NON-FORMAL EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT:
A CRITICAL SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF
B.C. FIRST NATIONS AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Educational Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

March 1996

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Abstract

The colonization of British Columbia by European immigrants beginning in the mid-1800s greatly restricted First Nations access to productive resources. Having lost control of their traditional territories and being able to secure only limited access to financial and agricultural extension services, many First Nations peoples living on reserves in south-central B.C. have had to endure living conditions similar to those usually associated with poor rural populations in less industrialized countries.

The focus of this study is First Nations agricultural extension practice. The purpose is to understand why agricultural development has been slow on B.C. reserves despite the many efforts undertaken by governments in the form of financial and extension programs, especially from 1950 to the present. Two worldviews of "development" are discussed: western modernization and holism. These views encompass various streams of thought that helped to characterize - through a structurist historical research approach - the conceptions about development prevalent among First Nations leaders and key government policy-makers. They also assisted in understanding the nature of the relationships between development programs and agricultural extension practice.

The study shows that although federal government development programs have enhanced, to a limited extent, the quality of material life on reserves, they have had little impact on non-material aspects of human existence. Development programs often ignored First Nations peoples' worldviews, having relied chiefly on the transfer of advanced modern technologies from the industrialized sectors of the economy. Furthermore, Euro-Canadian society, through the exercise of its social, political and cultural hegemony, has seriously limited First Nations' capacity to maintain their way of life, their economic systems and their cultural traditions. The historical analysis shows that First Nations agricultural development lacked strong support from Indian Affairs prior to 1979.
Although the creation of First Nations institutions does not necessarily guarantee the implementation of development programs inspired by indigenous perspectives, the study indicates the need to train First Nations people as field extension personnel. Furthermore, development of agriculture on reserves involves settling the land question and recognizing First Nations' right to self-government so that they can design their own development and extension programs.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract  
List of Tables  
Acknowledgments  

**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**  
The Impact of Modernization  
The Meaning of Development  
Hegemony, Development and Extension  
Purpose and Significance of the Study  
Structure of the Dissertation  

**CHAPTER TWO: THE BACKGROUND**  
The Socio-Historical Background: 1851-1951  
The Current Situation: First Nations in British Columbia  
Agricultural Extension in British Columbia  
One Hundred Years of Colonialism  

**CHAPTER THREE: HEGEMONY, DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENSION**  
Hegemony as Political and Cultural Leadership  
An Historical Perspective of Development  
The Meanings of Development  
Theories of Development  
Development Perspectives and Approaches  
Links between Agricultural Extension and Development  

List of Tables

Table 1. First Nations Agriculture: Colonial, Federal and Provincial Legislation 26

Table 2. Total Number of Farms in DIAND Agencies in British Columbia 134

Table 3 The Evolution of Regional Development Policies in Canada and its Relation to First Nations Agricultural Development 285
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my research committee members - Tom Sork, George Kennedy and Kjell Rubenson - for their guidance and constructive criticism. My appreciation goes to those First Nations people who volunteered their time to provide me with information about their perspectives on development and greatly contributed to broadening my understanding of their worldview. I am also grateful to the memory of my friend Bob James who was instrumental in facilitating access to government documents and files, and to those people in government and non-government organizations who kindly shared their comments about development policies and programs. Special thanks to Ms. Mildred Poplar, Chief Saul Terry, and Chief Gordon Antoine for taking the time to read and comment on my work.

I would also like to thank Roger Boshier, Verna Kirkness and Michael Yellowbird who contributed many ideas and suggestions in the early stages of this project. Special thanks to my friends Jorge Nef for his insightful comments and criticisms and Maggie Hosgood for her invaluable contribution as editor of my project. To my colleagues Elizabeth Carriere, Chan Choon Hian, Malongo Mlozi and Cliff Falk with whom I shared many interesting exchanges of ideas that were always a source of inspiration and learning. My appreciation to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their financial support. To my wife and daughter for their invaluable support and love that helped me through a sometimes arduous journey, and to my parents who through their actions and their lives have taught me an appreciation for life and to value honesty, pride, forcefulness and struggle.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

All Indian peoples and communities have always planned their socioeconomic and cultural development, since ancient times. Any projects implemented with communities must respect this planning done by each person or community. (World Council of Indigenous People, July 1987, p. 5)

For more than 500 years, since the arrival of the first European immigrants in Canada, First Nations people have struggled to keep their cultural identity alive. They have been immersed in a social and political environment where relations between First Nations people and federal and provincial governments have consisted of a long series of conflicts.

Since confederation, Canada has implemented policies that, although officially aimed at assisting First Nations to "develop", have been interpreted by many First Nations\(^1\) and Euro-Canadian\(^2\) authors as efforts to promote assimilation. They contend that federal government policies have consistently attempted to consciously reorganize the socioeconomic and cultural world of First Nations communities. These studies describe the local economies, the living conditions, the problem of poverty, the band government institutions, and local factionalism. They conclude that the poor living conditions prevailing on most reserves can be traced to the neo-colonial, dependent relationship between Canada and First Nations resulting in many discriminatory policies that have legitimized unequal access to natural and financial resources.

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\(^2\) See, Ponting & Gibbins, 1980; Tennant, 1982; Frideres, 1993; Carstens, 1991; Richardson, 1993.
Grand Chief George Manuel once wrote that "at this point in our struggle for survival, the Indian Peoples of North America are entitled to declare victory. We have survived" (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p. 4). Although Chief Manuel was proud that First Nations people have resisted 500 years of domination, the quality of life experienced by the majority of those who have survived is considerably below the living standards enjoyed by most people in Western industrialized countries.\textsuperscript{3} "Poverty is very widespread on reserve with about half (47.2 percent) of Indian families falling below the poverty line. This is more than three times the rate of Canada overall" (Oberle, 1993, p. 5).

The contrast between the general socioeconomic conditions prevailing among the First Nations population and the general population in British Columbia (B.C.) has been the result of many economic, social, and cultural variables that interact to define the current relations of power. It is through these interactions that "previously germinated ideologies … come into confrontation and conflict, until one of them … tends to prevail [and] to propagate itself through society … thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups" (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 181-182). The hegemonic ideas resulting from the interplay of social, economic and cultural factors have shaped the type of production system that has evolved in the First Nations reserves in B.C., and within it, the agricultural system that constitutes the central focus of this study. As such, the relations of power provide the backdrop to this study which is focused on understanding the connections between agricultural development and agricultural extension practice in First Nations reserves located in the agricultural regions of south-central B.C., from 1951 to the present.

\textsuperscript{3} "There are 240,000 Canadians registered as Indians, nearly all of them poor and destitute. In addition there are 20,000 non-registered Indians and 13,000 Eskimos who would fall into one of the poverty categories. Our 60,000 M\={e}tis, descendants of marriages between Indian and non-Indians, are also poor" (Schlesinger, 1977, p. 10).
The analysis of the interactions between the Canadian state and First Nations people that is rendered concrete through government's actions and the subsequent reaction to them by First Nations people is of great importance in understanding the different conceptions of development held by people who live on reserves and those outside the reserve system.

The Impact of Modernization

Since 1960, there has been an increase in funding to deal with what the federal and provincial governments have labeled the "Indian Problem." The official construction of the current state of First Nations reserves as a "problem" is an indication that many of those in government think that the origin of the current situation on the reserves is the unwillingness of First Nations people to adapt to the modern era. Although there has been some progress in education, income levels, and material living conditions among the First Nations population, the results have been inauspicious. Generally, they still lag behind the averages enjoyed by the general Canadian population.

The available information on living conditions and economic performance indicates that development efforts, in the form of investments in social and economic infrastructures, and agricultural extension programs, undertaken by the Canadian government since 1950, have had a qualified positive effect on the overall material well-being on reserves. However, if development is more broadly defined, incorporating constructs that embody "human values: quality of life, distribution, satisfaction of basic needs and so on" (Nef & Dwivedi, 1981, p. 60), the picture that emerges is substantially different.

Over the last two decades researchers have questioned the measurement of development exclusively through macroeconomic indicators, mainly the gross national product of a country, or by the increases in accessibility to public utilities, education,
health services, and housing. Beckerman (1984) proposes that the presence of social structure and peoples' participation in the life of a community are among the many important factors that need to be included as indicators of development. The importance on the life of communities and individuals of social support networks and relationships has been documented in studies that show that they "are potential variables that can reduce exposure to stress, promote health, and buffer the impact of stress on health, thus contributing to increases in both quality and quantity of life" (House, 1986, p.267). Hence, if the degree of people's social participation and integration are considered as indicators of the development in a community, as suggested by Beckerman (1984), development should be measured not only in terms of Western standards of material well-being but also by the "subjective feeling of being an integrated part of a social order" (Beckerman, 1984, p. 14). Based on these premises it is possible to distinguish, at least, between two different types of communities: those declared poor ("less developed" or "primitive") according to Western standards of material well-being but that are socially integrated and, hence, "developed" within their own worldview; and, those who are not only poor in terms of material well-being but also have lost their sense of social integration (i.e., those that O. Lewis (1970) describes as belonging to a culture of poverty).

Many First Nations communities on reserves can be described as belonging to the latter group. Consequently, the strengthening of social structures and participation networks through the re-establishment of First Nations institutions, and the creation of new modern ones that respect their cultural traditions, can become important factors in the future development of First Nations communities.

Summing up, from the perspective of Western modernization it seems paradoxical that investment in social and productive infrastructures, although it has brought "progress" to rural First Nations communities in the form of material well-being for the population
and in terms of the total volume of agricultural production (i.e. growth), it has been unable to generate an environment conducive to comprehensive development of local communities. The exploration of socio-cultural and economic factors helpful in understanding the apparent development/growth paradox is the central concern of this study.

The Meaning of Development

Since the 1960s "development" has been used as a synonym for both economic growth and modernization. This view, supported by traditional economists, public administrators and academics, is challenged by critics who contend that development has a broader meaning that goes beyond material progress (i.e., growth) and must include issues relevant to meaningful values of human existence: equitable distribution of income and wealth, gender and ethnic equality, satisfaction of basic needs (health, education, food and shelter), an ecologically balanced natural environment, and a secure social climate. Under this critical approach, the fundamental nature of "development" projects becomes relevant since the model examines questions such as: What are the aims of development? Who benefits? Who will bear the financial and environmental costs? These are "not merely rhetorical questions. They [highlight] the real fact that development entails prior normative considerations and value choices. Particularly important are the distinctions of development as 'having' as opposed to [development as] 'being' and the fundamental conception of 'development as liberation'" (Nef & Dwivedi, 1981, p. 60).

After the Second World War, economic development approaches based on growth theory could not account for the enormous differences in material progress between northern and southern regions. The explanation for this unequal growth was found in the
invention of "modernization" as a development construct. Many farming communities, among them First Nations reserves, peasant groups, and small commodity producers were characterized as "backward" and declared in need of "modernization." Modernization in this context should be understood as the utilization of "objective" scientific rational thought to promote continuous economic growth and the adoption of Western cultural values. Modernization in the form of capital investment and the introduction of new technologies was heralded as the solution to the problems prevailing on reserves.

Hegemony, Development and Extension

Different agricultural extension practices have been utilized by governmental institutions in both heavily-industrialized and less-industrialized countries as instruments to promote agricultural development in so-called "backward" communities. Yet the type of extension programs actually implemented generally reflect "knowledge [that is] a particular representation of the dominant culture, one that was constructed through a selective process of emphases and exclusions" (Giroux, 1985, p. xv). Gramsci's concept of hegemony helps to understand the processes by which the state imposes its worldview (i.e., its notions of development) on civil society by means of its laws, its repressive apparatus, and its educational system (i.e., the formal school and agricultural extension programs in the present analysis). At the same time, his concept of counter-hegemony makes it possible to analyze how different groups and communities resist such

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4 Critical theorists give the concept of modernization a different meaning. For them, modernization is a concept that is socially constructed. Critical modernization is based on the utilization of instrumental rationality for the study of the natural world, and communicative rationality for the study of the social world. Critical modernization is therefore critical of the excesses of technology and not of technology itself.
impositions. For Gramsci the construction of meaning through systems of communication and signification was central to the production of hegemony (Holub, 1992). "He realized that the state ensures conformity and obedience not only through coercion but also through the insidious penetration of all organs and institutions of society by manufacturing consensus and acquiescence" (Reitzes, 1994, p. 101). It is through the institutions of civil society that the capitalist economy and the liberal state are reproduced. Thus, "It is ... only through contestation in and through the civil society that the state can be confronted and capitalism undermined" (Reitzes, 1994, p. 101).

Like most concepts, extension is associated in the literature with different meanings. In the context of this study the term is used in its broader sense, encompassing the ideas of agricultural technology transfer as well as those initiatives directed at facilitating the processes of social and cultural production (Wieler, 1988) and resistance (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991).

In British Columbia, agricultural extension practices under the influence of Western anthropocentric thought and within a liberal, free market economic system have been instrumental in creating spaces for the expansion of the "Western" ideology of modernization. Modernizing the agricultural sector has been pursued through the Provincial Ministry of Agriculture Extension Services. Until 1980 these efforts took mainly the form of technology transfer programs aimed at increasing agricultural production. To a lesser degree the extension programs included activities oriented towards community development and participation (i.e., 4-H Clubs and Farmer's Institutes). However, in recent years there has been a shift toward training farmers in financial management and marketing, (supported by computers and electronic means of transferring information) and in issues related to environmental quality and land use. Similar efforts to modernize the agricultural sector in First Nations communities in British Columbia were carried out until the late 1970s by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern
Development (DIAND), and after 1979, through an extension program delivered through a fully owned First Nations institution, the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC), with a limited degree of success.

Summing up, there are three themes running parallel in the study of the relationships between First Nations farmers and Canada. The three themes are: the concept of development that is closely related to the ideas of growth and modernization; the role played by agricultural extension/education programs in the transmission of Western modernization ideas; and the concept of hegemony that is related to the notions of self-determination, colonialism and cultural domination.

**Purpose and Significance of the Study**

The focus of the study is agricultural extension practice as it relates to First Nations agriculture in different historical periods.

The overall purpose of the study was two-fold:

a) to understand why agricultural development on B.C. reserves has been slow despite the efforts made to modernize the First Nations agricultural sector through extension and financial assistance programs, and

b) to generate new knowledge that can be of assistance to First Nations and non First Nations policy-makers when designing future agricultural extension programs.

The research involved:

a) studying the historical evolution of the power relationships existing between First Nations and non First Nations communities in both the civil and political spheres, in order to understand how the conceptions of development embedded in extension programs are selected, and
b) examining how the selected notions of development have shaped the kind of agricultural extension practices prevalent in development programs offered to First Nations agricultural communities from 1950 to the present.

The state, the civil, and the political societies\(^5\) are in a relationship that is continuously changing. The way in which their representatives construe the concept of development mediates the relationship between the state and society, framing the way government representatives and farmers interact, hence defining the character of extension practices. In this sense the study also examines the ways in which prevalent ways of thinking (constructs) about development have shaped B.C. First Nations agricultural extension practices. The analysis concentrates on understanding the above relationships in the context of alternative development perspectives that are shaped by different ideologies and political systems, and are made concrete through different extension methods and outcomes.

The interaction between state and civil society, and how these interactions influence the various forms in which development is constructed, constitute the backdrop for policy formulation and planning concerning First Nations agriculture. New knowledge generated as a result of this study should contribute to the debate about the role that economic and social variables, and cultural traditions play in determining the success of First Nations extension programs (Wilkins, 1993).

\(^5\) Political society is understood in this context as the intermediary between the state and its administrative apparatus, and the civil society.
Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One outlines some of the major issues in the First Nations socio-political agenda and states the purpose of the study. It also frames the general theoretical approach that is centered around the themes of hegemony, development and extension.

Chapter Two provides a general overview of the three main factors that define the context for the analysis. First, it presents a brief review of the expansion and consolidation of the internal colonization process from 1851 to 1951. Second, it describes the people, the land and the living conditions prevailing among First Nations in British Columbia. Third, it presents an historical overview of agricultural extension services in British Columbia. Altogether it provides the background for the in-depth description of the events that took place over the last four decades (presented in the following chapters).

Chapter Three presents the theoretical approach of the research. It discusses the themes central to the historical analysis of the relationships between First Nations farmers and Canada. These themes are: the concept of hegemony that can be related to the notions of self-determination, colonialism and cultural domination; the concept of development that is closely related to the ideas of growth and modernization; and the role played by agricultural extension/education programs in the transmission of Western modernization ideas. This section also introduces several agricultural extension approaches and models. In this chapter the foundations of several development perspectives that are used as theoretical signposts to characterize the different development and extension programs are described and analyzed.

Chapter Four discusses the research methodology referred to in social history as structurism (Lloyd, 1991). It also describes the sources of information used in the study (archival documents and data collected through personal interviews of First Nations farmers, and political leaders), and outlines how the material regarded as relevant to the study was chosen.
Chapters Five, Six and Seven describe the relationships between First Nations farmers and Canada from 1951 to the present. They present the analysis, discussion and interpretation of the historical events concerning the relationships between First Nations farmers and Canada. This period of study was chosen because the post-war era marked the introduction of several government initiatives to promote First Nations development. This epoch also witnessed, after nearly 35 years of relative stagnation, the vigorous renaissance of First Nations cultural and political identity.

Chapter Eight presents the main conclusions of this study. It also includes some theoretical reflections and practical considerations and discusses ways in which the findings of this study can contribute to the design of extension programs that support First Nations' agricultural development within the context of their right to self-determination.
CHAPTER TWO
THE BACKGROUND

It is true that our land has been used differently since our contact by white men; it is true that we have had our traditional land stolen from us and have been forced to exist in smaller and smaller pieces of land ... but it is far from the truth to say that we have no internal security, no morality, no religion, and a nonfunctioning social and community structure. (Bonaparte Indian People, 1985, p.1)

To fully comprehend the nature and seriousness of the current circumstances prevailing in First Nations communities in British Columbia, it is important to have an understanding of the historical evolution of the relationships between First Nations people and Euro-Canadian immigrants. Hence, this chapter begins with a review of the expansion and consolidation of the internal colonization process from 1851 to 1951. The colonization process and the struggle of First Nations people to resist and survive under extremely adverse circumstances are essential components of any analysis attempting to understand how the present state of affairs prevalent on the reserves came into being. Alongside the historical material, current information about the people, the productive resources available to First Nations farmers, and the social and economic conditions that exist on the reserves, is also meaningful. In addition, it is important to have information on the most commonly used extension approaches, and on the history of the agricultural extension services in British Columbia. Altogether this chapter provides background for the in-depth description of the events that have taken place over the last four decades.

The Socio-Historical Background: 1851 - 1951

From an agricultural perspective, the period covering the one hundred years from the time Douglas was appointed governor of Vancouver Island to the enactment of the new Indian Act of 1951, can be divided into two periods. The first one, ending in 1912, can
be described as a time when ranching flourished on the reserves located in the central and southern regions of British Columbia, while subsistence agricultural activities predominated in other areas of the province. The agricultural development of those years took place despite the fact that First Nations lost most of their lands through the process of pre-emption. The second period, between 1912 and 1951, marks the time when the majority of agricultural activities became stagnant. Yet, during those years several First Nations organizations were formed to fight against the ongoing process of dispossession of their personal rights and productive resources.

**Internal Colonialism and the Land Question: 1851-1912**

At the time British Columbia joined Confederation the majority of the population in the province were First Nations people. It was not until the arrival of the railway in 1886 that a big influx of settlers started to come into the new province (Miller, 1989).

The railway connection of British Columbia to the rest of Canada marked the acceleration of the colonialist expansion that had been started in 1858, with the arrival of the first gold miners. That was the year that James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island since 1851, also became Governor of the newly created colony of British Columbia. Douglas has been generally portrayed in historical accounts as personally sympathetic to First Nations demands. Douglas negotiated fourteen title surrenders with different groups on Vancouver Island "to facilitate settlement ... [and] to protect Indian land from encroachment" (Fisher, 1977, pp. 67-68). Moreover, when he allotted reserves to First Nations, he ordered the land commissioner to take into consideration the needs and traditions of the different groups (Fisher, 1977). Carstens (1991), contends that Douglas'...
commiseration for aboriginal rights was more than anything else an extension of his paternalistic views arising from the years he worked for the Hudson's Bay Company in the fur trade. During pre-colonial years First Nations were not perceived as blocking the development of the fur trade. On the contrary, they were the Hudson's Bay Company's business partners.

However, when in the 1860s, gold miners and settlers started to move into the interior of the province and onto Vancouver Island, Douglas' policy of compensation for the surrender of First Nations land came under pressure. New Euro-Canadian immigrants wanted the land owned by First Nations to establish their businesses and Governor Douglas thought that the best alternative to avoid interference with the new settlers was to buy more land from First Nations. Since he could not obtain funding from the Crown for new land purchases, he resorted to the allocation of Indian reserves. Land purchases and reserve allocations left the land free for Euro-Canadian settlement and provided an incentive to First Nations to adopt a sedentary life. First Nations that signed the fourteen treaties were left with secure possession to some relatively small tracts of land, and were "at liberty to hunt over the occupied lands, and carry on [their] fisheries as formerly" (British Columbia, 1875, p.5). The aims of Douglas' policy were similar to that of cultural adaptation pursued by the United States in the early 1800s. The promotion of agricultural activities among First Nations, according to Jefferson, would "enable them to live in much smaller portions of land ... While they are learning to do better with less land, our increasing numbers will be calling for more land, and thus a coincidence of interest will be produced" (cited in Hurt, 1987, p.86).

The policy of clearing the way for future Euro-Canadian settlements was continued by Joseph Trutch who was appointed Commissioner of Lands and Works in 1864, after Douglas retired as Governor of British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Douglas' successors, however, adopted a very different approach. They "chose to ignore the
problem or deny the existence of any Indian title" (Duff, 1964, p. 61). The two new governors, Kennedy in Victoria and Seymour in New Westminster, did not have the personal experience and interest in First Nations affairs that Douglas had. Hence the responsibility to define land policies, and the nature of the relationships between Euro-Canadian settlers and First Nations was left to Trutch, who had a very negative attitude towards First Nations rights. "Trutch not only refused to apportion lands to Indians on reserves; he and his agents worked steadily to despoil those Indians who had taken reserves of much of their lands" (Miller, 1989, p. 147).

Trutch's attitude was the response to ongoing settlers' pressures to gain access to First Nations lands that they regarded as being unused. It is also worthwhile to recall that Trutch, when acting as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, was instrumental in enacting the 1865 Land Ordinance that regulated the acquisition of land in British Columbia. This Ordinance allowed Euro-Canadian settlers to pre-empt 320 acres of land per family while First Nations individuals were excluded (Indian Consulting Group, no date). "Trutch was very much a part of settler society. He epitomized the developmental mentality which so many men brought to the colonies" (Fisher, 1977, p. 160). First Nations were not only excluded from the right to pre-empt land but also were treated unequally (compared to Euro-Canadian settlers) during the process of reserve allocation. While the federal government was of the opinion that reserves should be allocated based on 80 acres per family, British Columbia insisted on only 10 acres. The final result of the negotiations (where First Nations were not represented) was 20 acres per family (Coffey, Goldstrom, Gottfriedson, Matthew & Walton, 1990).

Trutch's policies and the fact that British Columbia developed its own policies to regulate its relationship with First Nations prior to joining confederation, had a lasting impact on the relationships between First Nations and the Federal and British Columbia governments. Until the recent enactment of the B.C. Treaty Commission Act in 1993, the
provincial government refused to formally acknowledge First Nations rights to the land resources or, for that matter, any responsibility for their well being as residents in the province. After confederation, First Nations in British Columbia were under the sole jurisdiction of the Canadian government and their activities were regulated by the 1876 Indian Act. This act, referred to as the first Indian Act, compiled and harmonized all previous legislation regarding First Nations matters. The same year a Board of Commissioners was appointed to study and decide about reserve allotments in British Columbia. Later, in 1880, a new amendment to the act (43 Victoria, c. 28, s. 3) created "a Department in the Civil Service of Canada to be called the Department of Indian Affairs [DIA]" (DIAND, 1981a, p. 33).

Despite difficulties, by 1870 the First Nation's agricultural sector had made rapid progress, reaching its peak between 1890 and World War I. According to Commissioner Sproat's reports of 1878, First Nations of the Nicola Valley were present at the 1876 World's Fair, Philadelphia, U.S.A. winning medals and certificates for best sample of wheat (Indian Consulting Group, no date). Similarly, farmers from the Portage and Douglas bands won prizes at the same exhibition for wheat they had grown (Knight, 1978). European settlers felt that First Nations farmers were becoming serious competitors in the expanding farming and ranching industry. It was necessary to put pressure on the Provincial government to secure good pasture lands for settlers' cattle, before First Nations ranchers could claim them. A good example of the success of the lobbying efforts undertaken by settlers was the government decision to revoke the original assignment of the Douglas Lake Commonage Reserve to the Nicola Tribes. The Douglas

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7 Section 2 of the 1876 Indian Act (39 Victoria, Chapter 18) established that "the Minister of the Interior shall be the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, and shall be governed in the supervision of the said affairs, and in the control and management of the reserves, lands, moneys and property of Indians in Canada by provisions of this Act."
Lake Commonage Reserve was a tract of 18,555 acres allotted by Indian Reserve Commissioner Sproat in 1878 for the use of First Nations Nicola ranchers in consideration of the grazing needs of their expanding cattle herd. However, nine years later in 1887, on the premise that First Nations did not really need those tracts any more, the land and pastures were taken and sold to white settlers (Indian Consulting Group, no date; Fisher, 1977).

Over and above the successful commercial ranching operations in the Cariboo, the Okanagan and the Nicola, First Nations agriculture during this period was characterized by being predominantly a subsistence economy (home gardens, mixed farms, and small orchards). "Of the 20,000 acres cultivated on BC reserves in 1910, about 80 per cent were on reserves in only three (of the twelve) agencies, containing less than one-quarter of the Indian population of the province" (Knight, 1978, p. 72). Compared to other economic sectors, farming was not as important as wage labour as a source of income.

Government policies and actions that were destined to accommodate the economic interests of European settlers were not only reflected in the unequal allotment of lands to European ranchers compared to First Nations ranchers. They also had an impact on what today we call agricultural extension services. Indian government agents started dealing, in a limited way, with First Nations farmers and ranchers only around the 1880s, mainly with the purpose of encouraging them to continue farming (Knight, 1978). Prior to this government involvement with First Nations farming, the extension education work was undertaken by Catholic and Protestant missionaries who promoted the establishment of market gardens and orchards in different communities, especially in the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island.

The limited agricultural extension services provided to First Nations farmers were neither supported with much needed capital for productive infrastructure development, nor by legal actions directed at protecting First Nations rights and accessibility to land, water
and grazing resources. The combination of the reluctance on the part of the British Columbia authorities to recognize aboriginal rights to the land, and the very limited support services they received from the federal government (in the form of extension education and financial resources) was neither casual nor the result of the government overlooking its trust responsibilities to First Nations. From the information gathered this lack of support (financial and otherwise) can be interpreted as the result of a concerted effort to undermine the competition posed by First Nations ranchers to the new Euro-Canadian settlers.

Another facet of the colonization process was the establishment of the Industrial Schools in 1883, that were administered by different religious missions of the Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches (Miller, 1989). These institutions were later amalgamated with the boarding schools in 1923 and became what has been known as Residential Schools that persisted until the 1960s. In these institutions First Nations youngsters were trained, away from the influence of their families and their communities, in the basic skills needed to work in an expanding agricultural sector.

The official goal of the Residential Schools training program was to help First Nations individuals progress and become farmers. However, the actual type of instruction was mostly directed towards transforming them into subsistence farmers or cheap labor for the new settlers' farming enterprises. "We spent very little time in the classroom. The longer half of our day was spent in what the brothers called 'industrial training'. [It] consisted of doing all kinds of manual labour that are commonly done around the farm" (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p. 64). Moreover, First Nations students stayed in the school only until completing grade eight.

Another expression of the implementation of the neo-colonial policies that contributed to the creation of economic dependency can be found around the end of the 1880s. At that time, the Federal Government started to implement policies to discourage
communal land ownership because it was regarded as a key factor in helping First Nations bands to keep their cultural and ethnic identities alive (Miller, 1989).

It was also during these years - 1884 specifically - that the act prohibiting the tribes on the British Columbia coast from holding their "potlatch" ceremonies was passed. The "ethos of the [potlatch] was the antithesis of the individualism and competitive accumulation that underlie European-Canadian society" (Miller, 1989, p. 193).

The official policy of forcing First Nations people to abandon their communal way of life can be found in the text of a letter sent by Indian Commissioner Reed to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. "The policy of destroying the tribal and communist system is assailed in every possible way and every effort made to implant a spirit of individual responsibility instead" (Canada Seasonal Papers (No 12), 1890, 165, Reed to Superintendent General, 31 October, 1889 in Miller, 1989, p. 191). First Nations families resisted these colonization policies by withdrawing their children from the residential schools and by maintaining their customs and way of life in their communities (Miller, 1989).

Colonization policies of the late 1880s and 1890s that restricted First Nations access to land and water resources, precluded youngsters from being taught by their parents about their own forms of knowledge, and provided them with only limited information about Western agricultural techniques, had a significant negative impact on the future development of First Nations' agriculture. Consequently, it does not seem unfair to conclude that although the final goal of the colonial policy was to assimilate First Nations people into Western ways of living, they were expected to join British Columbia society only at a subservient level. Furthermore, it can be claimed that because colonial policies slowed down First Nations agricultural growth, they consequently provided an environment with little competition to the new Euro-Canadian settlers who were establishing their farms and ranches in British Columbia.
Years of Stagnation in First Nations Agriculture: 1912-1951

Canadian society moved relatively rapidly from the fur trade to a resource-based economy, and then to an urban-industrial economy. The change in the structure and technology of the economy left First Nations unable to participate in the Canadian economy (Duff, 1964) as they had done since time of first contact. "[Until] the great depression of the 30's the Indian people of B.C. were significant participants in the province's general economy. For several decades Indian-owned ranches and fishing fleets were the equal of the settlers" (DIAND, ca.1983, p. 5). The result of the decline of First Nations participation in the economy was that a two-sector economic system was created: a modern, dynamic sector along with a subsistence economy (Frideres, 1993). The modern sector promoted change and the subsistence sector resisted modernization (Wein cited in Frideres, 1993).

Following World War I there was rapid development in the manufacturing sector, the food processing industry, the forest sector and the urbanization of the Lower Fraser Valley. With this development came the possibility of earning wage salaries outside the reserves. This prompted many First Nations farmers to abandon their orchards and vegetable farms and lease the land to outside entrepreneurs.

