) encourage First Nations people to think critically about where they are in relation to power, their disempowerment, and what role they play in the abuse of power. Critical education, which involves engaging in dialogue, is another principle in community action. Absolom and Herbert report that many aboriginal communities are bringing people together to tell their stories to one another and to anyone else who will listen in order to start a critical education process (e.g., wellness conferences; economic development education; cultural practices; and social, political, and economic issues). They believe that "unless one consciously engages in critically examining structural oppression, one cannot begin to eradicate it" (p. 213). They emphasize, as do the First Nationss Resource Council (1990) and Napoleon (1992) that "when the people are not included and consulted in community work, the action is impaired"(Absolom & Herbert, p. 214). However, including people may require new models of practice.

First Nations Culture and Models of Practice

A framework for a model of practice should include context factors, such as cultural perspectives. For First Nations people, Kuyek (1990) claims such a holistic framework should be based on the sacred (aboriginal) medicine wheel. According to Kuyek, for a community to be in balance, all four directions of cultural, social, economic, and political aspects of a community have to be represented in the work. Kuyek admits that:

> Too often the work activists do is not balanced. We know how to do one of cultural work, group process, political strategy or economic work, but whole chunks of experience and information are missing. Like a wheel that has one or two flat sides, our plans get stuck. I would encourage you to try the aspects you are least

> familiar with, play with them, experiment. You may find that the wheel begins to turn again. (p. 61)

Loucks (1991) describes one powerful experience he had when beginning to learn of indigenous ways of knowing and being. Loucks believes that aboriginal ways of knowing and being comprise an *indigenous science* that should be strengthened and further explored. He suggests that this strengthening would not only enhance First Nations /non-First Nations relationships, but also expand the discussion on sustainable human-earth relationships.

Palacios (1991) has given some thought to the context of First Nations farmers and the practice of education. In studying the oppressive British Columbia/First Nationss history in the area of agriculture between 1871 and 1990, Palacios gained a new understanding of agricultural development in the three differing paradigms of modern (technology, objective scientific), ecologism (sustainable, organic farming) and Fourth World (sharing, community resources); he reports that he now understands the inappropriateness of former agricultural extension policy with First Nations people. However, Palacios also notes that "the creation of institutions fully owned by First Nationss people do not necessarily guarantee the design and implementation of development programs inspired on what [Chief] George Manual call the Fourth World perspective"(p. 201). Palacios suggests a public debate process through agricultural extension programs about the impact the differing ideologies can have on First Nations people and the rest of Canada in the future.

On an even more practical level, Parent (1998) describes her experience as Canadian adult educator in a First Nations context. She describes her personally challenging, yet fruitful, efforts to change her teaching approaches to more humanistic, empowering, and

adaptive methods while passing on skills and knowledge about nursing. Empowering her students to the point where many were beginning to find their "voice," Parent involved more culturally relevant techniques such as the use of small groups, the "talking stick," and elders in the program. She reports these techniques contributed to an attitude and behavioural change in both herself and her students. However, successful principles of working with aboriginal people are not new.

Anderson (1961) reported on the First Nations people around Rupert House (now Waskaganish), who faced starvation and possible extinction in the first half of the 1900s. Hudson Bay company post manager Watts and his wife related strongly to the First Nations people, their life style and their predicament. The Watts suggested a project which related directly and imaginatively to lifestyle (e.g., a long term program of beaver reserves). With an informal working together plus relevant and timely education, the project led to First Nations economic self-sufficiency and increased success in aboriginal formal (dominant society) education. But the Watts' activities were not supported by the institutions of the time (the Hudson's Bay Company, federal, and provincial governments).

First Nations Community Context

Government lack of policy and policy can have major effects on First Nations communities. York (1992), in commenting on First Nations people in Canada, has noted that "transition to life on the reserve was traumatic and dislocating for most bands"(p. 5). An example of this is found in Shkilnyk's (1985) work in which she documents one example of the dislocating transition in the Objibway community of Grassy Narrows in northern Ontario. She contrasts what life was like before the1963 move and after the well-meaning government agencies shifted the community. The author discusses why that move and other policies undermined the community's integrity. Shkilnyk considers that

government subsidies have eliminated incentives for First Nations people and have created a First Nations dependence on government funding. Wien (1986) also addresses government funding on reserves as an issue, describing it as the artificial economy (e.g., paid training courses, summer projects of band council etc.), whereby people become "accustomed to receiving a salary with little regard for productivity or true economic consequences"(p. 184). Bherer, Gagnon, and Roberge (1990) agree, saying, "The creation of lucrative jobs within the bureaucratic structures and the relative liberality of assistance programs contributed to hindering true First Nations economic development built on the ruins of the traditional economy" (p. 20).

The state of aboriginal communities in Canada cannot be described simply in economic terms. The communities have been variously described as having a culture of poverty characteristized by withdrawal from social intercourse; low levels of social volunteer organizations; and strong feelings of fatalism, helplessness, and dependence (Wien, 1986). Shkilnyk (1985), in observing such painful circumstances in Grassy Narrows, delves into the heart of the community to understand why people would, through alcohol, destroy themselves and stop caring for their children. Erikson (1985), in introducing Shkilnyk's work, summarizes the causes of community despair in this way: "They have lost both the physical and spiritual health that comes from being in communion with kinsmen and neighbours who can be counted on to care"(p. xvi). He goes on to explain that "human relations in a true community take their shape, at least in part, from expectations pressing in on them from all sides like a firm but invisible mould"(p. xvi). When the mould is stripped away, relationships are affected--friends separate, marriages break down and parents lose ability to care for children. Erikson explains that they "neglect themselves out of an inability to believe that they matter....they live a life of

sullen pain, blurred for days at a time by joyless bouts of drinking"(p. xv). Members of a community in such a level of despair do not know how to breathe new life and meaning into old communities by using deliberate expression of affection or offers of support, and it seems as though the battery for emotionally charging the community is not there.

Shkilnyk (1985) describes conditions of community destruction and hopelessness at Grassy Narrows as beyond those she experienced in the Third World. Wien (1986) agrees that comparisons of First Nationss communities to Third World situations cannot be taken too far because, in contrast: (a) First Nations communities are in the minority and are surrounded by colonizers, and (b) First Nations communities are surrounded by wealth that community members themselves may not have and, in such circumstances, they are vulnerable to being bought off both collectively (as in resources) and individually (as in the false economy and welfare dependence).

Community Economic Development -- The Practice

Indigenous people, like all people, need to feel that everyone in a community is contributing to their community in some meaningful way. There are several theories about how to accomplish this, but no conclusive approach is evident; the literature diverges widely on this topic. In this section, I review a variety of relevant practices involving economics, work and welfare, and development models.

First Nations People and Economics

The relationship of First Nations people to the current industrial economy is not clear. Clarkson et al. (1992) claim that the introduction of the wage labour economy to First Nations has not only failed to provide employment, but has devastated the subsistence economy, and that industrialization on or near indigenous lands has caused increased social

problems. They contend that even community economic development, although preferred to individual entrepreneurship, is assimilationist. They promote a strategy of convergent economy, wherein production is geared to local demand. This strategy is only secondarily about export to the external market. This strategy also encompasses appropriate technology (i.e., small scale production) and integrates indigenous markets in a region. The interaction and partnership of indigenous people should, Clarkson et al. believe, not only support sustainable development but also reinforce culture. In their vision of the First Nations economy, the subsistence economy would have a role. They point out that current Western thought describes people involved in subsistence activity as unemployed, and has resulted in indigenous labour being underused, and underdeveloped resources being wasted.

De'ath and Michelenko (1980/1988), after studying of First Nations Ojibway forest workers in northern Ontario, suggest that "First Nations s have not as yet been acculturated to the condition of classically alienated labour force found in industrial societies" (p. 179). In discussing the dual economy of seasonal work and jobs, De'ath and Michelenko point out that when the bush economy is stable and significant, wage labour itself rather than unemployment may become the problem, because "in the long run, it is also possible that economic flexibility will be lost if the dual economy is superseded by the narrowed skills of, and dependence on, jobs"(p. 175). Clarkson et al. (1992) note that:

> Past economic initiatives have tended to favour those who are already more or less successful, which has tended to create an indigenous middle class. The existence of this small group of people in every community has tended to aggravate social tensions within communities because such private ownership has set up a class dynamic. (p. 79)

Shkilnyk (1985) concurs that a seasonal cycle of economic activities reflects the older First Nations lifestyle. Other fundamentals she identifies include the constancy of work, the division of labour among all family members, economic self-sufficiency of the

family groups, the ebb and flow of togetherness (sociability of the summer camp) and aloneness (winter trapping activities), the close ties to the natural world, and the mix of play and work at different times in the annual cycle. As expressed by a First Nations person in Shkilnyk's study, "We're used to working when there is work to do"(p. 74). However, De'ath and Michelenko (1980/1988) point out that there is evidence that First Nations people can adapt to a variety of jobs unrelated to traditional pursuits, beyond the analogous activities such as tour guides and fire wardens. They consider the First Nations people to be "a highly selective labour force, with an unorthodox emphasis on non-material employment values" (p. 178), and they note that First Nations people have demonstrated that they prefer jobs that are outside, that keep them near their families, and that are reasonably steady. However, statistics examined by De'ath and Michelenko show that First Nations people are offered jobs that last a few months, are distant from home and friends (e.g., bunk house situation), and are dirty or noisy.

From his study of Micmac status Indians of Nova Scotia from 1500 to 1980, Wien (1986) identified five socio-economic stages that the Micmac went through. The first was the aboriginal times when they were self-sufficient; the second was the fur trade era when the Micmac "adapted readily to the role of hunter and trader, building as it did on important aspects of their traditional lifestyle"(p. 9). The third phase was the settler phase, when the Micmac, who had resisted the settled European agricultural model and stayed with the nomadic existence, had much of their lands taken from them. The fourth phase, according to Wien, was when the Micmac were on the industrial economic fringe, travelling to the United States and western Canada for seasonal work in factories or farms, or picking fruit, doing craft work, and doing manual labour (often short term) rather than skilled trade or management jobs. The final phase, from 1940-80, was the publicly-funded

phase when, with government intervention, the Micmac became increasingly reserve-based and more and more dependent on welfare and publicly funded employment. In reflection, however, Wien says that it is noteworthy the Micmac were self-sustaining in three of the five phases from 1500-1980.

First Nations People: Work and Welfare

Work and welfare have been two major issues for First Nations. Shewell (1991) studied the use of social assistance for employment creation on Indian reserves in British Columbia between 1971 and 1989. He points out the difficulty in having labour solutions to employment when there is no self-sustaining economic base due to restrictions on reserve lands. As a result, not only was the concept of work and employment alien to the sense of Indian participation, but through the assistance programs, there was a loss of meaning in work. Shewell says that in response to government assimilationist policies, First Nations people developed an increased sense of nationhood and independence to ensure their cultural and political survival. He concludes that the only solution is alternate funding arrangements, self government, and First Nations people's own development. Wien (1986) also sees the limits of vision from government departments and he believes that government to date has approached economic development with too narrow a perspective in First Nations communities (i.e., looking at only the technical aspects of any project). He maintains that in disadvantaged communities (as most First Nations communities are), there are a broad range of issues: who will control the process, what are the goals of development, who are the leading participants (bands or entrepreneurs), who is to have access to community resources, and how are the benefits to be distributed.

Whether the benefits are from government or self-government arrangements, their distribution is not a simple matter. Journalist Brooke (2001, January 1) reports that

Canadian aboriginal women are leading the demand for accountability from Indian chiefs, and this gives some sense of the problems with the male chiefs, who usually hold office. The women are fighting corruption in the use of federal funds, and the misuse of power.

Armitage (1991) studied current Canadian public policy relating to the poor (who are disproportionately women and First Nations people). He describes three basic approaches to work and welfare: (a) residual (where benefit levels are reduced to reduce program cost and increase incentives), (b) institutional (where social justice and relief of poverty are ensured with costlier programs), and (c) social development (which is outside of welfare system, examines the structures creating social problems, emphasizes employment opportunities, and involves recipients in policy process). Still prevalent in Canada, the United States, and Europe are the residual and institutional types, which retain a paternalistic approach. In contrast, the social development approach is empowering, emphasizes cultural independence, and results in more stable jobs.

In order to explore further work and welfare for aboriginals in Canada, Cassidy (1991) conducted an informal 2-day consultation with 25 people from First Nations, federal and provincial governments, academics, social policy analysts and the Institute for Research on Social Policy. These participants agreed on the need for reform of the residual welfare system, that it is culturally inappropriate, and that it fosters dependency in First Nations communities. They advocated a fundamentally different form of intergovernmental fiscal transfer to First Nations communities. The recommendations highlighted self-reliance; a move away from paternalism to self-determination; change from within communities, rather than beingimposed; and change guided by the traditional values of respect, reliance upon the family, the wisdom of the elders, and caring and sharing. Although they agreed that there are differences between rural and urban, and

individual and collective development solutions, the community remains paramount for First Nations people as compared to the dominant society where the individual is most important.

One of the major sources of contention amongst the participants was the understanding of work. The definition of work in a First Nations community as documented in Cassidy's (1991) report was "whatever the individual does to foster the life of the community"(p. 10). In contrast, one participant defined the dominant cultural view of employment as "an enforced, moral obligation rewarded by monetary gain as the only acceptable view of work"(p. 10). Shewell (1991) similarly notes in his report that, on First Nations reserves, the relationship between social assistance and employment is meaningless.

Armitage (1991), in addressing the cross-cultural setting of First Nations communities, recommends the social development approach and goes on to suggest that the Indian Act be replaced with management by First Nations people and, concurrently, the "protection" of First Nations people be abandoned and replaced by respect and recognition of the proper place of First Nations in Canada. In summarizing their study, De'ath and Michelenko (1980/1988) recommend that aboriginal "community control of, or involvement in, job-generating activities is essential" (p. 179) to ensure that First Nations people are given fair job opportunities plus to ensure that arbitrary decisions about working conditions and land use are not made .