Slowly and irreversibly, ... traditional hunting and fishing rights have been curtailed. ... It is as wage-earners in industries which are in some way related to their former pursuits that the Indians have been able to enter most fully into the modern economy. ... Seasonal and migratory work, such as picking of fruits and hops, draws considerable numbers of Indians to the Fraser Valley and southern interior, and to the adjacent United States. ... The increased mechanization of ... farming, requiring more expensive equipment and higher levels of technical education, is making it doubly difficult for Indians to keep pace in [this] industry. (Duff, 1964, pp. 86-87)
The exception to this general pattern of people leaving the reservations, especially in the Fraser Valley, was the cattle ranching that had become established by bands around the Okanagan and Nicola Valleys, and the Chilcotin region (Knight, 1978). First Nations ranchers in the interior were, however, under continuing pressure by colonization policies. As discussed earlier, in the 1880s settlers successfully lobbied government officials and limited First Nations control of their traditional lands. Now the settlers' objective was to limit First Nations access to water and grazing resources (rangelands) which are essential factors in any farming or ranching activities in the interior of the province.

A concrete example of how remote for the people living on the reserves were the legal technicalities being discussed between the Province and the Federal government can be found in the Minutes of a conference held on August, 1923, between the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and Dr. D. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. During the event, Mr. Leonard from the Kamloops Indian Band protested against the land "cut-offs" recommended by the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission on Indian Affairs of 1912-1916, and insisted that First Nations ranchers be granted access to the grazing and water rights they needed. "Instead of cut-offs we ask for grazing lands ... as we are quite a bit short, as for as grazing lands is concerned (Conference Minutes, no date, p. 57)

In my own reserve, at one time, according to the records in the books we had five hundred inches of water out of Paul Creek. [About] 1912 or 1913 [the settlers] around us took us to Court ... [That] year a Water Board decision cut us down to 357 inches. A year or so afterwards the same company had us brought up again [to Court]...[After some time of litigation] they told us that they were sorry to say we had lost our water rights entirely, that we had no record in this Paul Creek, the creek where the natural flow is right through the center of the Kamloops Indian Reserve ... water is diverted out and taken to this other place

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8 In the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs report (1974c), The Land We Lost, it is stated: "The clearest example of land lost from reserve is the cut-off lands taken by the 1916 McKenna-McBride Commission on Indian Affairs in B.C. This amounted to over 36,000 acres and included the abolition of entire reserves" (p. 1).
called the Western Canada Ranching Company [emphasis added].
(Conference Minutes, no date, p. 63)

The previous quotation provides insight into how difficult it must have been for the people of the Kamloops Band to accept that a judge, representing the legal authority of the governing groups in society, could use a certain piece of legislation and declare that they had no water rights in a creek they had used for generations. This case and many others\(^9\) support the characterization of legal relationships between First Nations and Canada as being "colonial".

The deliberate destruction of the buffalo herds in order to starve the plains Indians into submission is well known. The Indians of the interior were now being starved into submission by laws and regulations that combined to destroy the economic base on which we had survived for hundreds of years. ... Many of these laws were not new. The game laws and hunting and fishing regulations of the province had been on the books for some time. (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p. 54)

The dispute over First Nations rights started when British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871. "Through its regulation of water, timber, grazing, hunting ... the Province has frequently destroyed the functions of a reserve ... The whites are given the water rights and the Indian Reserve falls into disuse from lack of water" (UBCIC, 1974c, p. 68). Although the Dominion of Canada had allotted water to many First Nations reserves in the Railway Belt, the Provincial Government systematically refused to acknowledge Dominion authority over this matter. In 1896, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Vowell wrote to Ottawa requesting that action be taken to protect First Nations water rights. The Provincial government's position was now to recognize Indian rights to water in the Railway Belt if they had been recorded in the Provincial Land Office as required by the Land Act. However, this apparent recognition of rights was more

\(^9\) Other examples are the prosecution and acquittal of two Nanaimo Band members in 1963, the Meares Island ruling, and the Sparrow case. See Solnick (1990).
rhetorical than real given that any First Nations claims to water would be superseded by previous white settlers' claims to the same water resources (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 1991).

Several pieces of legislation, including the Indian Water Claims Act of 1922, have attempted to deal with this dispute. However, the question remains to be settled legally and politically. First Nations people claim that their rights were never extinguished by British Columbia and those rights allocated to them by the Reserve Commissioners are to be respected today.

Under Section 5 of the [Indian Water Claims] Act, the Government of British Columbia refused to recognize any claim for Indian water on account of any aboriginal or prescriptive right or by virtue of any allotment or recommendation made by any Indian Reserve Commission or Commissioner. (Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 1991, p. 21)

Responding to the long standing process of dispossession of their land and other resources, in 1909 First Nations from the southern interior of the province came together in the Indian Rights Association (Drake-Terry, 1989), that later became known as the Interior Tribes of B.C. Also in 1909, coastal First Nations became organized. As a result the Indian Tribes of B.C. was founded around the land question (Tennant, 1982). Later in 1916 the work of Reverend Peter Kelly, a Haida and Methodist clergyman, and Andrew Paull, of the Squamish Band from North Vancouver, led to the organization of the Allied Tribes of B.C. This group sought a settlement of their land claims and provided a vehicle for lobbying for First Nations' rights. The organization broke up after the rejection of their land claims by the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons in 1927 (Patterson, 1978). In spite of their unsuccessful attempt to seek a settlement of

10 "The Committee's report has been called 'the Great Settlement of 1927.' It found that the Indians 'have not established any claim to the lands of British Columbia based on aboriginal or other title,' and decreed that the question of Indian title should now be regarded as closed" (Duff, 1964, p. 69).
First Nations land claims the Allied Tribes of B.C. marked the initiation of a movement towards reasserting the First Nations' long standing program to regain control of their own destiny.

By the late 1930s the policy of assimilation through the transformation of First Nations people into farmers had succeeded in freeing the land for the use of new Euro-Canadian immigrants, but had failed to accomplish its goal of making First Nations in British Columbia disappear as distinct people, melting into the general Canadian population. Hence, it seems conceivable to think that one of the reasons for the DIA to become in 1936 a branch of the Department of Mines and Resources was to implement a new economic development policy. The approach to be followed considered going beyond the training of youngsters in residential schools and the encouragement of people to engage in farming. To counter the decline in agricultural activities on the reserves the new policy considered the provision of financial resources that would encourage the introduction of Western agricultural production technologies. Within the new structure of DIAND, the Medical Welfare and Training Service became responsible for schools, employment and agricultural projects. A few years later, in 1938, the first revolving loan fund was established (Sanders, 1976). This "Fund operated on an 'ad hoc' basis with the only service being the provision of loans" (DIAND, 1985a, p.1).

Apparently, the development approach favored by the Indian Affairs Branch assumed that the availability of funds was a sufficient condition for First Nations farmers to adopt new technologies which, from a Canadian perspective, had advantages that were self-evident. It appears that the DIAND approach to economic development attributed to the provision of loans and grants a meaning equivalent to that of an extension education program. Consequently, it was expected that the availability of capital investment funds for the purchase of machinery and equipment, breeding stock and other productive investments, in spite of not being supported by extension education and advisory
programs, would have a positive effect on some key agriculturally-related economic indicators. Furthermore, revenue from agricultural production would have an effect on the performance of the socioeconomic indicators describing the general living conditions on the reserves.

During the war years the federal government did not undertake any major policy revision with respect to economic development on the reserves. The first significant change came in 1951 when a revised Indian Act was enacted based on the 1946 report by the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, created to study the 1927 Indian Act. Although the new Act did not bring any major change in the relationships between First Nations farmers and Canada, it showed a tendency to move away from a policy of total assimilation towards one more in line with the emerging social concerns of the post-war. The new Act allowed bands to have more responsibilities over local affairs and signaled an "increased imposition of provincial laws and standards on Natives" (Frideres, 1988, p. 35).

**First Nations Agriculture, Pre-Confederation Legislation and the Indian Act**

This section presents a brief account of pre-confederation legislation and amendments to the Indian Act that are relevant to the First Nations agricultural sector. It also describes changes in the colonial, federal and provincial government administrative organization dealing with First Nations affairs during the period of 1851 to 1951. Table 1 provides an overview of the major pieces of legislation and administrative changes that had an impact on the development of agriculture. It does not attempt to provide an extensive historical summary of the evolution of the Indian Act.

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11 Brush Ash, the first professional agrologist was hired by DIAND in 1957.
1851 - James Douglas, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Victoria, was appointed Governor of Vancouver Island. Douglas kept his dual responsibilities (loyalties) until 1858 when he was also appointed Governor of British Columbia. Douglas retired as Governor in 1864. Governor Douglas signed, between 1850 and 1854, fourteen treaties (land purchases) around Victoria, Nanaimo and Fort Rupert. Douglas also created the first reserves that were "located on southern Vancouver Island, the Fraser Valley, The Fraser Canyon, Kamloops, the Nicola Valley, the Okanagan, and the Shuswap Lakes areas" (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 1974c, p. 4).

1864 - Joseph Trutch was appointed Commissioner of Lands and Works.

1866 - An ordinance was passed to prevent First Nations people from pre-empting land "without written permission of the governor" (Fisher, 1977, p. 165).

1869 - An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians was passed (32-33 Victoria, C. 6), (DIAND, 1981a, p. 6)

1870 - An amendment to the Land Ordinance [British Columbia] was enacted establishing the right to any male British subject, eighteen years and over, to pre-empt any tract of unsurveyed, unoccupied land not exceeding 320 acres.

1871 - British Columbia joined Confederation. First Nations affairs came under Canada's Department of the Secretary of State, responsible for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands (31 Victoria, c. 42, s. 5) since 1868 (DIAND, 1981a, p. 1).

1873 - The Department of the Interior was created (36 Victoria, c. 4, s. 1) "and shall, ... have the control and management of the lands and property of the Indians of Canada" (s. 3) (DIAND, 1981a, p. 10).

1876 - An act consolidating all previous legislation related to First Nations was passed and "shall be known and may be cited as 'The Indian Act, 1876;'; and shall apply to all Provinces" (39 Victoria, c. 18, s. 1), (DIAND, 1981a, p. 14).

"A Board of Reserve Commissioners was set up to settle the Indian reserve question in British Columbia" (Frideres, 1988, p.32).

1880 - An amendment to the Indian Act (43 Victoria, c. 28, s. 3) created the Department of Indian Affairs (DIAND, 1981a, p. 33).

1884 - An amendment to the Indian Act of 1880 (47 Victoria, c. 27, s 3) criminalized the celebration of the Potlach and ceremonial dances (DIAND, 1981a, p. 52).
1909 - The Department of Indian Affairs structure changed over the years to reflect its expanding responsibilities. In 1909, new branches were set up. "These were the Secretary's Branch, Accountant's Branch, Land and Timber Branch, Survey Branch, Records Branch, and Schools Branch" (Frideres, 1988, p. 33).

1912 - J.A. McKenna was appointed Dominion Commissioner with the mandate to discuss the differences between the federal and provincial government regarding the land question (Duff, 1964).

1913 - A Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia was appointed. A five person commission was "appointed to make the final and complete allotment of Indian lands in the Province" (Duff, 1964, p. 68).

1916 - The report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia was completed.

The Allied Tribes of British Columbia was formed. They reject the report of the Reserve Commission.

1926 - A Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was appointed to examine the claims continued to be made by the Allied Tribes.

1927 - The Joint Committee rejected the Allied Tribes claims and "decreed that the question of Indian title should now be regarded as closed" (Duff, 1964, p. 69).

An amendment to the Indian Act is passed that criminalized the soliciting of payments or contributions for the purpose of First Nations claims (17 George V, c. 32, s. 6) (DIAND, 1981a, p. 142).

1936 - "The Department of Indian Affairs was made a branch of the Department of Mines and Resources. The branch included [among other] components [the] Medical Welfare and Training Service (responsible for schools, employment, and agricultural projects)" (Frideres, 1988, p. 33).

1946 - A Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was appointed "to study the 1927 Indian Act and make suggestions for change" (Frideres, 1988, p. 35).

1949 - First Nations were given the right to vote in British Columbia provincial elections (Hawthorn, 1966).

The Indian Affairs Branch was reallocated to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

1951 - A new amended Indian Act was enacted following the recommendations of the 1946 Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons. The section that criminalized the Potlach and ceremonial dances was left out, and "[in] matters not specifically covered by treaties or the Indian Act [italics in text], Indians are subject to the ordinary Provincial laws" (Duff, 1964, p. 72).
During the period summarized in Table 1, the changes in the Indian Act, provincial legislation, and the structure of the Department of Indian Affairs are a reflection of the changes in government policy with respect to First Nations. Legislation moved from an attempt at total assimilation to a more moderate view of First Nations' integration into Canadian society. However, the fundamental issues of land ownership and self-determination remained unresolved. "Not only has [the Indian Act] structured inequality, poverty, and under-achievement among Natives, but it has seriously encroached upon the personal freedom, morale, and well-being of Native people" (Frideres, 1988, p. 37). A similar claim can be made regarding the long standing position of the British Columbia government on First Nations issues.

The Current Situation: First Nations in British Columbia

The People

The British Columbia First Nations population has fluctuated widely since the time of contact with the initial European immigrants. Although no accurate population figures are available before 1835, from the information available it can be estimated at 80,000 or more (Duff, 1964). Following 1835 the total number of First Nations people declined sharply until 1890 as a result of the damage to First Nations fishing and other resource areas created by the influx of miners and settlers, and the many disease outbreaks (Fisher, 1977). After that, the population continued to decline but at a lower rate, reaching a minimum of 22,605 in 1929.

12 Other studies estimate the First Nation population in what is known today as British Columbia at 300,000 to 400,000 (Cassidy, 1992).
Today the total registered First Nations population in British Columbia is estimated at 87,135 of which 46,093 live on reserves and 41,042 off reserves (DIAND, 1992, p. 9, 11, 13). The DIAND (1992) figures are based on the department's own projections and include those individuals whose status was restored under Bill C-31, which in 1985, amended the Indian Act to correct previous discriminatory clauses against women who had married non-Natives. 

The First Nations people of British Columbia belong to 26 different Nations that speak ten major aboriginal languages, and have occupied for thousands of years the territory today known as the province of British Columbia. They live in small communities (Bands) dispersed throughout the province. Some are organized politically into 33 Tribal Councils (that generally follow national boundaries), while others operate as independent Bands (British Columbia Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, 1992). The Nations occupying the central British Columbia plateau, the Peace River area, and the south coastal areas - where most agricultural activities take place - are the Kootenais, the Okanagan, the Carrier (North Cariboo), the Nlaka'pamux Nation (Fraser Canyon and Nicola Bands), the Chilcotin Nation (West Cariboo), the Shuswap Nation (Thompson district and east Cariboo), the Lilooet Nation, the Sto’lo Nation, in the Lower Fraser Valley (McMillan, 1988), and the Bands belonging to the Treaty 8 Tribal Council in Fort St. John.

On Vancouver Island, and in the north west coastal and north central regions of the province there are limited agricultural activities. Agriculture is concentrated on the east

13 The 1992 INAC figures, when compared with those of 1929, must be treated with caution since the former refer to an arbitrary legal categorization of individuals under the Indian Act, and do not include many people who regarded themselves as having Native origin (i.e. non-status Natives), while the latter is likely to have been referring to the totality of the First Nations population at the time. Moreover, when utilizing figures reported by the 1991 Census of Population it must be kept in mind that the census questions emphasized ethnic origin, distinguishing between people of aboriginal origin, of North America Native ancestry, Inuit and Metis, rather than legal status (i.e., they are not directly comparable with those of INAC).
coast of Vancouver Island, between Victoria and Nanaimo, where the Cowichan Band in Duncan controls a large section of prime agricultural land. Other areas with limited agricultural activities are located in Prince George (Carrier-Sekani Tribal Council), Hazelton (Gitksan Wet'suwet'en Government), New Aiyansh (Nisga’a Tribal Council), and Bella Coola (Oweekeno/Kitasoo/Nuxalk Tribal Council).

**Agriculture and Land Resources**

In British Columbia the land question is especially important because, in contrast to the rest of Canada, First Nations in the province never legally surrendered their lands to the Crown. The only treaties (or land purchases) signed by First Nations and the Crown were 14 made by Governor Douglas, between 1850 and 1854 on Vancouver Island. The other exception is Treaty Eight that included a section of the north-eastern corner of British Columbia, in the Peace River district (Cassidy, 1992). Treaty Eight, signed in 1899, was later expanded in 1900 to include the Beaver group, and in 1910, to include the Slave group (Duff, 1964; Fisher, 1977). The remaining First Nations groups were allocated reserves for their use by Governor Douglas, until the Joint Committee on Indian Reserves was established in 1876. After the establishment of the Federal/Provincial reserve committee, reserves were assigned through a process that lasted four decades. "The allocation of reserves was all but completed by 1916, and at the time 231 bands were recognized and they [were] allotted some 1,900 reserves" (Duff, 1964, p. 50). A single band was allotted anywhere from one to 50 reserves or more. For example, the Lytton Band covers an area of 14,778 acres and is formed by 54 reserves that stretch 56 miles along the Fraser river canyon. At the other extreme, the Osoyoos Band is formed by one large reserve of 32,073 acres located in the southern Okanagan Valley (DIAND, 1974). Today there are 196 Bands in British Columbia with a total of 1,634 reserves that occupy an area of 849,385 acres (DIAND, 1990).
Traditionally, First Nations in British Columbia were fishers, hunters and collectors of different natural foodstuffs. Agricultural activities as such did not play an important economic role in First Nations life until after first contact with European immigrants. This condition negatively influenced the allocation of land in British Columbia during the colonization period. Consistent with the importance of fishing, settlement policies allocated several small reserves to First Nations communities along the Pacific Ocean and the main rivers in British Columbia. Meanwhile, in Western Canada, where agriculture was an important economic activity, "it was the policy to allot each tribe a single tract of land (either 160 cares or 1 square mile per family), on which they were expected to settle and establish farms" (Duff, 1964, p. 67).

Today, for the majority of the Bands in the central regions of the province, agriculture is an important component of their economic activities. Agricultural production is concentrated in an estimated total of 85 Bands that have approximately 530 thousand acres of agricultural land (WIAC, no date). On Vancouver Island and the North Coast, although some Bands have the potential for certain agricultural production, they have not played a significant role in the development of First Nations agriculture in British Columbia. There are, however, historical records of agricultural production in the north coastal region, especially in the Queen Charlotte Islands. There, the Haida Nation cultivated potatoes for exchange after the decline of the maritime fur trade in the early 1800s (Fisher, 1977).

The main production activity among First Nations is cattle ranching characterized by cow/calf operations with average herds of 50 to 80 cows. Alfalfa production is another important activity, both for internal use as feed or for sale as hay. Over the years there have been attempts to diversify the commodities produced. Examples are a strawberry farm and a hazelnut orchard in the Lower Fraser Valley, a fallow deer operation north of Kamloops, a tomato and mixed-vegetable farm in the Kamloops Band, a greenhouse at
Neskainlith in Salmon Arm, and vineyards and apple orchards in the southern Okanagan Valley.

**Living Conditions**

Many reports and chapters in books have been written by Euro-Canadians\textsuperscript{14} to describe the socioeconomic and material living conditions prevailing on First Nations reserves in Canada and British Columbia.\textsuperscript{15} By contrast, First Nations statements focus on identifying the causes of the present situation.\textsuperscript{16} The indicators presented below were selected to focus the analysis on how living conditions on the reserves have generally changed over time, and in comparison with those of the general population, rather than in attempting to present a very detailed description of the prevailing circumstances. The goal was to gain an understanding of how "modernization" attempts by the Canadian government affected living conditions on the reserves.

First Nations people, especially those living on reserves, are still today among the most disadvantaged socioeconomic groups in Canada. Although progress has been made in the material living conditions prevailing on the reserves, measured in terms of type of housing, and the availability of running water, sewage and other services, the values of these indicators consistently falls behind those of the general population. In 1954 sanitary conditions among the British Columbia on-reserve population were precarious as signaled by the fact that only 50\% of dwellings had (potable) running water compared to 87\% in

\textsuperscript{14} It is not an easy task to find the appropriate word to name the society around First Nations. The word chosen was Euro-Canadian following Richardson (1993), because although Canada is rapidly becoming a multiethnic/multicultural society, its hegemonic values are still driven by European (Western) values, especially in its relationship with First Nations people.


the general British Columbia population (Hawthorn, Belshaw, & Jamieson, 1958). By 1992 the number of houses on-reserve, across Canada, with running water had increased substantially reaching 91.4%, and the gap between the on-reserve population and the general population had narrowed (DIAND, 1993a, p.73, Table 30).

A similar pattern was found when the infant mortality rate among Canada's First Nations population was compared to that of the general Canadian population. The infant mortality rate for First Nations in Canada declined from 82 per thousand in 1960 to 10.2 per thousand in 1990 (DIAND, 1992). Although the infant mortality rate for First Nations in Canada compares more favorably in 1990 than in 1960 (DIAND, 1992) with the overall Canadian population, it is still 3.4 per thousand higher (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 82-549).

Formal educational attainment is another indicator that showed considerable advance. Between 1961 and 1986 the percentage of the population fifteen years of age and over with less than grade nine education declined among the overall B.C. First Nations registered population from 81% to 30% (Fields & Stanbury, 1970; Statistics Canada, 1989). Nevertheless, the number of people among the First Nations population with less than grade nine education was almost three times that of the British Columbia general population, which according to the 1986 population census was only 11% (Statistics Canada, 1989).

Another area where the gap between the overall non-aboriginal population and First Nations has narrowed is annual personal income. In 1964, according to Hawthorn's (1966) study, the annual personal income for First Nations on-reserve in Canada was $300 compared to $2,100 among the general Canadian population. In 1985, the difference that in 1964 was equivalent to a proportion of one to seven, decreased to one to two. First Nations people on reserve had an annual personal income of $9,300 compared to $18,200 for the general population. The important point to keep in mind once again is that
although the difference has narrowed over time, First Nations personal income is still only half that of non-aboriginals. "According to the 1986 Census, in 1985 Indians on reserve had the lowest average individual income of all groups, ... one-half the Canadian average ... and two-thirds that of people living near reserves" (Hagey, Larocque and McBride, 1989, p.16).

Nevertheless, if the quality of life among First Nations people living in rural communities includes indicators other than material conditions, such as the number of people on social assistance and the number of those unemployed, a dismal picture emerges. Although unemployment rates among First Nations people have generally followed the trends in the general non-aboriginal population, their rates have always been considerably higher. In 1961, for example, the unemployment rate among B.C. First Nations registered population was 15.5%, three times higher than that of the B.C. general population. In 1986, the unemployment rate among the B.C. registered First Nations population was 39.0%. The difference was still three times higher, although in absolute terms the gap had widened from 10.0% in 1961 to 26.0% in 1986 (Frideres, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1989; Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-001).

The figures reporting the number of people receiving social welfare transfers is even more telling of the real social conditions prevailing among First Nations. Among the general non-aboriginal population in Canada, the percentage of welfare recipients has remained relatively stable, fluctuating between six and eight percent, depending on the general economic conditions of the country. Among Canada's First Nations population

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17 For Aboriginal people "the census income data do not always accurately reflect their 'real' total level of income ... [because they] receive goods and services from the federal government, such as housing, which are not reported as income. Notwithstanding this reporting problem, on-reserve Indians are visibly one of the most disadvantaged groups in Canadian society" (Hagey, Larocque and McBride, 1989, p.22).
living on-reserve this figure has increased steadily, from 30% in 1962 to close to 50% in 1991 (Fields & Stanbury, 1970; DIAND, 1992).

In British Columbia the situation in 1966 was slightly better than in Canada, but the numbers were still substantially higher than those of the general population. "The incidence of social welfare dependency among Indians living on reserves is about eight times that of the general population of B.C. [Survey data] shows that in February of 1966 from 25.4% to 29.4% of the on-reserve population were recipients of social financial assistance" (Fields & Stanbury, 1970, p. 45, italics in original). Furthermore, according to the figures provided by the DIAND Vancouver Regional office for February of 1967, the percentage of the population receiving social assistance varied greatly among agencies. It was 14.8% in Kamloops, 18.8% in the Kootenay-Okanagan, 37.4% in the Nicola and 45% in Cowichan (Fields & Stanbury, 1970, p. 46, Table 2).

The lack of proper access to medical facilities because of inadequate transportation routes and poor housing conditions are contributing factors in maintaining the difference in quality of living. In the late 1980s nearly 90% of Native houses across Canada had electricity but only 40% had running water (Frideres, 1988). Life expectancy among the First Nations population is on average ten years shorter than that for the overall population. First Nations male life expectancy is 62 years compared to 72 years for non-aboriginals, whilst that for First Nations females is 69 years compared to 78 years for non-aboriginals (Frideres, 1988). High levels of unemployment, family violence, teenage suicide and poor housing are distinctive characteristics of many First Nations communities in British Columbia (Ponting, 1986).

From the information presented four points emerge. First, there has been an increase over time in the standard of material conditions in many rural First Nations communities. Second, in all cases the data show that selected indicators of material well being were considerably lower among First Nations than those of the population at large.
Third, social indicators such as dependency on welfare transfer payments and unemployment rates reveal an increase over the years and the gap between First Nations and the general population has widened. Four, social and economic conditions prevailing among First Nations populations on-reserve are generally poorer than those living in urban centers.

**Unresolved Issues**

More than 110 years had passed since the enactment of the first Indian Act in 1876. Nonetheless, the majority of the pressing issues that were relevant at that time remain still unresolved. First Nations leaders have indicated that the most pressing issues faced today by First Nations people are those related to their association with Canada (Erasmus, 1989; Mercredi & Turpel, 1993; Harper, 1991; Watts, 1991). In the sphere of the relationships with the state, aboriginal rights (individual and collective), the land question, and self-government continue to be of utmost importance since they are crucial elements in the quest for self-determination. These fundamental issues are closely interrelated since any form of government is meaningless without an economic base that involves control over productive and financial resources, and without political rights. First Nations ownership and control of a tangible and significant resource base is a fundamental pre-requisite for the design and implementation of comprehensive social, cultural and economic policies (Cassidy, 1992; Erasmus, 1989; Frideres, 1993; Mercredi & Turpel, 1993; Miller, 1991).

The resolution of the fundamental question of aboriginal right to self-determination is of particular interest with respect to resource utilization. In this domain, the contrasting views of First Nations and Western scholars regarding the relation between humans and the natural environment is very important (Gitksan and Wet'Suwet'en Chiefs, 1987; Jenness, 1991). Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) studies of renewable and non-
renewable resource development projects in First Nations territories provide a concrete example of the contradictory views of aboriginal culture and that of many planners operating in mainstream Canadian institutions. The discourse of the "experts" exposes their bias and the limitations of the Western environmental sciences that are "foreign to Natives whose language and expertise are based upon knowledge of custom, experience accumulated by wise elders over centuries, and a spiritual sense of unity with nature" (Shapcott, 1989, p. 79). Gaining authority to decide how productive and financial resources should be utilized is very important, because the type of financial assistance and extension education programs that are subsequently implemented will likely reflect the worldview embedded in the policy approach.

In the realm of the political society an important issue that has long been debated refers to the relationships among First Nations organizations. There has been an ongoing tension between the creation of central, province wide, political organizations and local Tribal and Band Councils. In the economic realm a similar debate has subsisted between the creation of central economic development institutions (usually organized around production sectors) and the proliferation of locally controlled organizations. An important element in this debate has been the distribution of regional economic development funds. Some Tribal Councils have supported a per capita distribution of those funds while others would like to see them going to finance specific sectoral programs.

In the private sphere, the role of women in the family and society has also been publicly discussed. During the last round of constitutional discussions (Charlottetown Accord) some First Nations women's organizations expressed their concern about gender equality and the possibility of losing the protection of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Turpel, 1993).

The existence, still today, of many outstanding issues indicates the need to establish a new relationship between First Nations and Canada. These negotiations ought
to resolve the land question definitively, and simultaneously guarantee individual rights and the legitimate First Nations right to maintain their cultural identity.

Agricultural Extension in British Columbia

Different phases in the development of agriculture, along with the relative importance of the sector in the overall economy of a country have shaped the adaptation of diverse approaches to agricultural extension. During the second half of the 19th century, up until World War I, the expansion and consolidation of the American frontier and the establishment of family farms led to the creation in the United States of the system of land grants that resulted in the creation of educational institutions dedicated to the teaching of agriculture and mechanics (Boone, 1989). Later, in 1914 the land grant system was expanded to the provision of services through the Cooperative Extension Service.

Prior to the United States, Japan was the first country to establish a national policy of extension in 1893 (Rivera, 1991). In Canada, the 1867 British North America Act (BNA) stated that education was a provincial responsibility and since then each province has worked in the organization of their own agricultural extension services. The province of Ontario was the first to establish a Department of Agriculture in 1888, following the creation of the Ontario School of Agriculture and Experimental Station in Guelph, in 1874. However it was not until 1906 that the first Agricultural Representatives were hired to work with the farming community. The remaining provinces organized their Departments or Ministries of Agriculture and extension services during the early 1900s (Blackburn & Vist, 1984). Except for the most industrialized countries, agricultural extension services did not become formally organized until the 1950s, following the end of World War II.
An Historical Overview

In British Columbia, until the beginning of World War I, adult education programs were carried out through non-government institutions, churches, unions, community and voluntary organizations (Selman, 1988). In the agricultural sector, prior to the British Columbia Department of Agriculture (BCDA) taking an active role in the delivery of extension services around 1909, Farmers' and Women's institutes played an important role. Their activities were oriented towards the improvement of agricultural production but included also an important component aimed at improving the quality of life in rural communities. The dual orientation of their efforts reflects the growing importance of agriculture as an economic activity in the province and the need to bring to rural areas some of the services existing in urban centers.

The period between World War I and 1950 can be described as a time when the activities of the BCDA grew along with the importance of agriculture as a provincial economic activity. The growth of the agricultural sector required that information on new technological developments and on investment opportunities be transferred to the farming community. "Since the early 40's particularly, technological advances and mechanization have revolutionized agriculture" (BCDA, 1959, p.19).

This is a period when extension programs were structured around a mix of technocratic and community-oriented approaches to development. The services, although mainly directed towards technology transfer and improving management skills to increase production (i.e., were growth oriented), continued to provide services that supported the strengthening of local communities, family farms, and farming as a way of life. In 1959, Newton P. Steacy, Minister of Agriculture, submitted a brief to the Special Committee of the Senate on Land Use in Canada, addressing B.C. concerns about the problems faced by small full-time farmers who earn an "inadequate income ... that imposes an extremely low
standard of living" (BCDA, 1959, p. 40). The report later suggested that what was needed to improve the situation of this group of farmers were educational programs related to record keeping and farm management.

BCDA continued during the 1970s to base its agricultural policy on the concepts of development as growth and modernization, striving for increases in production for self-sufficiency of food products. It also stressed cost-of-production controls and supply management through Marketing Boards. The three ARDA Agreements signed by Canada and British Columbia between 1963 and 1977 played an important role in this development process. "[The] total number of projects approved since the ARDA programme was launched here in 1963 [was 147], involving a total expenditure of close to $30,000,000" (BCDA, 1970, p. 22).

In the early 1970s, official BCDA documents began to include statements about the need to preserve natural resources and the environment. In 1973, the notion of resource preservation resulted in the establishment of the B.C. Land Commission and the Agriculture Land Reserve, along with a series of programs destined to help farmers in the modernization and expansion of their farms. These programs included the Agriculture Land Development Act (ALDA), the Farm Income Assurance Program (FIAP), and the Demonstration of Agricultural Technology and Economics (DATE).

Toward the end of the 1970s the B.C. Ministry of Agriculture (BCMA) continued to emphasize the policy of food self-sufficiency, working with farmers to increase agricultural production. In 1979 the area cultivated grew to 2.0 million acres, a

18 The following two ARDA agreements, 1969/1973 and 1973/1977, were also signed for funding similar to the one in 1963. In the 1973/77 agreement financing was provided for rural electrification and irrigation projects on First Nations reserves in British Columbia. The first ARDSA program for the period of 1977/1983, funded projects related to the development of agricultural production infra-structure (irrigation, electrification and flood protection).

19 In 1976 the B.C. Department of Agriculture became a ministry.
5% increase over the area estimated in 1978. The protection of the environment also continued to be an important aspect of the BCMA agricultural development policy. S.B. Peterson, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, wrote in the 1979 BCMA Annual Report: "As public concern grew over the need to protect the environment, Ministry programs continued to be developed to reflect these concerns" (BCMA, no date, p.5). A year earlier, the 1978 BCMA Annual Report indicated that research, planning, training and market promotion aimed at identifying new opportunities for B.C. agriculture were becoming new areas of concern. This expression of interest can be regarded as the signal for the initiation of the trend on market-demand oriented extension that will dominate the work of the BCMA for the next two decades.

The report of the British Columbia Legislative Assembly Selected Standing Committee on Agriculture (1979) on the Extension services offered to farmers in British Columbia indicated that U.S. county agents (who in their view had similar activities to those of the B.C. District Agriculturalist or DA) expended nearly 50 per cent of their time in youth (4-H) activities, programs to improve family living and other community development activities (p. 12). Although the BNA assigns responsibility for agricultural extension services to the provincial governments and for research and development mainly to the federal government, Agriculture Canada was involved in the early 1970s in extension activities through Canfarm (a management/accounting service offered to farmers across Canada), and the Small Farm Development Program (SFDP), that was established in 1973. A report prepared for the SFDP in British Columbia (Hill, Palacios & Andison, 1976) indicates that the federal and provincial governments were during those years not only preoccupied with increasing production and productivity (efficient resource use), but also with the social welfare of the farming community. The SFDP was concerned with helping a substantial number of part-time and small farmers improve their incomes (those
falling below a certain poverty level defined in the program), and when that was not possible, helping them to leave farming.20

During the 1970s, the BCDA's main preoccupation continue to be centered on production levels, costs of production and supply-management schemes that would provide agricultural producers with what was considered an adequate level of income. "Extension personnel ... continued this year to carry out a wide range of activities aimed at the promotion of sound farming practices. These included a continuing emphasis ... in such areas as farm management and live-stock and field-crops production, in addition to the long-standing association with 4-H Club work in the province" (BCDA, 1971, pp. 17-18).

In 1973, the election of a New Democratic government brought new policies oriented towards the preservation of the agricultural land base. David D. Stupich, then Minister of Agriculture, wrote: "There are those among us who tend to assume that British Columbia is a land of boundless resources to be freely exploited under the guise of "progress. ... [Today] we know that is patently untrue" (BCDA, 1973, p.2). This new policy orientation resulted in the establishment of the B.C. Land Commission and the Agricultural Land Reserve. By the late 1970s there was an increased public concern about the preservation of the natural environment that prompted the BCMA to initiate programs based on biological pest controls that tended to lessen the use of chemicals. Extension services continue to be provided mainly through on-farm personal advice to individual farmers. The 1979 BCMA Annual Report indicated that "[advice] was provided to more than 3,500 individual producers. About 20,000 farmers were counselled in the branch's district offices" (BCMA, no date, p.50).

20 In 1974, under the Small Farm Development Program agreement, Agriculture Canada seconded five staff members to the British Columbia Department of Agriculture to provide services to an estimated 2,000 to 4,000 B.C. small and emerging commercial farmers (approximately 10 to 20 per cent of the total).
In 1980, the Ministry of Agriculture underwent a reorganization and expanded its mandate to include the food processing sector. The Ministry was now to be known as Ministry of Agriculture and Food (BCMAF), incorporating into its mandate the provision of services to the food processing sector. In spite of the changes in mandate and structure the BCMAF extension services continue to be "production" driven. Five new regional extension services were created that planned and organized their work around a commodity or commodity group (Blabckburn & Vist, 1984; Sork et al., 1991), with the participation of provincial specialists and local District Agriculturalists and Horticulturalists.

By 1982, the BCMAF started to move away from supporting agriculture as a "way of life" towards emphasizing the commercial aspects of the sector. The pressure to "industrialize" agriculture, taking advantage of economies of scale and new technologies, translated into the "need" to make agricultural production more sensitive to market demands. This change in the agricultural development policy orientation resulted in a gradual change in the direction of extension programs. The role of the extension agent - a personal agricultural advisor to individual farmers in matters related to physical output - shifted to business expert, stressing the organizational and financial management aspects of the enterprise. "Economic and marketing services [will] receive strong emphasis to ensure the exploration of new export market opportunities" (BCMAF, 1982, Foreword).

The process of changing the Ministry's program objectives that started in 1982, continued during this decade. "Emphasis was shifted from maintaining existing agri-food production, to assisting the industry to improve competitiveness, ... to establish an aggressive marketing program" (BCMA, 1987, p. 4) ... and "to become more competitive in the world marketplace" (BCMA, 1987, p.14).

Extension programs have since been restructured and moved away from the concept of development as growth where the emphasis was on the technical aspects of
increasing physical output (increased yields), to the consolidation of the ideology of development as modernization. Advanced technologies, such as biotechnologies and information management, are portrayed as the embodiment of efficiency and profits, and as such have become symbols used to justify a market-oriented strategy. Following this overall approach the Ministry's Extension services concentrated on servicing the most "competitive" and technologically advanced sectors of B.C. agriculture: the flower and vegetable greenhouse "industry"; dairy and poultry; ginseng, game farms (bison, deer, ostriches), and similar exceptional enterprises. In its 1987-88 Annual Report the BCMA indicated that its main concern was to encourage "the aggressive development of new markets, products, and processes; a total 'food system approach'; enhancing competitiveness through effective technology transfer; and aggressively pursuing new opportunities such as aquaculture, game farming and specialty crops/livestock" (BCMA, 1989a, p. 4). In the meantime more "traditional" small and medium size farmers (i.e. beef ranching and hay) received less and less attention.

The Evolution of BCMA Extension Programs: From Production Levels to Market Demand

Over the years, the extension services of the BCMA have operated within a modernization development perspective, characterized by an initial emphasis on increasing levels of output within a technocratic approach to development. "Since the inception of the first British Columbia Department of Agriculture Act in 1894, activities have centred on developing farms to improve yields and quality" (BCMAF, 1982, Foreword). It can be said that the British Columbia extension services have generally followed the U.S. model of Cooperative Extension, where the extension agents served not only as technical advisors, but also participated in other community activities such as youth development clubs (4-H program) and home economics. The local extension agent was the point of
entry into the extension system, and was usually regarded as a member of the local community.

In regions where agricultural production is still extensive, the role of the local extension agent has not substantially changed. However, in areas where agricultural production has become capital intensive a different situation prevails. Where farmers use high technologies and their earnings have been integrated into global markets the role of the local agent has become more like that of a "sales agent" than an educator. Although the objective of extension services might have changed from its emphasis on growth to an emphasis on markets (from supply-driven to demand-driven extension), the overall philosophical foundation - modernization - remains unchanged. Even when modernization has been challenged by environmentalists and public concerns about healthy products, the response has been to accommodate these concerns within the technocratic approach to development. The BCMAF extension service has since the early 1980s incorporated in its extension program certain aspects that Pepper (1993) has called technocentric environmentalism. These are actions intended to correct problems created by intensive agricultural practices needed to respond to market demands (i.e., waste management, water management, biological controls) rather than actions designed to deal with the actual causes of the problem.

As a result of the interactions among the different social forces intervening in the agricultural production process the nature of the BCMAF extension services is changing. The commodification of new production and management technologies, accessible predominantly to the large "industrial" agricultural complexes, and the most technically advanced sectors of agriculture, challenges public agricultural extension to define its role.

One of the themes pervading ... models of Extension is the value of rural or agricultural life. In cases ... in which the national ethos glorifies the industrialized city to the disparagement of the countryside, Extension has little impact (Boone, 1989, p.6).
From the perspective of technocratic modernization, within a neo-conservative political and economic system, market forces are the mechanism that socially allocate productive resources and wealth. From the perspective of a liberal welfare state, eco-socialist and eco-anarchist policies, the extension system must be responsive to the concerns raised not only by market forces but also by environmentalists, consumers groups, small and medium size commercial producers, part-time farmers, and First Nations farmers, and non Euro-Canadian producers; all of whom demand access to information.

**One Hundred Years of Colonialism**

The years covered in this historical summary can be characterized as an era where colonial domination, by both England and Canada, was fundamentally oriented towards achieving total assimilation of First Nations living in British Columbia. The Indian Act and its subsequent amendments promoted "Christianity, education, and agriculture. - the holy trinity of British colonial policy on aborigines" (Fisher, 1977, p. 68) in their efforts to reach their objective. After First Nations acquired the cultural values and norms of the Euro-Canadian society it was expected that they would disappear as distinct groups within Canada. Agricultural activities, with the support of religious indoctrination and education, were expected to play an important role in the dual process of freeing land for Euro-Canadian businesses and the transition between a nomadic life to a more "civilized" style of living in permanent settlements. To facilitate the process of acculturation, Canada, through different pieces of legislation, attempted to destroy First Nations traditional social and cultural norms. These norms, being based on principles of communal life and leadership founded "on respect rather than authority" (Fisher, 1977, p. 173) were a hindrance for a new economic system based on individual rights and competition.
Also important, although apparently not directly related to agricultural activities, is the issue of political rights. When First Nations, at the turn of the century, organized to protest the discriminatory policies of land pre-emption and the lack of a definite settlement to the land question, legislation was enacted to criminalize their right of association and expression. Moreover, First Nations peoples in spite of being "invited" to join Canadian society were denied the right to elect and be elected for public office until 1949 in British Columbia and 1960 in Canada (Hawthorn, 1966). Overall, the policies of assimilation failed to accomplish their objectives and the government of Canada decided to try a new approach with the enactment of the new Indian Act of 1951.

The study and analysis of the relationships between Canada and First Nations institutions, the influence of Euro-Canadian settlers in shaping provincial land ownership policies (pre-emption and water and range rights), the impact of the personal views of Governors and civil servants on shaping the colonization process among other factors requires, as stated in Chapter One, an understanding of three central themes: hegemony, development, and extension. Accordingly, these themes are the object of the discussion presented in Chapter Three.
CHAPTER 3
HEGEMONY, DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENSION

The people who get to tell their stories will rule the world. (Hopi elder woman in Chambers, 1992, p.2)

This chapter describes the theoretical approach utilized to understand the complex socio-political interactions that characterize the relationships between First Nations farmers and non-aboriginal communities in British Columbia. The focal point in this process is to conceptualize the above relationships within the boundaries of propositions nested in theories of development, political science, sociology and education, using the constructs of hegemony, development, and extension as central elements in the analysis. This chapter also introduces different agricultural extension approaches and models, and discusses the foundations of various development perspectives that are used to characterize the different development and extension programs.

Hegemony as Political and Cultural Leadership

The concept of hegemony has been utilized in politics with many different meanings, although the most common relates to political leadership. In orthodox Marxism, hegemony is used to signify control over the state apparatus. It conveys the idea of the coercive power of the state that is used by a certain class (the bourgeoisie in the capitalist mode of production and the proletariat in the socialist mode of production) to impose its own economic interests over other sectors of the national population through the ownership and control of the means of production.

In the Gramscian conception of hegemony its meaning is expanded to include not only political but also cultural and ethical leadership (Bobbio, 1988). In Gramsci’s political system hegemony is achieved when a class or sector within civil society is able to
agglutinate around its position the majority of the population. In this latter case the primary moment of the socio-historical process resides in the superstructure of society, and is guided by those able to provide cultural leadership.

It is the active subject of history who fulfils the task of recognizing and of pursuing an end and in so doing operates within the superstructural phase, using the base itself as an instrument. Therefore the base is no longer the subordinating moment of history, but becomes the subordinate one. (Bobbio, 1988, p.87)

Gramsci's propositions about the meaning of hegemony as cultural and political leadership help to focus the analysis on the importance of the generation of discursive formations. Day to day interactions in society create bodies of concepts and themes that can be described as discursive formations when they display some form of regularity (Barrett, 1991). They are created not only through everyday interactions among "regular people" but also in the different scientific and technical disciplines by academics and technocrats, a majority of whom are (or have become) the organic intellectuals of the hegemonic classes. Everyday and scientific discursive formations eventually become part of people's daily experiences that are illuminated by traditional popular conceptions or common-sense (Gramsci, 1971). In Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992) words they also become elements in people's spontaneous (sub-conscious) opinions and beliefs (or Doxa). Through this mechanism, discursive formations eventually become part of the symbolic capital of society influencing the day to day social happenings, and in the process producing new discursive formations. "The discourse of sociology and the concepts, theories, and findings of the other social sciences continually 'circulate in and

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21 Bourdieu (1994) defines symbolic capital as "any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and recognize it, to give it value. (For example, the concept of honor in Mediterranean societies is a typical form of symbolic capital which exists only through repute)" (p. 8).
out' of what they are about. In so doing they reflexively restructure the subject matter' (Giddens, 1990, p.43).

Understanding how this process evolves, and how discursive formations become part of everyday life provides an insight into the social relationships between the creation of knowledge and the exercise of power. Given the capacity of discursive formations to create and recreate social ideological fields, discourse can be utilized to control and normalize people and social processes. According to Gramsci the evolution of language and the circulation of discursive formations is closely related to the hegemonic relations between classes, to the role of intellectuals, and to the formation of a national cultural identity. Discursive formations and the language that they are part of are not created mechanically. New discursive formations are the result of the evolution of social processes. They provide an insight into how power is exercised by the state and the hegemonic groups. "The essence of language is not to be found in the aesthetic creation of individuals but in a historical dimension bound to a determined social context" (Mansfield, 1984, p. 121).

The persistence of great inequalities (both nationally and internationally) in the distribution of the new wealth created after the industrial revolution required a convincing explanation that was credible to the national-popular masses. Every day language required new concepts (words) to explain the persistence of "lack of development". Concepts such as "modernization", "third world", "ethnic minorities", "deviants", and so on were "invented" (Escobar, 1987) and entered the realm of everyday language "in terms of symbolic domination, [where] resistance is more difficult, since it is something you absorb like air, ... it is everywhere and nowhere, and to escape from that is very difficult" (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, p. 115). Through uncritically entering the realm of 'common sense knowledge' these concepts helped to create the impression among the
popular masses that the problem of lack of development was not rooted in structural economic causes but in the resistance of groups (or countries) to becoming modern.

In today's modern societies the creation and evolution of discursive formations plays an ever increasing and important role in the dissemination of ideas that will eventually determine the consolidation of a new historical bloc. It is in this context that the use of language needs to be analyzed to make it more transparent and to help one to fully understand how the relationships between the state and civil society are formed. In this study, the analysis of the discourse formations used in documents, interviews, and policy statements produced by government officials and by First Nations people helps one to understand - keeping in mind the concept of hegemony - the kind of power relationships that dominate the interactions among these groups. Given the capacity of discourse formation and evolution to create and recreate social ideological fields, discourse can be utilized to control and normalize people and social processes. It is in this context that the analysis of the meanings attributed to the concept of development becomes important to understanding the role it has played in the generation of economic development and extension programs "offered" to First Nations farmers.

**An Historical Perspective of Development**

After the industrial revolution the United Kingdom became the world imperialistic-capitalist industrial power. Although the expansion of its internal market was the basis for the initial accumulation of wealth, it was during the mercantilist era that England, through the control of the international seas and the imposition of free international trade policies, achieved a level of capital accumulation that provided the basis for the first industrial revolution during the 18th century (Brookfield, 1975). England's economic expansion can be described as a special case of spontaneous growth that resulted from a unique combination of factors: the accumulation of capital from the mercantilist years, her
endowment with the type of raw materials needed for the technologies of the 18th and 19th centuries and, the appearance of a merchant class that could voice their socioeconomic interests through a parliamentary system (Jaguaribe, 1968). This type of economic growth (based on laissez-faire economics), that was generated by the confluence of the unique conditions prevalent in British society at that time is construed by liberal economists as ahistorical, non-normative and culturally neutral. Consequently, it is suggested as a process that could be replicated everywhere with the same expected results (Rostow, 1960).

In continental Europe during the 19th century Germany and France followed a pattern of economic development different from that of England. Although they operated according to liberal capitalist principles, faced with expanding British control of international trade, they tried to overcome their deficiencies through policies of state intervention (Jaguaribe, 1968). In eastern Europe Russia, although for different reasons, also followed the industrialization path at the beginning of the 20th century. Industrialization, Lenin argued was essential to the formation of a revolutionary industrial proletariat that would at the same time expand the internal market. Russia's economic growth was based upon an industrialization process largely funded by the agricultural sector (Kitching, 1989).

The period following the Second World War saw the consolidation of the United States as the hegemonic state in the international division of labor. Its expanding economy needed new markets and cheap raw materials to feed the growing industrial capacity of its emerging international business concerns. Based on its need for economic expansion the United States promoted the development of the primary resource sector in the less industrialized regions of the world.

By the late 1970s the expanding world capitalist economic system was entering a new phase characterized by the realization that human activities had the potential to
radically alter the planet's ecological balances, threatening "the lives of many species upon it, including the human species" (World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 1986, p. 2). As stated in the WCED's (1986) report, Our Common Future, there was "a growing realization in national governments and multilateral institutions that it [was] impossible to separate economic development issues from environmental issues" (p. 2), and from issues related to the rights of Indigenous Peoples. The growing international pressure exercised by environmentalists on the detrimental effects of modernization development projects on the livelihood of Indigenous Peoples and the environment (Redclift, 1987) led the World Bank in 1982 to issue a policy statement recognizing that in Bank-financed projects

... experience has shown that, unless special measures are adopted, tribal people are more likely to be harmed than helped by development projects that are intended for beneficiaries other than themselves. Therefore, whenever tribal peoples may be affected, the design of projects should include measures or components necessary to safeguard their interests, and, whenever feasible, to enhance their well being. (cited in Davis, 1994, p. 75, emphasis in text)

Although this World Bank policy direction acknowledged for the first time the potential damage that so-called development projects could have on the well-being of indigenous populations, it did not escape the paternalistic views previously advocated in the International Labour Organization Convention 107 of the 1950s that favored the protection of Indigenous Peoples until they could became fully integrated into society (Davis, 1994). Recently, in 1991, the World Bank issued a revised policy direction on Indigenous Peoples. This new policy following current trends on the implementation of development models, took into consideration the rights of local populations after "the failure of traditional top down or statist approaches to economic development and poverty alleviation" (Davis, 1994, p. 82). Bank critics, however, maintain that the bank only paid attention to environmental studies when they involved little cost while the "primary
consideration governing World Bank actions was the need to increase foreign exchange in developing countries; hence the support given to ranching and export crops in the projects the bank supported" (Redclift, 1987, p.146). Furthermore, the bank has not abandoned its fundamental modernization approach based on the advocacy of free markets and international trade. According to Elson (1994), World Bank development policies follow three general principles. First, that markets can generate sufficient employment opportunities to alleviate poverty; second, that labour and people are separable and labour is "not ... a human activity but ... an alienable asset" (p. 63); and third, development planning and implementation are an apolitical process where "people are motivated [only] in terms of immediate material interest" (p. 63).

Since the Bretton Woods Conference that provided the basis for the creation of the World Bank, Canada has actively participated in international aid programs through bilateral and multilateral agreements. Overall, Canada has favored the latter because its membership in several regional development banks has given it an effective instrument to promote among less industrialized countries the principles of a market economy. Furthermore, Canada's participation in these agreements gives a competitive advantage to Canadian companies that are awarded contracts by those organizations. "In recent years the amount paid into MDBs [Multilateral Development Banks] by the Canadian government has been less than the amount spent by MDBs on Canadian goods and services" (Therien & Robert, 1993, p. 132, emphasis added). It follows that the

22 For a critical analysis of the ecological limits of capitalism and free-market economies, see M. O'Connor (1994).

23 Although Canada has been a strong supporter of "foreign aid" policies that link structural adjustments (i.e., budgetary restrains and austerity measures) in less industrialized countries to the allocation of development funds, it has also acknowledged that they have had negative effects on the poorest social classes in those countries. "Canada at the World Bank has contributed to a refinement of the evaluation of the impact of structural adjustment on Third World government social spending" (Therien and Robert, 1993, p. 123). Canadian aid policies have also been linked to issues of women and development and human rights.
structures of the international aid programs that support development programs in less-industrialized countries and regions are mainly subject to the interests of the industrialized nations (Therien & Robert, 1993; J. O'Connor, 1994).

The Meanings of Development

As previously discussed, different people in different epochs have attributed to the concept of development various meanings. The analysis of these meanings helps us to understand how the ideological foundations of this concept influence the design and implementation of economic development and extension programs. In everyday language, the "common-sense" meaning of "development" conveys the idea of progress (understood as progressive positive change). In the realm of the natural sciences it is used in its broader meaning to indicate transformation (a process) that can take either the form of "progression" (i.e., from an embryo to a grown human being) or "regression", as would be the case of a crippling disease. As a concept development has helped to characterize the gradual (always positive) progression from the lower steps of a hierarchy to its higher levels.

In the domain of economic development, rural, traditional or "underdeveloped" societies were to achieve industrialization (progress) by following the steps previously undertaken by the industrial nations (Larrain, 1989). When "development" ideas were unsuccessful in producing the desired growth effects and failed to explain the persistence of "underdeveloped" societies the concept of "modernization" was brought into the discourse.

The concept of Modernization has to be distinguished from that of Modernity and Modernism. Modernity can be associated with three different, although related, aspects of the same theme: with the philosophical project that is the continuation of the Enlightenment, with the historical period after the Renaissance characterized by the advent
of "technological progress" and "development" (i.e. modernization), and with the aesthetic project of modernism (Harker, 1993; Osborne, 1992).^24

In this study references are made to the philosophical project of modernity as the rational foundation for modernization, that represents modernity's economic and social expression. In this context modernization is understood as the application of the principles of "objective scientific" rationality and "technology", within the context of a market economy, to resolve the problems of "lack of development" prevalent in less industrialized areas in the world. According to modernization theory, the solution to lack of development is to be found, not only in more growth, which by definition corresponds to progress (Escobar, 1987), but also in the restructuring of the social and economic institutions of the country or region. These are the conditions necessary to accommodate the advent of the new modern era. Countries in the less industrialized world need to "grow" and become "modern."

Among socialist countries in Eastern Europe the idea of modernization was also adopted, although within a different model of economic development. After the Russian Revolution, the planning process initiated through the Five Year Plans was oriented towards the industrialization of the country as the initial step towards providing the general population with a better quality of life. The ideas of modern development, embedded in the pursuit of an always increasing material well-being, were also present in the countries belonging to the socialist bloc.

The main difference between modernization in the socialist and capitalist systems is that in the former a planned economic system was adopted as an alternative to the supposed neutrality of the market to allocate wealth and resources in society.

^24 For a complete discussion on the concepts of Modernity, Modernism and Modernization see Habermas (1985/1987) and Giddens (1990).
"Industrialism encompasses the 'state capitalism' of communist nations as well as the largely privately-controlled market capitalism of Western nations, both of which [rest] upon the ideologies of growth and technological optimism" (Eckersley, 1992, p. 23). In spite of their ontological differences, both systems are based on a positivistic epistemology and a set of teleological, universal principles and laws that postulate that the ultimate goal of humans beings is the conquest of the objective world around them to achieve an ever increasing material well-being. Modernization, under capitalism or state socialism, is an anthropocentric undertaking, centered on the contradiction between capital and labor.

Sociologically, a modernization perspective on development can be connected to a structuralist point of view that proclaims the predominance of social structures over individual actions in the determination of the social world. Hence, from the point of view of the formulation of development policies, state socialist and capitalist modernization are very similar. Their differences arise only when social, economic and political goals are brought to bear. While state socialist modernization is founded on classical Marxism and has as its political expression a form of authoritarian socialism (one party state) based on a planned economic system, capitalist modernization is inspired by a

25 Capitalism and state socialism are both based on a transcendental ontology, although they differ with respect to the nature of the referent chosen. State socialism is founded in an objective ontological category where existence is understood as being constructed with reference to a given independent external physical world (i.e. materialism as based on Marxist socialism). In capitalism, existence is understood as being constructed with reference to some a priori knowledge that exists in the mind of the observer independent of any sense experience (i.e. idealism as the basis of Judeo-Christian capitalism). For an interesting deliberation on the subject of the constitution of reality see Maturana (1992).

26 Capitalist modernization (best reflected in the structural functionalism paradigm) propounds that social structures and systems operate as self-regulating entities, always moving to equilibrium. This homeostatic social condition that resembles the mechanism that keeps the human body functioning in almost perfect equilibrium, implies favoring the maintenance of the current social structures prevalent in a class society, which will eventually evolve through a process of social evolution. Parsons' work is one of the most prominent exponents of this sociological paradigm (Ritzer, 1991). The state socialist version of modernization is nested within the radical structuralist paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), and although it acknowledges to a certain extent the capacity of the human agent to construct his/her own history, its main thrust is on the social structures that dominate the social processes.
neo-conservative ideology that has as its practical expression a form of liberal democracy (i.e. representative democracy) and a market-driven, profit-maximizing economic system.

The ideas of development and modernization have since been incorporated into different scientific discourses. Western social science discourse has used modernization to explain, from a sociological perspective, the creation of increasingly complex social structures (Parsons, 1951), and from an economic point of view to equate modern development with ongoing material growth (Rostow, 1960). They have also been used in education to explain individual human transformation in the realm of cognition (Gagné, 1968 and Perry, 1988), in the sphere of ethics to explain moral growth (Kohlberg, 1963), and in the field of social psychology to explain affective or emotional progression (Erikson, 1959). The development and modernization constructs, as integral components of the Western philosophical discourse of modernity, provide the rational base for advocating the necessity to "progress" from "underdeveloped savage" to "enlightened modern being".

Theories of Development

The Dominant Paradigm: Growth and Modernization

The impressive advances of productive forces achieved by industry and technologies as a result of the accumulation of capital after the industrial revolution in England, led economists to conceptualize development "as progress." Consequently, from the beginning of the 18th century to the present, Western industrialized countries have taken for granted the need for a continuous capitalist development (Larrain, 1989), mainly understood as material progress.
Development as Economic Growth and Material Progress

Development theories centered upon economic growth dominated Western international "aid" policies through the 1960s. From then on international "aid" and national, regional or sector-specific development programs that emphasized "progress" through scientific rationality and technology were implemented to promote the expansion of those areas that had lagged behind.

Following the logic of "development" as sustained economic growth, the so-called aid programs were aimed at promoting the continuous industrialization and urbanization of society, and the restructuring of the social and economic institutions of the country. "Progress" was something to be measured in terms of its contribution to material well-being and profit maximization at the microeconomic level, and to maximization of the Gross National Product (GNP) at the macroeconomic level.

Economists argued that through the injection of capital and technologies less industrialized regions would "progress" from their current state of "backwardness" to become "developed" nations similar to those of the Western "advanced" democracies. Rostow's (1960) book, The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-communist Manifesto, was very influential with the new generation of North American economists. Working from an North American perspective that overlooked the particularities of the histories of different regions and nations in the world, Rostow postulated that all societies follow a similar path to "development" and, therefore, they can be historically placed along a path that starts with the "traditional society" and progresses to maturity in the form of a full fledged "modern developed" industrial capitalistic society of mass consumption.

According to Rostow the United States of America was, in the 1960s, the only country that had "reached the end of this road" (Brookfield, 1975, p.37).

More recently, Fukuyama (1992) has expanded Rostow's original thesis and claims that the world has now reached a stage in its development that cannot be surpassed and
therefore humanity has reached the "end of history". Fukuyama, like many others before him, links the idea of development as progress to the existence of a liberal democratic political system and a free market economic system as the guarantors of the concretization of the human "innate" desire for personal success. In Fukuyama's argumentation there is no room for particularism or any form of cultural relativism (Halliday, 1992). Fukuyama's thesis is in marked contrast to the current world division of labour that acknowledges the increasing disparity among industrialized and less industrialized countries and between different regions and social groups within the national boundaries of many so-called developed nation-states.

The consolidation of capitalist expansion after the Second World War manifested itself in increased wealth in the northern industrialized countries that sharply contrasted with increasing poverty in the southern regions. The awareness of the increasing disparity between the benefits of development that accrued to north and south forced north-Western scholars, administrators and international "technocrats" to search for a new "logical" explanation.

**Development as Modernization**

Western economic sciences found the answer to the unequal growth between the northern and southern regions in the concept of "modernization." Development was reconceptualized as "modernization" by expanding its original meaning through a process called 'juxtaposed associations' (Bowers, 1993). This consists of the application of concepts from one field of knowledge in a different context to permit the expansion of the previous meaning. "Metaphors always have an ideological basis that gives them their special symbolic power to expand meaning. ... Metaphors then can be switched without seeming to involve contradictions or the misuse of image or framework" (Bowers, 1993, p.21). By borrowing the construct of "modern" from philosophy, history and the arts,
and introducing it into the discourse of economics, sociology and political science, it became possible for the industrial powers of the Western world to provide a "rational" justification for the existence of what they labeled "non-modern third world countries" and "backwards" communities and regions. The modern/non-modern dichotomy allowed technocrats and politicians in Western industrialized countries to define "other" countries, regions and ethnic groups as deficient in terms of what they (self-named "developed" nations) regarded as the right standards. "The argument then is not simply that our descriptions are evaluative judgments, but the implicit standard by which such judgments are made is the outcome of power and serves to maintain that power" (Sampson, 1993, p. 1219).