First Nations Development Models

In Cassidy's 1991 report, participants acknowledged the big differences between First Nations communities and their desire to develop in different ways (e.g., individual enterprise versus a community approach). Another difference was the urban (with access to

outer markets) approach as opposed to rural (where their own needs are met) approach.

Among the practical community guides by First Nations people, Napoleon (1992), in his simple but comprehensive resource book for community organizers in First Nations communities, takes a step-by-step approach from visioning to goal setting to long term planning; he assumes that community members and leaders are determined to have control over their destiny. The First Nations Resource Council (1990), with its proposed socio economic planning model, also offers practical information and explanations on how to start a (First Nation) community economic plan, what steps to follow, and how to get started, while adapting to the community's stage of development. Both guides strongly affirm the need for community involvement.

Although many First Nations and non-First Nations people believe that economic development in First Nations communities is important, others, including Absolom and Herbert (1997), recommend that healing be done first. Napoleon (1992) manages to integrate those opinions into planning that includes all opinions, yet it is based on First Nations values. Both Napoleon and the First Nations Resource Council (1990) concur that although this process does take time, and involves the acquisition of some Western skills, it is positive and achievable for a First Nations community.

In contrast to adapting to Western ways, an Attikamek-Montagnias Council 1984 report, Nishastanan Nitasinan [We love our land, we'll stand by it] presented to Parks Canada (cited in Bherer et al.,1990) claimed that they (the First Nations s of that part of Quebec) had always known how to use the land, and look after themselves with it, and trade for what they needed. In this report they said, "We want our development to take place in accordance with our ancient values and traditions, in accordance with our own aspirations and our own needs"(p. 121). However, Bodley (1988), in describing tribal

development from within as an alternative, says that the tribals are forced to respond in response to outside interests, which is not an autonomous action. As well, Bodley says that even using the conscienization methods of Freire (which would be a part of creating a non-Western model), such approaches may be incompatible with traditional cultural patterns. He thinks that, in the long run, neither of these strategies is likely to contribute to tribal independence.

This inconclusiveness leads to further thinking on what will be compatible with First Nations communities. Although completed over 20 years ago, Wien's (1986) work, with its broad base of references, suggests employment strategies that are more likely to lead to the aboriginal goal of economic independence and self-government. But Wien recommends somewhat high (perhaps unrealistically high?) aboriginal job creation standards (e.g., medium to high pay, benefits, seasonal, resource-based, meaningful for the community, captures the imagination of the community) without any legal and institutional models proposed for implementation, or any concrete examples. But are there any links between the theory, research and the implementation? This question is addressed next.

Examples of Community Economic Development

Some "outsider implementers" have assumed differing approaches to those just seen. Decter and Kowall (1993), in their case study of the Kitsaki development corporation, describe how Band Council money of the La Ronge Indian Band was used independently by outside managerial experts to invest and create ventures in the Band's name. In this study, jobs were created as listed, but not necessarily for Band members. However, later literature (Lewis, 1991/1996) provides a follow-up report indicating that 5 years later, up to half of Kitsaki jobs were filled by First Nations people.

Lotz (1998) maintains that community economic development welling up within a community is a largely mythical concept, because successful community development ventures always require both inside and outside people, and resources, to be skilfully brought together. Lewis (1997) of the Centre for Community Enterprise defines community economic development(CED) as using business methods for social aims. Lewis describes this emerging field more fully using the words democratic, local resources, sustainable development, partnerships from outside the community, and organizational capacity; until one can be convinced that citizens can work together and learn business skills in the face of today's socio-economic adversity in order to turn their community around. As editor of Canada's only CED magazine, Making Waves, Lewis knows about CED in Canada and provides examples. Unlike the United States, Canada has not had years of supported CED. As Lewis(1997) and Perry and McNair (2001) point out, the demanding CED community practice has not left time for research, but research is now beginning to be produced in Canada. In fact, Perry and McNair (2001) report on a recent national policy meeting of 165 CED people, many of whom were practitioners. The report affirms that CED is an emerging movement in Canada, and includes among the policy recommendations the establishment of ways to strengthen the technical and leadership resources available to CED practitioners.

One documented example of aboriginal CED is Nisga'a Economic Enterprises Inc.(NEEI) activities in British Columbia (Lewis, 1997). After 18 days of intensive organizational capacity building stretched over 14 months, (i.e., training and technical assistance in building an effective development organization) the NEEI people created over five businesses and 150 jobs. NEEI had assets, a cultural training centre was started, and NEEI was self-sufficient. Interestingly, the training was preceded by 5 years of

attempting unsuccessfully to accomplish these goals, but previously without outside technical support.

Haberfield (1981/1996) describes how the community organizer and business developer can build strategies together in economically distressed communities. Both roles initiate activities to create residents' capacity to act. Haberfield notes that in the mainstream economy, politics and business "are always inextricably related"(p. 8), so in economically distressed communities, community organizing forms the political pressure to partner with the community business development, or CED, to create businesses and provide goods and services in the community. However, community economic development in action is a critique of capitalism, because through a non-profit organization, the profits are redirected back into the community, there is community ownership and control, and there is neighbourhood revitalization and training. Therefore community social needs are met through business means. However, others report on the success of First Nations entrepreneurial models, as follows.

First Nations Enterprise

In contrast to the community efforts in economic development, Bherer et al. (1990) contend that the enterprise, in all its different forms from the multinational corporation to the individual venture "has become the central institution of our society"(p. 1). They explore the emerging First Nations entrepreneurship to find some understanding of First Nations development in the context of the modern economy in Canada. In their analysis, they purport that there is an original First Nations entrepreneur model, characterized by its connection to the community and/or family, the love of a job well done, and a less formal approach enabling one time to live, and time to spend with loved ones, together with a humane pace of work that allows for communication.

Bherer et al. (1990) describe three types of First Nations business: (a) the family business, which is frequently tradition-based, such as crafts, or guiding; (b) the small or medium-sized enterprise, which again can be a derivative of traditional product, e.g., furniture making which incorporates snowshoes frames, or less traditionally, ladder manufacture, but all having some relationship to the community); and (c) the community enterprise which is owned by the Band Council, and is more prevalent in remote communities than is private enterprise.

According to Bherer et al. (1990), nearly all enterprises which are not an expression of community life "go through major crises related to legitimacy and functioning" (p. 222). They use as an example a Quebec North Shore First Nations shrimp plant "which has no community roots and the pace of work at the plant is contrary to the First Nations way of life. Despite its economic importance for the reserve, there is no attachment, devotion or pride felt towards it" (p. 222) as compared to the other enterprises within the community. Indians must adapt to the plant, the plant rarely adapts to them, and the relations between this large enterprise and the community are deficient. Bherer et al. claim that, in First Nations communities, "rationalization and growth of an enterprise cannot be defined in isolation, removed from community values, without leading to problems of rooting"(p. 223).

Although the First Nations models range from individual enterprise (in a community near a city), through family enterprise and community enterprise co-existing uneasily in the mid-remote areas, to a remote community dominated by a community spirit, Bherer et al. (1990) recommend that band councils should not limit themselves to one preferred economic model, but should show "encouragement and tolerance" (p. 200) towards the various First Nations economic models.

Bherer et al. (1990) declare that "we found everywhere that smaller projects, related to the skills of the family and community or traditional culture generated much greater commitment and investment from people"(p. 224). In the final analysis, one is left with the unexpected impression that First Nations enterprise, although differing from the Western model, can be a positive and empowering way of First Nations adaptation to the modern world. Even a recent government paper (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs [DIAND], 1999) addresses the question of intellectual property and aboriginal people and suggests that with legal advice intellectual property and licensing can form part of an aboriginal economic strategy; however, that study focuses on aboriginal property only and does not discuss the transfer of technology to aboriginal communities. The trend towards First Nations enterprise, according to Bherer et al., differs from traditional anthropological thought that describes aboriginal trade as based on giving, whereas Western trade as based on accumulation of wealth. From this thinking, First Nations entrepreneurship would result in a "cultural rupture" (p. 220). Bherer et al. argue, however, that since the first contact with the White society, the First Nations culture has evolved through often very painful crises with its own strength and not just in response to external restraints. They contend that "by using the potential inherent in the original culture, the underlying nature was preserved" (p. 220).

The context of the First Nations community in Canada is culturally, politically, socially, and economically complex, and one needs to be aware of all the aspects involved. Cross-cultural practice of adult education is also complex and demanding, seemingly requiring knowledge of what theory exists plus constant reflection and analysis.

Methods and Roles

When working in the relatively unstructured field of community development, there is a need to know theory and to be skilled. It is also important to have an understanding of the role on should play as well as knowledge of oneself, particularly in a cross-cultural setting. In this section, I provide an overview of participatory training, group skills, data collection methods, the role of the community development worker, and cultural considerations involved.

Participatory Training

Whether known in the literature as participatory training, participatory research, empowerment, participatory or people-centred development, these terms describe a similar approach to learning and development. The basic tenets of this approach are non-formal learning, strong participation, and a two-way flow of learning where the co-ordinator (or animateur) and learners are partners in the learning process. Because this approach is often associated with radical social and political change in society, the philosophical foundation is closest to radical, as described by Elias and Merriam (1995). Although a potent form of learning, a participatory training approach is also risky, and fraught with pitfalls within and from outside the learning setting (Bopp, 1994; Brown, 1982).

In practice, the participatory training process takes time, and cannot be rushed (Bopp, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1993). Full participation by the learners is key to its success (Bopp, 1994; Gudynas & Evia, 1992). Its practice is described in both Third World (Bhasin, 1991; Kindervatter, 1979) and Western settings (Lotz, 1998; Wallace, 1994). The techniques are learned by experience only, according to both Lotz and Wallace, but one typically needs the benefit of a mentor (Wallace). Brown (1982) portrays the

challenges and opportunities of participatory research as having four areas of ambiguity, notably the mutual understanding about goals, roles, methods and outcome. He believes that the goals needs to be clear, that discussions about roles can lead to mutual learning, and that the array of methods provides opportunity for invention of new ones. Lastly, he suggests that outcomes, vulnerable to interactions both within the project and from outside the project, need the foundation of the negotiated roles and goals for effectiveness.

Group Skills

Group skills are also an integral part of participatory research and community work. The challenge is to ensure an openness to differing influences and types of learning, as well as to personal growth. Therefore, group work involves both the practical and emotional components of participants. Heron (1999) acknowledges all these various aspects, but suggests that the dynamic of the group "is grounded in the life of emotion and feeling"(p. 64). Heron adds and that it is within the facilitator's ability to use various forms of strategies to move the group past the negative into an integrated, open, committed group dynamic. Heron says it is of value to understand that differing forms of group member anxieties--both current (existential) and past (archaic)--can affect the group dynamics, but he adds that, generally, the positive forms are usually attained after a passage through the negative ones. The requirement of the facilitator to both guide the group dynamics, and concurrently, act as the participatory researcher is exacting.

Data Collection Methods

Participant observation is an essential element of the qualitative research process (Marshall & Rossman,1995), but other data collection methods help to give a supportive base to a case study. Examples of various other data collection methods include the use of

questionnaires plus elite interviews (i.e. interviews with selected people, with selection based on their relevant expertise) and focus group interviews. Fontana and Frey (2000) agree with the use of a combination of methods, referring to this multi-method approach as triangulation. A researcher, particularly a participant researcher, can select and design the format most appropriate to the circumstance (Marshall & Rossman). However, if the data collection is also an evaluative tool in participatory research, the group and the researcher should design that format together (Bopp, 1994).

Combining data collection methods permits the weaknesses of one method to be compensated for by the strengths of another (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). As an example, questionnaires can be used to obtain a small amount of information from a large number of people, whereas the elite interview (interview with a person selected due to his/her relevant expertise) can provide valuable, overall information due to their positions in an organization (Marshall & Rossman). In contrast, when trying to find out what may have gone wrong in a particular situation, Krueger (1994) suggests the use of a focus group interview. The focus group interview is what he defines as "a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment" (p. 6). Fontana and Frey (2000) speak directly to the choice of research methods in cross-cultural situations. They say that there needs to be a common understanding of the process of research, or interviewing may not work.

Role of the Community Development Worker

Decter and Kowall (1993) describe the role of the full time community development worker as being intense and very demanding. They add that the worker may suffer from burn-out after a few years. In the case of First Nations communities, Wien (1986) adds, there are issues of participant motivation, commitment, and discipline; of the

building of new economic institutions; the education of their staff, and of the provision of appropriate leadership. All these issues are often unresolved. Wien says, "Under these circumstances, it is difficult to distinguish economic development from community development, and indeed it appears that the preference in the First Nations community is to avoid making artificial distinctions " (p.127). On the other hand, Cruikshank (1990) describes the *insider-outsider* role in aboriginal community development work. This position, she says, can enable getting past inertia to get things done, but there also can be false expectations of the facilitator from the group. She also categorizes three types of community practice: (a) living in a community full time; (b) working as a consultant on a relatively long term basis, but not living in the community, and (c) working short term on a specific task. Cruikshank defines the effective community development worker as being facilitative and supportive, and notes the necessity of a high tolerance for ambiguity. Often the community development worker doubles as a participatory trainer and researcher, increasing the opportunity for ambiguity, as noted previously by Brown (1982). Both Lotz (1998) and Wallace (1994) acknowledge the complex demands of the role with Wallace noting that the trainer needs to be "A 'special' kind of person, well endowed with people skills and access to resources"(p. 6). Arensberg and Niehoff (1971) refer to the need for not only technological and financial abilities, but also for sophisticated social science knowledge, as this is social change work.

Bhasin (1991) suggests that the group development role is further complicated by the fact that people come "from organizations where well-defined hierarchies and centralized decision-making rather than group leadership and collective responsibility are the rule"(p.14), thereby requiring group members and facilitator to face outside criticism. Despite all these challenges, Bhasin recommends that the experience be "fun and joyful"

(p. 11). She adds that a practitioner has to plan and structure "in order to avoid chaos and a feeling of lack of direction"(p.13). As well, he or she needs to know how much to leave unstructured. Other researchers make similar points. Zimmerman, Lindberg and Plsek (1998), for instance, acknowledge the creative role of near chaos in what they term complex adaptive systems. They suggest that an effective leader can be nice, forgiving, tough, and clear all in the one role.