The incorporation of the concept of "modernization" into the discourse of development (i.e. the invention of modernization) was a necessary condition for the continuous expansion of the world capitalist system. The success of the Marshall Plan in post-war Europe encouraged international development agencies to send their experts to the "Third World" to study the causes of their "problems" and to formulate comprehensive development plans based on two basic forces: financial capital and technologies. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development sent its first economic "mission" of this kind, composed of 14 "experts", to Colombia in 1949. Its purpose was to study the whole country's economic systems, institutions and relationships in order to formulate an extensive development plan (Escobar, 1987). The selection of the word "mission" to name the group of "experts" from the International Bank can be interpreted as a regression into religious discourse. The old religious "missions" of priests sent to convert the indigenous population of the "Third World" into Western Christianity were being replaced by missions of "experts", this time working to convert the poor countries into developed ones through Western modernization.
In Canada, during the 1970s and 1980s, the developed/underdeveloped (North/South) debate was paralleled by studies and propositions that searched for reasons to explain the differential rate of economic development existing between central Canada and the regions (Matthews, 1983). Another area of concern was economic development in First Nations reserves, in all regions of Canada. They were showing a very slow rate of development compared with the rest of the Canadian economy. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), during that period, decided to adopt an economic development policy of "induced development" or government intervention (Jaguaribe, 1968) to confront this problem. Through the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF) it stimulated the creation of employment and business opportunities for First Nations people (Ponting & Gibbins, 1980). However, as discussed earlier, these policies did not accomplish the central objective of "modernizing" the reserve system in British Columbia (and elsewhere in Canada). Consequently, it seems appropriate to search for the possible causes of their failure, outside the developmental approach (in progressive stages) theorized by Rostow (1960).

**Other Theories of Development: Dependency and Neo-populism**

Critical scholars from North America, Europe, and especially from Latin America and Africa challenged the validity of modernization as the "scientific" and "objective" solution to the problems of lack of development. They tried to explain the gap between rich and poor countries based on the analysis of macro (international) and micro (national/internal) relationships, outside the growth/modernization paradigm. In like manner, the failure of Canadian government policies to "modernize" the reserve system in British Columbia (and elsewhere in Canada) can be analyzed using a similar theoretical framework.
A different, although complementary perspective to the study of unequal development is offered by neo-populist propositions. They suggest that development understood as growth, profit maximization, and modernization is a Western concept that many local communities (some First Nations among them) reject. These communities, according to neo-populist theorists, prefer to follow their cultural traditions, choosing to stay outside the market system.

**Dependency and Underdevelopment**

At the macroeconomic level the concepts of dependency, underdevelopment, and unequal exchange provide an alternative theoretical approach to explaining the unequal rates of growth and modernization existing between countries and regions. Frank’s (1970) dependency theory postulated that less-industrialized regions of the world become dependent for their economic activities on the financial resources, the provision of capital goods, and the more expensive consumer goods from the industrialized American and European metropolises. Meanwhile, agriculture and local manufacturing industries concentrate on the intensive monocultivation of cash crops and on the production of low value-added consumer goods, for the international market. So far the result of these practices has been a net flow of capital from the less-industrialized world to the industrialized countries (Galeano, 1980; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1990). Underdeveloped countries have thus greatly contributed to the development of the central metropolises through the transfer of their surpluses.

Wallerstein’s (1974) world system theory expanded Frank’s ideas of dependency emphasizing that the central characteristics defining a mode of production were not the production relations but their integration to the markets and the generation of profits. "If slave production is oriented to the market in order to make a profit, then it becomes a form of capitalism" (Larrain, 1989, p. 122). In Wallerstein’s theoretical approach, this
international framework of analysis is replicated at the national level and utilized as a frame of reference to account for the disparities in the quality of life prevalent among different regions, communities and ethnic groups within a country. Based on such a theoretical approach, Frideres (1993) postulated that "the Indian reserve [is] an internal colony that is exploited by the dominant group in Canada. Canadians are seen as the colonizing people, while Natives are considered the colonized people" (p. 3).

Differences in development have also been explained based on what the Economic Council of Canada calls the staples approach. According to this interpretation, countries and regions prosper depending upon the availability of natural resources (furs, agricultural land, fisheries, minerals). However, the staples approach does not account for instances where poverty continue to persist despite the existence of plentiful natural resources (Matthews, 1983), as is the case of the Atlantic provinces in Canada, and most countries in Africa and Latin America.

Another way to approach modernization and development is to follow Cardoso and Faletto's (1979) thesis on associated-dependent development. These economists claim that differences in development patterns cannot be explained solely by dependency, unequal exchange or resistance concepts. The analysis needs to incorporate a search for understanding of how mechanisms that influence the internal social structures of society work, influence society's own development patterns, and are integrated into and influenced by the world capitalist system.

Cardoso and Falletto's (1979) critique of Frank and other dependency approaches presents a more comprehensive analysis of the causes of "underdevelopment". Their analysis stresses that the causes of lack of development in many countries and regions of the world (in the general sense of the term, including not only material growth but also social and gender equity and environmental considerations) can be explained only partially by the "dependency" of these countries resulting from the exploitation to which they have
been subjected by the world capitalist system. Lack of development results also from internal contradictions and specific characteristics prevailing in each country or region. The current state of development of the less-industrialized countries cannot be explained by a general theory of underdevelopment, but needs a more restricted analysis that takes into consideration the particular historical conditions that characterize each country, region, social or ethnic group.

In Canada, Innis (1930) used a staples perspective to explain economic development, especially with reference to the impact of the fur trade. However, in contrast to the Economic Council of Canada formulation, he incorporated into his analysis sociological, political and structural aspects. Innis was one of the first Canadian economists to explain regional discrepancies in growth through a combination of staples and dependency approaches that "consistently [distinguish] between the 'center' and the 'margin' in Canadian society" (Matthews, 1983, p. 74).

The work of Innis (1930), and Cardoso and Falleto (1979) warns researchers against reducing the explanation of the differences in regional economic growth to either "dependency" or the presence in a region of a particular type of natural resource, in a certain historical period. Their approaches could serve as the framework for analyzing differences in development patterns in Canada, specifically between various regions and sectors by incorporating the role of social classes, ethnic groups, and other social forces into the economic analysis.

Neopopulism and the peasantry

From a different perspective, neopopulist theories of development attribute resistance to modernization in rural communities to the non-capitalist character of the peasant economy (Harrison, 1979; Kitching, 1989). These communities, among them First Nations enclaves, have generally been linked to what is referred to in the literature as
"the rural way of life", "traditional" agricultural communities or peasant societies (Bodenstedt, 1990). The explanation for the "modern" existence of these societies in many regions of the world, and the persistence of a "rural way of life" mentality in industrialized countries can be found in theories that use economic relations and cultural values as a base for explanation. Peasants' actions, neo-populists posit, are driven by an economic rationale not guided by profit and capital accumulation but by local traditions and family consumption demands. Moreover, because of the absence of a wage system, small producers in the traditional enterprises of the agricultural sector are able to relax the need to earn the average rate of profit in the country's economy and remain outside the market. Chayanov (1986) in his book, Theory of Peasant Economy, developed an explanation to the persistence of peasant economies whose members refused to be transformed into petty producers within a market-oriented economy. The central argument in Chayanov's (1986) theory was that peasants would work for as long as it was necessary to reach the level of subsistence the local community regarded as acceptable. "For the peasant the central concern [was] not the extra output which he [obtained] from working another hour, but the total output which [gave] him and his family their minimum subsistence" (Kitching, 1989, p. 48).

Critics of Chayanov's theory point out that it fails to accommodate the case of peasant communities where scarcity of land is prevalent and family members are driven to engage in wage labour (Wilson, 1989). Moreover, peasant resistance theory does not recognize that the role of household members is not solely determined by internal forces, but is also dependent on external relations with other households and social groups. Given the theoretical limitations derived from the utilization of the household as the central element in the study of peasant formations, Friedmann (1980) suggested as a new unit of analysis the concept of "simple commodity production" which "identifies a class of combined labourers and property owners within a capitalist economy" (p. 162). The
persistence of agrarian communities not fully integrated into the capitalist market economy cannot be explained exclusively by cultural resistance arguments, especially in cases of limited availability of productive resources. The explanation needs the double specification of the unit of production (family farm, sharecropping, commercial farm) and the social formation in which the unit operates (i.e., the conditions that define the availability of productive resources, product markets, labour power, credit).

Commoditization is another concept that, in Friedmann's (1980) scheme, is needed to explain the persistence of non-capitalist (i.e., underdeveloped) units of production in many rural communities. She defines commoditization as the degree of dependency of the unit of production on market relations (of products and factors of production) over local, personal and community ties. "For the various forms of 'peasant' production to undergo commoditisation, changes must occur in the social formation leading to factor markets, in particular markets in labour power" (Friedmann, 1980, p. 176). Friedmann's modification of the neo-populist perspective brings into the analysis a dual view that incorporates elements pertaining to the local traditional economy and to the capitalist market forces.

McMichael and Buttel (1990) also criticize neo-populist explanations, disregarding them as unconvincing arguments. They assert that propositions maintaining that agriculture is a special sector where the laws of capitalist capital accumulation do not apply, might have been valid propositions "five decades or more ago [but] are no longer appropriate theoretical signposts" (pp. 96-97). From their perspective, the new issues confronted by agriculture are related to the expansion of biotechnologies, and "about agro-industrial complexes, the global division of labor in agricultural production and circulation, and their relationships with states and political processes" (p. 97).
Gender and Development

Until 1970 theories on development did not address women's contributions to the economy (Wasilewski, 1993). Although modernization and world-system theories have provided a theoretical framework for analyzing development issues on a global scale, they have generally overlooked gender and ethnicity as important micro-level analytical categories. Two recent studies on world poverty, one by the United Nations Development Program and the other by the World Bank (cited in Elson, 1995) indicated that women are over-represented among the world poor. Despite this fact, "the strategies recommended for poverty alleviation are not based on analysis that systematically takes into account gender relations and the way they are biased against women" (Elson, 1995, p. 59).

Development plans have generally overlooked that men and women, because of their traditional roles in society, have different "levels of control over resources, [and] therefore often have different needs" (Moser, 1993, p. 37). Furthermore, development projects have tended to "[ignore] women's agricultural, artisanal and domestic contributions to the peasant household economy" (Wilson, 1990, p. 26).

In Canada, the disruption of the local traditional economies created by the arrival of the first European immigrants and the colonization process that followed resulted in the displacement of women from their role in society. "The socioeconomic changes that have served to marginalize many aboriginal men have also wreaked havoc in the lives of aboriginal women" (Chiste, 1994, p. 25).

An important misconception about Native women and economic development is that the traditional role of Native women was narrowly confined to home activities which were apolitical and supportive. In fact, Native women in traditional societies held positions which were important in decision making and necessary to the survival of their people. (Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat, 1986, p. 2)
The insertion of the local traditional First Nations economies into the national and international market system has resulted in the incorporation of many men into "commodity production, [while] women have been confined to household production, [including] subsistence farming and the procurement, production, and sale of handicrafts" (Harris, 1990, p. 19). This is a phenomenon not confined to Canada's First Nations rural communities, but can be observed in the majority of rural societies (Redclift, 1987). In closing, it can be said that because government institutions working on development projects generally operate under the assumption that agricultural activities are performed mostly by men, women's concerns do not normally become part of data collected to define policies, hence contributing to the perpetuation of their marginalization.

From Theory to Practice

The development theories previously discussed provide a conceptual horizon by which to understand and characterize the agricultural development policy approaches found during the period being researched in this study. These policy approaches provide the focus for the analysis of the relationships that take place in civil and political societies and with the state, which in the end define the character of the education extension programs offered to First Nations farmers along with the technical and financial packages to "modernize" the reserves.

Development Perspectives and Approaches

The theories of development previously discussed provide a deductive macroeconomic and macrosociological interpretation of the possible causes of unequal rates of development existing among nations, regions, and communities. However, at the micro level, the analysis of how agricultural development policies and extension programs are structured requires a more detailed understanding of how they visualize two basic
relationships: the exchange between social agents and the physical environment (i.e. material reproduction of societies), and those relationships representing the transmission of culture (i.e. the symbolic reproduction of societies) (Fraser, 1989). The latter corresponds to the relationships among agents, and between agents and social structures, as defined by Giddens (Cohen, 1987). These relationships are the ones that determine the types of development policies that are implemented, and influence the distribution of power and wealth in society, and the responses to the ecological question. Consequently, the study of these relationships is considered central to understanding how different development policies and extension programs have been affected by the interactions between First Nations farmers and Euro-Canadians. Although the boundaries between different approaches to development are difficult to trace, a characterization of those most commonly described in the literature is presented because of its usefulness in guiding the analysis of the data.

Two main schools of thought are distinguished according to how the relationship between humans and nature is formulated: modernization, based on an anthropocentric vision, and holism, based on an ecocentric point of view. Moreover, within each development perspective different policy approaches can be identified. Technocentrism and eco-socialism are described as development policies inspired by modernization, while deep ecology, eco-anarchism and First Nations Holism encapsulate a holistic world-view.

This analysis stems from the premise that the essence of the agent/nature relationship shapes the economic base on which civil and political societies are founded (Gramsci, 1971), and in this sense it defines the social-cultural values upon which development is construed. The modernization perspective is based on an anthropocentric proposition that regards humans as having moral superiority in the world because of their capacity to think, to reflect and to communicate. On the other hand, holism is based on an ecocentric viewpoint that posits that "the world is an intrinsically dynamic,
interconnected web of relations in which there are no absolutely discrete entities and no absolute dividing lines between living and non-living, the animate and the inanimate, or the human and the nonhuman" (Eckersley, 1992, p. 49).

The analysis of the interactions between agents and social structures followed Giddens' view that agents and structures are always interacting, creating, and re-creating the social system (Giddens, 1984). Giddens theory of Structuration (Cohen, 1987) provided a theoretical framework for understanding the relationships between micro and macro perspectives and for sensitizing "social researchers to the fact that structure and agency are inextricably intertwined and that one cannot be considered without reference to the other" (Baber, 1991, p. 229).

The relationships between agents and structure are theorized from the standpoint of the agents' transformative capacity, that is their capacity to intervene in all circumstances (Cohen, 1987). From this perspective, the structures impose some limits on social agent actions, and at the same time there is not a certain future pre-determined by the social structures.

Consequently, the description of the relationships between humans and nature and between humans and social structures led to the conclusion that out of the five development policy approaches identified, two represent variations within the Western modernity tradition (civilization), and three are the result to an attempt to synthesize a new ecological cosmovision based on principles and values advanced by First Nations and the environmental movement.

A summary characterization of the five main development approaches is presented in the following section. Each development policy approach is described according to ontological, epistemological, sociological, economic and political dimensions that are regarded as important, not only because they allow the identification of common
characteristics and differences, but also because they help to clarify that, in some instances, apparently opposing development approaches have common foundational roots.

**Modernization: An Anthropocentric World View**

Although modernization is generally regarded as a distinct development world-view characterized by industrialism and technological progress, policy approaches founded on modernization can assume various forms as they are rendered concrete under diverse circumstances. In the context of this study two policy approaches founded on modernization are identified: technocentrism and eco-socialism. The following section describes both approaches.

**The Dominant Development Perspective: Technocentrism**

Technocentrism postulated on the idea of continuous growth regulated by market forces is today the dominant development paradigm. Although it admits that there are threats to the biosphere derived from human activities, it is confident that research and technological developments will eventually overcome them (Pepper, 1993). The rational base for technocentric development policies is provided by modernization theory that attributes the "problem" of lack of development in less industrialized areas and communities to their incapacity to adopt new technologies, and to their insistence on maintaining traditional ways of living. Through selectively describing certain groups as "abnormal" ("invisible minorities", "Indians", "illiterates" or "welfare recipients") (Escobar, 1984-85), and via the construction of hierarchical categories like "Third World countries" or "underdevelopment", technocentrism transforms the symptoms of the "problem" (illiteracy, poor housing conditions, lack of essential medical services, low productivity) into its causes. Accordingly, the solution to poverty and backwardness is to be found in the implementation of development programs that are aimed at eliminating its
"scientifically" and pre-identified causes. Capital and technologies from the industrialized world are thus introduced to these regions and countries by means of extension programs on the assumption that they would necessarily have the (positive) effect of bringing economic growth and progress (Escobar, 1987). In recent years, technocentrism has also been utilized to suggest alternative solutions to problems posed by the contradictions between capital and the natural environment (J. O'Connor, 1991).

The modernization concepts embedded in technocentrism are important since they define, at a fundamental level, the type of relationships governing the interaction between humans and nature and the role of technology in its appropriation. Although modern development can take several forms, all of them consider humans as the center of scientific and philosophical efforts. Their differences become apparent only regarding the use of technologies to further the cause of human material well-being, and to the socioeconomic and political systems with which they preferred to be associated.

Modernization conceptualizes humans as superior beings, "on [their] way to becoming gods, supreme beings who could create a second world, using the natural world only as building blocks for our new creation" (Fromm, 1976, p.xiii). For those who subscribe to this conception of the relationship between humans and external nature, the fundamental elements are science and technology, power and control. Humans through their capacity to think and reflect have consistently undertaken the task of dominating the natural world and as a result have become "separated from nature." Under these circumstances there is only one objective scientific rationality (scientism) that allows humans to acquire "true knowledge." Modernization's central preoccupation is the

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27 Technocentrism is premised on modernization concepts based on an ontology that Maturana (1992) calls "transcendental" because it defines existence with respect to a referent outside of the subject (i.e. independent from the observer). In the case of modernization the outside independent referent are the universal laws of nature.
resolution of the contradiction between capital and labor, treating nature as external to the production process.

By making visible the relationship between modernization and a positivist epistemology it is possible to understand that the supposedly "neutral" and technical recommendations of technocentric programs are ideologically normative. Behind the modernization paradigm is the assumption that all societies recognize that their members should develop and progress to a certain level of individual self-actualization, and that all of them must strive for the highest possible level of material well-being. Modernization can thus be characterized by its linear sense of time, its progressivism, its focus on causality, its dichotomous way of thinking (only opposites exist), its anthropocentrism and humanistic view, and its strong belief in the power of rationalism. Rationalism in the modernization context is closely associated with the idea of purposive-rational action (Bernstein, 1991) and development as progress through mastering and controlling the world. "[Weber] described as 'rational' the process of disenchantment which led in Europe to a disintegration of religious world views that issued in a secular culture" (Habermas, 1985/1987, p. 1). Through the work of science, the universal laws that govern nature and social processes have progressively become known and subsequently have been used as norms for action, applied equally to all fields of knowledge (economics, political, social, management, biology, chemistry, and so on). For Western rationalism human actions are judged as "rational" or "irrational," utilizing as a standard of measurement the universal natural laws discovered by science.

In recent years a variation within the technocentric approach has emerged trying to address the increasing contradiction between capital and nature. Their advocates have been called by Pepper (1993) "light greens" or technocentric environmentalists. They are usually committed to sustainable agriculture and organic farming. Although these are concepts that imply a shift in the conception of how to balance the use of renewable
resources with growth, these new constructs are being co-opted by technocentric programs, and used as a new form of "scientific technical rationality." The concept of sustainable development can be considered a concrete expression of this development perspective. It does not reject the possibility of continuous growth and its main concern is related to new environmentally conscious technologies (or appropriate technologies).

**Eco-socialism: an anthropocentric critique of modernization**

Eco-socialism is an emerging approach to development that tries to escape from the excesses of both state socialism (Eastern Europe) and market capitalist modernization. Eco-socialism is nonetheless an anthropocentric undertaking based on an humanist modernization approach. It propounds the idea of balanced ecological growth that is based on technologies whose applications are socially controlled for the collective good.

Eco-socialism takes its ideological foundations from different strands of critical theory and Western Marxism. "[Many] theorists within this tradition occasionally draw on Western Marxist insight alongside other older traditions and contemporary strands of socialist thought, including utopian socialism, the self-management ideas of the New Left, and socialist feminism" (Eckersley, 1992, p. 119-120). Eco-socialism is founded on a critically reflective epistemology\(^2\) and a constitutive ontology that privileges the idea of

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\(^2\) A critically reflective epistemology stems from the general tradition of critical theories (Griffin, 1989). Its main features are the affirmation of relativity and subjectivity as the basis of its method of inquiry. Critical theory can be distinguished from the relativity and subjectivity of hermeneutics in that it goes beyond an individual construction of knowledge from the ahistorical perspective of the subject. For critical theorists social phenomena are socially constructed, starting from the historical material conditions in which they occur. It is critical in that it tries to uncover the underlying interest that motivates social activities. In order for the conditions of critical modernization to become realized, what is required is intersubjective reasoning that constitutes the basis for a communicative rationality that is translated into forms of knowledge construction that are intersubjectively agreed upon. Intersubjective rationality is therefore contextual and does not apply equally to all knowledge domains (economics, politics, sociology, management, biology, and so on). Instrumental scientific rationality allows humans only to acquire "true knowledge" with regard to the natural world, liberating them from their "false knowledge". However, in the realm of practical knowledge (i.e. of social relations and the self), critically reflective learning (Welton, 1993) based on an intersubjective rationality helps to understand that sociologically constructed knowledge is contextual and relative and therefore one can only discuss the validity of a concept in terms of "false consciousness" but not in terms of "false knowledge" (Israel, 1990).
several overlapping interpretations of reality that result from different personal experiences. Through critically reflecting on their experiences, humans can learn to live in a conscious controlled balance with external nature, with themselves and with the actually existing social structures. Critical modernization postulates that history is being continually constructed through a dialectical relationship between subject, the natural world, and social structures.

Early critical theorists maintained that modernization, under the illusion of a science built upon an objective rationality that ignored the subjectivity of human existence, generated technologies that turned themselves against the aims of the modern project. Modernization, whose aim was to produce greater individual freedom and happiness, generated instead a society subjugated by work due to an obsessive quest for material progress (Kellner, 1990; Marcuse, 1989).

In contrast with technocentrism, eco-socialism theorizes that humans, in their constant interaction with the physical environment, are in a state of "conscious control [of] nature" (Grundman, 1991, p.111). Under this circumstance what is needed is a rationality that it is not absolute but contextual since it must accommodate, within distinct cultural environments, different economic, gender and ethnic relationships. In order to reach any form of contextual (as opposed to objective) rationality, and to avoid the impossibility of creating a complete new science, Habermas proposes a framework of analysis where humans use instrumental rationality in their relation to the external world and a communicative rationality to govern their internal nature (Whitebook, 1979). Humans as social beings need to communicate among themselves to make sense of their reality. This

29 A constitutive ontology presupposes a relativistic conception of reality, rejects the idea of universal principles and, on the basis of a philosophy of language, postulates that the external reality and the self are socially constructed based on ever-changing negotiated referents resulting from each individual experience (nominalism). The various interpretations of reality (or bracket objectivities) are constituted in language in the praxis of living (Maturana, 1992).
necessarily requires some form of communicative action based on a form of
within the boundaries of modernity and his critique is directed at the excesses of scientism
and not at instrumental rationality that governs the study of the relations with external
nature. Being within the modern tradition, Habermas' proposal is anthropocentric and
rejects the idea of an environmental ethics based on a conception of nature that regards an
egalitarian treatment of all beings, human and non-human, as the foundation of human
moral actions (Eder, 1990). For Habermas, the solution to the ecological crisis lies in the
social arena because the end to the conflicts between humans will mean the end to the
conflict between humans and nature. "A solution to the ecology crisis would therefore
follow from a solution to the 'social question' and it would not be necessary to develop a
qualitatively new relationship to the natural world" (Whitebook, 1979, p. 61).

Confronting the current environmental problems brought about by mass consumption does
not require a new science but a different way of living. "The world will be different only
if we live differently" (Maturana & Varela, 1987, p. 245). Development programs that
follow a eco-socialist approach are to be based on an environmental ethic that proposes the
concept of conscious controlled growth. Development, in the critical paradigm, is to be
based on technologies that are aimed not at the mastery of nature for itself but, as
Benjamin wrote, "of the relation between nature and man" (cited in Grudmann, 1991, p.
113, footnote 51).

Eco-socialism (Red/Greens)\textsuperscript{30} is not only critical of the negative impacts on the
environment of the short term nature of the profit maximization efforts of capitalism, but
also of Marxist theory. Eco-socialism claims that Marx's almost exclusive concentration

\textsuperscript{30} For an interesting discussion about the differences between red-greens or ecosocialists with a Marxist
orientation; green-greens, radical ecologists or ecocentrics; and light-greens, or technocentric
environmentalists, see Pepper (1993), Chapters 1 and 2.
on the commodification of labour, neglects not only the significance of the commodification of land but also the need to preserve natural resources and ecological balance (Leff, 1993). The contradiction between the forces of production (i.e., capital and labour) is no longer sufficient to explain social processes. Today, as the destruction of the conditions of production (natural and urban environments and labor power itself) becomes evident, it is necessary to incorporate a new contradiction. This new contradiction is between capital, labour and external nature, a condition that J. O'Connor has called The Second Contradiction of Capitalism (J. O'Connor, 1988; 1991). What eco-socialism is advancing, is the need to expand Marxist analysis to include the originally overlooked value of natural processes in the determination of the value of commodities.

As the foundation of development programs critical modernization does not deny its anthropocentric character. Given that what constitutes an "ecological problem" is shaped by the cultural values of each society, to reach any form of collective understanding (locally, nationally and internationally) it is necessary to use some common reference point. Critical modernization posits that the referent should be human actions measured against their effects on nature and the benefits or damages to humans. To value human actions only on their effects on nature, as advanced by deep ecologists, would require society to adopt a form of mystical standpoint. As indicated elsewhere, critical modernization can be regarded as part of the modern tradition but within the stream of a radicalized modernity (Giddens, 1990) that is critical of the excesses of classical modernity, whether liberal or Marxist.

From a critical modernization development perspective the preservation of renewable and non-renewable resources is a pivotal concern. "Ecological sensibility would, if developed fully, involve a transformation in the human perception of nature together with a revolution in ethics" (Torgerson, 1985, p.34). Ecological sensibility and communicative ethics are the foundations for developmental policies based on the concepts
of ecological agriculture and appropriate technologies (Madden, 1988). They can constitute the point of contact between the critical modernization perspective on development and the holistic world-view of many First Nations.

Development programs based on a critical modernization perspective attempt to change society's social structures through changing people's modes of cognition and understanding (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Adams, 1988). Eco-socialism, as a development approach, advocates social changes by means of intellectual persuasion rather than political means. It aims at building an egalitarian society where the civil society is expanded beyond the economic sphere to include other groups, becoming the vehicle through which the hegemonic control exercised by the bourgeoisie or the industrial workers can be undermined. It provides an opportunity to "undermine [their] position in the realm of ideas, values, culture, education, and ... thus prepare the way, gradually and over a long period, for a political, revolutionary struggle against the capitalist state and property relations" (Pelczynski, 1988, p.365). To achieve the goal of consciously controlled ecological growth, under new social, economic and political structures and organizations, eco-socialism propounds a form of participatory democracy, within a socially-controlled market economy (Habermas, 1990).

Eco-socialism has been criticized, from within the paradigm, by feminists who denounce "the male domination of socialist organizations, their authoritarian political style, and their masculinist modes of thought" (Kirk, p. 127), that continue to ignore the importance of women's unpaid work at home and in the care of the family. Socialist

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31 Sociologically, critical modernization is associated with the radical humanist paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) that emphasizes the humanist notion of human agencies capable of creating their own history. Radical humanism aims to free humans from any type of oppression (political, economic, gender, ethnic or religious) through an increased level of consciousness that should be the result of a permanent dialogue. For an in-depth discussion about reason as dialogical, intersubjective and communicative, see Bernstein (1991), Chapter 7; Habermas (1968/1971), Appendix; Habermas (1985/1987), Chapter 11; Habermas (1988/1992), Chapter 6.
Ecofeminists emphasize the need to incorporate into an eco-socialist program the "centrality of women's life-sustaining work" (Morris, 1993, p. 132), and the social recognition of such work as an economic activity to be included in the national accounts. They also advocate that women's interests and experiences must be incorporated into a red/green feminist program, where aesthetic, intellectual and physical work are recognized as socially productive. They warn, however, against falling into the trap of romantically equating women with nature's "harmony", and thus creating a celebration of femininity with strong mystical connotations that might overshadow gender, economic, and ethnic exploitation.

**Holism: Non-anthropocentric Approaches to Development**

The increasing concerns with the excesses of technological development and its impact on the natural and social worlds have prompted many researchers and social activists to advance alternative views on the modernization project. They posit a holistic view of life, captured by the ontological position that Fromm (1976) described as the Being Mode, that conceptualizes humans as "part of" and "in balance with" nature. Holism claims that human beings are an integral component of the external (natural) world, and therefore rejects the dichotomy of subject and object. Holism must be thought of as an attempt to articulate an alternative cosmovision or civilizing project different from modernization. It is based on a different set of social values, social organization and relationship with nature.

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32 Advocates of a holistic development perspective can be characterized by their affirmation that systems are constituted by parts that are interrelated in a circuit in such a way that the whole is not equal to the sum of its parts. Moreover, those who espouse holism reject the Cartesian dualist approach to the construction of knowledge and postulate that "mind/body, subject/object, are each two aspects of the same process" (Berman, 1981, p. 237). See James Lovelock's (1989) formulation of the Gaia hypothesis.
Holism's new ecological world-view breaks away from the philosophical project of modernity and advances a new rationality that requires the enunciation of a fresh approach to the construction of knowledge and technological development that does not conceive nature exclusively as an object of domination (Whitebook, 1979). According to Bagarolo (1992),

[ecology] is becoming [such] a science [going] beyond a single biological discipline, presenting itself as an interdisciplinary science of that unitary entity called the Biosphere, of which human societies are an integral part, and whose impact has become the primary factor in the Biosphere's evolution. (p. 140)

As an emerging world-view, holism is being used as an umbrella to bring under one roof different, although related, ways of defining the relationship between humans and the natural environment. Among the many ways through which holism is being currently expressed, three will be discussed in the following section, given their relevance to this study. They are, eco-anarchism, First Nations holism, and deep ecology. The first is advanced by social ecology and bio-regionalist groups, the second by many aboriginal leaders and groups, and the third by the biocentric environmental movement. The understanding of how development based on a naturalistic approach is conceived by First Nations people; by environmental groups that support biocentrism, and by Canada's governmental institutions, whose policies and programs are broadly based on the Western European tradition, is essential to grasping the meaning of agricultural extension practice on the reserves of British Columbia. It is also a pre-requisite to gaining an insight into the formulation of future policies.

Holism is based on an epistemology that is reflective and hermeneutical. Such an epistemology corresponds to a construction of knowledge based on the premise that the social sciences, rather than trying to find regularities in an analytical-normative manner,
should attempt to understand how social phenomena are apprehended from the subjective perspective of the observers within their own cultural traditions. From a reflective hermeneutic perspective there are not privileged epistemologies because of the relationship of the "epistemological subject to an object domain that itself shares the structures of subjectivity" (Habermas, 1970/1988, p.90). In the following section a brief discussion of the holistic economic development approaches is presented.

**Eco-anarchism: A Non-Marxist Approach**

Anarchist ideas extend over a wide range of political convictions that makes it difficult to reduce them to a single congruous development approach. To sidestep this problem, following Eckersley (1992), the name of eco-anarchism is chosen to designate the brand of anarchist ideas that can be said to be broadly linked to postmodernization, and "defines itself, by and large, as a distinct alternative to, rather than an extension, reformulation, or revision of ... Marxist heritage" (p. 145). Eco-anarchism must then be distinguished from anarcho-syndicalism and anarchist communism. Within the eco-anarchist perspective two main tendencies can be identified: social ecology and ecocommunalism, both having strong ecofeminist support (Eckersley, 1992).