Cultural Influence and Attitudes in Community Development Practice

With such a complex role, it seems important to understand the perceptions and preconceptions that one brings to the situation. The community development role seems challenging enough in one's own culture, but working in aboriginal communities adds to the complexity. Non-First Nations Canadians such as myself working with aboriginal communities may initially bring a romantic view of First Nations people from their culture, based on the Canadian cultural northern wilderness mythology. Mitcham (1983) confirms such influence through a review of the work of Canadian novelists such as Frederick Philip Grove, Yves Theriault, Harold Horwood, Gabrielle Roy, and Margaret Atwood. For example, Theriault's novel Tayaout, fils d'Agaguk (1971) suggests that Eskimos are nearly all natural artists and that the Western capitalist system undermines their creative instincts. As another example, Roy's The Hidden Mountain (1961) suggests that the First Nations people are losers in the basic struggle between the confining forces of civilization and the opportunities for freedom offered by the wilderness. In this way, a cultural myth develops into a belief that the northern wilderness and those who live there have special attributes that the modern civilization destroys. Perhaps most important in this process, as Arensberg and Niehoff, (1971) and Casse (1981) point out, is the need to understand one's cultural values in the cross-cultural setting. How does one discern those

values from the more broadly-defined, dominant Western values?

As an exercise, I turned to a book in the local library that did not appear significant at first, but in fact had the potential to reflect my cultural values. It was a tale about an author's great, great grandparents (Dalziel,1982). As the grandparents had a similar cultural background to mine, I tried to ferret out what the values of those times were, and what I might have inherited in identifiable values. It was written about pioneer life in the mid-nineteenth century, and, more specifically, about a Scottish family that settled in Prince Edward Island. I saw the main values as working hard, helping others when they need help, education (for men), and faith. And there were others; i.e., working towards being independent, knowing one's land is defined, and practising frugality (most of the time). Within these values, I could also recognize the separate culture (and oppression) of females, as described by Belenky et al. (1986). If those are some of my values and oppression, did my oppression as a woman have any similarities to that experienced by First Nations people? How are the values and oppression of aboriginal communities in transition discerned?

Shkilnyk (1985) and Ross (1992) provide a realistic view of First Nations culture today while concurrently pointing out the differing philosophies between First Nations and non-First Nations . Attitudes play a critical role in cross-cultural/First Nations settings, according to aboriginal writer, Napoleon (1992). He recommends that "the community organizer must be culturally sensitive and firmly believe that the community is capable of solving its own problems"(p. viii). In writing about relating to a different culture, Bishop (1994) describes the personal, reflective journey that enables one to go from fighting one's

own oppression to forming an alliance with others:

> Becoming an ally is a liberating experience, but very different from liberating your own people and, in some ways, more painful....Essentially, becoming an ally requires balancing patience and confrontation, flexibility and limits, learning and opinion, humility and self-confidence, your own oppression and others' struggles. It is also a matter of clarity. When a little time, reflection and analysis are applied to a specific situation, the complexities of relationships between the oppressed and allies often resolve into beautiful clear patterns. There is even sometimes a feeling of being 'crystal clear' inside. It is a 'knowing'. Then you know what to do, and what will happen when you do. (p.103)

Seemingly, the complexity of the First Nations cross-cultural role and circumstance offers one ample opportunity to be challenged and to evolve personally.

Summary of the Literature

Adult education applied to community development and social change, variously referred to as non-formal education by Kindervatter (1979), participatory development and training by Bhasin (1991),Wallace (1994), participatory research by Brown (1982), Brown and Tandon (1983), voluntary planned change by Arensberg and Niehoff (1971), radical adult education by Elias and Merriam (1995), broad citizenship education by Selman et al. (1998), social reform by Pratt (1998), and social change by both Kuyek (1990) and Alexander (1998) is undeniably a potent form of adult education. It is also the least practiced and most complex, with no one methodology or formula, as noted by Lotz (1998). Kindervatter and others affirm that it is most compatible with empowerment and social change, particularly in cross-cultural settings.

In tracing the markedly negative impact of development on tribal societies throughout world history, the incompatibility of development and tribal society becomes understandable. On the other hand, Kurtness and Girard (1997), in their study with the

Montagnais of Quebec, suggests that positive acculturation with the dominant society is achievable through "cultural synergy." Other writers suggest that the key today to aboriginal survival and good health is through socio-economic well-being and social parity.

However, the context of a colonized aboriginal community demands distinct adjustments in community practice since deep levels of despair can be present, as described by Schylnyk (1985). First Nations writers Absolom and Herbert (1997) recommend Freire-inspired decolonizing methods such as *consciousness raising,critical thinking* and *critical education.* Non-First Nations writers, in describing their adaptive shifts in models of practice, report changes in attitude and behaviour in both themselves and the students.

In the field of First Nations community economic development, one discernible trend is the emphasis on joint ventures where band councils use outside expertise to "build capacity" and create viable joint ventures. In this corporate approach, skills acquisition occurs by modelling and/or hiring outside skills. In this period of transition towards self-government, economic decisions largely rests with the band council, and the emphasis on community is maintained through the return of joint venture profits to the band.

Participant observation, coupled with other evaluation techniques such as survey, can form a balance for evaluation. In community development work, understanding and applying the theory of group dynamics enables working with both negative and positive forms of group dynamics. Understanding the context and role one has in community development is also important.

What is missing in the literature is a well-developed discussion of the intricate links of adult education and community development, especially in First Nations communities.

Though many of the early sources in community development do explore this process to some degree, adult education-community development links are not evident in recent publications.

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIPTION OF THE EXPERIENCE AND STUDY

In this chapter, I first describe the thinking, theory, and experience that underpinned the participatory training industrial proposal in a First Nations community. I describe also the selected community, how it was selected, plus what resources were available to me during the process. I then describe how I went about introducing the actual industry to the community of Mistamit, including the workshops I offered. Next, I describe the evaluative group and individual interviews I did 3 years later. Finally, I give a brief overview of my efforts to introduce the same industry by applying a similar approach 3 years later in a settler community, with a different response.

Preparation

In this section, I provide the background of this case study, and the thinking, theory, and experience that led me to adopt a participatory approach. A description of the Cree community, and the reasons for its selection follows. Lastly, I provide an overview of the community development resources available to me while preparing for the industrial introduction.

My Program Design: The Larger Picture

I did not approach First Nations learning from the position that the aboriginal people have a deficit in learning and that I, and Western culture, know things that they must learn. Rather, I believed that there could be a First Nations form of development and that I did not know what the outcome would look like. At the centre of a successful project I anticipated was the adaptation of an industry to the community values. However, I thought that First Nations people would have to know what would make this industry

viable before they could adapt it to their own way of making it work for them. I saw the total sustainable industry establishment with a participatory training approach as having three phases.

Phase 1 would be one of introduction and of posing the question "Is this right for your community?" It would involve not only asking questions, but also providing some idea of what industry in general is, what this industry is, what the product is, and somehow translating those concepts cross-culturally in a First Nations context. In translating unfamiliar concepts into another language, words are probably the least effective, whereas visuals are possibly more effective, and action and involvement are probably the most effective. Therefore, this first phase, aside from meetings, could involve participatory feltmaking workshops, interactive demonstrations using samples, slides, visual charts, and dialogue in comfortable community settings, with translation available. My prevailing attitude was: this is what it is. Could this work here? What do community members think? This could be used as a way of learning about industry and how it works, and it would be the community's industry, not mine. This thesis is a study of the introductory phase. The second and third phases never came to pass with the First Nations community.

I visualized Phase 2 as involving the actual setting up production of the industry, starting with a pilot project. This phase I had already thought through and outlined as comprising participatory training over 4 years, and as including not only specific practical skills, but literacy related to the industry (e.g., teaching math by using examples from the *moufflibou* industry). As well, life skills and group work would be incorporated into the program.

In using the industry as a learning vehicle, I anticipated that up to 12 people might learn all the skills and acquire confidence to a junior management level. Although all these

management level people likely would not be needed in the industry, the organizational skills and understanding acquired might be transferable to other situations. I was hopeful enough to think that such a family-like group setting might even be fun.

As all First Nations communities are unique, I thought that community specifics had to be taken into account in the planning. From my perspective, programs fail unless the learning is adapted to the community. The community and its circumstances are at the heart of all that is done.

Once there was a core of people working in and understanding the industry, I visualized Phase 3 to be one of adapting the industry to the cultural values, as possible. This might range from the hours of work (e.g., Would the operation shut down to enable employees to go to the country in the spring?) to type of work (e.g., Would people be trained in several aspects, or concentrate on one skill?). I also pondered how the industry might be administered, including ownership. An awareness of political science, economics, and an understanding of sustainable industry were training topics I saw as foundational for addressing these questions.

I saw the process of training for takeover as one of socioeconomic change. In education philosophy, therefore, the third phase, in particular, might have some elements of radical adult education educational components, which is accommodated in participatory training. The second phase might have some humanistic features built in. In all three phases I anticipated some aspects of progressive learning. However, I believed

that the participatory learning would form the basic approach in all three phases in order to accommodate the cross-cultural aspect of industry establishment.

I was proposing participatory training with the eventual goal of training for takeover. With this framework in mind, I had done the planning I thought was needed, as seen in the three phases. I recognized that participatory training related to economics, as far as I could ascertain, had not been done in the First Nations community in which I had chosen to introduce the industry.

Geography of the Community

The northern Canadian community featured in this thesis was the aboriginal Cree community of Mistamit, with a population of over 1000. It is situated across a river from an older settler community of Fort Dufferin, with a population of about 500, where I reside. The landscape of the region is one typical of boreal forest. Both inland and out-to-sea are vast tracts of wilderness.

A bridge connects the two towns. The nearest city is a 2-to-3-day drive, half of which is on gravel roads. The first language of Mistamit residents is the Cree language. It is estimated that less than half of the community is fluent in the dominant language of the province. The vitality of the First Nations language reflects the community's uniqueness compared with other First Nations groups across Canada, and is also an indication of a low level of acculturation and a long history of independence from the dominant society.

Until the 1960s, the people of Mistamit had been nomadic groups of hunters, walking the distances now traveled by road, air, or boat, and the present location had been a trading place and summer meeting place. The traders (since 1792), Western schooling (since the 1960s), the Roman Catholic Church, and the Protestant medical institution across the river (since 1914) have had an impact. Only in the last decade have the people of

Mistamit become politically aware and active in response to the oppressing forces of the dominant society institutions. Examples of the activism include large organized protests against large scale developments in a territory the Cree claim as their own, and for which no treaty has ever been signed.

My Past Experience With the Community and Adult Education

Since 1968 I had maintained an interest in the Cree people and their culture and lifestyle, which differed so much from my urban upbringing. I had worked in Mistamit between 1977 and 1980 as a facilitator in craft development and adult education, where I associated with the newly created alcohol rehabilitation program. The alcohol program used an empowering process and was one of the first institutions in which community members took ownership. Part of my role during this period was the establishment of a craft shop and the training for takeover process of the shop. With community assistance two aboriginal women and I reviewed traditional products and identified the loose-tea-filled Cree doll as having world market potential. Just one day-long workshop, which consisted of seven practical hands-on stations, bridged the differing languages and cultures, and, together, 25 crafts people very quickly refined their doll-making skills for the marketplace. I was impressed with how much learning occurred in such a short time.

During this time (1977-1980), Band Council members and other community people told me of their need to learn how to run good meetings. Two aboriginal people, a man and a woman, were brought in from Ottawa to present a workshop on that topic. However, two-thirds of those who attended the workshop sat along the side of the room with their caps well over their eyes and did not join the others at the table. The participants' reluctance to fully involve themselves in the workshop activities surprised the visitors, and they commented that they had not encountered such participant discomfort

with strangers in other aboriginal communities in Canada. Their observation clarified for me the effects of the community's isolation from other First Nations people and organizations across the country.

During this 1977-1980 period, the people of Mistamit were new to living in houses in a settlement and were only 15 years removed from nomadic hunting and self-sufficiency on the land. The change had contributed to widespread alcohol-abuse.

The Band Council and a political organization to deal with land claims were new institutions within the community. Although one generation could write in their own language, literacy in the dominant cultural language was uncommon, and existed mainly among the younger adults. At the request of the provincial department of adult education, I had designed and supervised an educational survey (carried out in The Cree language by community members), and the results indicated that a high percentage of community members wanted to become fluent in the dominant language and culture. As a result, a full-time program by the provincial college was created to meet these needs.

Along with the problems in the community at that time I saw joy, humour, spontaneity, and excitement--for example, when the first Cree hockey team beat a team from 80 km away. And there seemed to be, for me, an unpredictability and sense of timing that was different from my own. For example, just when I thought a planned event would fail because people would not turn up in time to handle the craft shop open house, a larger group than I expected turned up to help at the last minute and the event was very successful.

Winnipeg lessons 1985-1995. Although I went to Winnipeg with a hand-made product and patentable idea, I was able to explore, using textile and garment industry resources, whether the caribou hair textile production could be adapted to northern cottage

industry conditions. Concurrently, I completed a degree in occupational therapy. Through both the academic study and work as an occupational therapist in a gerontology centre, I formally reflected on the philosophical foundations of adult education and the links between occupational therapy and adult education. In applying my adult education knowledge and skills to my occupational therapy workplace, I played an active role in a paradigm shift in the gerontology centre. At this centre I participated in the change from a doctor-nurse hierarchical approach to a team approach in resident care. I was amazed at how a group of 10 people making one small revolutionary shift in how things were done could ripple right through the organization, and effect far-reaching changes!

In the same setting, I again applied my adult education knowledge and experience, in working with a group of people who were severely disabled. The forces of the institution and their own dependence on the institution left them feeling oppressed and disempowered. However, the institution gave lip service to the idea of the residents' individual empowerment. Together, the group and I tested if they actually had power. The facilitated process involved meetings and strategizing, and through it all they learned not only how to deal with the institution effectively, but that they did have power. This also was a seemingly simple but exciting process, with apparent long-term positive effects on the residents involved. In adult education terms, it was a form of de-institutionalization. For me, these two experiences reinforced my understanding of the dynamics of oppression, organizations/institutions and empowerment, and the role of adult education in those dynamics.