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33 A reflective epistemology is founded on the notion that the cultural sciences need a method that can produce valid information based on understanding rather than explanation, and "provide a means of studying the world of human affairs by reliving or re-enacting the experience of others" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p.230).

34 In this study, postmodernization represents the use of postmodernist analysis in the field of economic development, especially with regard to agriculture and the ecological crisis. Postmodernity rejects the idea of any specific foundation and represents a direct assault on the unity of reason. It stands in opposition to transcendental ontologies, adhering to a nihilistic conception of the world that negates any possibility for a consensual understanding of a collective existence, based on the use of reason to choose one moral value over another (a form of radical individualism or absolute nominalism). Drawing heavily from existentialism, postmodern thought focuses on human existence, rejecting any attempt to define the individual through scientific, philosophical, or political totalizing essences (or concepts).
Eco-anarchism can be connected to postmodernizing ideas because of its rejection of authority and adherence to cultural relativism. "They reject universals (apart from laws of ecology) being imposed on groups, in favor of self-determination, and they reject, in green theorizing, the hidden and structural in favor of the superficial" (Pepper, 1993, p. 57).

The social ecologist form of eco-anarchism proclaims that agents and external nature should be treated as discrete, separate entities, implying that their program is neither anthropocentric nor biocentric. They recognize the interconnection between nature and the social, emphasizing the idea of balance between the elements that form the biosphere. They favor limited natural growth, locally controlled, where there is no need for external experts, the state or any other form of centralized control (Pepper, 1993).

Social ecology differs from other anarchist tendencies because it subscribes to utopianism. "[To Bookchin] dialectics are nor merely about explaining how and why things have been, ... they are about potentiality: what could and ought to be" (Pepper, 1993, p. 165). This utopian vision that requires an ethical normative stand is a departure from postmodern thought that negates the possibility of reasoning to arrive at moral decisions. For Bookchin the current ecological crisis does not stem from the domination of nature by humans (in capitalist and state socialist systems alike), but from the domination of humans by humans through the creation of social hierarchies. Hence the solution to the ecological crisis is the dismantling of all social stratifications. Social ecology advocates an ecological ethic as the foundation of society, rejecting capitalism as an economic system. Economic activities, based on small scale projects would be carried out through production and food cooperatives, land would be collectively owned and held

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35 Murray Bookchin is probably the best known social ecologist. For detailed information on the foundations of eco-anarchist social ecology, see Bookchin (1980) and (1990).
in trust by the local members of the community, with financial capital under the control of local credit unions. The new system would function based on a form of radical democracy exercised through regular town/community meetings and referenda.

The second eco-anarchist approach is ecocommunalism that according to Eckersley (1992), has two streams: bio-regionalism and monasticism. Although both streams emphasize local control and regional self-reliance, they differ from social ecology in their emphasis on the individual over the social. Bio-regionalism emphasizes the liberation of the self and the realization of the potential of the defined bio-region. The success or failure of development projects is judged on their capacity to help human communities to adapt to an ecosystem, rather than by their ability to change an environment to accommodate human needs or wants. From this perspective bio-regionalism is basically a conservative project that differs from technocentrism only in the scale of the projects and its emphasis on decentralization.

**An Aboriginal Cosmovision: First Nations Holism**

Although there are many differences concerning how various First Nations people articulate their particular world-views on development, this section describes the main features that permit characterizing First Nations cultural traditions as constituting part of a holistic world-view.

One of the essential components in a First Nations' view of development is the relationship between humans and the natural world. From a First Nations cultural perspective, humans and other living beings are regarded as an integral part of the universe. "There is a harmony in the universe, among our relatives, among the animals and among all creatures. ... We believe all should be cared for in our Nations, that caring and sharing, not self-interest, must be our overriding aims" (Mercredi and Turpel, 1993, pp. 44-45).
From this naturalistic project flows an integrated approach where it is difficult to separate the social sphere from the economic sphere, myth from knowledge. Ovide Mercredi, National Chief of The Assembly of First Nations has stated that for First Nation's people the relationship to the land is a sacred one, since Turtle Island, the land where they have always lived, was given to them by the Creator, the Great Spirit. "We have a responsibility to care for and live in harmony with all of [land] creations" (Mercredi and Turpel, 1993, p. 16).

The profound sense of wholeness and connectedness that characterize the holistic First Nations world-view not only defines the relationship between humans and nature, but also the way knowledge is constructed. In opposition to the fragmentary and quantitative approach that characterizes modernization epistemologies, First Nations and other aboriginal peoples make it explicit that they consider knowledge construction as closely linked to (an extension of) their culture and value system.

What I am saying is that Inuit have always thought in a very ecological way about everything, not just ecology. When we think of something or discover a new fact, we also think of all interconnections between fact and everything else. And so it is with our science: it is going to be connected to everything within our culture. If scientists have trouble with this idea, I think they should take time to understand it better. I think we have something important to teach them that will make them much better researchers and help them solve problems more easily. (D.W. Inukjuaq, cited in Brooke, 1993, p. 33)

First Nations conceive their relationship with the land very differently from a Western modernization perspective that regards the natural world mainly as a means to satisfy human needs and wants. From a Western modernization perspective, land is looked upon as a commodity or object that can be manipulated, possessed and traded in the market place. In traditional First Nations and aboriginal societies, land is considered a living entity that humans relate to, "subject to subject" (Couture, 1978, p. 129). The fundamental difference between the Western modernization world-view and First Nations
holism can be summarized in Ovide Mercredi's words: "Our struggle is not about power or greed; it is about understanding and taking responsibility for the land" (Mercredi and Turpel, 1993, p. 19).

The relationship of First Nations with the natural world is spiritual. It is founded in maintaining a balance of nature through respecting all living beings. "To the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en human beings are part of an interacting continuum which includes animals and spirits" (Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en 1987, p.18). In a world where humans are an integral part of nature and the universe, and where accumulation of material wealth based on greed is not the ultimate goal, work is not regarded as an unpleasant punishment but a task to be performed to live in harmony with the cosmos (Bonfil, 1987).

The way of understanding their position in the world is symbolized by a "master schema of understanding (root metaphor)" (Bowers, 1993, p.152) that is described by Walens (in Bowers, 1993, p. 152) as follows:

[The] Kwakiutl moral universe becomes united ... by the fact that the entire universe contains all beings within its bounds, and that all beings are subject to the principle of being both hungry and the food of other beings that are themselves hungry. The Kwakiutl universe is a universe of related beings, all of whom have the moral responsibility to control their eating. Eating is a universal property of the world, and thus it is the basis of morality.

From a sociological perspective, First Nations Holism can be characterized as a system where structures take preference over individual members who are organized in an egalitarian society. In this type of society, the welfare of individual members of the group is a communal responsibility. Social institutions are created through the daily praxis of living and preserved by written and oral traditions. Communal life (the interaction of individuals and institutions) is organized through social structures based on principles of consensus and harmony. The rule of the majority, through the exercise of the right to vote, is only one form of democracy (i.e., representative democracy); most First Nations
people understand democracy differently. In their communities, prior to the arrival of European immigrants, collective decisions were reached through a hereditary system based on ample consultation and participation of the members of the community (i.e., a form of participatory democracy).

Privileging individual rights over those of the community is also a Western idea that was forced on to the First Nations communities in Canada with disastrous consequences. "Progress as individuals does not guarantee progress as a group; some people will be left behind. ... Individualism is, by its very nature in a capitalistic society, nothing more than survival of those who are most competitive" (Mercredi and Turpel, 1993, p. 114)

Traditionally, First Nations institutions have been thought of not as separate units responsible for specific aspects of the social life in the community, but as non-discrete units that look at all aspects of the social system. A good example of the application of this principle can be found in the administration of justice. The Canadian (Western) legal system of justice is based on punishment and the protection of individual rights (the guarantee of a fair trial). Among First Nations the emphasis is placed on the reintegration of the offender into society and on a healing process that brings together the offender and the victim.

From a development point of view, First Nations Holism results in a form of living that is in balance with the Biosphere, where the emphasis is not on accumulating material wealth but on the distribution of it. Social authority is gained by distributing wealth and by working to improve the welfare of the collective (Bonfil, 1987). Therefore, development is to take place in the form of technological systems that follow the laws of nature (World Council of Indigenous Peoples [WCIP], 1987) within a system where structures that regulate society's institutions take precedence over the individual agent. Moreover, "development" is founded in a social ethic that has as its central concepts
sharing, giving and collective survival. For First Nations people knowledge and traditions have for generations defined development as a balanced process where humans, as an integral part of Nature, have to live in harmony with the surrounding environment. In Chief George Manuel's words:

The present concern with ecological disasters visited upon Western man by his failure to recognize land, water, and air as social, not individual, commodities, testifies to aboriginal man's sophistication in his conception of universal values. ...[A First Nations holistic perspective supports] the utilization of technology and its life-enhancing potential within the framework of the values of the peoples of the Aboriginal World. (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p.11)

The nature of the relationships between humans and the environment is one of the issues that highlights the contradictory views of local culture (First Nations and counter-culture groups) and the culture of Westernized "modern" planners and of the hegemonic sectors within Canadian society.

Deep Ecology: A Biocentric Approach

Deep ecology's ideas are being articulated through social and political movements whose main interest is the conservation of natural habitats in order to maintain the biological diversity that still exists on Earth. Deep ecology, however, has been criticized from inside and outside the environmental movement because it has not advanced clear and concrete proposals about the organization of society. Despite Naess's (1988) eight point platform for deep ecology, eco-philosophy has criticized the general vagueness of the premises and their general mystic tone. If the emerging deep ecology

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36 The group called Earth First!, active in the Pacific Northwest regions of the United States exemplifies an active, uncompromising approach to the protection of wilderness areas. See Tokar (1988).

37 Deep ecology must be distinguished from social ecology that is closer to bioregionalism and ecoanarchism. For a glimpse at the debate between deep ecologists, social ecologists, and ecosocialists, see Tokar (1988); Light (1993a); Bookchin (1993); Light (1993b), and Benton (1989).
movement is undertaking the task of articulating a new world-view, it has still to advance a clear alternative to the mechanistic and empirical basis of modernization. Any new world view, to be convincing, needs to go beyond a mystical approach and be able "to propose and articulate its own cosmology, its own ethics, and its own eschatology" (Skolimowski, 1988, p. 124).

From a deep ecology perspective the relationship between humans and nature is a naturalistic proposal where the preservation of the natural environment becomes the ultimate goal. Deep ecology presents itself as an alternative biocentric civilizational project that transcends critical modernization by making humans a non-privileged member of the Biosphere (Naess, 1988). Deep ecology's absolute rejection of the principle that humans are in any sense privileged within the biosphere has directed them to rally against the utilization of animals in research and against First Nations hunting practices. Their pronouncement that the flourishing of non-human life needs a decrease in human population, has led some extremist groups within the environmental movement to proclaim that the famine in Ethiopia or the AIDS epidemic are just natural processes to biologically control population growth (Tokar, 1988). These misanthropic statements, although shared by only a minority of deep ecologists, need to be taken seriously.

For deep ecologists, societal changes and the long-term solutions to environmental problems will be the result of changes in human consciousness rather than in the material conditions and structures of society. Their biocentric program supports a no-growth approach to economic development that stems from the principle that "humans have no right to reduce [the] richness and diversity [of life forms], except to satisfy vital needs" (Naess, 1988, p. 130).

Deep ecologists disagree with social ecologists whose propositions regarding the nature of the so-called ecological crisis perceive it as a fundamentally social issue with its solution lying in ecocentrism (Tokar, 1988). For them, what is needed is a planning
process that "is based not in the realm of the rational, but rather in those realms of consciousness that lie beyond the rational" (Markley and Harman, 1982, p.154). Deep ecology maintains that societal transformation (i.e. collective transformations) will come as a result of individual transcendental changes based on intuition/emotions rather than rational decisions. It can hence be characterized as a solipsist world-view that grants a privileged position to the self over social relationships, and consequently tends to maintain the status quo. Although deep ecology posits that the ecological crisis has resulted from the excesses of industrialism, it does not question the dominant capitalist Western socioeconomic system based on a liberal political ideology.

Deep ecology's proposal of a biocentric approach to resolving environmental problems has failed to advance an alternative program to confront the social problems related to poverty, ethnic inequality, gender oppression and others created by industrialism. Their proclamation of the rights of the non-human populations, "except to satisfy vital needs" (Naess, 1988, p. 130) requires further analysis. To decide which needs are to be considered as "vital" as opposed to "non-vital" would necessarily require the existence of some socially-agreed parameter to be used as a measuring standard. For many deep ecologists who belong to the upper classes in the industrialized world (and the less-industrialized world) the preservation of wilderness areas for their aesthetic enjoyment can be considered a vital need, while the cutting of wood in Central Africa would probably be regarded as essential for survival.

Links between Agricultural Extension and Development

This study's theoretical approach upholds the existence of a close relationship between the ideology hegemonic in society (in the Gramscian's sense) and the
development programs that are proposed and implemented as a result. Furthermore, it follows Habermas' proposition "that there is no fixed boundary between philosophy and the critical social sciences. There is - and ought to be - a symbiotic relationship between philosophy and the social sciences, although they are not reducible to each other" (Bernstein, 1991, p. 223). Hence, the analysis assumes that there is a dialectical, dynamic, inescapable link between political, developmental and extension perspectives and approaches (i.e., between power, knowledge, and actions). The study and analysis of these relationships is "fundamental to understanding the reproductive character of adult education and its emancipatory possibilities' (Torres, 1990, Preface).

As stated elsewhere, during the late 1950s and early 1960s policy makers in the industrialized countries were searching for mechanisms to lessen the significant differences that continued to exist between Western "developed" countries and those in Africa, Asia and Latin America regarding the creation and accumulation of wealth. Working from the assumption that education was the key element in facilitating social upward mobility and the integration of marginalized groups into main stream society, policy makers found the answer to "underdevelopment" in the provision of formal and informal educational programs in cities and rural areas. The human capital approach advanced in 1962 by T.W. Schultz "provided a framework for incorporating the economics of education, the economics of discrimination, and the economics of poverty ... into an applied branch of micro-economics, loosely termed 'the economics of human resources'" (Sobel, 1982, p.

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38 The term "ideological orientations" is used in the Gramscian sense to describe the ideological superstructure or the totality of forms of social consciousness and manifestation in collective life of a group or society. For a brief and clear discussion on the different meaning of ideology, see Bottomore (1983, pp. 218-223).
human capital and modernization have played a major role over the last twenty years in justifying development actions, the growth of resources for education, and the role of foreign expertise" (p. 19). While human capital ideas have served as the theoretical basis for the implementation of programs aimed at the modernization of "backward" communities, education has been one of the instruments utilized to implement them. Hegemonic groups in industrialized and less-industrialized countries visualize education not only as the means to teach technical skills to marginalized individuals and groups, but more importantly, to induce changes in their attitudes, values and beliefs so that they become part of a common goal of nation building (Sobel, 1982).

Torres (1990) contends, citing a number of studies, that the contribution of adult education programs to development has not been as significant as originally claimed by human capital and development advocates. Although adult education programs in farming communities have had an effect on improving productivity through better decision making, the correlation between education and earnings depends on many other variables. "[Available] evidence tends to suggest that the wage [earning] structure depends upon variables exogenous to individual productivity. These variables include gender, race, the nature of the firm's market, and/or social class background" (Torres, 1990, p. 116).

As an instrument for national unity educational programs presuppose common national development goals. In Canada, however, modernization efforts of First Nations communities have not met this condition. While First Nations conceive education and agricultural extension programs as an instrument for their empowerment (self-government and self-reliance), Canada sees those programs as an instrument to transmit Western modernization ideas aimed at their assimilation.

The association among different areas of political, economic and social activity stems from their common foundation on a social science paradigm that illuminates all of
them. "In this sense, a particular type of Extension - both theory and practice - is inserted in a political project of development and is therefore intrinsically political" (Nef, 1989, p. 38). Therefore, the type of extension education approach ascribed to each particular development program could be expected to be congruent with the development perspective guiding it. So is the role of the extension agent. "All educational efforts since the early 1960s have been made in light of 'certain theories of development'" (Saint-Germain, 1985, p. 17). Furthermore, each development and extension program can be assumed to be guided by a policy approach that represents a set of specific intentions that depend on particular socioeconomic, cultural, structural, gender, and political affiliations (Carruthers, 1994). This theoretical perspective warrants the proposition that the state, and groups within the government and the political society utilize agricultural extension education programs to promote their own worldviews in society.

**Agricultural Extension as "Cultural Invasion"**

Elsewhere it is stated that a number of political scientists and educational theorists (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Bourdieu, 1994; Freire, 1973; Gramsci, 1971; Torres, 1990) maintain that there is a close association between ideologies, policies and programs in government and private institutions, and everyday life activities.

The notion of political sociology suggests the study of power and relations of authority as structures in the various levels of social organization. It suggests an analytical approach concerned with the connections among religion, kinship relations, social classes, interest groups (of the most diverse type), and the political culture (ideology, value system, weltanschauung) of actors and social groups in the determination of political decisions, and in the constitution of social consensus - or failing that, a confrontation and distancing - of actors and social classes with respect to the legitimation of public policy. (Torres, 1990, Preface)

In the agricultural sector, these connections can be rendered visible through an analysis of the policies guiding existing development programs and the extension.
education services associated with them. Moreover, from a critical perspective, it can be argued that extension education programs can serve as instruments through which the conceptions of development of those in hegemonic positions in the state and government, are transmitted to farming and rural communities.

The connections among power, knowledge and extension are particularly relevant to the study of First Nations development and extension programs. These links become especially significant if we consider them in light of Freire's (1973) reflections on the meaning of extension. They provide insight into the nature and potential implications of DIAND extension activities.

It appears that the act of extension ... means that those carrying it out need to go to "another part of the world" to "normalize it," according to their way of viewing reality: to make it resemble their world. Thus, in its "field of association" the term extension has a significant relation to transmission, handing over, giving, messianism, mechanical transfer, cultural invasion, manipulation. All these terms imply actions which transform people into "things" and negate their existence as beings who transform the world. (p. 95)

Freire's (1973) critical analysis of the meaning of extension maintains that programs, where the extension agent "seeks to penetrate another cultural-historical situation and impose his system of values on its members" (p. 113) represent a case of what he calls "cultural invasion". Under these circumstances, many (often government-sponsored) agricultural extension education programs can be characterized as being designed to reproduce and strengthen the current social structures and the existing cultural systems (class culture, power structures, cultural capital) prevalent in society. Contrarily, initiatives directed at facilitating the processes of social and cultural production, like those advocating non-mainstream ideas (Weiler, 1988), or those aimed at creating a local nucleus of "postmodern resistance" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p. 118) are generally found only in private institutions operating in the realm of the civil and political society.
The connection between power, knowledge and education stresses the importance of language as a form of establishing or contesting power relationships, (i.e. language can be used for domination or liberation), especially if we consider that the full comprehension of social actions can only occur "in an objective framework that is constituted conjointly by language, labor, and domination (Habermas in Gallagher, 1992, p. 242). Furthermore, if we accept Habermas' proposition that human beings acquire knowledge as a result of their technical, practical and emancipatory interests, and that these "knowledge-constitutive interests take form in the medium of work, language and power" (Habermas, 1968/1971, p. 313), we should recognize that although all interpretations take place in language, they can also be distorted by "extrahermeneutical factors: material and hegemonic factors such as economic status and social class" (Gallagher, 1992, p.242).

Therefore, from the perspective of Habermas' framework, it can be maintained that the creation of discursive formations that are continuously being incorporated into the day to day language of extension programs is used to persuade farmers to adopt new technologies. The transmission, for example, of new technological packages (i.e., use of bovine somatotropin to increase milk production in cows) requires that the farming community become convinced of the advantages of adopting them. To accomplish this goal, extension programs incorporate into their educational material discursive formations (Sampson, 1993) in the form of metaphors (Bowers, 1993) that, after being regularly transmitted to a farming community, become part of their symbolic capital. In a majority of cases the adoption of new technologies is predicated on the premise of increased profits where "profit" becomes the metaphorical representation of a "prosperous good life".
Metaphors like ... the technicist metaphors of "efficiency" and "rationality" [are] used ... as though they have the same meaning to every cultural group. One of the purposes of ... examining the metaphorical nature of the language/thought connection, and how language encodes the schemata (ideological orientation) of a cultural group, [is] to clarify ... the dangers of basing theory and classroom practices on a conduit view of language. (Bowers, 1993, p. 1)

In the case of the British Columbia's agricultural extension program it is possible to claim that, responding to the worldwide expansion of neo-conservative ideologies (Resnick, 1989), the British Columbia Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (BCMAFF) began to emphasize in the early 1980s the importance of markets, efficiency and individual entrepreneurship, using them as symbolic representations of future prosperity. The goal of incorporating B.C. agriculture into a market-oriented economy required that the premise that new local and global specialized markets were essential elements in the future of B.C. agriculture became part of agricultural producers' "common sense" knowledge. In line with this approach, in 1984 the B.C. Ministry of Agriculture and Food (BCMAF) stated that its "extension education programs ...[were] designed to accelerate the adoption of new technology, information and management skills by B.C. farmers, agri-business, and food processors, and therefore help improve their competitiveness and profitability [emphasis added]" (BCMAF, 1984 Annual Report, p.3). More recently, concepts such as "our society moves towards a global economy", "looking beyond traditional markets", "identifying niche markets", "expanding trade," and so on, have been incorporated into the B.C. Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (BCMAFI) extension program discourse (BCMAFI, 1989-90 Annual Report, p. 9) to enhance the metaphorical representation of markets and profits and reaffirm their symbolic value.

To achieve its policy goals and objectives, any development program requires a high degree of consistency with the extension service being utilized to implement it. For example, modernization policies (either Capitalist or State Socialist), that propound the
industrialization of agriculture and the utilization of advanced technologies, are usually associated with extension programs based upon reproductive educational theories. Hence the transmission of these ideas requires a top-down extension program where the extension agent is the "expert" delivering knowledge. It would be incongruous to structure a technocentric modernization program of a participatory nature, where extension agents play the role of social activists encouraging farmers to challenge the prevailing structures of power, economic dominance, and knowledge construction.

**Agricultural Extension Approaches and Models**

The description of extension approaches and models that follows was considered necessary given this study's proposition that certain extension models are better than others for implementing a specific development perspective. Extension models can be characterized depending on their goals, the role of the extension agent, the educational approach used, their clientele, and their relation to research and development. Based on the emphasis placed on program policy orientation Rivera, Seepersad & Pletsch (1989) distinguish three types of approaches: Agricultural (production-oriented) Performance, Rural Community Development, and Comprehensive Non-formal Continuing and Community Education. These approaches are not to be regarded as being mutually exclusive since diverse aspects of various approaches can be found within the same extension system. The United States Cooperative Extension System provides an example of such an integrated approach.

A World Bank (1990) publication on extension suggests that although differences in extension approaches can take many forms, an important one is the one that reflects "the distinction between profit-oriented and public service extension" (p. 7). Extension programs based on a profit oriented approach are usually linked to services aimed at providing technical advice to specific groups of farmers on a single commercial crop or
production enterprise. These programs are usually run by private firms (and in some cases by farmers' organizations) that tend to use a top-down educational approach given that their main interest is in transmitting technical information. Nonetheless, profit-(demand) oriented extension programs are also run by governments. In this case they can be viewed as part of the state apparatus of material and cultural reproduction, and as such tend to rely more on top-down educational approaches. Today, "[as] agriculture evolves and becomes more commercialized, the scope of profit-oriented extension broadens. [Moreover,] commercial farmers and farming groups increasingly make extensive use of paid agricultural consultants" (World Bank, 1990, p. 8).

Public service extension (i.e., government and private not-for-profit programs) developed in Japan, the United States and Canada in the late 19th century in response to the need to consolidate a growing agricultural sector. In the United States and Canada the generation of new technologies was thought to benefit society at large and hence the products of research and the delivery of new technical information were regarded as public goods. Until the 1970s agriculture was an important economic activity in most countries (even developed ones) "and raising productivity to improve the lives of farm families was seen as a public good for which significant public support was appropriate" (World Bank, 1990, p. 9). In a number of cases the perceived public benefits resulting from the implementation of development policies resulted in the adoption of a multipurpose rural development approach (World Bank, 1990). In this type of approach agricultural improvements are only one aspect of the scheme, while the overriding consideration is the well-being of the local rural community (health issues, distribution of agricultural inputs, credit, youth activities). Although multipurpose rural development programs, when government sponsored, tend to rely on top-down educational approaches, they are also well-suited for participatory forms of extension that can be locally controlled and address the needs of the rural communities at large.
Extension approaches are indicative of the general policy orientation of a program and can be structured around different specific models and diverse institutional settings. Boone (1989) distinguishes four basic models of extension that he claims can encapsulate the majority of other extension models. The four models are: Developing Country Extension System, Training and Visit Model (T&V), Farm System Research and Development and the United States Cooperative Extension System (USCES).

The model called Developing Country Extension System is characterized as having the professional agrologist (extensionist) playing the central role in the system. Information always flows from the top and there is a lack of coordination with research institutions run by universities and government agencies. Extension agents perform multiple functions (i.e., educator, loan officer, regulatory agent). The limited success of this type of system in promoting agricultural growth led in the 1970s to a search for alternative models.

The most notorious model resulting from this search was the Training and Visit System developed by Daniel Benor while working for the World Bank in Turkey. The T&V System has since been used by numerous less-industrialized countries in the world. The main characteristics of the T&V system are the emphasis on management based on a single line of technical and administrative authority; the role of "technical experts" attributed to the extension workers; their close relationship with research stations; the concentration on one or two important crops; and the exclusivity of extension. The system has been criticized because it has generally been introduced by Western "experts" who as outsiders have overlooked the local socio-cultural conditions. Although the T&V System relied on "local people" serving as village extension workers (VEW), these

39 Rivera, Seezersad & Pletsch (1989) define models as specific forms of organization that are "held to be worthy of transference to other situations" (p. 140). Practices and programs, refer to the specific type of actions that are undertaken to fulfill the project objectives.
workers have transmitted information provided to them by outside experts. The VEW played the role of middle people, softening the contact between outsiders' information and the local situation. Under the T&V System "the concepts that had informed extension in earlier times - theories of social change, communication, adult education - have become subordinate to principles emanating from "scientific management" (Hulme, 1991, p. 219).

An alternative to the T&V System that challenged the principle of extension as "technology transfer" began to evolve in the late 1970s, becoming more widespread in the 1980s in Latin America, Africa and Asia (Whyte, 1991). Critics of top-down approaches to extension indicated that despite the success of the T&V system and the green revolution the benefits accrued from their achievements did not reach all groups within the farming community in a similar manner. The T&V System and similar approaches did not address issues related to the role of women in agricultural production and the numerous relationships dominant in peasant and small farmer production systems. The proponents of the new Participatory Action Research System (PAR) "criticized researchers' failure to develop and validate their technologies under conditions similar to those faced by small farmers, and the bias of most research and extension activities towards larger, 'progressive', male farmers and more favorable agroecological zones" (Kaimowitz, 1991, p. 103).

The PAR approach can be associated with Boone's (1989) Farm System models because it is oriented towards groups of farmers in similar conditions of production rather than individual crops. The main features of the PAR approach are the active participation of farmers in the technology innovation process, a strong interface between research and extension, and the participation of rural leaders to generate a multiplier effect on technology transfer (Ortiz, R., 1991).

The United States Cooperative Extension System corresponds to a multipurpose model where extension and research are closely related through the land grant institutional
system and where volunteers play a very important role. The USCES control and funding are the responsibility of the federal, state and local governments which accounts for its ability to accommodate local needs and goals, and for constant accountability (Boone, 1989). Over the years the USCES has changed its emphasis from technology transfer to increasing agricultural output to concerns about marketing and the environment. The USCES has always kept a broad focus in its programs recognizing "that farmers should be treated as people (instead of just as producers) and that their families should also receive attention (Sork, Palacios & Dunlop, 1991, p. 23). Today the system includes four major areas of concern: agriculture, natural resources and the environment, home economics, youth development, and community resource development.

**Linking Hegemony, Development and Extension**

The purpose of this chapter has been to examine the main theories that have been advanced to explain how the industrialized world "developed", and why vast regions and communities in many continents and countries have not been able to achieve similar levels of progress. However, the analysis of how agricultural development policies and extension programs are structured requires a more specific, micro level understanding of the foundations of different development perspectives. Learning about them helps to make visible the commonalties and differences among development approaches.

Through an extensive review of the current literature on development, environmental problems, and the political economy of agriculture, it has been possible to identify two main development perspectives, using as reference points their conceptualization of the relationship between humans and nature. These perspectives are Modernization, that is based on an anthropocentric viewpoint, and Holism, that advocates an integrated ecocentric (and in some more extreme cases biocentric) reading of the above relationship. Among modernization approaches, technocentrism represents the dominant
paradigm. In Canada, the ARDA Program is an example of government technocentric efforts to modernize the agricultural sector (among First Nations farmers and the farming community at large) through the injection of capital and technologies (irrigation works, electrification, new machinery and equipment, and so on). The increasing awareness of environmental degradation and the relatively slow rate of change in the agricultural and other economic sectors has led, over the last twenty-five years, to the emergence of different critiques of modern technocentrism. The "Other" perspectives described represent such critiques. The critiques of technocentrism take several forms and come from inside and outside the anthropocentric perspective. From the point of view of political theory and policy formulation the critiques from within modernization can be categorized into two streams of thought. One represents a moderate approach aimed at softening the negative effects of modernization (non-interventionist "light green" conservatism). The second one is a strong critique from those theorists who conceive development as an instrument to promote social change and regard the mode of production as an important factor determining the socio-political and economic conditions in society (Eco-socialism).

A generally strong critique comes from outside modernization from those who advocate an integrated ecocentric perspective. Some of these approaches emphasize the social and economic aspects of development and criticize modernization on the grounds of its incapacity to eliminate social inequalities. They regard social justice, local control and the dissolution of human hierarchies, as necessary and vital steps towards confronting the environmental crisis (Social ecology and bio-regionalism). The most radical critique to modernization from an ecocentric perspective has come from deep ecology. Deep ecologists, however, concentrate their critique on aspects relative to the destruction of natural environments and non-human species, rather than in the social aspects of development. First Nations Holism is also a strong critique of modernization, especially
of its emphasis on individualism and competition. First Nations Holism offers a balanced perspective on the relationship between humans and nature, based on sharing and communal values. Some of these approaches (deep ecology, bioregionalism, and First Nations Holism), are already starting to become visible in the socio-political realm, while others are still just utopian dreams that exist only as theoretical models (eco-socialism and social ecology).

Summing up, this Chapter highlights the basic premise of the analysis that posits a close relationship among the hegemonic ideology in society, development plans and type of extension programs. This relationship serves as the encompassing theoretical approach for the analysis of the data which follows a discussion of the research methodology contained in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

We can construct new worlds but only on the basis of and within the framework of what our predecessors have constructed for us. On that basis and within that framework the content of our activity may re-make or un-make the institutions that surround us. This shaping of action by structure and transforming of structure by action both occur as processes in time. (Abrams, 1982, p. 3)

This chapter discusses the research methodology referred to in social history as structurism (Lloyd, 1991). Having as a backdrop the general conceptual approach discussed in Chapter Three, the presentation starts with an outline of structurism (Abrams, 1982 and Lloyd, 1991) as the historical methodological approach chosen for the study and how it contrasts with other methodological approaches. It continues with a review of the data collection strategy that is based on the central concepts presented in Giddens' structuration theory (Cohen, 1987) and Habermas' social-categorical framework (Fraser, 1989).

As indicated in Chapter One, the focus of this study is agricultural extension practice. The primary purpose is to understand why, in spite of ongoing efforts to "modernize" the British Columbia First Nations agricultural sector, slow rates of growth continue to persist. The period of study is 1951 to 1994 and the selected area of research, the south-central region of the province. One of the reasons for choosing this period of study is the enactment of a new Indian Act in 1951, following the report of the Special Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons that came after two years of study (Frideres, 1988). The 1951 Indian Act was enacted to correct problems generated by previous assimilation policies through transferring more powers (responsibilities) to the local band councils (15 George VI, c. 29, s. 80) (DIAND, 1981b, p. 27). Moreover, the 1960s and especially the 1970s marked the renaissance of a sense of aboriginal identity
reflected in the creation of numerous First Nations organizations and their fight for self-determination and control of their own resources and lives.

**Structurism as Methodology of Social History**

The study was conducted through an analysis of the relations of power governing the interactions between First Nations and Euro-Canadians. The analysis compares and contrasts the ways of thinking about development prevalent among First Nations farmers and leaders, with those embedded in Provincial and Federal government policies, to uncover, through the analysis of the interplay of existing relations of power, how agricultural extension programs offered to First Nations farmers have been shaped.

Based on concepts advanced by critical theory, the study posits that through language humans can communicate with each other and put forward their interpretations of social reality so that they can be critically assessed. Moreover, a critical perspective maintains that knowledge construction is based on both causal explanations (logic) and personal (subjective) understanding of the world, and that "in the power of self-reflection, knowledge and interest are one" (Habermas, 1968/1971, p.314). The "consequences of a restricted, scientistic consciousness of the sciences can be countered by a critique that destroys the illusion of objectivism. ... [Objectivism] is eliminated ... through demonstrating what it conceals: the connection of knowledge and interest" (Habermas, 1968/1971, pp. 316-317).

The analysis was cast within an historical sociological approach where the concept of structuring played a central role. "The explanation of patterning or process, of individual careers or events comes to ground in a distinctive conception of causality (or structuring) as manifold, sequential and cumulative" (Abrams, 1982, p.302, italics in text). Abrams (1982) describes events as the "point of entry to the process" (p. 192) of historical research because their construction is the means through which the researcher
can gain an understanding of the process of structuring (or cumulative causation) by breaking it into sections that can be analytically managed. Events are occasions or happenings that are regarded by the historian as being important because they are regarded as having consequences that can help us to understand the phenomena under study. Events are "events" only within the cultural understanding of the historian and hence do not have explanatory power per se. They only serve as cultural indicators or signposts that can help to uncover the structures underneath the event itself (Neusner, 1991). Events result from the interaction between agent and structure where structure

is a generic category involved in each of the structural concepts given below:
(1) structural principles: Principles of organization of societal totalities;
(2) structures: Rule-resource sets, involved in the institutional articulation of social systems;
(3) structural properties: Institutionalized features of social systems, stretching across time and space (Giddens, 1984, p. 185, italics in text).

Structures are the set of norms, meanings, conventions and other social rules created by ongoing social practices, that are recreated by social agents, and influence social activities (Cohen, 1987). From a structurist perspective "people are born into [social structures] ... which organize and are reproduced and transformed by their thought and action" (Lloyd, 1991, p.190).

Structurism as a methodology of social history does not neglect events and the actions of individuals, special groups, and classes. What is distinctive is its claim that all social structures are created and recreated by social agents and hence all aspects of the social system should be investigated for their reciprocal influences and relationships (Lloyd, 1991). The claim "that structure is always both enabling and constraining, in virtue of the inherent relations between structure and agency (and agency and power)" (Giddens, 1984, p.169) separates structurism from other historical methodologies. The structurist research approach helps to remind the historian that while circumstances around
an historical event being analyzed are frozen, in day-to-day happenings events are continually evolving.

Contrary to structurism, historical studies that start from the premise that society is an aggregate of individuals whose actions cannot be interpreted through deductive theorizing favor a reconstruction of the past based on an objective and factual description of actions and events. This individualist approach follows a positivistic epistemology where empiricist methods predominate. Among individualistic approaches traditional biographical histories and traditional economic history are the most salient.

Another approach to historical studies is based on a functionalist (system) conceptualization of society. This approach privileges the role of structures and claims that society functions in a manner similar to an integrated system governed by general laws (structuralism). Structural-functionalism is teleological and generally favors positivistic methods of inquiry. The interpretivist tradition is another approach that, emphasizing a "narrative presentation of events as opposed to the claims of theoretical explanation" (Habermas, 1992, p. 237), tries to understand the past through the analysis of the lives and documents written by important individuals. From an interpretivist perspective, a social practice is "comprehensible, and susceptible to judgment, only from the standpoint of the life-context and traditions in which it is embedded" (Habermas, 1992, p. 238).

Another important facet of historical sociological studies is the consideration that "the historian describes an event not as an eyewitness, but as a late-comer; the narrator does not have the role of the chronicler, he uses contemporary observations only as documents" (Habermas, 1979, p. 9). Consequently, it is important to distinguish between the time-horizon chosen by the historian to analyze the interactions between agents and structures, and the time-horizon in which the event actually took place. By acknowledging this distinction the historian "takes into account the difference of meanings
which the described event has for him as a historian and had for the one who took part in it" (Habermas, 1979, p. 9, italics in text).

As indicated elsewhere, the purpose of the study is to understand the nature of the economic, social and ethnic relationships existing between First Nations and non-aboriginal communities in Canada. To achieve such understanding, these relationships have been analyzed historically, taking into consideration the conditions prevalent in the time-horizon when they occurred. One must be cautious, however, to recognize that by taking this approach "the historian by no means assumes a neutral standpoint from which he can describe the episodes 'as they were'. Rather, he depends on the selection of the respective frame of interpretation in which the [event] is embedded" (Habermas, 1979, p. 9). Moreover, the goal of this research has been to understand how these relationships shaped the agricultural extension practices prevalent in development programs offered to First Nations agricultural communities. Guided by propositions taken from Giddens' structuration theory and Habermas' theoretical categories used to describe social processes the research was centered on the identification of existing social structures and on the analysis of the interactions between agents and structures.

The study's approach pays special attention to the relation between humans and nature (economic base) and between agents and social structures, from a cultural pluralist view. A cultural pluralist view of history objects to those studies that "[presume] that there is one basic, external, and real flow of events in the past-as-once-lived that can be fitted into one history about that flow. This formal history also presumes that events exist outside of the interpreters' mind" (Martin, 1987, p.40). This approach to the research was chosen because it attempts to interpret social relationships from the vantage point of the interaction between agency and structure, avoiding the rigidity of structuralism and the excessive relativism of subjectivism. This approach to the analysis has proved especially important in the examination of development policies and agricultural extension programs.
offered to First Nations farmers because it helps to make explicit the categorical foundations and the cultural systems where extension education programs were implemented.

The Method of Analysis

The analysis of the different texts as they appear in (or were absent from) documents and interview transcriptions was guided by the theoretical approach previously discussed. This was the strategy chosen to define the nature of the phenomena under investigation, and the foundation of what constitutes knowledge (Burrel and Morgan, 1979). The next step in the analysis was to identify in the different documents and interviews statements that described the relationships between Canada and First Nations farmers. Those statements later served as the basis for connecting power relationships, development perspectives, and various extension programs and practices.

The first step in this process was the naming of historical events through examining the texts of previous studies, collected documents and interview transcripts. The following step was the identification of social institutions created through the interaction between structure and agent in Euro-Canadian and First Nations societies. These institutions operate in the private or public sphere, in the domain of the lifeworld or the system, and in civil or political society. Moreover, they can play a singular or multiple role in the social process depending on their specific historical circumstances. The Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC) was, for example, a not-for-profit

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40 According to Fraser (1989), Habermas defines System as the area of material reproduction that includes the official economy and the state (i.e., exchange with a non-human, physical environment and with other social systems). The Lifeworld is the domain where the symbolic reproduction of societies occurs (i.e., the transmission of "culture" to new members through linguistically elaborated norms and patterns of interpretation). The lifeworld includes individuals in their roles as consumers, citizens, workers and clients, operating in the private sphere (family) and the public sphere or space for political participation, debate and opinion formation.
institution that was created to perform a dual purpose. In the domain of the lifeworld and public sphere, it operated in political society representing the interests of First Nations farmers (lobbying role). In the system domain and the private sphere, WIAC worked providing technical and business advice to farmers (i.e., in the area of material reproduction of society).

At a more detailed level of analysis, the study of social structures requires the identification of social and legal rules and practices. The latter are those that can be enforced by legislation (i.e. enforced by the State), while the former are tacitly understood social procedures. Social rules can be categorized as anchored relations (friendship and family relations), normative rules that establish the social legitimacy of the practice (ascribed position of power not written or mutually agreed upon, i.e., tradition), and semantic rules that establish the procedural meaning of the practice (i.e., rules agreed by mutual interaction). The social structures existing during the period of study (1951 to 1993) were identified with the help of these theoretical constructs and categories. Furthermore, events have been identified and explained based on data organized chronologically. Events analyzed are, for example, the enactment of the 1951 Indian Act, the creation of WIAC, and the publication of the 1969 government of Canada position paper on First Nations matters known as the "White Paper" (DIAND, 1969).

The principal areas in the social domain (as described by Habermas (Fraser, 1989)) where the different social structures, in the form of social and legal rules (as presented by Giddens (Cohen, 1987)) were considered to be especially relevant, can be described as follows: Anchored relations or the framework of mutual relations established among agents are regarded as being especially important within First Nation's organizations, in business agreements, and in dealing with government institutions. Legal rules, on the other hand, are considered to be important in business contracts and in formal agreements between the government and First Nation's institutions (for example, the annual
Contribution Agreement that funded WIAC). Some of these legal rules in the form of programs and policies were not actual agreements but programs unilaterally administered by the government of Canada (i.e., the Special ARDA Program, first signed in 1972).

The different social structures that were identified in relation to each historical event were later analyzed with the help of the theoretical approach discussed in Chapter Three. The methodological approach adopted is consistent with the overall research perspective of the study that proclaims that knowledge construction does not take place in a vacuum and therefore can never be "neutral." The research is therefore founded on the principle that there can be no privileged epistemologies nor value-free scientific knowledge (Myrdal, 1969).

Data Collection Procedures

The plethora of information available in this area of research required a systematic approach for collecting and analyzing data. The process of selecting information relevant to the study was driven by the conceptual approach discussed in Chapter Three, that involved working with concepts drawn out of social, political and educational theories. The reading of documents and the selection of certain information was influenced by the principle of weak causality. This "less radical formulation is confined to the acceptance of causal conditioning [that] results in practice ... in denial of regularity of facts" (Topolski, 1976, p.239). The methodological acceptance of causality (Carr, 1986; Abrams, 1982), directed the search for information to documents and records that could be used in the description and analysis of the relationships of power governing the interaction

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41 Referring to the use of historical information, Tuchman (1994), states "that the theoretical use of historical data implies methodological issues. The term methodological affirms the late nineteen-century German insight that any empirical study, including any historical study, requires an interpretive approach - a philosophy of method, an epistemology - that guides the identification of appropriate data (p. 309)."
between Canada and First Nations farmers.

Information concerning power relations, economic and agricultural development issues, and agricultural extension matters, that served as the basis for the analysis was taken from primary and secondary sources. These include: (i) federal and provincial government documents (letters, memoranda, reports); (ii) documents and publications belonging to private organizations; (iii) semi-structured interview transcripts, and (iv) secondary sources (previous studies and books).

The main sources of primary documents identified were files pertaining to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the National Archives of Canada (both in Burnaby, B.C. and Ottawa) and in the Office of Central Records in the B.C. DIAND Regional office in Vancouver. Other important sources of primary information were files kept by the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation in Kamloops, B.C.; documents at the Resource Center of the British Columbia Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs in Vancouver; documents and publications at the British Columbia Hydro Resource Centre in Burnaby, and my own personal collection of reports and documents gathered through nine years of professional work with a First Nations development organization in agricultural matters.

Secondary sources of information were also extensively consulted. They included, whenever possible, articles in journals, papers presented at conferences, and books and chapters of books written by First Nations scholars and political leaders. The inclusion of

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42 The distinction between primary and secondary sources of information is rather arbitrary. Generally, documents that are contemporary of the period under study are regarded as primary sources. They are of many forms: letters, government records, private reports, government policy statements, verbal accounts, newspapers, and so on. Secondary sources are those that use information contained in primary and other sources to present an interpretation of certain historical events. They can be in the form of books, reports and articles (Tuchman, 1994).

43 Between 1980 and 1989 I worked for Western Indian Agricultural Corporation as Director of Extension Services and General Manager.
First Nations works followed one of the historical research traditions of the 1970s that emphasized "the validating ground of 'experience', the concern for oppressed peoples and with historically recovering them, and the appeal to ethical humanism" (Johnson, 1979, p. 65). It represents an attempt to include in the historical analysis the voice (not very often heard) of First Nations farmers and leaders in British Columbia.44

Furthermore, to bring into the study a current and personal perspective of what could be considered relevant issues, a series of fourteen interviews was conducted. The interest in understanding how First Nations farmers and leaders, as well as government officials conceived agricultural development led to forms of nonprobabilistic sampling in deciding the sample of people to be interviewed (Merriam, 1988). Based on my knowledge of the B.C. First Nations agricultural sector, and through consultation with people currently working in the field of aboriginal development, a list of people who could be interviewed was generated. This list included fourteen names selected from First Nations and non-First Nations people who: (1) were farmers and/or were First Nations political, educational and community leaders (six persons); (2) were agricultural and economic advisors (one First Nation and two non-First Nation persons); and, (3) who were federal and provincial civil servants (five non-First Nations persons).

The interviews lasted an average of one and one-half hours and were conducted at the interviewee's place of work or home. The interviews followed a semi-structured format centered around a set of themes that was presented to the interviewee prior to the interview itself with the intention of giving the person some time to think about the topics to be discussed. The interview followed a free conversational form allowing the

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44 Prior to 1969, First Nations' written interpretation and analysis of the character of their relationships with Euro-Canadians were not frequent. However, they began to appear regularly after 1969 as a reaction to the Government of Canada Statement on Indian Policy (known as the White Paper). Consequently, the background information presented in Chapter Two, and the analysis of events between 1951 and 1969 described in Chapter Five are taken from non First Nations primary and secondary sources.
interviewee the freedom to chose the order in which he/she wanted to address the topics (see Appendix A for Interview Schedule).

The documents (letters, memoranda, reports) in the DIAND and other files were individually reviewed for the period of study, 1951-1994. Records of all those statements that were regarded as potentially useful in the characterization of development policies and extension programs were selected from each document. Special consideration has been given to statements that described social and legal rules which could be later utilized to describe and analyze the relations of power existing between First Nations farmers and Canada.

The role of the different structures in the articulation of the social, economic and cultural systems, has been inferred from the analysis of a wealth of official and non-official documents, and from the interviews with farmers and government officials that constituted the main sources of information in this study. As indicated elsewhere, this analysis has been performed with the help of the theoretical propositions (explanation in principle) concerning economic, political, social, and educational theories, utilizing the concepts of development, hegemony and education as its central guiding constructs. The explanation of events is carried out at two levels: First, a description of how the events happened is provided, then a more general explanation is presented connecting the events to wider historical processes (Abrams, 1982).

Hegemony and development are used as constructs to expose the ideological base of the power relationships involved in the interaction between First Nations and the Canadian state. The analysis goes beyond the realm of modern development discourse, and, appealing to critical reflexivity, tries to "see beyond" the social structures that are ingrained in people's common-sense (sub-conscious) fixation with development understood solely as growth and modernization. The critical analysis of development theories and perspectives has brought into the discussion other perspectives on this issue that predicate
the creation of new societal forms that do not make "material progress" the ultimate goal of human civilization, both from an individual and a collective perspective.

The different texts in the form of historical documents and interview transcripts, read from a critical perspective, brought about several policy approaches to development that went beyond the traditional dichotomous view of capitalist and socialist modernization. A new perspective on development, Holism, was incorporated into the analysis as it became necessary to move beyond the reductionist view of development as growth in material well-being. This new perspective, and related policy approaches, has emerged as a result of the many differences among the various foundational ways of thinking about development that were uncovered through the analysis of the data.

The ability to establish causal relationships, through the analysis of the information collected from all sources, between the phenomenon under study and factors leading to its happening allows the researcher to look for explanations of why the phenomenon occurred. From the critical perspective of the epistemological assumptions guiding this research, the causal relationships that were detected have been utilized to gain an understanding of the local circumstances under which the phenomenon under study occurred (i.e., to understand why slow rates of development continued to persist on the reserves in the B.C. central interior, despite ongoing modernization efforts).

To authenticate the interpretation of the interview transcripts, a summary statement of the main topics discussed was sent back to the interviewees, when possible. The written interpretation of all data was validated by giving a version of the research results to three First Nations experts. They were Gordon Antoine, Chief of the Coldwater First Nation in Merritt, B.C. and Chairperson of the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology Board of Governors, Mildred Poplar, Political Assistant to the President of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, and Chief Saul Terry, President of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs. Guba and Lincoln (1981) call this process "[testing] credibility with
The determination of credibility can be accomplished ... by taking data and interpretations to the sources from which they were drawn and asking directly whether they believe - find plausible - the results" (p. 110).

Given that historical studies are mostly concerned with describing and interpreting situations and behaviors, the collection of observations over a extended period of time has helped to improve the understanding of the phenomena under study. Furthermore, the process of understanding has also been enhanced through a continuous process of induction and deduction through reasoning (power of the theoretical approach), and through the analysis of explanations as experienced by the participants. A systematized reflexivity gives indication of how a priori theory has been changed by the logic of the data.

Conclusion

Utilizing as general reference the conceptual approach discussed in Chapter Three, and the central concepts presented in Giddens' structuration theory (Cohen, 1987), Habermas' social-categorical framework (Fraser, 1989), and Abrams's structurism, the next three chapters describe and analyze the relationships between First Nations farmers and Euro-Canadians during the period 1951 to 1994. The analysis is presented in three epochs that are demarcated by historical events regarded as significant from the perspective of the main purpose of the study.
CHAPTER FIVE

1951-1969: ASSIMILATION, TRANSFORMISM AND RESISTANCE

As the population of Canada grew and the development of land increased, pressures to regulate and control Native-White relations grew. The subsequent policy of assimilation and civilization was thought to be the best way to prepare Natives to enter the rapidly industrializing larger Canadian society. (Frideres, 1988, p. 36)

The analysis of the nature of the relationships between Euro-Canadians and First Nations farmers demands an understanding of the evolution of Canadian regional development policies and their association with issues of political and economic power. This chapter presents an analysis of how "expert" knowledge has been utilized to "construct," according to a certain set of values, a very specific characterization of the "Indian Problem" in Canada. Later, it presents a description of the association between cultural perspectives and conceptions of development, and discusses the perceived shortcomings of the structural (external dependency) approach that has been frequently utilized by Euro-Canadians to explain the social and economic "underdevelopment" of the reserves.

The Post War Equality Revolution

The 1950s and 1960s, a period that has been characterized as the equality revolution (Barman 1991), was marked by profound changes in the attitudes of Canadians toward social justice. The majority of the population shared a vision of society that had solidarity as one of its distinct pillars. The collectivity felt it was its social and moral responsibility to provide for those in need and not able to care for themselves. During these years some distinct national and provincial programs were initiated. In 1945 the Canadian government established Family Allowances, and in 1957 equalization payments
to those provinces "whose fiscal capacity was below the national average to ensure the
provision of reasonable comparable levels of public service across the country" (OECD,
1994, pp. 18-19). At the provincial level, the British Columbia government brought forth
in 1965 a medical plan that provided universal medical care for all residents; also, in 1965
the first community college was founded in Vancouver to improve access to education
(Barman, 1991).

Responding to this new social consciousness on human rights emerging in
Canadian society after the Second World War, the federal government decided to revise
the Indian Act to provide local bands with more autonomy. The new revised Act,
however, did not fundamentally change the pattern of dependency in which many First
Nations communities lived. Although Canada expected First Nations to take responsibility
as citizens of the country, the revised act did little in the area of transferring control of
institutions and changing statutes in a way that would give First Nations genuine control
over their lives and resources. Although the revised Indian Act increased First Nations
participation in the administration of government designed programs, it did not address the
fundamental questions of aboriginal rights and self-government45 that First Nations people
in British Columbia had been struggling to get answered since the late 1800s.46 At the
provincial level, the British Columbia government continued to refuse to negotiate with
First Nations to settle the land question. Consequently, despite growth and economic
prosperity in the province and that "by the early 1960s [British Columbia] possessed the

45 When self-government is being discussed what is meant is "the power of people to enact laws which
courts will implement and which will be considered paramount when they are in conflict with the laws of
other governments ... [The] concept of self-government must be distinguished from self-management/
administration" (Frideres, 1993, p. 427).

46 Tennant (1982b) in a paper on the history of First Nations' political organizations in British Columbia
wrote: "By the turn of the century Indian protest groups concerned with the land question, or aboriginal
rights more generally, were becoming less sporadic in nature and more able to survive for months if not
years" (p. 27).
necessary financial resources to fund further expansion" (Barman, 1991, p. 301) of educational and other services, First Nations residents in the province received very limited support. Despite changes in public attitude brought about by the equality revolution, First Nations peoples were not beneficiaries of programs aimed at correcting previous inequalities that impacted upon "groups traditionally not part of the dominant society: women, the union movement, and racial and ethnic minorities" (Barman, 1991, p. 303).

A complete account of the events that took place during these years requires inclusion in the analysis of the First Nations struggle to resist assimilation. However, written First Nations accounts were not common at that time because of the orality of First Nations cultural traditions. Nonetheless, references were found to presentations made by First Nations leaders to different commissions of study and to government bodies, and in articles published in an emerging First Nations press. Written analysis of the relationships between First Nations and Canada authored by First Nations people only began to emerge in 1969 and the early 1970s, as a reaction to the federal government Statement on Indian Policy. Grand Chief George Manuel's book, The Fourth World: An Indian Reality (1974), represents an important body of work in this tradition. In his book, Chief Manuel describes how he witnessed in his lifetime (1921-1989) the Shuswap people "fall from a proud state of independence ... to a condition of degeneration, servitude, and dependence as shameful as any people have ever known" (Manuel and Posluns, 1974, p. 2). For him, the 1960s was a period in which small changes in society began to occur, and the gap between First Nations way of life and the manner in which

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47 See, for example, George Manuel's presentation to the Joint Senate and House of Commons Committee on Indian Affairs, 25 May 1960. Also see The Native Voice and Indian News.

Euro-Canadians constructed it slowly narrowed. Most importantly, George Manuel described the 1960s as the time when the Shuswap people and other First Nations began "the long, hard struggle to the plateau that is our proper place in the world" (p. 2).  

**Canada Development Policies After W.W. II**

In the mid 1950s Canada's economy was entering a phase of rapid modernization and growth. Selman (1988) describes this period in the history of British Columbia as one of accelerated economic growth, accompanied by rapid growth in population and in the provision of social services, such as education. "Federal government policies provided stimulus and resources on an unprecedented scale ... [especially following] the decision in 1966 on the part of Ottawa that it would ... become directly involved in a great deal of adult training and education" (pp. 10-11). Furthermore, in June of 1961 the Canadian Parliament passed the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA), continuing a development policy tradition initiated in the 1930s that regarded the strengthening of the rural sector as an important element in keeping a balanced development pattern in the country. During the 1960s the federal government devoted major efforts to adult education through its contributions to "health and rehabilitation education, ... citizenship education, labor education, agricultural extension, [and] community development" (Selman, 1988, p. 11).

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49 In his book, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (1974), George Manuel presented a First Nations understanding of the significance of the two cultures, Euro-Canadian and First Nations coming close. "It is true that there have been any number of surface changes that have increased understanding. Our children now often go to provincial schools rather than church schools, and we are now allowed into most hotels and protected against the more blatant forms of discrimination. While these changes may be important for their own sake, few if any of them reach below the surface and touch on the fundamental ways in which two cultures, so different in their roots, meet and touch each other. Only with that meeting and touching can the gap be closed. Only the closing of the gap - not a domination of one over the other but a real meeting - can result in real change" (p. 3).

50 The Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act of 1935 and the Maritime Marshlands Rehabilitation Act are examples of this policy (Matthews, 1983).
By the mid-1960s, the federal government's concern with issues of poverty in rural communities led to a change in development policies. Their focus moved from one based on agricultural development to one based on the broader idea of rural development. ARDA started to promote non-agricultural projects that could absorb the excess labour power resulting from the increasing mechanization and modernization of agriculture. The change in the name of the ARDA program in 1966, from Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act to Agricultural and Rural Development Act, was a reflection of the change in development focus. Also in 1966, the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) was introduced to implement these changes and to provide a more specific focus to regional development (Savoie, 1992).

At the provincial level, the drive to pursue agricultural development through modernization that had characterized the Euro-Canadian sector of society since the 1930s, intensified with the increased availability of electrical power. (This resulted from the expansion of newly installed rural power lines by British Columbia Hydro.)\(^5\) In 1967 British Columbia had "more than 17,000 farms ... supplied with electrical power ... [that was] helping through increased efficiency and quality control, to make farming in B.C. a $200 million cash income business" (Macfarlane, 1967/68, p. 2). With the arrival of modern electrical power it became possible to switch from gravity feed systems to sprinkler irrigation systems.

\(^5\) In the 1960s the B.C. Hydro Authority had a big campaign to promote the use of electrical power for agriculture. One of the salient features in this campaign was the "B.C. Hydro [Riverland] demonstration farm at Lillooet ... [that had] about 275 acres under irrigation, all used for growing mixed alfalfa and grass hay" ("Field Day at", 1963, p. 6).
The DIAND Policy of Transformism

The position that the Indian Affairs Branch had within Canadian government structure during the 1950s and early 1960s provides an indication of the policy orientations guiding the services provided to First Nations by the federal government. During those years, Indian Affairs was just a branch within the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, reaching the rank of a Ministry only in 1966 (Frideres, 1988). Positioning DIAND within the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was congruent with the new federal government strategy designed to deal with the "Indian problem." By the early 1950s, the government policy of assimilation that prompted the revision of the 1927 Indian Act was regarded as a failure. First Nations had successfully resisted assimilation and refused to disappear as distinct ethnic and cultural communities in Canada. Eventually, "[most] colonizing societies come to a realization that assimilation, as a matter of policy, is a failure as a framework for relating to native people" (Policy Development Group, 1983, p. 34).

After the Canadian government recognized the failure of its assimilation policy it decided to implement a new strategy to complete what it regarded as its civilizatory project. Canadian policies on First Nations development during the years immediately after W.W. II now included standards similar to those of the integrationist approach of the International Labour Organization (ILO) convention No 107 of 1957, that favored a total incorporation of Indigenous populations into the socio-cultural values of the hegemonic groups in society (Swepston and Tomei, 1994). Furthermore, at that time Indigenous nations were "largely [regarded] a 'hindrance' to development. They were seen as part of a backward, pre-industrial, traditional sector whose interests, especially in the case of land rights, were in conflict with the interests of the modern, industrial sector of society" (Viergever, 1994, p. 104). Summing up, the Government of Canada in its pursuit of
growth and modernization adopted during the 1960s a general policy that tried to integrate First Nations communities into mainstream Euro-Canadian social customs and values.

The Policy of Transformism and the "Just Society" of the 1960s

The new policy, built upon the prevailing liberal concepts of equality, rationality and individual freedom that were the pillars of the construction of the "just society" of the 1960s, was to convert First Nations into full Canadian citizens with the same rights and obligations as the rest of the population. Since direct assimilation had failed, a new policy of transformism (Simon, 1982) that took the form of concealed assimilation was pursued. The Policy Development Group (1983) calls this phase in the relationship with colonized people, structural accommodation. In this new phase the government tries to address some of the consequences of the previous attempts at assimilation through education, health, housing, economic development, and local government. "Governments and aboriginal authorities may attempt to accommodate and integrate reformed or new institutions at the political level - statutory, aboriginal advisory bodies, ... or politically established development organizations" (Policy Development Group, 1983, p. 35).

Transformism was aimed at the gradual incorporation of First Nations people into Canadian society. First Nations could maintain some of their cultural traditions, but in return, they should become full participants in the country's market economy and compete with other members of society for a position within it. Although the stated goal of this new policy was to transform First Nations into Canadian citizens, the bands in the agricultural regions of the province faced unfavorable circumstances regarding access to productive resources.

I think that to a great extent we [have been] artificially constrained within our reserves. Water rights for example are a very big problem and a lot of our communities have outgrown the reserves to a great extent and they need
more land base within the territories. As well I think that a lot of the land on the reserves is not arable and needs tremendous work before it can be cultivated, lots of rocks have to be picked and water pumped. (Terry, 1993, p.2)

The "Other" Face of the Just Society

In several areas, internal tensions surfaced in DIAND. As indicated earlier, Canada's stated policy was to "transform" First Nations people into Canadian citizens who, according to the liberal principles driving the policy, were entitled to equal rights and obligations, in their relationships as citizens, and with the state. This relationship of equality was, however, not upheld by Canada. First Nations rights were regarded as secondary to those of Euro-Canadians as demonstrated by their position as wards of the state. Furthermore, the incorporation of First Nations people as citizens through engaging in commercial economic activities required that financial and technical resources be provided to them at least at a level equivalent to that of non-First Nations farmers. Undertaking the task mandated by the Indian Act to act as trustee, protecting and enhancing the resources available to First Nations farmers, would have required a major effort on the part of DIAND. However, that was far from what was actually happening. While the federal government tried to correct regional and local development inequalities in the non-First Nation sectors of society, in the DIAND British Columbia region, there was for many years only one professional providing agricultural extension services to First Nations farmers. The Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson (1958) report confirmed this assertion when it stated that "the Indian Affairs Branch not always provided the Indians with the best technical advice" (p.152).