I was also more aware of oppressive forces of the dominant society, and how these forces affect adult learning, particularly in marginalized and cross-cultural circumstances such as aboriginal communities. In the moufflibou industry development work, I was

visiting other northern communities and sensed that although not all northern communities are alike, many of the situations and issues are similar. I gained a clearer understanding of how this proposed cottage industry could be implemented in a northern aboriginal location as community economic development rather than as seemingly oppressive training. An aboriginal woman whom I met at an adult education course in Winnipeg took an interest in the proposed industry, and together we drafted the ideas about what training for takeover in a cross-cultural/aboriginal training setting should look like, which became the core ideas I had visualized at Phase 2 for this study.

Return to Fort Dufferin. In 1995, I returned to the settler community of Fort Dufferin due to my marriage to a local person in that community. The intervening 15 years had been significant ones across the river in the First Nations community of Mistamit. Notably, the total Mistamit community had become politically aware and active. In reviewing my former involvements, I saw that the literacy program for which I had supervised the surveys still existed, although in a slightly different form. The Cree tea dolls were bringing in an estimated total of $16,000 dollars a year (D. W. Knight Assoc., 1988), but it seemed difficult to know where the community was heading economically and educationally.

However, people in Mistamit appeared more familiar with the modern world now, and, superficially, appeared somewhat stable politically. In comparing the two communities of Mistamit and Fort Dufferin, there had been a shift. It was now the people of Mistamit who appeared to have money, with new houses being built and jobs being created, whereas people in Fort Dufferin were experiencing a downturn in jobs and activity because their major employer--a hospital serving the northern region--had closed down in the early 1980s.

Informal Industry-Community Matching

I had neither the capital for, nor the interest/skills in, managing the moufflibou venture in a non-industrial setting, but I was interested in a participatory training type of approach if the community absorbed much of the risk. My personal politics also influenced my attraction to the aboriginal of Mistamit because I saw the total project as providing both economic potential and as a source of recognition in the dominant society.

Resource and economics. This new idea could be a sustainable industry based on something that was currently discarded. Wildlife statistics indicated that twice the number of caribou hides the industry required were hunted in the region annually, and Mistamit was located near the transportation centre. Although caribou hunting forms the basis of the Cree culture in Mistamit and constitutes the cornerstone of the Cree culture, craft work, and design in this region, I could not assume that using the caribou hides for industry would be acceptable; this had to be explored with community members. The First Nations economic development office had three staff in Mistamit, and through them the various agencies of government gave out funds to acceptable projects. This proposal fit into several funding criteria.

Education and skills. I informally knew that only one or two people from Mistamit had attained a university degree; a few had completed a year or two of university, there was one graduate nurse, a few RCMP special constables and some First Nations teachers (called teachers' aides) had taken courses designed for their situation. Only a few students in the past 20 years had graduated at the high school level. Many of the leaders and parents spoke bitterly of the school, expressing anger that it both undermined their Cree culture and the self-esteem of the students and, concurrently, did not prepare students adequately to manage in the dominant culture.

In the community, learning-on-the-job (or not-learning-on-the-job, but having the job anyway) was common. But there were not jobs for everyone, particularly for those middle-aged or older who spoke only the Cree language. The industry I was proposing could accommodate some older, unilingual people, skill-wise. Spin-off work--such as hunting, home-tanning of hides, creation of beaded embellishments, and canvas sewing--were skills already evident in the community and adaptable to the needs of the industry.

I thought that garment/textile industry management would take years of intensive learning from people in the industry. However, other supervisory positions, and marketing/communication skills were possible to acquire in a shorter time, with assistance. There were a few positions in the proposed industry that required organizational skills. Similarly, political activities within the last 5 to 10 years had required organizational skills, but outsiders provided some of these. The Cree community appeared to be a *distressed* community, with not enough developed leadership skills to match the demands being imposed. Heavy demands such as land claims, coupled with a proposed hydro plus northern mining projects took much time both in meetings and travel. Added to these demands was the responsibility of leading a community that is in transition between living independently in the country in small groups to living in the modern Western world with conflicting values and pressures. The symptoms of such upheaval included alcohol abuse, gas sniffing and suicide--symptoms that affected most people directly or indirectly. The less obvious difficulties included more than one set of cultural rules to go by, and the search for meaning and role in this confusing life.

The manner of providing long term, participatory, relevant, and supportive learning appeared compatible with community circumstances. However, I did not know how many persons would be available for such training, or whether it would stress other pressing

activities within the community.

My cultural attitudes and interests. There was a need to address the less concrete cultural aspect of this proposal. However, I found cultural considerations doubly confusing; I was certainly from the Western culture, but I had rejected many aspects of my own culture and had accepted several aspects of the aboriginal culture I had accepted. Some Cree people were working in a Western style organizational set-up, such as the land claims office, Band Council and the health clinic, and had largely accepted the idea of a wage earning Monday to Friday routine. However, the productivity within those organizations was not closely monitored as, for example, it would be in industry.

To better understand what I was proposing, I had worked as a factory sewing machine operator in Winnipeg, and did not find the work as bad as some make it out to be -- in fact, it was the first job where my body did the work, but my mind was free. But I felt uncomfortable at times introducing industrialization when I had consciously moved away from regular work with regular pay. I likened freedom to life in the country, as experienced by the Cree or my husband when he trapped and fished. Wage earning in many cases permitted a person to use only weekends for outdoor activity, and for the rest of the week to deny those desires to live in harmony with the natural surroundings. I did not know where the community wanted to go, as unfortunately there apparently had been no strategic economic planning or visioning process prior to my proposal.

Matching the community to the industrial proposal. There were two aspects of the industrial proposal that were unique: First, the industry would be owned by the community (or group), but would be producing *moufflibou* products under my license, and this meant a legal agreement between the community group and myself. Yet, neither the community nor I were yet well versed in how to accomplish this, and needed some guidance in forming the

agreement, although we were ready to assume responsibility for the agreement's contents. The process simply required participatory research. Second, this industry (agreements and all) was proposed as a learning vehicle. Although perhaps both community members and I could see the value of that, and understand the time it might take (e.g., 4-5 years), would the funders be able to think, and fund, long term? For both the participatory research guidance and funding considerations I turned to published resources.

Document analysis. The resource centre associated with the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provided materials that outlined and confirmed similar issues in other aboriginal communities as those in the Mistamit area of northeastern Canada (e.g., high welfare rates and dependence, and the need to live off the land during certain times of the year). However, ways of assessing readiness for industry, or ways of matching a proposal to a community were not evident.

In the aboriginal development literature in Canada, I read about a Band Council giving their money to an outsider who knew about business, and he set up and managed companies with no interference from the Band Council, and people from the Band could work in these companies if they had the skills, or not (Decter & Kowall, 1993). In contrast, I read a handbook specifically designed for aboriginal communities by a First Nations resource centre (Napoleon, 1993), providing clear, simple steps on how to involve communities in community development, and why. In the literature, community-based development planning was seen as the natural step in the evolution to self-determination.

From Clarkson et al. (1992), I learned that "development agencies should also be working with grass roots groups rather than local government authorities, when dealing with Indigenous development issues" (p. 70). Also, from this reference I learned that when working with Indigenous peoples in the so-called developed world, agencies should apply

the same principles as when working with peoples of the so-called developing world.

As for training, I began to understand the real differences between formal (e.g., as offered by the local college), and non-formal (as I was proposing). According to Kindervatter (1979), a non-formal education approach is very appropriate for cross-cultural situations. Unable to find clear answers from what literature I could find about matching a sustainable industry proposal to a First Nations community, I proceeded to seek out people who might have some knowledge in this area.

Other resources. I sought assistance from local institutions that said that community development formed a part of what they do. However, from the university to the local development board, no one seemed to have any more knowledge than I did in what "train for takeover" should look like. I was beginning to think that interdisciplinary adult education practice was nonexistent! Nevertheless, I contacted the local provincial college, a local First Nations economic development group, the advisor of Cree Economic Development for the area, experts in community economic development among First Nations in British Columbia, a federal government representative in the aboriginal economic development field, and a Winnipeg consultant. Each offered minor points of advice but little framework advice. For example, the federal government representative commented that there were over 600 approaches to First Nation business development in 600 First Nation communities in Canada. The best advice I received was from an aboriginal student during my orientation at St. Francis Xavier University. When I asked him about whether a First Nations community would want this industry, he said "ask them." I took his advice.

Implementation of the Introductory Phase

In this section I describe the process of industry introduction to the Mistamit community. I cover the informal introduction and the local organization and leadership contact. I then describe the public meeting and the subsequent interest group formation. I recount the feltmaking workshop and its survey results. I then comment on the steps leading to industrial proposal withdrawal.

Informal Introduction

Before asking community members about this proposal and their vision of economic development, I saw the need to talk with a broad range of people in the community. I also recognized that I had to work through the channels established in the community. As an initial step, I contacted the woman who organized women's group meetings. I attended their meeting in December 1995. It took place in a tent, around a wood stove, on a carpet, with an electric light supplied by an extension cord coming from the house. Despite the snow banks and sub-zero temperatures, it was very cozy. Approximately 10 women were there, with three of the women being white women, like myself, but in some way connected with the community. The meeting took place in The Cree language(largely with no translation); the issues discussed were numerous, and included what to do about the children who were hanging on to the back of the school bus as it moved around town, and the difficulties in acquiring an office for their group. It was a long meeting and, frankly, I found my passive waiting now uncomfortable. It reminded me too much of how accommodating I had been in the past, and it no longer felt comfortable. Finally, I had a chance to speak. I recognized many of the women from my craft development days and I offered to show them the caribou hair/moufflibou products that I had been working on in Winnipeg, for their interest and reaction. They were intrigued and

I was invited back to do such a demonstration on their next meeting in January 1996.

Knowing that information can travel quickly and is open to misinterpretation in a small village, and realizing that I also had not yet formally contacted the Cree Economic Development office, I made an appointment with the Cree employee of that organization, and his advisor. In early January we three met. They were interested in the initiative and did not disagree with the approach of presenting to various grass roots groups of people.

The January women's meeting was again in the tent with 10 women. I took my box of samples -- a straightforward demonstration where people handle the materials, accompanied by a few large photos of the stages in make moufflibou. The women were very interested, and had good questions, which demonstrated to me that they both understood and were interested in the topic. This time I was closer to the top of the agenda, and left after my part was finished.

Two days later I presented the samples, slide show, and flip chart with a class of Cree high school students, at the request of their teacher, who was a friend of mine. I used the opportunity to assess the younger people's response to such an industry. The students grasped the concepts; one said that workers "would need to know things," and several thought of the proposed project as "fun."

Local Organizations

Based on the initial response, I began to gain confidence in the selection of Mistamit as the community for this introduction. The people from Cree Economic Development and I met frequently on an informal basis, discussed strategy and details. They assisted with meetings; they made contacts, establishing where and when the meeting could be held, and publicized public meetings on the community radio. They were the organization that oversaw the steps of introduction. They asked that I meet with various

agencies as well.

A meeting with two members of the regional Cree land claims body near the end of January went well. I was beginning to understand that the Cree land claims body oversaw the work of the economic development office. A second meeting with the Cree land claims people was planned for mid-February, and there were to be three people there. I was prepared for the small planned meeting--instead the complete Cree Land Claims board (nine people) wanted the presentation, and were sitting in the board room, waiting. I had no slides, and was unprepared for such a formal presentation. The boardroom was large so my voice did not carry, and I was at the end of a long table. Many were very interested, but one member pointedly commented, "the number of caribou are going down." As the meeting went on, some mulled over what making the herds commercial might mean. However, near the end of the meeting, the one member who had commented on the size of the herds became more aggressive in his comments and focused on an area in which none of us were experts: patents and a non-disclosure agreement, which they would not sign. I was extremely uncomfortable, but unfortunately did not say so. Both people from the development office were there, but added nothing. I mentally noted, however, that it was important to the Cree land claims people that we explore the community perceptions of the caribou hair being used in industry. I left feeling an array of conflicting emotions and very much alone.

Public Meetings

A January 18 public meeting had been publicized for over a week in the Cree language on the community radio. The meeting was at the community building (the building is one of the few that is seen as a Cree rather than a white institution);18 people attended. I used samples, slides, flip charts, and a translator to describe the concept of this

industry. I emphasized that it would be "their" industry, marketing "their" products, and I would license them on the conditions that quality felt, and quality products were being produced. This form of presentation minimized the use of language. The presentation was open to questions and dialogue. Although my material takes about 30 minutes uninterrupted, the meeting lasted 2-1/2 hours. Even the people from the Cree Economic Development office said that they were impressed and understood things better and one participant made a point of thanking me for such an interesting presentation. From that meeting, an interest group (subsequently called Atikan) formed itself. At this point, I was again feeling encouraged.

Establishment of Reference Group

I had decided that an interest (reference) group of community people should oversee the introduction of this industry. I saw such a group as one way to establish the industry in a way that would be compatible with the community, and therefore, the project would be more likely to succeed. As well, it seemed to be a way and place where issues could be clarified, understood, and discussed by all of us. I suspected there would be a number of issues, from salaries and piecework, to who should own the industry, to the meaning of ownership, to name a few. I also thought that group members could translate issues to the community--after all, this was an introduction of industry as a concept. I also saw that the group could make us aware if there was something that just could not be bridged; alternatively, the group might find a means of resolving some tough issues. However, the Cree economic development advisor was wary of such a group, and wanted it made clear that the members had no power.

The interest group was formed at the previous public meeting, when any interested volunteers were asked to step forward. The group had a balance between women and men,

grassroots and people with more power, and youth and elder. As a volunteer group was unusual for the community, I decided that I should do all I could to recognize their effort and value. I provided snacks in the form of fresh fruit, cheese and crackers at the gatherings. We met in the community building, but in a spacious office overlooking the river rather than in the much larger central room. The meeting was conducted in the First Nations language, chaired by the Cree Economic Development aboriginal person, and was supplemented by drawings on a flip chart. I was a resource person. However, the First Nations person and I agreed to collaborate on each meeting's agenda and review the details before each meeting. He would also advise people of the meetings and pick them up from their homes as required. Notifying people of meetings was no small task, as many people did not have a telephone.