In addition to the lack of both adequate financial resources and extension and training services available to First Nations farmers, there were other structural factors that contributed to the slow development of agriculture on the reserves. First and foremost, a
colonial policy not only did not recognize First Nations rights to land ownership and
denied them the right to pre-emption of land, but also placed a majority of First Nations in
small reserves scattered along the coast and rivers of British Columbia, that "can never be
economically viable units (Hawthorn et al., 1958, p. 53). Furthermore, British Columbia
"argued that ... in many cases all the people needed were small bases for residence,
hunting and fishing, burial, and so forth" (Hawthorn et al. (1958, pp. 52-53). Other
factors affecting agricultural development were the relatively low returns of agriculture as an economic activity compared to other sectors such as forestry and small businesses; the potential for higher personal incomes to be found in logging and fishing and the lack among First Nations on the West Coast of a long farming tradition such as that of the League of Five Nations of the Iroquois confederacy in central Canada (Dickason, 1992).

Furthermore, at the root of this policy decision was Canada's future economic growth. The country needed the vast mineral, timber and agricultural resources on the reserves and in First Nations traditional territories. The transformation of First Nations people into Canadian citizens would provide the state with the opportunity to control those resources without having to negotiate for land and resource ownership rights. The objective of the new policy of transformism was clear. Starting from a position of economic and technical disadvantage the prospect of First Nations gaining control and ownership of the resources was doubtful. The unavoidable expected result of the policy of transformism was the Canadianization of the majority of First Nations people into the lower socio-economic strata of society. Once First Nations had been incorporated through citizenship, the issues of resource ownership and the preservation of cultural norms and values would disappear. The success of the policy of transformism would allow the government of Canada to let the principle of consensual extinguishment, established in the
Royal Proclamation of 1763, painlessly vanish overtime. Consequently, it would deny First Nations people their rights to self-government, and to title and control of their territories. Since there were no treaties signed in British Columbia - except for the ones negotiated by Douglas on Vancouver Island before the Province entered confederation in 1871 - the disappearance of the principle of consensual extinguishment would have placed First Nations, from the standpoint of Canadian laws and legal institutions, in a weaker legal position compared to First Nations in the rest of Canada.

The fact that the Indian Affairs Branch was under the administrative authority of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration should be thought of within the context of a policy of Canadianization. This policy was considered equally necessary for First Nations and new immigrants, especially for those of non-northern European origin. They were to become enculturated into the social and cultural norms, and the political ideology of the hegemonic groups in Euro-Canadian society. The policy of transformism, aimed at helping "Other" communities understand how social practices and relations operated in Canada, represented part of the general strategy of the dominant class, and interest groups within it, to maintain their hegemonic position. "It is in civil society that the hegemony of the dominant class has been built up" (Simon, 1982, p. 69) and it is there where hegemony has to be maintained and renewed through the incorporation of new forces into their power base.

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52 The concept of consensual extinguishment stems from the Royal Proclamation of 1763 that "recognized Indian title and ruled that governments required Indian nations' consent before allowing white people to settle in the Indian territories of Canada" (Drake-Terry, 1989, pp. xii-xiii). Dickason (1992) explains that "treaties were an essential prerequisite for the expansion of colonial settlement in British North America, and only the federal authority could engage in such activity" (p. 340).
Agricultural Development Policies
and Relations of Power

The stated aim of DIAND development policy during the 1950s and 1960s was to bring into full agricultural production the land and other natural resources on the reserves, that at the time were, by Western standards, under-utilized or not being used at all. The DIAND agricultural development policy exhibited, however, a definitive disagreement between the stated objectives and program practices. In fact, it provided limited supporting services (extension and financial services) to make First Nations farming a success. Furthermore, DIAND policies were inconsistent with Canada's country-wide effort for modernization through balanced regional development.

To understand the DIAND internal policy disagreement and its inconsistency with Canada's drive for modernization it is necessary to analyze the relationships between First Nations people, DIAND and BCDA from the perspective of power structures that are grounded in production relations and socio-cultural beliefs. The justification for the lack of support received by First Nations farmers could be found in the pressure exercised on the British Columbia government, since the years of Governor Douglas, by settlers and other business interests who were afraid of the competition they were facing from successful First Nations farmers, especially in the southern areas of the province.

"Douglas and the colonial governments who followed him were in a difficult position because of the pressure of opinion from many of the White settlers who exercised an important influence in the legislative bodies" (Hawthorn et al., 1958, p. 51).

Consequently, the Department of Indian Affairs and the B.C. government, as parts of the administrative apparatus of the Canadian state (where Euro-Canadian settlers' class, economic, ethnic and cultural interests were better represented than those of First Nations) had no special interest in offering extension programs that had as an objective helping First Nations farmers expand or even consolidate their development. "[The] contradiction
for the state is that successful economic development programs put aboriginal peoples in a position of conflict with non-aboriginal producers who are seeking the same markets" (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 255).

The authors of the Hawthorn report, however, wondered why DIAND devoted in the early 1950s an important part of its resources to support agricultural activities when "the records seem to indicate that Indians are abandoning farming in large numbers, ... [and] ... the results have been, relatively speaking, so discouraging?" (Hawthorn et al., 1958, p. 152). They offered as a possible explanation for DIAND's continuing support for agricultural programs, the difficulties of securing appropriations for other mandatory programs (education, health, social assistance) when the general public would see that First Nations were not fully utilizing the resources available to them to develop their agricultural sector.

DIAND as a federal government agency was not only under political pressure from land owners to curtail extension programs for First Nations farmers. It also had to convince the Euro-Canadian public that there was a need to secure annual funds for its programs and administration. DIAND told the public that funding was needed to provide a minimum level of extension and financial services to First Nations because they were not "[taking] advantage of the opportunities around them" (Hawthorn et al., 1958, p. 152) that would allow them to progress and become fully integrated into Canadian society.

Moreover, many people in DIAND saw agriculture as a natural step in the transition from a gathering and hunting society to a modern industrial economy (Carter, 1990). If the reasons advanced by Hawthorn were convincing, they were tempered by the opposition mounted by Euro-Canadian farmers' organizations who lobbied the government to limit First Nations access to land, water and range resources in order to diminish the competition. DIAND found the solution to satisfy these two political constituencies in a compromise policy that included the provision of minimal extension education services for
farmers, along with a more significant amount of funding to promote agricultural development. "[It] can safely be said that, in general, the Branch has devoted more money, time and effort, and special personnel to agriculture than to any other field of economic activity in British Columbia (Hawthorn et al., 1958, p.152).

The Impact of DIAND Agricultural Development Policy on the Social Structures of the Reserves

The policy of relying on the provision of development funds rather than on extension education programs, to implement the policy of transformism also had other effects. It tended to consolidate prevailing social and economic structures within the reserve system, benefiting mostly those farmers who were in positions of political and economic power. Boldt (in Chiste, 1994) describes First Nations societies as having "[a] small, virtually closed, elite class comprising influential landowners, politicians, bureaucrats, and a few entrepreneurs, and a large lower class comprising destitute, dependent and powerless people" (p. 24). The economic conditions in some of the DIAND agencies described in the Hawthorn report support this line of reasoning. "The relative prosperity of the hundred odd ranch proprietors should not, however, obscure the fact that a considerable fraction, perhaps the majority, of Indians in the Okanagan Agency are virtually propertyless [emphasis added] and earn meagre and uncertain livelihoods" (p. 142). Carstens' (1991) ethnographic study of the Okanagan band (located in the northern Okanagan Valley, near Vernon, B.C.) provides a similar description. His portrait of the economic conditions prevailing in the early 1950s on the Okanagan reserve

53 Hawthorn's statement that DIAND devoted more time and effort, and special personnel to agriculture that any other field of productive activity must be read in comparative terms, within DIAND total budget figures. If it is read in absolute terms the statement could be misleading because, when the report was written, DIAND had only one professional agrologist on staff, hired in 1957. Furthermore, the adequacy of the amount of financial support for agriculture development during the 1950s has been questioned by First Nations leaders as discussed elsewhere.
established that there was a close relationship between land ownership and level of personal income. "Land has always been a scarce commodity on the reserve and there is room for only a few ranches and grain farms by modern standards. For the majority, therefore, wage labour ... was becoming the order of the day" (p. 177).^54

Analyzing race, class and gender relationships between First Nations people living on reserves and Canada's non-aboriginal population, and between people within the reserve system itself, Satzewich and Wotherspoon (1993) advance two proposals that would be important to consider in future analysis of First Nations agricultural development in British Columbia. First, that "the fortunes of aboriginal people as wage labourers and farmers [are] directly and indirectly tied to the larger fortunes of Canadian capitalism" (p.50). Second, that the thesis that First Nations people are collectively part of the Canadian underclass because in their case " 'race' corresponds perfectly with class" (p. 72) is not tenable. They claim instead that, although it is true that First Nations have higher rates of unemployment and lower salary rates than non-aboriginals, their study shows that First Nations people are distributed across all class positions within Canadian society. The acknowledgment of the existence of a First Nations bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie in the reserves provides new analytical tools for understanding the dynamics of economic development on reserves. It lends support to Cardoso and Faletto's (1979) thesis of associated-dependent development where lack of development is explained not only caused by external forces but also through the social and economic relationships existing between the "local" bourgeoisie and those external forces.

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^54 A critique of Carstens (1991) interpretation of how social structures have influenced the life and social organization in the Okanagan Reserve near Vernon, B.C., can be found in Wickwire (1991). "What we have in Carstens account is ideology masquerading as ethnography and the result is the imposition of a white, male Western world view onto a culture that in fact does not fit the mold" (p. 243).
The relationship between land ownership, social and economic status, kinship and the scarcity of land resources on reserves, suggests that DIAND development policies and programs (especially in the form of financial assistance) had a definitive impact on the social and economic structures of the reserve system. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the study of the above relationships could be a topic for further research that can provide new information about other factors influencing the internal development patterns of agriculture on the reserves.

Furthermore, within the reserve system economic relations are determined by the "intersection of [race], class, and gender. While the position of aboriginal peoples stems, in part, from their aboriginality, it also stems, in part, from wider class and gender relations in Canada" (Satzewich & Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 72). The extent to which agricultural development on reserves was related to the role of women in the production process was a matter not discussed in the DIAND policy documents.

**Characterizing DIAND Agricultural Development Policy**

From the perspective of the existing relations of power, DIAND policies and programs could be regarded as the expression of the interests of those groups that, within Canada, had a stake in creating new opportunities for investment.

It was at the point when the ruling classes deemed that future economic expansion should occur on the basis of agriculture and industrial capitalism that aboriginal peoples and their culture became systematically defined as a 'problem' ... The economic benefits of appropriation of Indian land have been enormous. (Satzewich & Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 9)

The policy of Canadianization of First Nations people through transformism, and the lack of meaningful extension agriculture programs helped to create the necessary space for new Euro-Canadian businesses. Following Frideres' (1993) analysis of the political
The advantage of my being an Indian could almost be offset by the fact that I was from the interior. Coastal Indian people have traditionally taken such a pride in their own culture that they tend to look down on interior Indians, whose way of life is a good deal less elaborate. (George Manuel cited in McFarlane, 1993, p. 79)

As discussed elsewhere, the internal colonial model does not account for the formation of a very small bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie inside the reserves that could help explain, at least in part, the decline in the total number of farmers reported in the 1969 AIC and DIAND report. This report placed the number of First Nations farmers in all British Columbia Agencies at 262, down from the 560 reported in Hawthorn et al. in 1958.55

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55 Another likely factor to be considered to explain the difference in total number of farmers is the definition used in various studies. Hawthorn seems to have include both full-time and part-time farmers, while AIC seems to be referring mostly to full-time producers.
The Relative Importance of Agricultural Production on the Development of the Reserves

Towards the end of the 1950s, statistics gathered on the extent of agricultural resources on First Nations reserves indicated that the agricultural sector on First Nations reserves in British Columbia had great potential for growth (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson, 1958). They wrote, "Indians in a number of agencies in the Central and Southern Interior, and to a lesser extent the Lower Mainland, hold sizable tracts of good farm land, arable and well-located in terms of transportation, facilities and markets" (p. 151). Nevertheless, despite the availability of natural resources, agricultural production on the reserves did not have a significant impact on the economic, social and cultural life of First Nations in British Columbia compared with the enormous influence exercised by forestry and fisheries resources. The unimportant role of agriculture in the traditional economy can be explained by First Nations dependence for their food supplies on the rich fish resources of the ocean and rivers of the west coast. They mostly relied on fishing, hunting and gathering for supplementary foods prior to the arrival of Euro-Canadian immigrants (Dickason, 1992). It was only in the early 1860s that some First Nations groups, mostly in the southern interior of the province, started to incorporate agricultural practices to respond to the demand for hay and food created by the Cariboo gold rush. The preeminence of fishing in traditional First Nations way of life was likely a substantial factor in the relatively less important role assigned by DIAND to the agricultural sector and its potential contribution to the improvement of living conditions on reserves.

An indication of the level of agricultural activity in this period can be found in the number of farms that were operating in 1954 and 1959. A summary of various reports sent by the Superintendents of the different Indian Agencies to the Indian Commissioner of B.C. showed the following total:
Table 2

Total number of farms in DIAND Agencies in British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Farm</th>
<th>1954 Number of Farms</th>
<th>1959 Number of Farms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mixed farming</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Gardening</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Raising</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Farms</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Acreage in agricultural use</td>
<td>60,048 acres</td>
<td>66,417 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indian Affairs Branch (1959, June).

The majority of these farms were located in the Williams Lake, Okanagan and Nicola regions where the main production activities were cattle ranching and hay production. It is interesting to note that the 1954 New Westminster Indian Agency report indicates that out of 16 farms, six "produce fluid milk and have an estimated 130 head of cows ... Seven of the above cattle farms are full time operations with family income of the remainder augmented by part time employment off the reserve" (Dunn, 1959). The existence of dairy farms operated by First Nations farmers is an interesting piece of information because it represents an exception to the Hawthorn et al. (1958) statement that First Nations people have a notorious preference towards "freedom to cease work and participate in other meaningful activities when the occasion demands, rather than be tied down to a rigid schedule" (p. 89) of work. A few years later, when the dairy industry
became regulated and quotas were needed to produce milk, First Nations dairy farms disappeared completely.56

In the late 1950s, First Nations people living in the Peace River and other northern and remote areas were described as nomads who did not have an interest in farming. For DIAND to "transform" them into farmers would have required a major effort in the form of agricultural extension services and financial support (Ash, 1960b). Contrary to the situation in the northern regions, in the south-central areas where First Nations people had been ranching for nearly one hundred years since the days of the Cariboo gold rush, their right to own and use productive resources, such as land, water and range was curtailed by disputes with neighbouring Euro-Canadian settlers. In 1966, the DIAND Williams Lake Superintendent wrote a letter to the B.C. Superintendent of Lands, Forest and Water Resources in Victoria, protesting the decision made at the Chilcotin Livestock Association on November 19, 1965, to grant the lease of lot 3127 to Mr. Hatton, a local rancher, for the purpose of grazing and cutting hay. "It has been our sad and frustrating experience that Indian people located in areas such as Nemaiah Valley do not benefit when whites settle in the same place" (Desmarais, 1966).

Furthermore, the slower agricultural development on the reserves can be attributed, in part, to a thirty year lag in accessibility to electrical power (and through it, to many technological advances). While "B.C. Electric in 1932 established an Agricultural Division to promote farm electrification" (Challenger, 1971, p.4), rural electrification reached the reserves only in the late 1960s providing access to "increased land areas and more diversified cropping" (Ash, 1974a, p. 3). The "first sprinkler

56 It would be interesting to find out the precise causes of the disappearance of First Nations dairy farms to learn whether this phenomenon can be explained following Hawthorn's proposition that First Nations farmers have a (cultural) preference for non-rigid work schedules, or if it was due to structural causes such as the regulation of dairy production that required farmers to finance the expansion and modernization of their operations. For a discussion on this topic in relation to Prairie First Nations Reserve farmers, see Carter (1990), Introduction.
irrigation system ... went into operation in 1960 at Redstone [in the Cariboo region] on a 160-acre hay project using diesel power ... The next project in 1968 was the ambitious undertaking of a 200-acre commercial vineyard" (Ash, 1974a, p. 3). Since then, "seven corporate farms have been formed [and ... all] but one of these are using electric-powered sprinkler systems" (Ash, 1974a, p. 3).

As indicated elsewhere, after World War I, urbanization and manufacturing developed very rapidly in British Columbia, creating increasing opportunities for people to work outside the reserves. As a result, agricultural activities on the reserves started to decline; many farms were abandoned and the land was leased to non-First Nations farmers. It was estimated that in the late 1960s, of the total land leased to non-Aboriginal farmers, 16,200 acres were arable land (18% of the total arable land on reserves) (DIAND, 1971). Meanwhile, during these years the non-First Nations agricultural sector was growing steadily, demanding from farmers substantial amounts of investment capital to expand, restructure, and accommodate their operations to an increasing degree of mechanization, and to the latest advances in technology.

The Construction of Knowledge and the Nature of the "Indian Problem"

The prosperity and economic growth enjoyed by the Euro-Canadian society following the end of W. W. II, coupled with an increased awareness brought about by the equality revolution (Barman, 1991) made the contrast with the intolerable situation prevailing on First Nations reserves more evident. The implementation of the new development policies of the 1951 Indian Act aimed at dealing with the situation on reserves required, according to DIAND officials, a description, analysis and diagnosis of the nature and magnitude of the so-called "Indian problem." Following the traditional Western approach to science, this perceived need for information prompted the
Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1954 to commission the University of British Columbia to undertake a study of "modern Indian life, focusing on the adjustments of the Indians to the Canadian economy and society ... [in order] to obtain data [and make] specific recommendations which could be considered in relation to future policy" (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson, 1958, p. v).

The study was headed by Dr. Harry Hawthorn, professor of Anthropology at the University of B.C. in cooperation with a group of professors and students from other departments who brought in their expertise in fields such as "community and family life, resources, employment, education, relations with the law, social welfare needs, and administration. ... [Also important was the] collection of economic and criminological data" (p. v, Foreword). The fields of expertise of the researchers served as an indication of the areas that were considered central to the study.

Although the explicit purpose of the research was to focus on the "adjustment process" of First Nations people to Canadian society, the "primary concern was the needs of the Indians in relation to legislation and official action" (p. vii). The selection of economic, social welfare, educational, and criminological data as the basic source of information for the study defined the nature of the findings at the outset. Considering that the study was mainly concerned with those areas that the researchers expected to be problematic, it seems that the implicit goal of the research was to uncover the causes of the "Indian problem." "We find it advisable to concentrate upon the problems [emphasis added] of reserve Indians, for these were the easiest to find and the most numerous .... [while the] important task of analyzing Indian philosophies, personalities and mode of thought [emphasis added] we approached only obliquely and explored only partially" (p. vi).

If one analyzes the purpose of the Hawthorn study utilizing Brown's (cited in Bowers, 1993) proposition that the meaning of a metaphor can be expanded through the
use of juxtaposed associations, one could argue that the use of the word "problem" instead of the phrase "mode of thought" in association with "Indian" is a clear indication of the direction of inquiry chosen by the researchers. In addition, it can also be maintained that the selection of the word "problem" to name the central theme of the study not only defines the perspective to be used to search for data, but "in a fundamental way creates the facts and provides a definition of what the essential quality of [the research] must be" (p. 32).

The list of "experts" in a wide variety of fields of knowledge presented in the Foreword section of Hawthorn's report can be interpreted as a symbolic representation of claim to a position of authority that could later be used to provide validity to the descriptions and recommendations that followed from the report. "British Columbia was chosen as the locale for the survey partly because of the experience of several members of the faculty of the University of British Columbia in similar studies" (p. v, Foreword). Positioning the authors of the discourse as authorities in the field results in a manifestation of power relations, where the people being "studied" become objectified by means of privileging a certain epistemology and form of living (Solnick, 1992).

The Hawthorn report (1958) on the situation of First Nations people in British Columbia was evidently aimed at becoming "scientific evidence" to provide the foundation for the DIAND policy of transformism that would follow. Written by "experts" who positioned themselves as authorities in the matters under consideration, the report generated a discourse that "objectified" First Nations as a group within Canadian society.

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57 Bowers (1993) explains: "metaphors, as Brown suggests, derive their expanded meaning from the juxtaposition of ... mental templates or from the use of an image taken from one mental template and used in a different context. Viewing society as an 'organism' and the curriculum as 'cultural reproduction' would be two examples. Put succinctly, metaphors always have an ideological basis that gives them their special symbolic power to expand meaning" (p. 21).
who could be characterized as having special problems that could be traced back to their culture and ethnic origin.

The tendency to build hierarchies where First Nations and other groups are presented as the "creators" of their own problems because of their failure to adapt to Western Euro-Canadian standards was clearly present in the Hawthorn report. The report, for example, states that to explain the "marginal and in some respects potentially precarious" (p. 84) position of most First Nations communities in the B.C. economy it is necessary to understand the motivation and attitude of First Nations people towards work. While in capitalist industrializing societies social advancement and security are provided by wealth accumulation and income, in "primitive [emphasis added] society ... the individual is secure because he can claim customary subsistence at least, from family and kindfolk" (p. 87). Furthermore, in "many Indian cultures status tends to be inherited rather than acquired" (p. 87).

The attitude of First Nations people towards work and inherited social status, along with their understanding of human existence as part of the natural cycles of nature (where economic, social and spiritual activities become inter-woven) were regarded as obstacles to agricultural development, growth and modernization. First Nations people's attitude and value system were seen as contradictory to "[one] underlying assumption of our urban, industrial culture ... [that] work as such is a more or less unpleasant necessity" (p. 84) that has to be accepted in order to achieve social prestige that is closely related to accumulated wealth and income. Hawthorn stated that in the transition years of the 1950s, "[individualism] and competitiveness were held in high regard and saving and abstemiousness were praised as virtues" (p. 85). From the report it followed that, to overcome the obstacles to development "that seem to hold the Indian back from a complete integration in the individualistic accumulative economy" (p. 92), First Nations
had to be encouraged to change their motivations "even further until they more nearly resemble those of Whites" (p.92).

A few years later, in 1966, a second study on the conditions prevailing on First Nations communities was commissioned by DIAND to Hawthorn. The second Hawthorn report was, this time, on a national scale.

This document reported, in specific style, the appalling conditions under which Natives were forced to live. It suggested support for community development and promoted the implementation of major new initiatives in the area of health and education. Nevertheless, the central assumption of the 
Hawthorn Report was for Natives to assimilate. (Frideres, 1993, pp. 15-16)

When the second Hawthorn report was finished, fifteen years had passed since the Indian Act was revised in 1951 to give First Nations people control to organize the life in their communities. However, despite what official policies dictated, the subtext promoting assimilation and transformism as the "solution" to the "Indian problem", did not change.

**Extension Services for First Nations Farmers**

The benefits that the Euro-Canadian society across Canada received from the federal rural development programs did not materialize at the reserve level where DIAND agricultural extension services were minimal. In the process of making First Nations people "regular" citizens of Canada the incorporation of thousands of acres of arable and grazing land into production, and the generally accepted premise, among anthropologists and development professionals (Hawthorn et al., 1958), that agriculture was the most appropriate way to help people make the transition from a nomadic to an industrial way of life would have made the presence of an extension education service a logical priority. Nevertheless, this was not the case. As indicated in the Hawthorn study, "[the] Indian
Affairs Branch [did] not always provide the Indians with the best technical advice" (p. 152). Moreover, in the chapter discussing the administration of Indian Affairs the report stated:

We are led to emphasize [the educational] aspect of the objectives of Indian administration because our observations have led us to believe the 'education' in the Branch is, in practice, limited to 'provision of schooling'. Even in this field the role of the superintendent, and his staff is by and large an administrative one ... Very occasionally, he lets his ideas on the general scope of education come to the attention of higher authorities. (p. 486)

This lack of consistent and well-organized adult education programs, and more specifically of an agricultural education extension program, might seem contradictory in the context of the policy of transformism. This apparent contradiction appears even more telling if it is considered that Canada was starting to enjoy a period of social prosperity and economic expansion.

The less important position held by agriculture among economic activities on reserves was reflected in DIAND agricultural policies and programs during the 1950s and 1960s. Despite the abundance of land with a potential for agricultural uses (arable and grassland), Indian Affairs had no agricultural professional on staff until 1957. The AIC and DIAND report (1968b) estimated that the 1,621 reserves in British Columbia had a total of 268,481 acres of land that could eventually be used for agricultural production (92,329 acres of good arable land plus 176,152 acres of hay and pastures). Furthermore, the report indicated that most of this land was not being fully utilized and, in addition, 54,000 acres (20% of the total) were "under contractual arrangements to non-Indians with indications or suggestions of low or inadequate returns to the people of the reserves as compared to the potential" (p. 1).

Meanwhile, during the 1950s the non-First Nations agricultural sector continued its development-growth phase and prepared to enter a period of modernization supported by
the services provided by the British Columbia Department of Agriculture [BCDA]. In the meantime, a general lack of development continued to prevail on a majority of reserves. This difference can be largely attributed to a deficiency of available financial resources to increase production levels through the adoption of new technologies, and to the paucity of extension services accessible to First Nations farmers.

If we look through, for example, the thirties and the forties we see a lot of Native people who were farming in the interior, farming their own land. In my own reserve, [the Coldwater Band in Merritt], we can [still] see evidence of a major irrigation system, open pit systems in the Okanagan, ... old apple orchards that are still existing from that era. ... [We] used the horse ... until about forty years ago [but] with the advent of tractors, sprinkle irrigation and that kind of thing, where intensive labour no longer mattered ... there was a need to increase production through mechanization and the capital was not available for Native people. ... Two things that over the last fifty years have changed all of that [the success histories of the early 1900s] ... one of them is capital and the other is training. (Antoine, 1993, p.1)

Comments made by Oregon Jack Band Chief, Robert Pasco, in 1979 regarding the state of First Nations agriculture prior to W.W. II, substantiate Gordon Antoine's statement. Pasco wrote that "[over] the past thirty years agriculture on the reserves has become almost invisible. Before that, Indians were very much involved in agriculture" (p. 21).

Towards the end of the 1950s, the Department of Indian Affairs began to deliver agricultural extension services in the form of technical advice and training to farmers living on reserves.58 A full-time regional agrologist was hired in 1957 to provide assistance to First Nations farmers and those interested in starting to farm. Although the hiring of Bruce Ash as Regional Agriculturalist represented an improvement in services, his effectiveness was limited because he had to provide agricultural advisory services to

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58 DIAND, according to the Indian Act, can only provide services to registered or status First Nations people.
more than 80 Bands that had agricultural production possibilities (Antoine, 1991 and Ash, 1993). Two years later, in 1959, the DIAND Welfare Division was split into Economic Development and Welfare, with the Economic Development section directly responsible for agricultural development projects.

The financing available for modernizing agricultural production on reserves was limited to that provided by the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF), created in 1938, and the Beef Rotating Herd of the early 1960s (Jones, 1960). The IEDF mandate, under section 70 of the Indian Act, was "to assist in the establishing businesses ... with the only service being the provision of loans" (DIAND, 1985a, p.1). Total funding for the first revolving loan fund was $350,000 that grew to $6.0 million prior to the 1970 revision of IEDF. "Overall, during the pre-IEDF [revision] period few Indian-initiated projects were underway, the bulk of the major projects being DIAND initiatives" (DIAND, ca.1983, p. 6).

Private financing was not at the disposal of First Nations farmers, mainly because land was not available for use as collateral for loans since it is held by the federal government in trust for First Nations. Furthermore, financial institutions were reluctant to lend money for agricultural projects on reserves using chattel mortgages (i.e, cattle or machinery) as collateral because of the uncertainties regarding legal aspects connected with the possibility of realizing this type of security. Of special concern was the question related to the right to enter a reserve. According to Sanders (1976) Section 89 (2) of the Indian Act establishes that an item sold under a conditional sales contract can be recovered, while one "sold with a chattel mortgage taken as part of the purchase.

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59 The legal and constitutional aspects of First Nations', provincial and federal government's relationship to the land question is beyond the scope of this study. For a brief account of federal laws and First Nations reserves see Sanders 1976 and 1983. For an overview of Treaties and the Land Question, see Frideres (1993), Chapters 3 and 4.
arrangement, would be protected from seizure under 89 (1)" (p. 19). There was also uncertainty regarding legal rights and obligations of incorporated companies located on reserve. The general lack of information about legal aspects of doing business on reserves, and the complexity of the regulations dictating the life of First Nations people, can be regarded as major factors preventing the use of private funding for the financing of agricultural development projects.

**DIAND Agricultural Extension Program**

Prior to 1957, First Nations farmers were not receiving agricultural extension services, either in the form of technology transfer or education and training. As in the previous period, the only agricultural training available for First Nations was that received by youngsters who were attending Residential Schools. Bruce Ash recalls, when he joined the Indian Affairs Branch in 1957:

... there wasn't anything when I started. The [assistant] Commissioner [F.E. Anfield] said: there is really no basis for you ... just go and make what you can out of this project. ... It was a small unit when I started, just a handful. Then they started to add staff in the field and develop big projects such as forestry. There was no Regional Director. There was a Social Worker, a Wildlife Officer, a Placement Officer, myself and the Engineering and the Education [staff]. That was it. We worked as a team under the direction of the Commissioner. ... He was responsible to Indian Affairs. I think it was Indian Affairs and Immigration in those days. (Ash, 1993)

Even after Bruce Ash was hired, First Nations people living in the more remote areas of the province were not targeted as potential clients for a development program aimed at "creating" new farmers who eventually would become "Canadian citizens." The reserves in the Fort St. John Agency provided a good illustration of this state of affairs.

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60 For further information on legal aspects of doing business on reserves see Sanders, 1976 and 1983.
Reporting on the results of an agricultural survey of the agency, Bruce Ash, DIAND Agricultural Supervisor, made the following comments and recommendation to the Indian Commissioner of B.C.:

At the outset it is safe to conclude that fundamentally the majority of the Indians in this Agency are not agriculturally interested or trained ... [and] follow for the most part a nomadic life and derive their livelihood from trapping ... [and] are not concerned with cattle ... it would seem in their best interests to let the reserve out to tender. (Ash, 1960b, p. 1-2)

For the next nine years Ash traveled the province assessing the agricultural potential of the different reserves and organizing extension education events. These activities involved visits to the Agriculture Canada Research Station in Summerland; attendance at the Stockmen’s Conference in Tranquille; alfalfa production field days in the Okanagan; demonstration plots on hay meadow production and in the use of fertilizers in Cawston; an agricultural film night at the Neskainlith Band in Chase; demonstration plots to show benefits of irrigation in Lytton; and so on. These extension activities resulted in an increasing number of agricultural projects. Some examples are the Cowichan Band’s land clearing with the intention of organizing a cooperative to produce vegetables; the acquisition of farm machinery by individual farmers in the Adams Lake and Kamloops Bands to increase beef and hay production; the establishment of an orchard and vineyard in Lytton and Lillooet; and the purchase of three herds of 20 cows each by the Upper Nicola band (Ash, 1964). Even in the Fort St. John Agency, where conditions for agricultural development were regarded as difficult, a cattle ranch was planned at the Halfway Band. This project was undertaken "to demonstrate that money can be made from livestock" (Ash, 1963, p.3) and to create new enterprises that could compensate for

61 These and other examples of extension/education activities that took place between 1962 and 1967 can be found in Canada National Archives, RG 10, File 901/15-1, volume 1-3.
the disruption of the traditional way of life in the region. In the case of the Halfway Band, modernization was affecting 106 members who had traditionally lived from the land, trapping and getting their meat for personal consumption. "The inroads of settlements by farmers, oil companies, and loggers has adversely affected the fur bearing animals, therefore, other avenues of revenue must be explored" (Ash, 1963, p.2). The project was organized under the close supervision of Mr. Likes, Agency Assistant, who endeavoured to train potential farmers and facilitate the transition from animal to machine power. The plan considered developing the land to raise cattle "into finished beef [so that] this Band can realize a new and profitable way of life. Slow and careful should be the guide here and much of the success will depend on the continued on-the-spot supervision now being given" (Ash, 1963, p. 3).