In their first meeting, the group suggested that a public workshop in making the caribou felt should be held. Subsequent meetings dealt with keeping people updated on what proposals were possible, what related meetings had occurred, timing of activities, and information sessions with invited guests (e.g., What is a business plan, and why have it?). We were together designing a pilot project broken down into smaller steps, and they had input into the design of each step and the proposal submission. The steps in the proposal included gathering hides, repairing a small building in preparation for the cottage-industry-sized equipment used in making the caribou felt, and removing the hair from the caribou hides. The funders had insisted that no one be paid to participate in the proposed pilot project activities, which was unusual as people are generally financially supported when learning new skills or doing some type of work in Mistamit. It demanded a level of commitment not usually expected of Mistamit groups. In their discussions, the group had already moved past whether this was an industry for them to assuming it was, and asserting

that "the hides also had to be saved" when discussing how the hides could be collected.

Between February and November, four meetings (three others had been planned and cancelled by other sudden demands on the First Nations organizer) were planned and attended. I observed in our meetings that the group expected that if something was talked about in one meeting (e.g., setting up a pilot project) it would be in place the next time they met; they did not understand the inordinate timing and patience that proposals and funding require. However, the Atikan meetings were one way to shed light on the process--who is involved in their community, who makes the decisions, and what groups have to compete for the same block of funds, and so forth. However, the Atikan group's first suggestion of having a feltmaking workshop was one thing that was suggested and accomplished.

The Feltmaking Workshop

The feltmaking workshop, as requested initially in the public meeting and then by Atikan, was held 6 weeks later, during March. As part of the preparation for the workshop, the event was publicized on the community radio and by a translated posted announcement. Ten 2-hour workshop sessions were held in the community building basement with each session being a 1-hour workshop that could be repeated twice with two people participating concurrently, thereby accommodating 4 active participants per each 2-hour session. The two people from Cree Economic Development and I had worked out the planning details previously. These details included inviting and welcoming personally all the elders in the community to the workshop. The Cree Economic Development person and I devised the series of questions for a survey form (see Appendix A), the point of which was to determine whether it is acceptable to the people of Mistamit to create work from caribou products.

In creating the workshop, I had two sets of table equipment (pickers and carders),

plus two washboards for felting, and soap plus warm water (from an electric kettle). The basement room of the community building had visual guides in poster form for making felt, and regular demonstrations were given for each step in the process. Having two sets of equipment enabled one person to see the counterpart activity of each step. The equipment was laid out in sequence, with the beginning activities starting near the entrance. The activities consisted of (a) weighing the caribou hair, (b) using the table picker to separate the fibres , and (c) using the carder to comb the fibres out. The carded batts then were layered and (d) the felting process (using a washboard and warm, soapy water) was then done. The basement floor had some cracks in it, which provided drainage, so the spilling of water during the felting process was not a concern.

The small-scale activity replicated what would be done with cottage-sized electric machines in a local industry. Although the space was small, there was enough room for some chairs along one wall for those wishing to observe rather than participate.

In all, each person was active in the workshop for about 60 minutes. The survey was the last step. Thirteen community members made the sample pieces of felt (there were visiting white students from southern Ontario on a group visit; they also participated but were not included in the survey). All but 2 people took their 18 x 18 cm felt samples home. Between 21 and 25 other people from the community visited and observed the workshop. The sessions were held during one week in both the afternoon and the evening so that as many people as possible could attend. A range of ages was involved, and slightly more men than women participated and observed.

A display on the main floor included raw products and a finished pair of felted-lined snowmobile mitts, together with translated signage. The building also served as the poll for a federal by-election, so many people had the chance to handle the products and to

discuss the idea with their friends.

The surveys were filled out by those making felt. Translation assistance for filling out the survey was provided by the First Nations Cree Economic Development person. Although not everyone understood the total concept of the term "industry", the attitude was overwhelmingly positive towards using this activity as a basis for jobs in the community. For example, everyone reported that they understood the process; 11 of 13 thought that caribou hides were currently being wasted; everyone thought making felt was a good use of the caribou fur; 12 of 13 reported that caribou hides are also important to them; all thought the felt industry was a good idea for Mistamit and that it should be owned by and belong to the community. Because the concept of industry was not well understood, there were very few responses to the questions about the possible advantages, although the making of warm clothes, the creation of jobs, and the complete use of the caribou were mentioned. Disadvantages were hardly named, although one person mentioned that there would have to be good management in order to succeed. Everyone surveyed indicated that they would be interested in training for such an industry, although one said he would train only if he were to lose his current job.

I was struck by how orderly and easy everything was. No one was talked into making felt but rather made an independent choice. The younger people participated in an apparently involved and focused manner. Most participants seemed intrigued with their product.

Things Fall Apart

I put forward a formal proposal to the community adult training funding agency in January 1997, with the support of the Cree Economic Development office. The plan was for the initial steps for industrial establishment and proposed a series of related workshops.

In the summer and early fall of 1997, a series of events had a direct effect on the progress of the industrial establishment idea: (a) The Cree economic advisor left in June, and was replaced by one who left after one month, and that advisor was not replaced. (b) It became clear that funders would not consider a comprehensive learning plan that extended beyond one year. (c) Legal negotiations, in the hands of outsider land claims lawyers, developed an adversarial tone. (d) A large restructuring of accountability within the Mistamit community organizations occurred, and the lines of responsibility for my proposal became very unclear. (e) One Cree leader commented to me that, in industry, people are treated " like animals." (f) Through all the above changes, the Atikan group meetings became more difficult for the remaining aboriginal Cree economic development person to organize, and at the final meeting only one of the original six people attended. (g) Ultimately, only 17% of the funding amount I had requested in the pre-industrial learning proposal was approved.

Despite community, and now advisorless, Cree Economic Development support, there was no clear support from or agreement with the leaders. I found things too confusing to continue. In dropping the project I felt relief rather than regret. I had not as yet understood what went wrong.

Group and Individual Interviews as Evaluation

Two and a half years after I began the process of introducing of the moufflibou felt outerwear industry to Mistamit and the subsequent undoing of the plans for its implementation, I arranged group interviews as well as individual interviews (when group interviews were not possible) as a means of evaluating the attempt to put the moufflibou industry in Mistamit. The time between the end of the introduction phase and the

evaluation--a total of 18 months--was due in part to my strong reluctance to think about the experience, and my belief that an extensive reflective period gave everyone a clearer vantage point. For example, the community trend that was not so obvious during the introduction became clearer with the passing of 3 years. Group interviews seemed to be the best choice for evaluation. In order to achieve a dialogue among people who were comfortable with each other, three separate group interviews were arranged. I entered this phase with a more detached interest, as I was already six months into the Fort Dufferin industrial introduction that had more promising results to date.

Group Interview No.1

The criteria for selection for the first group were as follows: (a) a resident of Mistamit, (b) a person with active involvement in community economic development or adult education in the community of Mistamit, and (c) a person with no political position or political say about the moufflibou project at that time (e.g., a member of the board of directors of Cree land claims, or Band Council member).

The facilitator I chose was someone who had lived in the community for over 20 years, was married to a Cree person, appeared to be accepted and respected within the community, seemed to have no strong political connections, and agreed to do the facilitation. We met to review the process a week before the group was scheduled, at which time we discussed how best to structure the group interviews.

I had studied Krueger's (1994) guide on focus groups, and based on that knowledge, I was able to structure the sessions and to give the facilitator some suggestions. The facilitator and I based our discussion on the suggestions and questions I provided (see Appendix B). The meeting was planned for 7 o'clock in the evening to accommodate day jobs, and the meeting was at the facilitator's house--a house that is easy to find but

apparently comfortable to Cree and non-Cree alike. The first group of people was comprised of fluent dominant language speakers and did not require a translator. We sat around the kitchen table where fresh fruit, coffee and juice were provided. I sat at the far end of the table, wearing headphones from the tape recorder, while the others were within more comfortable speaking range. Participants were assured that their names would not be used, and that this group was to discuss the caribou industry establishment efforts of 3 years ago "in order to see if there were any lessons to be learned" from it (and in conjunction with it being a part of my master's work). The facilitator explained that the tape recorder was being used only to make my notes accurate, and all agreed with the audiotaping. The session lasted 1-1/2 hours.

All were familiar with the proposed moufflibou project, and thought it was a good project. Two of the three people attributed its not going ahead to the possible conflict of the Cree land claims director having to make judgements on economic development, and noted that soon afterwards this situation was changed when economic development came under the Band Council. It was also noted that "the story" of its not going ahead was that an agreement between me and the Cree land claims organization was not reached. The strong need by community leaders to control or own something in the community was noted, coupled with a wariness of outsiders taking their resources for their own profit in the past (e.g., Hudson's Bay Company, hydro development). I took this to be the "political" explanation.

One participant commented that, at that time, it would have been difficult to find enough people ready to learn about the industry, as the few people ready for such learning were already employed by the political organizations. All agreed that the community was not ready for the industry 3 years ago, and two then suggested that the community was

ready now. In fact, a community attitude shift from protesting large developments on their lands and getting nothing, to bargaining to get all they could from them, was noted. One participant remarked that in one generation people had gone from being families in the bush to community life with 9-to-5 jobs. As well, the majority of the population were now young, they were the ones running the organizations, and these younger people did not relate to the bush as strongly. From these comments, I understood that there was a previous "lack of human resource" and that the previously unsolved economic development trends now had more clarity.

The need for education in the form of seeing and understanding how, for example, industrial things work, what jobs exist and what they entail was noted. One participant said that in the next few years, more people will be ready and available for such a project, but also noted that it might take up to 10 years for informal business and industry learning to occur. There was a suggestion that Cree people are most comfortable learning things together -- for example, a dozen people learning things together--with recent welding training cited as an example. All agreed that the caribou felt industry could have been used as a learning vehicle. This, I thought, was the acknowledgement that they agreed with the approach to learning I had taken and they understood the time it would take. However, at that time, various factors contributed to the community's not being "ready" for this proposal.

In response to the query as to whether there was a Cree way of economic development, one participant suggested that there was, but that it would take longer than anyone would expect; this speaker suggested that Cree businesses may not replicate white businesses, but claimed that if the people were involved and understood what was going on, then that was success in itself. This person commented that this project getting started

and failing would have still provided learning in a positive sense. One person noted that generally people do not wish to accept jobs for $8.50/hour because, in other projects, they had trained at the rate of $ 15./hour. There was the possibility that people might start with less, if it were clear that the potential to gain more in time was there. Here, I thought, was the "wage" reason.

Generally, the session seemed thoughtful, open and constructive, with occasional light-heartedness. I left with these explanations in mind: leadership perception and values at the time, lack of human resources, lack of training readiness, and the low wage issue.

Interview Group No.2 (Four Individual Interviews)

For the second group interview, the criteria were for selection of participants that the person a)should have been in a political position at the time (e.g., a member of the board of directors of Cree land claims, or band council member, or an advisor) and b) should have had some direct political input into the caribou project at that time. Four people were contacted, but due to their travelling schedules, the group meeting had to be rescheduled three times. Of these, two later had to cancel. Because of the scheduling difficulties, I finally decided to change the group interview process to a series of individual interviews. The facilitator then acted as host interviewer and I was the observer on the first interview, whereas I conducted the other three interviews by telephone. I examine each one in the following section.

Interview No. 2a. The participant's wife accompanied him and was included in the discussion. During the interview, this person acknowledged that he had actively followed the progress of the moufflibou project 2 1/2 years ago. Because of the land claims organization he was on at the time, he had final say over economic development. Although the project interested him, he did not have faith in any collective process; he thought that

the economic future for the community lay in entrepreneurial activities. At that time, he sensed that the community was on the verge of starting entrepreneurial types of activities. Now he sees that Cree people respond by creating companies and going for contracts, and he is even more convinced of the value of this direction. He said also that, aside from his discomfort with the collective process, he was unclear how the licensing would work and still give people some ownership. Ownership is an important issue in the community, he said, as there is a great need for the Cree to run their own show. In entrepreneurial activity, he sees a commitment from people that he does not see in wage labour (i.e., the false economy) in the community.

The participant said that, demographically, the community has many young people who will need jobs and knowing that the government positions will not meet their needs, has more faith and confidence in entrepreneurial activity as the future of the community. He saw this project as "soft" economics, rather than "hard" economics where one "has to step on other people's toes" and be competitive within the community. He admitted that he began to lose faith in the project when the community group was formed to guide the project. He added that I "did all the right things" (according to soft economics) but "it was wrong" (according to what he believes is right for his community); He explained that he represents what is good for the community. He added that he knew I had had a difficult time introducing this project in the community.

The discussion carried on for 1-1/2 hours, and after the formal questions were answered, a generalized theoretical discussion on economics and culture ensued, with interesting exchanges and some laughter. He was very surprised, however, when he learned that this same project and process had made a good start in Fort Dufferin.

Interview No. 2b. A second interview was held over the telephone a couple of weeks later. This person knew of the project as a result of band council involvement, and had conveyed support at the Cree Economic Development meeting at the time. During the interview, he said that, at the time, the elders in particular considered the caribou sacred and, for their sake, he had concerns about commercializing the products. He feels today that it is possibly less of a concern among elders and the community.

He said that people in his community today would not accept low wages -- that they would stay on welfare instead. He also made the point, which was important to him, that people needed the opportunity to go into the country (for periods of time each year), even if they were working. During the interview, I made the effort--sometimes successfully, sometimes not--of using clear direct language to match the level of dominant language fluency of the interviewee. I thought this interview was important because it demonstrated the growing acceptance of small industry based on caribou products. As well, it showed the demands expected of labour; i.e., higher wages and time off for living in the bush.

Interview No. 2c. The third participant agreed to a phone interview, as he no longer lived in the region. Three years earlier he had been involved as a non-Cree advisor. He stated that the proposed project design itself was appropriate, and financially it was viable.

However, it was the context of the Cree community that was the challenge. For example, he said that it is now even more apparent that people in the community would not have worked for low wages. Also, there was the question of too few people with the talents required to establish the project. He also commented that the community does not have wage-earning models, as the organizations are more like patron-client relationships.

This participant suggested that another way to approach the project might have been to build the factory, demonstrate how it is run, and have people work in it, and then it would be the time for Atikan to be formed and to take ownership. Currently, he sees the Cree leadership setting up companies with private enterprise contracts, and their acting as agents for the community. As this is a type of trade, he suggested that this might be the natural transition between life in the bush and modern living. He reflected on how, in Europe, people did go through a mercantile era before the industrial wage-earning era. He expressed more confidence for the community as a whole in, say, sustainable forestry activity -- as being worked on by Cree economic development.

Interview No. 2d. Another interview, done with another non-Cree advisor, was also by telephone because he lives out of the region. He was, and remains, involved in the land claims area. He had been briefed on the moufflibou project at the time, and its potential. During the interview, he reflected on his own experiences working in a factory as a student, and how extremely unpleasant he found such work. However, when he had been briefed on the project 3 years earlier, he had not expressed this opinion, but had agreed with the project. After this interview, I did wonder if his perception of industrial work had influenced the Cree leader of Interview 2a.

Group Interview No. 3

The participants for the third group interview were associated with the original Atikan group. The Cree Economic Development officer helped to arrange the meeting by contacting the participants and ensuring transport. Four of the six original Atikan members were able to attend. Of these four, three were elders and were most comfortable speaking Creeimun, whereas the younger participant (and daughter of one of the elders) spoke only the dominant language. The elders were women, two of whom had extensive experience in

traditional crafts; the third elder, a retired teacher, had a strong interest in the Cree culture. As the meeting required translation, the Cree development officer (who was also the son of one of the elders) acted as moderator and translator. The meeting was held at the community building where the previous Atikan meetings were held. We sat around a table in a comfortable, home-like room. Pizza and soft drinks were available.

In the introduction, which was translated, I assured participants that their names would not be used in report, and that the tape was just to ensure I made no errors in reporting this meeting; everyone indicated that they were satisfied with this arrangement. I emphasized that although the questions were simple, I welcomed discussion among them on the answers. I then acted as the assistant-facilitator, was at the table, monitored the recording equipment wearing headphones, and took notes. The facilitator-translator had a copy of the group interview guidelines (Appendix B) but relied on me to say the questions in English, which he then translated. The discussion was conducted in the Cree language, after which the facilitator translated a summary of the discussion in English, to which the English speaker then responded. As this process took some time, I was able to take extensive notes, which was good because I unknowingly had technical problems and the tape did not register the audio. At the end of the formal questions, there followed an informal question and answer exchange between me and the group, during which the facilitator translated.

In response to whether the proposed caribou project was a good idea, one respondent said that not only were the jobs needed here, but also it was important to have the caribou skins not wasted. Another elder said that there is high unemployment in the community and, even at low wages, the industry would have met some employment needs. She added that "there's no industry for women" in the community right now. Another

elder affirmed her commitment to volunteering in the community (Atikan was voluntary group, one of the few organizations that did not offer honourariums for attending meetings). The youngest group member said that young people are leaving the community, and this project might have stemmed that trend. One member speculated that if this industry were in the community, it might be something people could relate to and could be a way of affirming the Cree culture.

A general discussion ensued as to why the project did not go ahead. One member thought that one person had stopped it, another thought that no agreement was reached, and a third person attributed it to the change in leadership happening at that time. They expressed frustration at my not getting back to them. I responded that that might be so, but no one had been clear with me either. I suggested that at the time we all lacked the experience, understanding, and determination that we may now have.

In responding to whether the project would be more likely to succeed at this time, the general response was yes, with several agreeing that their community was changing, as they were no longer living in the bush, and the earlier culture was disappearing. One elder said emphatically that it was better to use the products than to send the caribou hides to the dump, and the others agreed.

In a general discussion, I asked whether a factory would have been compatible with the community. The participants said that a factory was not a problem. One suggested that, although the wages might start low, she anticipated that these would increase in time. One offered that she had been concerned that there might be no training with machinery use, but I assured her that training was a major part of the industry's proposed plans. Another thought that we were starting the project when we made the samples. Several expressed fear that the time was growing short on the old craft skills.

A heated discussion than followed, explaining that "we usually follow our leaders," but that "we are being left out in knowing what is going on in our community." Another stated, "Our leaders are more into money as culture, and business," and they are "looking after the men's interests--not the women's." They said that most of the leadership is male, and added that they as a group "would probably tell them off" if the leadership were here right now. As there were no further issues, I added that I was sorry that the industry did not go ahead, but that we all had tried. I thanked them for the discussion that was not only helpful in my studies, but valuable to me as well in my own sense of understanding of what had happened, and that I hoped it was for them as well. The meeting had lasted an hour. I left feeling that this group and the they represent would have benefited from this industry, and I felt some bond with them, but also understood that the circumstances were not so simple politically.

Comparing Events in the Settler Community to Events in the Cree Community

In late 1998 I began to wonder if a community economic development process might bring the moufflibou project to fruition in the settler community of Fort Dufferin across the river from the aboriginal community of Mistamit. With the Mistamit option cancelled and with my new knowledge that there might be both community and funding support for such a project in Fort Dufferin, I took the first steps towards establishing the industry in Fort Dufferin. I used the same approach in introducing the new concept, using empowering group meetings, and facilitating. Here I outline some of the similarities and differences in process and outcomes.

Similarities

My community approach was the same, in that I approached government people who were involved in economic development with this settler community (although their office was in a regional town 50 kilometres away). The government department aided in group establishment, although its approach was to invite people who might be interested in creating a core group. I based my suggested list of names not on people who already served on committees and were busy, but rather on whether they had some interest in business, economic development and craft product, and whether they had the time to devote to this one project. After a few government-facilitated meetings, the core group was established. It consisted of three women and one man. These members reached out for more members both by asking and advertising, and attracted one more woman and one more man. As the government people withdrew, my role of participatory-learning animateur to the committee became more clearly defined. However, it was a complex role--facilitating my own industry -- and I would have preferred the paid involvement of someone who had both business and community skills, such as a CED person.

The six group members were not formal leaders in the community, but had various skills that were recognized by the community (e.g., a retired teacher, a retired small business owner, a nurse, an administrator). They became motivated to turn things around economically in the community with moufflibou as a first project because they could see their community losing its vitality and independence. For the most part, community economic development skills were new to them; for one member this was "like going to school."

Differences

After only 2 months of introductory period, the group was on its way. With my guidance they sponsored a project to gather caribou hides and remove the hair, and they acquired a 9600 square foot commercial building. They worked through the details of a pilot project. At the end of one year, their learning focus had shifted from learning about the industry to learning about the how to establish the business (e.g., by seeking investors, or by selling the business). At the end of the second year, most of the pilot project had been successfully completed, and marketing the product, legal agreements and attracting investors became the new focus. At the end of the second year, four members--3 women and 1 man--remained involved. Because two members were retired from employment, they were able to devote more time than those working and this provided the group involvement needed to handle such a large undertaking.

The members recognized that this community economic development activity would involve learning, and even wrote that into their mission statement. According to several members, they remain involved and contributing, due in part to the hopefulness of the project, together with the exposure to new ideas and learning new skills such as dealing with government.

During the first 2 years we worked well together in a partnership approach, and accomplished a lot. But we were legally separate entities and knew that our roles with one another would change. Moreover, we lacked timely assistance with regard to understanding business and agreements. As well, we tired from meeting the demands of the project when no project management assistance was provided. Eventually the members were using the skills they had acquired and were assuming a sense of ownership of the project. The entrepreneurial part of me became frustrated at this point, but the adult

educator part of me wondered if this indeed was what I had worked towards. I had passed on much of what I knew; the business plans and manuals would make it possible for someone to take over the innovative industry without too many surprises; and the group's enthusiasm for the project grew as mine waned, after my 20 years of working towards this point. After working closely with the Fort Dufferin group for 30 months, the changes in the last 6 months as they withdrew from the relationship were, at times, difficult for me. But on reflection, could this be empowerment as defined and for which I had striven? The dynamic does resemble the beginnings of other successful community organizations I have seen set up in Mistamit over the years, both in terms of the organization becoming strong and the adult educator never quite anticipating and accepting the complete assumption of responsibility by the group.

I sense that the group will succeed if the agencies that purport to foster community economic development give appropriate support. As for me, the government agencies did not recognize the animateur component (i.e., the adult educational component), and this work was largely not monetarily supported. As well, I now recognize that we lacked the management and business expertise we needed for the of project.

My role as both animateur and inventor/transferor of technology in both cases was complex. There was a lack of understanding and support from agencies for the participatory approach I took, although they wanted the industry established by an empowered group of community members. However, there was no mentoring help for this process available to me. The licensing was also challenging for the group and for me to work out together, even with some help, because outside agencies always imposed competitive corporate approaches rather than participatory research ones. As well, we seemed to be doing something with which no one in this rural area could assist us. In

response to these circumstances, as the inventor I have offered a sales proposal to the group, and as an adult educator I consider my active role in this project to have ended. I suspect it is but will discover with time whether participatory research in community economic development is the most perilous but most potent form of adult education.

Analytical Comparisons

In reflecting upon these two efforts, I have sought to understand what made the difference in the two communities. The project and approach were the same. In this subsection I present my reflective analysis.

The town of Fort Dufferin is not a cross-cultural setting, so the group members already had a high degree of understanding and experience in the Western culture, and they themselves were not marginalized or disempowered. Their learning process was a combination of participatory research, through which we studied things together; and progressive activity, in which they built on issues that were somewhat familiar to them, (e.g., legal and organizational matters, the difference between private and public sector economics). All of them had seen other communities outside the province, observed these economies, and knew something about industrial viability.

As well, the group was involved in an activity that was already recognized and defined by the funders, and somewhat understood by the town council. Also, these organizations were supportive of economic development. The people of Fort Dufferin, although not familiar with this industry, were supportive of any approach to job creation, from entrepreneurial to false economy job creation. Added to this was the number of volunteer organizations--such as the community television group, a heritage group, a library group, and a seniors group--so this initiative was not unusual. What was unusual, aside from this being a manufacturing industry initiative, was the participatory and

empowering process, and there was no mentoring support for me. Had there been, I assume that it would have been easier for me, and I would have understood better some of the inherent pitfalls and how to avoid them.

Another factor in Fort Dufferin is that the community's level of wage expectation for unskilled labour is lower than that of Mistamit, where incentive to work programs can pay up to double the labourer wages. The differing outcomes of Mistamit and Fort Dufferin, despite the similar approach, is to me indicative of the intricate issues when an non-aboriginal adult educator proposes First Nations learning with community economic development in Canada.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis is a study of my non-formal educational attempts to introduce a sustainable industry to a First Nations community. In this final chapter, I link the necessarily far-ranging literature review of chapter 2 with my actual community experience as described in chapter 3. I include a table in which I synthesize some of the factors predicting industry compatibility with both the aboriginal and non-aboriginal community. I then discuss the role I played and my possible errors in judgement. Brief conclusions and suggestions complete this chapter.

Appropriate Community Development in a First Nations Community

Community development practice is complex, and in a First Nations setting, there are many factors to consider. In this section, I talk about the social and economic issues, the meaning of work, together with the range of economic development options pertaining to Mistamit, and relate them to the published literature. Next, I synthesize some of the factors predicting industry compatibility with both aboriginal and non-aboriginal communities and link these factors to the literature.

Social Development Impact

Because of the rapid changes in Cree society accompanying their relatively recent colonization, I was aware that I was witnessing the symptoms of destabilization in Mistamit. The strong presence of local institutions dedicated to helping the community deal with the problems of substance abuse--some put there by community members--

signal both the problems and the willingness to try to deal with the symptoms of cultural disruption. One interview participant acknowledged the speed and impact of the changes, noting how his community had gone from being families in the bush to living in a community and having 9 to 5 jobs, in just one generation. The change from a stable, satisfying life to a different, more Westernized way of life was disruptive and significant for Mistamit community members.

In the literature, Bodley (1988), Jeliffe et al. (1988), Redfield (1988), and Sahlins (1988) all describe tribal societies as being egalitarian and as meeting human needs. Bodley, in particular, notes the potential for rapid cultural collapse once the tribal society has routine nation state contact. Shkinlyk (1985) makes similar observations and describes the signs of rapid cultural collapse as seen in Canadian aboriginal communities. Mistamit community upheaval, although not simple, had a recognizable aboriginal community response to such major change.

My experience in Mistamit confirms Kroeger and Barbira-Freedman's (1988) observation that, with the transition from tribal society to the modern, there is much pressure to conform to the modern society. Mistamit Cree are outnumbered by the dominant population, and in the past the relative wealth of surrounding communities was apparent (although that is changing). Wien (1986) supports this point, and notes that Canadian aboriginals are in a minority compared to their colonizers, and that they are surrounded by wealth. In response to modern society pressure, a dependence on the outside value system evolves, and in this case, it is the Western value system. This conflict directly affected my ability to do my study, although I was not aware of it during the actual research process. Clarkson, Morrisette, and Regallet (1992) more specifically

say that the use of mainstream theories of economic development is assimilative. I noted in the interviews, particularly with leaders and others in responsible positions, the community's efforts to attain Western models of employment with a corporate approach.

Participants also expressed a sense of urgency to create jobs--jobs that would not depend on government support and that would meet the needs of a larger, younger population in the community. When asked if there was a Cree way of development, one response was that perhaps one could evolve, but the process would take too long. It seemed to be a critical time in the community, which had an overriding urgency to make a positive transition to the modern Western world.

Most people I interviewed adhered to the principle of development through acquiring Western skills, although the grassroots group felt that the strong trend towards money and business was not serving their needs well. Clarkson et al. (1992) call such forces non-desirable and assimilative, whereas Kurtness and Girard (1997) refer to a knowledge of both aboriginal and dominant society as the most positive coping strategy in this circumstance. From my observations, the current aboriginal leaders are supporting knowledge of the dominant society as a strategy but are acknowledging aboriginal traditions. However, the influence of the dominant society is suspect among the local leaders. As was evident in the response to my proposal, there is an initial attitude of mistrust, together with the need to own and be independent rather than to work with, and share in, a project initiated by a non-aboriginal person. This complex set of factors clearly made my community development tasks difficult.

At the time that I introduced the industrial idea to Mistamit, the best social strategy to be used in dealing with the dominant modern society was not apparent to me.

The literature, especially Bodley's (1988) collection of articles, confirmed my fears about the impact of modern society, of which I considered my industrial proposal to be potentially a part. However, it was only in the reflective interviews 3 years later that I noted the threats of change and cultural destabilization were met by efforts to embrace Western skills. This answered, in part, my question about what impact industry introduction would have on the social development of Mistamit, and led me to my other area of concern--the appropriate form of economic development for Mistamit.

Factors in First Nations Economic Decisions

The broad range of literature on economic development for First Nations communities, from the Bherer et al. (1990) enterprise approach to the Napolean (1992) community approach, made it obvious that there was no "one" approach. No literature covered my specific approach of using the establishment of an industry as a tool for learning. The only form that resembled aboriginal industry was the Bherer et al. description of a Band Council-owned fish plant which, despite the industry's importance to the community economy, had not rooted there. No similar enterprise existed in Mistamit, but the participatory approach I proposed would, I hoped, overcome the problem of being accepted and becoming rooted in a First Nations community.

In fact, to respond to the personal and social awareness needs of a disrupted community, I had planned both radical and humanist components in my industrial plan for local takeover, and I also had wondered whether an eventual native economic model might evolve from the industry. Absolom and Herbert (1997), Belenky et al. (1986), and Freire (1970) all advocate a form of consciousness-raising and awareness in order to understand the forces of colonization and/or oppression prior to successful individual or

community action planning. By contrast, Bodley (1988) decries both a native economic model and consciousness raising efforts as unlikely to assist in tribal independence in the face of outside economic interest pressures. The situation poses the following questions: Does the current modeling of a behavioural approach, possibly integrated with local institutional humanistic and radical approaches, meet the complex needs of the community? How would such an approach compare in results with the one I proposed? At the moment there are no answers to these questions.

To be faithful to sound community economic development principles, I tried to work collectively with members of the aboriginal community to support learning and development. This approach is advocated by Napoleon (1992) and the First Nations Resource Council (1990). In contrast, Dector and Kowall (1993), Haberfield (1996), and Lewis (1997) support partnering an entrepreneurial approach with little community involvement and little focus on learning. In the Mistamit interviews, one leader indicated strongly that he had no faith in the community-based process, whereas the grassroots people felt that they should be part of the process. One leader described the collective approach that I was offering as "soft" economics; he had more faith in the competitive business or "hard" economics. From the interviews, I now understand (although it was not clear at the time of introduction) that the current leaders, in facing the need to create a viable economy adapted to a larger, younger population, have put their confidence solely on community enterprise and individual entrepreneurship models. For one leader, these models are seen to elicit commitment and a sense of ownership that was missing in the wage-based and false economies. Western Canada native leader Noel Starblanket, interviewed in the television series Aboriginal Voices (Katchakeesic, 1995), agrees that

native people should be a part of today's capitalistic society and should use the levers of power in order to be respected. On the other hand, Bherer et al. (1990) favour the private enterprise form of development, particularly the family business form, for the Cree circumstance, but warn against any aboriginal community adapting one form of approach to business to the exclusion of other types. From my study, I see a preponderance of combined community and private enterprises, both small and large, in Mistamit and in other native communities across the country.

The Meaning of Work and Wages in an Aboriginal Community

The meaning of work was a constant question for me in doing my research. Shkilnyk (1985) had quoted an aboriginal in her study, saying, "We're used to working when there is work to do" (p. 74). But what about the transition to the wage economy? In my study, people in the grassroots interview group said they would welcome wage jobs, because they had accepted that they now lived in a more fixed community. They would take stable work, even at lower wages, because they would expect the wages to go up eventually. However, interviewees from the other groups said with the $15. /hour rate for training already provided on other projects, they doubted that people would work for less. One leader noted that welfare would be more acceptable than low wages, and added that people needed periods of time for living in the country, even when they were working at a wage--however this leader erred in judgement on the commercialization of caribou products question. The wage question may not have a clear answer.

My experience from the study was that the non-aboriginal Fort Dufferin residents did accept the lower wage of production industry in the pilot project and, as well, indicated that they appreciated "having something to do"; it is possible that "having

something to do" might be a motivator in Mistamit, according to the grassroots group (which is the likely source of workers.) In contrast, Wien (1986) implies that aboriginal people should accept good wages only, presumably because the current level of government support for individuals has been high (the false economy). A replacement income would need to be as high or higher to meet individual expectations. The question that I continually revisited during my study was: Is this a realistic expectation in a remote community? The industry I proposed was based on the "real" economy rather than the false one, so it is possible that finding production workers in the aboriginal community would have been difficult if the job's value were to be based on salary alone. Shewell (1991) addresses this issue by noting the loss of meaning in work in aboriginal communities due to assistance programs. The participant response that people would rather receive welfare than low wages suggests a lack of meaning in paid work.

Therefore, it is still is not clear whether the people who do not have work in Mistamit would consistently work in the labour-intensive feltmaking and sewing jobs for the beginning wages; it is also not clear whether some sewers would do piece work at home, although current craft-making patterns indicate that this might be a possibility. It is clearer that the Fort Dufferin people would work for less because their funding structures and wage economy history differ--that is, they have a longer history of working for wages and receiving the pay rate of the dominant economy.

Predicting Compatibility of Industry and Community

One of my greatest struggles in doing this study was finding an existing model of community economic development that might fit. The literature had described variations but offered no way of judging compatibility of the industry with a community. The

introduction of industry to non-industrial, isolated, communities presents issues that are not important in industrial urban settings. From my reading, and from my own experience in both the First Nations community of Mistamit and the settler community of Fort Dufferin, and my comparisons of these communities with a southern Canada urban textile/garment industry setting, I present in Table 1 some of the factors that are, on reflection, important to the study presented here.

In Table 1, I use the words additive, adaptive, and replacement. These signify levels of behavioural change required, as described by Arensberg and Niehoff (1971). Thus, additive requires new behaviour but has immediate acceptance, whereas adaptive requires the least behavioural change and is adapted most quickly. Replacement requires the greatest behavioural change and is adopted least quickly. In further analysis in the area of adapting to a local pattern, I learned that the new technology of the proposed project was somewhere between adaptive and additive, whereas the behaviour required to actually keep the proposed industry going (wage labour) is closer to a "replacement" (i.e., replacing life as lived in the country) behaviour. As an added observation, I have been told that in some First Nations community circumstances, although a wage is paid, the systems are not always clear enough to ensure accountability. Therefore, the proposed industry, with its need for accountability, would require a form of the more challenging replacement behaviours.

Table 1 highlights not only the differences between urban and rural situations, but also the differences that can exist between smaller communities--in this case between First Nations and settler communities. One example is that the First Nations leaders are the decision-makers over most aspects of their community economics, whereas the settler

municipal councillors are less directly involved in the economies within their community. In this instance, First Nations leaders were not open to the collective process, whereas the settler leaders accepted more than one approach to the economy in their community, even if they were not totally familiar with the collective process of community economic development.

My study confirms Arensberg and Niehoff's (1971) analysis of social change. They note that local leadership, adaptation to local pattern, and motivation are as important to a new project as the money required to accomplish it. In Mistamit, the

Table 1. A comparative compilation of factors I extracted to consider when introducing an industry to a northern community.

Factor	Mistamit	Fort Dufferin	Outside
Is community plan, or leadership in agreement.	No.	Yes.	Usually okay.
Relationship of industry to local patterns.	Adaptive, due to basis of caribou and clothing manufacture.	Additive, due to caribou use and clothing manufacture.	Used to industry.
Motivation: wage	High expectations: up to $15./hr	Will accept lower wages: $6. to $7.50/hr	Will accept lowest wages and piece work
Motivation: community	In transition: seeking new ways	Reduced economy, lost vitality	Business culture
Motivation: personal "something to do"	Possibly	Probably	- -
Technology:	Additive-adaptive	Additive to adaptive	Normal
Behaviour required to sustain industry.	Replacement	Additive to adaptive	Normal
Training	Takes time	Takes less time	On-the-job

Number of people available for training and work.	.?	Yes.	Yes.
Programs/money available	Yes, but not for long periods of time to start an industry.	Yes, but competing with other communities: no investor	Investor-led
Legal licensing	Replacement: inappropriate legal assistance	Replacement: not enough assistance available	Normal practice
CED/Business	Available by hiring	Not readily available	Part of cultural Knowledge
Ownership	Community ownership important	Ownership not an issue	Investor: normal practice

leadership had the power to say no to the project, and did. Their support was necessary for implementation. In adaptation to local patterns area, the Cree consider caribou as sacred but still use the hide for making clothing and drums; the grass roots people interviewed related strongly to the use of the caribou hair in the creation of clothing, once they had decided that commercialization of the caribou hair was preferable to seeing the hides wasted on the dump. The acceptance of the new industry was strongly evident in the community response from the feltmaking workshop.

In the area of motivation, there was an interest in work related to craft work and industry, which is a new idea in Mistamit. It was interesting to note that one local leader perceived factory work as inhuman--reflecting, and possibly influenced by, the opinion of a white advisor who was also interviewed. The salary level would play an important part if I were establishing the industry and merely paying people to work, but this was an opportunity for managerial and business learning as well as a garment industry--it would

be a community-owned, community-identified enterprise--and it is becoming now more apparent that Cree businesses do hire non-native people, so the benefits were not tied salary level alone.

Another factor related to both community compatibility with the proposal and education was the number of people available for the industry. My Mistamit proposal suggested that 12 people would train together for management skills, but at the time there was a question about whether there were enough people available to train. Furthermore, there seemed to be no practical way to assess who might be available for training in industry in the community. More recent group interviews confirmed that, at the time, there possibly were not enough people but now, or in the near future, there would be. In contrast, in Fort Dufferin it was evident from statistics and from the number of people applying for make-work projects that there was an interested potential work force. I had estimated 5 years for industry take-over in Mistamit, and Arensberg and Niehoff (1971) confirmed my sense of timing for cross-cultural learning. The Mistamit interview participants suggested that if the learning for industry and business were to occur informally, that up to 10 years might be required. However, I discovered that government agencies were not able to envision and fund a project that would take that long, as quick results within 1 year were expected from the initial funding that was approved in Mistamit.

Table 1, I believe, provides a clearer way of predicting suitability and chances of success for a project in a particular community as compared to the more subjective, overall judgement of community readiness. I noted a tendency to judge aboriginal community readiness as related to a level of dominant Western culture acculturation, or at

least the ability to deal with the dominant society. The project I proposed had at its core the use of the industry as a practical educative vehicle. Therefore, the question would be, "are there enough people available, able and wanting to learn about industry?" rather than, " is the community ready to start and maintain an industry?" Therefore, the current level of acculturation of Mistamit did not directly apply in judging the proposal because a conscious form of acculturation was part of the using-industry-as-a-learning-tool process.

Some of the factors highlighted in Table 1 relate to knowledge and skills acquisition and will be noted in the next section.

Evaluation of the Approach to Community Education

In my community introduction to industry in both aboriginal and settler communities I used a non-formal approach. My role as inventor and animateur was complex; group dynamics were unpredictable as usual; and some of the subject matter to be understood, such as licensing and business, was complicated for everyone. I now discuss these factors in the light of the literature.

Non-Formal Approach to Learning

In introducing my moufflibou proposal to the First Nations community, my use of a non-formal approach was consistent with Brown and Tandon's (1983) and Wallace's (1994) emphasis on empowerment as the most effective way, and with Kindervatter's (1979) and Bhasin's (1991) emphasis on the non-formal approach as the least oppressive approach. Much of my introductory process was a small version of this approach--for example, the feltmaking workshops. I already knew non-formal learning to be an effective way to bridge the language and cultural differences from my previous

experience in the community. Similarly, the feedback I received during the public meetings, plus the Atikan group interview, confirmed that participants appreciated the non-formal approach.

The non-formal approach is better judged over time. After 30 months, the Fort Dufferin group had not only accomplished a great deal, but remained committed to industry establishment. Their recent moves to establish their independence of me and their assumption of responsibility heralds one form of group empowerment. If time proves that it is indeed empowerment, it will affirm what participatory educator Wallace (1994) says about the non-formal educational approach encouraging empowerment.

Added Complexities

However, a non-formal approach is not as simple as it sounds. For example, I was dealing with a group, and as Heron (1999) points out, the outcomes of such dynamics are not predictable. Heron describes the group dynamic process as having both negative and positive aspects, and implies that the pattern generally goes from negative, initially, to positive, over time. In Mistamit, when I first introduced this community development idea, there was a combination of negative and positive responses; subsequent interviews now show an understanding of what was being offered. However, in Fort Dufferin the pattern went from a steady working together over 24 months to the more challenging redefinition of our roles over the last 6 months as industry take-over occurred. This latter dynamic contradicts the pattern suggested by Heron.

In both instances of industry introduction, I was both the entrepreneur and the animateur, which was a complex mix. Significantly, Zimmerman, Lindberg, and Plsek (1998), in their writings on leadership and management, embrace complexity as a setting

for creative adaptation in organizations. Through interviews in Mistamit and my direct observation in Fort Dufferin, business and licensing issues (rather than my roles) were identified as complex and difficult to understand. Business and licensing issues were also difficult for me. I thought that, like other challenges, we could research and learn what we needed to know together, or work separately and then share our findings, but that method did not work in either community. In Mistamit, leaders consulted their land claims lawyer, who adopted an adversarial approach, and there was no discussion. In Fort Dufferin, outside expert-facilitated mutual exploration in licensing resulted in misunderstandings that required further expert facilitation, but time did not permit proper follow-up. Without the expert knowledge in this specialized area, there were issues we could not resolve. My experience is confirmed by Lotz (1998), who says that community economic development in such northern settings requires a skilful combination of inside and outside resources, and there was a limit as to what the communities and I could learn in participatory research without consistent, specialized, assistance. Therefore, I concurred with the participatory research of Bhasin (1991) and Wallace (1994) that much could be accomplished in a participatory manner; but contrary to their findings, I found that in our circumstances subjects like business and licensing could not be researched and learned in a participatory manner and that Lotz was correct about the need for outside resources.

Evaluation of My Role in Community Economic Development

My role in industry introduction was at times demanding and with no support from any institution, left ample room for errors in my judgement. This section discusses what I did or did not do effectively, in light of the relevant literature.

My Role as an Adult Educator

I found my adult education role in community development (described variously as co-ordinator, facilitator, entrepreneur, and animateur) to be at times intense and demanding, even in the settler community of Fort Dufferin. My experience is consistent with Dector and Kowall's (1993) findings that the role can be so intense and demanding that it may lead to burn-out after a few years. Similarly, Cruikshank (1990) notes that one needs a high tolerance for ambiguity. I concur. Aresnberg and Niehoff (1971) note the need for sophisticated social science knowledge as well as technical and financial abilities. I concur here as well. Yet, my experience was not all negative. Bhasin (1991) states that participatory development should be "fun and joyful" (p.11) and in Mistamit the workshop, public meetings and interviews were fun. They were as joyful as the first 2 years in Fort Dufferin.

Alexander (1997), describes how the field of adult education has recently ignored its social roots, and that may explain why there seemed to be no apparent body of support for my approach. Community economic development, as interpreted by the leaders of Mistamit, and as seen in the literature (Bherer et el., 1990), (Dector and Kowall, 1993), (Lewis, 1991/1996), was one of learning by modelling rather than the collective, empowering process I was proposing--a major finding of my study.

One of the critical steps in this process was a self-examination of my own assumptions. In cross-cultural settings, Pratt (1998) suggests that, as adult educators, we become aware of our own conceptions. I felt strongly the need to examine my personal values. I found that Dalziel's (1982) written account of her grandparents' life story enabled me to examine objectively the values I had inherited. I now recognize the values

I hold, such as helping others when they need it and working hard. Mitcham's (1983) writing about northern wilderness myths and the romantic portrayal of native people in Canadian literature clarified the cultural influence those writings had had on me. In fact, the northern writings were among the factors that initially attracted me to this type of work. In the First Nations community, aside from the desire to see my invention be proven and to get remuneration for the research and development, I was, I believe, motivated by the need--misplaced perhaps--to help others. In Fort Dufferin, aside from the proven invention and remuneration together with an acknowledgement that my community was in need of economic development, I was impelled by the more political motivation of wanting to prove that sustainable development can and does work.

Possible Errors in Judgement

Napolean (1992) suggests that one has to believe that the community is capable of solving its own problems. My initial motivations perhaps need scrutiny. I was trying to help and empower with a vision I had devised--with help, and based on my former knowledge of the Mistamit community. Perhaps my perceptions were out of date; perhaps it was just too much innovation at once (product and process); and perhaps the community didn't need my help. During the introduction, did I really believe that the community could and would solve their own problems? I wanted to believe it and sometimes I did, but I also feared that I would not receive support and that I would be alone in a situation of trying to change people's behaviour in order to make the industry work -- a form of behaviour modification of which I wanted no part. On reflection, I now have less interest, yet more confidence, in the First Nations community, and wonder if my new attitude is a form of liberation from what may have been an inappropriate

attitude toward "helping." With the Fort Dufferin industrial establishment, I passed on to them what I know--the entrepreneurial side of me has to consciously let go, but the animateur/adult educator part cheers them on, believing that they are capable of finding their own way with the outside business support that the project requires.

Arensberg and Neihoff (1971), in the only complete text I could find on social change, suggest that, when introducing a project, one should go to the leaders as well as to the grassroots people. With my project, I went to the economic development officer who eventually took me to the leaders and the people. Although the lines of power were not clear to me as an outsider, it may have been more appropriate had I gone to the leaders rather than the economic development officer. My going to the people through the office was not perceived by the leaders as positive, according to leader interviews that followed.

From the interviews, the third (Atikan) group members were quite clear in stating that the leaders were not addressing women's employment needs, yet they stated that the women continue to "follow their leaders." Interestingly, Brooke (2001) notes that there is a movement of First Nations women demanding accountability of the chiefs of their communities; lack of accountability and corruption are the sources of their concerns. With such apparent reliance on leaders, I now sense that it was presumptuous of me to set up the community (Atikan) group--that I was acting on my values as an adult educator rather than following the direction of the community as determined by the leaders. As one of the interviewed leaders said: "You did it right [in terms of democracy, community, sustainability]....but it was wrong [in terms of the leaders' present focus on entrepreneurial approach in economics in the community.]" I can only imagine what it is

like to have so many pressures from a community in transition, but as Lewis (1998) points out, accountability to the community in the aboriginal community context is inevitable. The third group interview showed the beginnings of the call for accountability in Mistamit. In contrast, the community group in Fort Dufferin was seen by community leaders as necessary in the community non-profit organizational set-up.

Ross (1992) identifies one major First Nations ethic as "anger not be shown." I had sensed this ethic over the years, and so when a small meeting to which I was expected to attend and address turned out to be a large board meeting for which I had no warning, I accommodated it and did not show the anger I felt; however, the sudden meeting seemed disrespectful to me. I cannot say whether the apparent disrespect was because I was a woman, and white, or because I had met with community members beforehand. I am aware, as Bishop (1994) states, that oppressed people, due to their history, may unconsciously oppress others. One leader in the subsequent interviews said that he knew that I had had a "hard time," but to the best of my knowledge he did nothing to make it easier. Not expressing emotion was difficult for me. It takes me time to get past unexpressed anger.

Zimmerman, Lindberg, and Plsek (1998) embrace tension and differences, saying that "creativity and innovation have the best chance to emerge precisely at the point of greatest tension and irreconcilable differences" (p. 33). They recommend that a leader be "nice, forgiving, tough and clear" (p. 42). In my role in non-formal education, I have not been overtly tough. I usually maintain an attitude of acceptance toward a new learning situation, and always give people the benefit of the doubt. In the past, the behaviour required for my approach has been the opposite of being tough. I wonder if these two sets

of behaviours are reconcilable in the same role? Issues such as these underline the need for further learning and research. Fortunately, the need for further research is acknowledged in the growing community economic development movement, as recently reported by Perry and McNair (2001). Will the cognate field of adult education be involved?

A recent government paper (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1999) is supportive of aboriginal communities dealing with intellectual property as part of an economic strategy. In my study, I offered a licensing arrangement in order to share research and development costs amongst several communities. My interview participants pointed out the confusion and lack of understanding about licensing. Both communities wanted a legal agreement before they understood what it meant; both communities had a strong need to have control rather than be licensed. This affirms Lewis' (1997) observation that community economic development is the use of business means to meet social needs. Therefore, knowledge about such business instruments as licensing needs to be understood by the communities with social needs. However these skills were not readily available to me or to the organizations in either community.

I could not find an example in the literature on the use of an innovative industry for learning about industry. However, during my interviews, participants in Mistamit admitted to understanding the concept I proposed (with the exception of licensing), including the learning portion.

Conclusions

My efforts to introduce a sustainable industry to a First Nations community and my subsequent evaluation of the experience led me to draw some conclusions. These conclusions are based on my actions, observations, and the later analysis of those actions. My summative evaluation is enriched by some comparison of the same industry introduction in a non-aboriginal community.

1. I proposed a community economic development approach that incorporated non-formal learning and training for takeover, assuming from my experience that it would be an ethical and empowering experience. In contrast, the leaders of the community believed that only entrepreneurial and joint venture activities had legitimacy. Interestingly, the leaders' approach was not reflected in what the grassroots people, particularly the women, thought they wanted; yet, the tradition was to follow the leaders. This shows the important role cultural values play.

2. In total, the industrial project and the community were possibly a poor match, not in terms of the technology, but in terms of: (a) the number of community people and staff consistently available to assist in its establishment, (b) the rate of pay community members have begun to expect in the false economy, (c) the lack of community CED and/or industrial models, (d) the combination of innovative industry and innovative learning vehicle, which was perhaps too much innovation for a community new to industry, and (e) the amount of legal knowledge that this project demanded. These all contributed to the judgement of a poor match. It was perhaps too much too soon.

3. The relative success of the settler community to date with the same project

leads me to conclude that an adult education role in First Nations community economic development is more complex than in a Western cultural context. In fact, unless one's role is very clear, and requested by the community, I strongly question whether there is a direct role for dominant culture adult educators in aboriginal communities. In contrast, the role in the settler community, although less complex, still required a range of skills, but I consider that role to be of the animateur type because the participants already had a strong foundation of Western knowledge. The aboriginal proposal might have worked if I had been partnered with an aboriginal woman or man who had a strong interest in the project, some business knowledge, dedicated time and some cross-cultural knowledge, coupled with our ability to work well together.

4. There seemed to be no resources, written or human, to provide techniques for matching a community to a proposed industry, particularly in an aboriginal setting. There is a lack of good research on how to accomplish community economic development as well (aside from aboriginal strategic planning), even though it is an accepted way of community-based socio-economic change.

5. My failure to get past the first step of industry establishment in the First Nation community does not prove that this approach might not work at another time in the same Cree community, with the modification of a committed aboriginal counterpart, as mentioned in point 3.

6. The work involved in establishing community economic development is not recognized nor funded, but it does take time. It requires a broad range of knowledge, including economics, sociology, and politics. It also requires skills--from facilitating, negotiating, and people-skills to proposal-writing. The process of non-formal education

and empowerment needs to be better documented in order to assist all involved.

7. It may be difficult to use an industry establishment, such as the one tried here, as a vehicle for learning in this cross-cultural setting. The funders in this case had no apparent interest in planning long term, nor did they demonstrate a deeper understanding of the aboriginal setting in which the business was to be established.

8. In the CED role in this First Nations community, the ability to easily live with ambiguities is important. For example, the community may appear vulnerable but development still requires confidence that community members can find their way past any difficulties; the highest leaders have the power, but grassroots concerns need also to be considered. There may seem to be a racist attitude toward non-native people but a light-hearted attitude from non-native people is expected. It is important not to be oppressive, yet expectations of a non-natives of outsider's ability beyond accountability may be excessive.

9. There is a cross-cultural complexity in aboriginal communities with which my skills and current approach are evidently not a good match. However, my interest and confidence in community economic development, even beyond my own industrial proposal, remains. I can see that a group of citizens who know the Western culture can slowly but inexorably acquire the learning and the power in the Western society to make an economic difference in their community if they work at it, have the time and have good community economic development guidance and support through the process. However, in both these case, adequate support for such learning was not readily available to the groups or to me. Where are the people who have both business and community skills--this may not be a natural mix of skills. Where is the acknowledgement of the need

for such people for remote, non-aboriginal communities. And if an adult educator like myself does get involved in CED, where is the mentoring support. The support is needed in participatory and empowering circumstances, but if straight forward business direction only is featured, then the only learning required is how to function on community boards. In that case, there remains a community dependence on having the CED businessperson. The point is that current trends in CED indicate an emphasis on business creation and acquisition of skills secondarily rather than empowerment and broad learning.

Recommendations

This was a sustainable industry project offered to a particular First Nations community at a particular time. I hesitate to make one-sided recommendations in this cross-cultural circumstance, so, notwithstanding that suggestions need to be balanced by opinions from the community, I offer the following to adult educators plus others who have an interest in this field. These recommendations are constructive statements and are made with the intent to encourage practice in community (economic) development:

1. One cannot assume that community-based adult education principles and theory, because they work in Western society, can be applied in a First Nations setting--particularly not in one that is undergoing change and dislocation.

2. There must be a clearer way of matching proposed economic projects to any community. By this I mean a checklist of factors to be considered, as suggested in this thesis.

3. Before introducing a project to a community, one needs to know the lines of power and the community plan (or non-plan), or vision of the future in the community.

4. One needs to know oneself, one's motives, likes, strengths, and capabilities, before introducing a new way of doing things in such an environment.

5. One cannot assume a community-based approach if it is not what is currently accepted by the aboriginal leaders. Their interpretation of "self-determination" may differ.

6. Community economic development and empowerment will remain largely a myth unless appropriate support for the practice--monetary, resource and institutional--is available.

7. Since support for social change seemed to be minimal in my region, I ask whether the field of adult education will retain its historic role in social change and take a more active role in social change.

8. Being clear with participants about the approach one is taking is important. As well, producing mutually agreed-upon roles and goals at the beginning of the process is also important.

I close this thesis with the words of Mike Lewis (1998), editor of Making Waves: Canada's Community Economic Development Magazine. I chose this because it expresses, for me, the essence of my study. Lewis wrote, with respect to community economic development in aboriginal communities, "Empowerment, organization, values and vision--nice words that are deceptively easy to enunciate, but oh so difficult to truly put into effect."

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APPENDIX A

Feltmaking Workshop Questionnaire

Do you now understand how to make caribou felt? Y N

Do think that this is a good use of caribou hair? Y N
Explain:

Do you think that caribou hides are now wasted? Y N

Is caribou skin important to you? Y N

Do you think that a small industry making outdoor clothing
is a good idea for Mistamit? Y N

Would you like to have such as industry belong to or be owned
By Mistamit? Y N

What good things come from such an industry?

What no so good things might come from such an industry?

Would you be interested in being trained to work in such an industry? Y N

Any other comments?

APPENDIX B

Instructions To Facilitator

Introductory Question: (brief answers)

Say what you remember about this proposed project.

Question 1:

Do you think this industry was a good idea for this community?

[what was good and what was bad about it]

Question 2:

What do you think d it from working here?

Question 3:

Would it work today?

[If so, what is the difference between then and now?]

Questions 4:

How do you (now) judge what will be successful in this community?

Questions 5: (as appropriate)

Is level of development comparable to level of Westernization(white way)?...or is there more than approach to development?

Is there an Innu form of development?

Have you had a chance to learn of other aboriginal development approaches in other communities?