Although efforts to initiate new agricultural projects were generally successful (Ash, 1965), the educational activities themselves received mixed reviews from First Nations participants. On many occasions few farmers attended field day activities organized by DIAND or presented in conjunction with BCDA. The reluctance to engage in some of the extension activities can be attributed to the underlying paternalistic character of the DIAND program (Hawthorn et al. 1958), to issues related to mutual trust relationships, and to cultural differences.

Since the time of first contact, the British Columbia government had systematically refused to acknowledge First Nations rights to the land, and on many occasions had explicitly moved to dispossess them of their lands, grazing rangelands and water (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, 1974c). Furthermore, the DIAND agricultural extension and advisory programs relied heavily on Western concepts of development, growth and wealth accumulation that were transmitted to First Nations farmers by professional and local Euro-Canadian experts. Western agricultural knowledge was imparted by hired managers, DIAND Superintendents and professional agrologists. First Nations traditional knowledge
and way of living were not considered in the design of the curriculum of extension programs. It is also interesting to notice that Clarence Walkem, one of the three First Nations persons who had graduated from the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of British Columbia in the last one hundred years did not have a prominent role in the DIAND program when he was working as the Kamloops Agency Assistant, in the early 1960s.62

Ash's report sent to the A/Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the deliberations that took place in the 1961 Agriculture Conference of the Alberta Region is a good representation of the DIAND extension approach. He wrote:

[We] do enjoy the same basic desire and that is to improve the welfare of the people on the reserves by making the fullest use [emphasis added] of the natural resources through Indian participation [emphasis added] ... The consensus of opinion from the Agency Superintendents indicated that ... the Indians through association and guidance from their Superintendents were progressing in self government. The chief concern by the Agency staff seemed in impressing upon the Band Councils the need for taking a much more active and stronger stand in handling their own affairs. (Ash, 1961, p. 1)

What is revealing in this statement are the underlying assumptions. First, following development growth theory, there was the assertion that the welfare of the people was a direct (positive) function of the degree of utilization of natural resources. Second, that there was a need for First Nations to become involved (participate) in the agricultural production process. Third, that DIAND understanding of participation was quite limited. It involved telling people to adopt a course of action chosen for them as appropriate by academic and professional experts (a process metaphorically called "guidance"), rather than encouraging people in the communities to decide which

62 In a Memorandum from Ash to Indian Commissioner Boys reporting on the Agricultural Film Night at the Neskainlith Reserve, it can be read: "Mr. C. Walkem, the Agency Assistant from Kamloops represented that office, and his assistance with the equipment operation was appreciated" (Ash, 1962, p.1).
development strategy they would like to follow within their own cultural perspective. The general principles that illuminated the DIAND programs were indeed critical in determining the degree of acceptance and success of agricultural extension activities.

**First Nations Agricultural Development and the Role of the British Columbia Department of Agriculture**

As was the case in past years, between World War II and 1969 the First Nations agricultural sector was not included in the mandate of the BCDA, nor were First Nations farmers and ranchers beneficiaries of any of Agriculture Canada's special extension programs. The position of the provincial government was that, under the BNA, First Nations affairs (including agricultural development) were the sole responsibility of Canada and consequently British Columbia was under no obligation to provide special extension education services to them. At the federal level, Agriculture Canada argued that since agriculture extension services and development efforts to First Nations farmers had to be provided by DIAND, the federal ministry of agriculture did not have a mandate to participate in efforts to develop First Nations agriculture.

Meantime, along with the federal government's attempts to strengthen the rural sector, the BCDA was providing extension services to Euro-Canadian farmers that had a dual objective: to transfer new technologies to their expanding agricultural businesses and to support farming as a way of life. These provincial services, however, did not reach the reserves as indicated earlier. It was only after Bruce Ash was hired by DIAND as Agricultural Supervisor for B.C. and the Yukon that he tried to establish a working relationship with BCDA. In a memorandum to W.S. Arneil, Indian Commissioner for B.C., he wrote, "it is evident that a great deal of sympathy for the Indians exists and that our efforts to improve the lot of these people will be supplemented in every possible way at the Provincial level" (Ash, 1957). By 1964, the provincial government had yet to
initiate efforts to help in the development of First Nations agriculture. In a report to Indian Commissioner J.V. Boys, in the section discussing the relationships between Canada and British Columbia, Ash stated that although the province continued to offer assistance to First Nations farmers upon their request, "provincial agricultural staff [were] usually so overloaded with work that they [did] not have time to become involved with Indian lands to any extent" (Ash, 1964, p.5). He pointed out the need to hire at least one new agrologist in Kamloops given the expanding "agricultural endeavours - 30 rotating herds and 10,000 head of cattle owned by Indians plus hay, irrigation, small fruits, etc." (p. 6). The negotiations between DIAND and BCDA continued for years. In 1968, Ash suggested in a letter to S.B. Peterson, Director of Agricultural Development and Extension, BCDA, the possibility that the two institutions initiate negotiations to establish a program "regarding agricultural assistance to Indians that could be administered by [BCDA] District Agriculturalists and Horticulturalists in the field" (Ash, 1968). Ash's proposal to create a provincial program, funded by the Indian Affairs Branch, to provide reserve level consultation services to First Nations farmers never received a formal written answer from BCDA. By 1969, DIAND had come to the conclusion that BCDA was not prepared to assist First Nations farmers. Verbally BCMA informed DIAND that their agrologists "could [only] perform a limited consultation service ... but not continuous reserve supervision" (Ash, 1969a).

63 The Province of British Columbia became involved for the first time in the provision of funds for First Nations programs in 1969. That year the First Citizens Fund (FCF) was established as a $25 million perpetual fund "dedicated to the development of North American Native Indians who were born in or are residents of British Columbia" (British Columbia Ministry of Native Affairs & Delta Credit Union, 1988, p. 1). The FCF original mandate was to provide assistance for cultural activities, education, community services and economic development. Agricultural development however was not part of its original mandate because it only considered "commercial ventures". Only in the early 1980s changes were made to include financial aid in the form of contributions, mainly to first-time farmers and to those living in isolated communities. In April of 1988 FCF altered its mandate again to become a loan fund (Intergroup Consultants, 1988).
Expanding DIAND Extension Program

Following Ash's suggestions, D. Clark, Regional Superintendent for Development, DIAND, petitioned Ottawa for funds to hire three new agrologists to be stationed at the Williams Lake, Thompson River and Okanagan-Kootenay DIAND agencies. Clark stated that DIAND needed to expand its extension services because neither the province nor DIAND were in a position to provide adequate field services to First Nations farmers who "[were] becoming aware of the agricultural potential of their reserves ... [DIAND] anticipated [the] establishment of 1,000 family units using 300,000 acres" (Clark, 1969). In the early 1970s DIAND hired the three agrologists who worked until 1975 when the DIAND Vernon and Kamloops offices were closed as a result of pressure exercised by First Nations organizations (WIAC, 1983) who were dissatisfied with the policies of the government of Canada, especially after the new Minister of Indian Affairs, Judd Buchanan, "issued a wide range of new guidelines on DIA funding without consulting the Indian organizations" (McFarlane, 1993, p. 202).

The AIC Study of First Nations Agriculture:
The Voice of the Professionals

In 1968, the International Year of Human Rights, the Agriculture Institute of Canada (AIC) and the Department of Indian Affairs jointly decided, once more, to study the "Indian problem." The AIC and the DIA considered it necessary "to study and make recommendations which would help Indian people improve their economic and social level by developing the agricultural potential on Indian reserves" (Agriculture Institute of Canada and DIAND, 1968a, title page). The report's recommendations, discussed at a three-day conference held in Jasper, Alberta in October of 1968, were reported as being

64 "The third position in Williams Lake was discontinued in 1976" (WIAC, 1983, p. 10).
the result of the concerted effort of representatives of the government of Canada, of agricultural professionals, and of Indian people. The recommendations, once more, seemed to be based mainly on a Western philosophical approach to development that did not reflect a First Nations holistic perspective. The recommendations centered around the full utilization of the natural resources (i.e., land and water for agricultural uses), the beneficial impact that increased agricultural production would have on the national economy, and on the importance of agriculture as a source of jobs for First Nations people. The assumptions underlying the set of recommendations again tended to stress the need to utilize resources and improve extension and financial services to First Nations farmers, sidestepping the fundamental question of the ownership of productive resources, water and land.

During the prosperous years of the 1960s the hegemonic groups that were well represented in the administrative arm of the state (DIAND) and in the agricultural professions (there are few First Nations agrologists in Canada) felt a responsibility to respond to the pressing social problems on the reserves. The AIC and DIAND reports stressed the many restrictions that some social structures - in this case the legal apparatus created to regulate the reserve system - imposed on the development of agriculture. An important limitation mentioned, that holds true still today, was the farmers' inability to use land as collateral for securing financing for their projects because the land was not owned by First Nations, but by Canada. The AIC report, however, transcended this standard legal/economic analysis when it asked the role played, in hindering agricultural development, by "social, cultural and administrative factors which appear to limit the Indian farmers' success in farming?" (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p. 6). Their description and analysis of the factors limiting agricultural development focused, however, on elements that were part of the material reproduction of society. The report claimed that agriculture on Indian Reserves could not develop further because "resources on reserves
are far below that needed to provide Indian people with an adequate living " (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p. 6). It also pointed to social factors such as rapid population growth and the predominance, in the total population, of people under fifteen years of age as factors hindering agricultural development.

The AIC and DIAND report, however, did not undertake an in-depth analysis of the role that factors - other than economic and social - could play in planning agricultural development and its supporting extension programs. As in the case of the Hawthorn et al. (1958) study, the AIC and DIAND report also reached the conclusion that "[in] general, we find people trying to farm on Indian reserves with good agricultural potential, but with limited success. Why?" (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p. 6). The report acknowledged that the answer to their question could not be found only in legal and financial limitations, and that cultural elements should be considered in any analysis. "Do the cultural values of the Indian society limit development of attitudes and aptitudes of Indian people to succeed in farming? (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p. 6). Premised on the assumption that natural resources on the reserves must be fully utilized to increase levels of production and profit, the report suggested that agricultural resources should be structured according to what they considered to be viable economic units. Hence, farming success was defined as full utilization of land and other resources to maximize profits that would allow living conditions on the reserves to be improved to levels that would gradually become acceptable by Western standards.

Cultural Perspectives and Conceptions of Development

To implement the policy of transformism based on the provision of limited extension education services and relatively more significant funding of agricultural projects it was necessary to create among the general public and the civil servants working in DIAND the image that "Indian" people were only interested in preserving a romantic
naturalistic link to "traditional" ways of life. Bruce Ash (1993), a former DIAND Regional Agrologist, when asked to compare Native and non-Native approaches to development based on his many years of work with First Nations farmers, said: "It is the philosophy. We are driven to make the dollars [while] they are not. They just want enough to eat, to keep warm and hopefully to get by. ... Indians probably like to leave things the way they were. Mother Nature would grow up grass, fine, but then ..." (p. 24). Ash's comments confirmed the prevailing view among DIAND personnel that First Nations people were not sufficiently educated and sophisticated to understand the importance of being "driven to make the dollars." Immersed in their Western cultural upbringing that privileges scientific rationality and material accumulation, and praises individualism and autonomy, DIAND personnel failed to understand that First Nations perspectives on development are derived from a value and belief system stemming from a different culture, and not from a lack of formal education.

DIAND's staff interpretation of the causes of lack of agricultural development on the reserves exemplifies how the interplay of cultural constructions and economic conditions interact in a dialectical relationship to make the ideology of the hegemonic groups an integral part of the "cultural capital" of society (or common-sense knowledge of the people).

The modes of incorporation are of great social significance ... The educational institutions are the main agencies of the transmission of an effective dominant culture, and this is now a major economic as well as cultural activity; indeed it is both in the same moment. (Williams, 1973, p. 9)

It was through this type of mechanism that modernization policies became part of the instruments utilized to perpetuate the marginalization of First Nations by those in control of the Canadian state. Gramsci's premise that "[material] forces are the content and ideologies the form .... [and that] ... material forces would be inconceivable
historically without form and the ideologies would be individual fancies without material forces" (in Bonanno & Swanson, 1988, p. 25) describes theoretically the relationships between DIAND and First Nations farmers.65

An example of how divergent cultural perspectives frame social relationships differently is illustrated by an event that took place in the early 1960s in the Lower Nicola Band in Merritt. The Band had at the time between 300 and 400 head of cattle and not enough pasture, within the reserve, to adequately feed the herd. The Band had shared for over fifty years the adjacent Crown range with the Nicola Stock Farm, for summer and fall grazing based on a customary arrangement. However, since the ranch changed owners DIAND felt it necessary to apply for a legal Crown range permit because "it is our belief that quite possibly all of the Crown range could be taken over leaving the Band cattle without sufficient summer and fall feed" (Ash, 1960a, p.2). People from the Band, especially elders, could not understand why the band had to apply for a permit to use a resource that had always been theirs. From the perspective of their cultural tradition they were sharing the resource with the ranch, and according to their customs, the mutual understanding reached orally had the equivalent legal force that a formal written permit would have for Euro-Canadians.

Theoretically, if the circumstances just described had been analyzed from a position that respected and valued the existence of a plurality of cultural norms, the DIAND recommendation would have been different. Instead of simply applying for a permit that would require the approval of the Nicola Stockmen's Association, where First Nations were not represented and therefore were at a disadvantage, DIAND could have acknowledged the customary rights of First Nations. They could have then negotiated

65 "It is in the unity of content and form that the causal ontological superiority of material conditions over ideology, assumed by Scientific Marxism, is rejected" (Bonanno & Swanson, 1988, p. 25).
with the Nicola Stock Ranch a joint application that would "legalize" in Euro-Canadian terms the original mutual agreement. A solution like the latter might look utopian or unrealistic if relations of political and economic power are acknowledged, but from an ethical rational perspective it could be argued that it has the strength of being more comprehensive. Moreover, this episode highlights the need to consider value systems and cultural perspectives in planning and delivering development and extension programs (Kottak, 1990, p. 724).

In the circumstances prevailing in the Lower Nicola Band, the DIAND extension personnel, caught subconsciously in the cultural and legal norms of every day Canadian modern life, applied those standards uncritically to solve the problem. Because they advanced a proposition that accepted the Nicola Stock Ranch rights as having precedence over those of First Nations, their proposal only reinforced existing relations of power. It could be argued, however, that DIAND personnel were only acting within what were regarded as accepted legal and social rules. Although that was likely the case, they could have considered alternative points of view that were prevalent among professionals and academics in the 1950s and 1960s. DIAND extension staff did not engage the social advocacy tradition so distinctive of Canadian adult education during the 1940s and 1950s that included, for example, the participation of the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) with First Nations rights. CAAE participated in 1959 in the creation of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada (IEA), an organization that "did research on many problems of native peoples and acted as a national political lobby for Native interests" (Price, 1990, p. 262). IEA was also mandated to inform and educate the public

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66 The 1943 Manifesto of the Canadian Association for Adult education stated as one of its principles that "Human beings are ends not means. Planning must be combined with such local and community participation and democratic vigilance as to prevent the regimentation and frustration of the human personality. Social efficiency and security are not ends in themselves but are for the sake of human dignity and personal fulfilment" (Faris, 1975, p.156, Appendix).
about First Nations interests and concerns. Furthermore, DIAND staff did not consider the neo-populist critique of industrialism that offered alternative models to eliminate poverty and regional disparities (Kitching, 1989). Also, they did not consider the work of critical social theorists stemming from the Frankfurt School that questioned "the rise and domination of instrumental reason" (Held, 1980, p.148). DIAND extension program uncritically followed an approach that disregarded the "capacities for cultural and social criticalness, which had begun to become part of the design of education since the Enlightenment" (Misgeld, 1985, p. 77).

Reasoning from a cultural perspective similar to that of the Indian Affairs Branch personnel, the AIC and DIAND report indicated that notwithstanding the "help" that was offered in almost any conceivable business activity "there is something missing. The majority of Indians seem to live in a constant state of apathy" (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p. 7). The explanation offered in the report to account for First Nations general state of apathy was a lack of motivation derived from the DIAND's programs incapacity to offer farmers solutions - for increasing agricultural production and productivity on the reserves - that unequivocally identified possibilities for economic success. The initial insight acknowledging that cultural norms played an important role in deciding whether a development and extension program would meet the expectations of a farming community became lost. The underlying subtext in this report identified success or failure in terms of agricultural production and productivity, as was the case in the Hawthorn report of eleven years earlier. Perhaps, if the authors of the AIC report had pursued their original interest in understanding the relationship between culture and development, and critically investigated the foundations of what First Nations farmers considered to be the "right" solutions, they likely would have come to a different conclusion. They could have concluded that what was needed was to identify, through a dialogue with First Nations farmers, what the farmers considered to be a successful operation, rather than defining a
priori what was considered to be the appropriate program goals. It should not have been unexpected that measuring program results against pre-established goals based on Western technocratic modernization standards, with the exclusion of First Nations farmers' understanding, would produce a minimal degree of "success."

The AIC report included references not only to the need to improve formal and non-formal programs, but also advanced the proposition that extension programs should include "the total experience of a trainee rather than only the formal classroom training as in a public or vocational school" (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p. 8). Nevertheless, since education levels were constructed using as a reference point people's competency in Western thought systems and sciences, First Nations farmers lack of education (Western style) was defined as a major obstacle for development. "Do educational levels of Indian farmers limit their potential for development? (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p. 7). The affirmative answer prevented the possibility of working with First Nations to re-establish their own production systems based on their cultural and value system. The underlying purpose of the suggested extension programs was to "help" First Nations people to become motivated to increase their participation in Canadian society, particularly from an economic point of view.

The report, although generally sensitive to First Nations concerns, represented another example of the discordance existing in the way development was constructed by mainstream Canadian institutions, and by First Nations peoples, both at the ideological and common-sense communal levels of understanding. What is important to bear in mind is that these differences were very important in determining the actual type of development policies pursued by DIAND. Hence they had a direct effect on shaping the relationships between First Nations and the Canadian government, and on the life of the people living on reserves.
Addressing the issue of how to bring to First Nations farmers the benefits of agricultural extension programs, the report identifies as problematic all those characteristics that, from the authors' professional perspective, First Nations people are lacking when compared to Western standards. Building these types of hierarchies led the authors of the report to the conclusion that in order to organize effective extension programs it was necessary to consider that "Indian people over 25 years of age have not had the formal or informal education which is essential in order to fully utilize modern opportunities" (AIC & DIA, 1968b, p. 11). Moreover, "work habits" and "discipline" were also considered problems faced by "Indian people" because they "are in a transition from a food gathering economy to a nature conquering economy ... [and] from a passive, stoic type of discipline imposed by the rigors of life and nature to an active, personally directed discipline in view of conquering the rigors of life and nature" (AIC & DIAND, 1968b, p.11).

After defining *a priori* from an Euro-Canadian perspective the ideal conditions that First Nations farmers should strive for, the professional agrologists of the Agricultural Institute of Canada and the civil servants in the Department of Indian Affairs undertook the task of writing the report and its recommendations so that the pre-established ideal could be reached. By positioning themselves uncritically as centered subjects with authority derived from their expertise in the field of agricultural planning, their recommendations served the purpose of reifying their own development model.

The AIC and DIAND report reiterated what the Hawthorn report had already established regarding the economic potential offered by the untapped natural resources of the First Nations agricultural sector. The incorporation of these lands into production had the potential for providing sources of employment for people on reserves and for contributing to Canada's national agricultural production. The report recommended that "[all] our natural resources, including agricultural land, must be developed at the
appropriate time in the long range interest of the national economy" (AIC & DIAND, 1968a, p. 2). Following this report's recommendations, DIAND's agricultural policies became a blend of development concepts related to both growth and modernization, signaling a definite movement away from the original goal of utilizing agriculture as one of the vehicles to assimilate First Nations people into Canadian society. The AIC and DIAND recommendations reinforced the policy of transformism initiated in 1951. The objective was now to gradually incorporate into Canadian society the most progressive First Nations farmers through improving their living conditions by means of encouraging them to increasingly engage in commercial farming. The new goal was to be achieved by intensifying agricultural production through the introduction of new technologies and by bringing currently uncultivated land into production.

**Structural Predominance in the Maintenance of Economic and Social Dependency on Reserves**

Analysis of the relationship between economic development policies, agricultural production patterns and agricultural extension programs during the 1950s and 1960s showed the dominance of established legal and social Euro-Canadian institutions in the maintenance of economic and social dependency on the reserves. Furthermore, the analysis insinuated that lack of development needed to be explained not only based on dependency on external forces but also through the social and economic relationships existing inside First Nations communities, including class, gender and ethnicity.

After World War II, at least two very distinct situations existed in the Province with respect to First Nations agricultural development. The reserves in the central plateau and the northern regions of the province were fundamentally residential places where local communities pursued their traditional hunting and trapping activities.
Conversely, the central south reserves, having farmed for more than one hundred years, were utilizing their land resources, especially in ranching, competing for publicly owned resources, such as water rights and range use permits, with Euro-Canadian ranchers. The Hawthorn et al. study (1958) reported that in the Lillooet region, for example, "[most] of the members of the Lillooet Growers' Cooperative are Indians, who are also represented in the executive. And no less than forty-five out of the fifty members of the Fraser Canyon Cattlemen's Association are Indians" (p. 147).

Overall, the agricultural sector was, during the 1950s and 1960s, the third most important source of income and employment for First Nations people (Hawthorn et al., 1958). Nonetheless, the Indian Affairs Branch did not provide First Nations farmers with adequate technical advice and financial support to develop efficient and modern farming operations. DIAND agricultural development policies showed ambivalence between the need to respond to the pressures of Euro-Canadian settlers to restrict First Nations access to land and other resources, and at the same time demonstrate to the urban constituencies the need to secure funding for its programs in order to "help", within the policy of equality of the 1960s, First Nations develop. The solution found by DIAND was to provide funds for agricultural development without the support of extension programs that would have provided First Nations farmers with permanent technical knowledge and skills - skills that would have allow them to compete on a permanent basis with non-First Nations farmers. The purpose of this policy was to generate some development on the reserves that would satisfy the social consciousness of the urban public, while at the same time limiting permanent development of First Nations communities by refusing to address the fundamental question of aboriginal rights. The latter policy was aimed at satisfying Euro-Canadian settlers.

Although DIAND's policy of limited support for agricultural development might have had some internal rational explanation, the standard justification for the lack of
success in achieving the goal of encouraging First Nations to engage in farming was that First Nations were not educated enough to comprehend the need for "making a dollar", and also that they were generally apathetic. No attention was paid to possible incongruities between First Nations cultural ideals and those inspiring the DIAND development policies being implemented without consultation.

Towards the end of the 1960s, the decline in agricultural activities prompted some First Nations leaders to start thinking about the possibility of starting their own extension program. This idea of taking over the management and administration of their own program became more attractive through the consciousness-raising process that resulted from the activities emerging from the opposition to the 1969 Government of Canada Statement on Indian Policy, also known as the White Paper. In British Columbia this process lead to, among other things, the creation in 1978 of the British Columbia Indian Agricultural Program. The events that took place in the ten years of negotiation between 1969 and 1978 are discussed and analyzed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER SIX


For a people who have fallen from a proud state of independence and self-sufficiency, progress - substantial change - can come about only when we again achieve that degree of security and control over our own destinies. (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p. 4)

The primary purpose of this chapter is to describe the initiation, after nearly 35 years of relative stagnation, of a renaissance of First Nations cultural and political identity. It was during this period that First Nations farmers in British Columbia envisioned an opportunity to reverse the declining trend of agricultural production on the reserves. They were certain that the relative stagnation of First Nations agriculture during the post-war years had been accentuated by the limited financial and extension services available to farmers on reserves. Those services had not been readily available to them to expand their operations and adopt new technologies. First Nations foresaw the solution to this problem, from the perspective of self-determination, in the creation of an agricultural extension institution which they themselves owned and controlled.

After describing the change in federal government regional development policies from rural development to an urban/industrial strategy, the analysis illustrates the capacity of human agency for social change through a discussion of the lengthy negotiation process that culminated in the organization of a First Nations agricultural extension service in British Columbia.

General Development Policies and Perspectives

This section presents a general description of the development policies and perspectives prevailing in the 1970s that provide the background to understanding the
evolution of the relationships between First Nations farmers and the federal and provincial governments.

**Federal Development Policy: From Rural to Industrial/Urban Development**

The emphasis on rural development that characterized changes to the ARDA program in 1966 began to be criticized by politicians and regional economists toward the end of the decade. ARDA and FRED, according to a study commissioned by the Economic Council of Canada, had not been able to deal in a meaningful way with the problem of low-income farming in the country. In 1969, these criticisms led to additional changes in federal government development policies. The newly elected government of Prime Minister Trudeau passed the Government Organization Act that cancelled FRED and created the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) whose policies were the "the embodiment of the growth-centre approach [to development]" (Matthews, 1983, p. 108) based on the concept of urban/industrialism. The new legislation kept, however, some of its rural development thrust and maintained ARDA and the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act. By the late 1960s, the federal government continued to change its development policy in the direction of labour adjustment programs that encouraged people to move out of marginal agricultural areas to urban centres that were to become the new "poles" of industrial growth (Matthews, 1983). "DREE ... favoured industrialization and strong urban growth centres and was moving away from schemes to alleviate rural poverty and encourage rural-based development" (Savoie, 1992, p. 42). Soon after the creation of DREE the federal government tried to repeal ARDA, an effort opposed by many provincial governments who recognized the benefits that the program

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67 The Small Farm Development Program of 1975 was another expression of the labour adjustment policy.
had brought them. In 1973, DREE underwent a drastic decentralization process aimed at improving the joint federal-provincial efforts regarding regional development planning. "The vehicle for this joint collaboration was the ten-year (1974-84) General Development Agreement [GDA] ... [that] permitted subsidiary agreements to be developed within its framework, to define project activities, and to describe their source of funding" (McGee, 1992, p. 37). The authority to share the cost with the different provinces ranged from 90% for Newfoundland to 50% in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia (Savoie, 1992).

The Government of Canada 1969 White Paper:
Equal Political Rights and Development as Modernization

The 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy (DIAND, 1969) presented by the Hon. Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to the 29th Parliament represents one of the most distinct expressions of the federal policy of transformation initiated in the early 1960s. This document, later known as the White Paper, prompted the immediate reaction of First Nations organizations across Canada. First Nations saw the White Paper as Canada's final attempt to deprive them of their land and treaty rights. First Nations immediate reaction was to continue, with renewed impetus, the fight for their right to self-determination.

In the field of First Nations development the new federal Indian Policy of 1969, delineated in the White Paper, can be regarded as an integral part of the new federal regional development policy of labour adjustment, as well as a continuation of the integrationist policy approach of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention N° 107 of 1957. Towards the late 1960s, First Nations in Canada were confined to reserves with limited amounts of land, water and grazing rights. Given the scarcity of available productive resources (that restrained the implementation of economic development projects of significant magnitude), the solution to the problem of socio-
economic marginalization of First Nations peoples was to be found in a policy of total integration. Within this policy framework the White Paper posited that considering that "[even] if the resources of Indian reserves [were] fully utilized ... [they could not] properly support their present Indian populations" (DIAND, 1969, p. 10), First Nations should "seek employment elsewhere as a means of solving their economic problems" (p. 10). First Nations peoples were to be helped to become integrated into Canadian society by gaining employment through the utilization of the "counselling, occupational training and placement resources of the Department of Manpower and Immigration" (p. 10).

DIAND programs aimed at "[helping] overcome ... disparities in the economic well-being of Canadians" (p. 10) were now based on the new labour adjustment/industrialization development policy. In fact, the White Paper stated that "[the] Government [believed] that the needs of Indian communities should be met within this framework" (DIAND, 1969, pp 10-11). Besides DIAND regular programs, the Special ARDA agreement that is discussed later in this chapter was the federal government's response, within the adjustment/industrialization development policy framework, to the many petitions made by First Nations organizations asking to become beneficiaries of ARDA.

The ultimate goal of the federal government's proposed legislation on the future of First Nations relationships with Canada was to completely eliminate specific references to First Nations peoples from the Canadian constitution and other legal statutes. Although this legislation was clearly based on the Western liberal principles of legal, economic and political "equality" that supposedly were prevalent in Canadian society at the time, the federal government had to acknowledge that the implementation of its new policy would

68 The concept of the Special ARDA Program was introduced in 1971 to encourage the establishment of commercial enterprises in pre-specified remote areas. "The program covered incentive grants and related services to assist disadvantaged people, mainly of native ancestry, including status and non-status Indians and metis" (Savoie, 1992, p. 41).
not be possible under the circumstances presently existing on reserves. "The legal and administrative discrimination in the treatment of Indian people has not given them an equal chance to success" (DIAND, 1969, p. 8). For this policy to be effective it was necessary to first change the unequal economic conditions in which First Nations people lived. Only after a minimum level of economic equality had been reached would it be possible that "Indian people [could be] satisfied that their land holdings are solely within their control" (DIAND, 1969, p.8).

Although the above statements implicitly acknowledge that structural asymmetrical power relations had contributed to the creation of disparities in economic well-being between Euro-Canadian settlers and First Nations farmers, policy documents of the federal government insisted on attributing the existence of differences in economic development to divergent cultural perspectives regarding resource utilization between the two groups. In fact, the 1969 Statement on Indian Policy, framing its analysis on the ideology of development as modernization, concluded that the poor living conditions existing on the reserves were the outcome of the rapid technological changes of the 20th century that left First Nations communities behind.

Initially, settlers as well as Indians depended on game, fish and fur. The settlers, however, were more concerned with clearing land and establishing themselves and differences soon began to appear. ... [The] Indians remained largely a rural people, lacking both education and opportunity. (p. 7)

This quotation from the White Paper closely parallels the statements made in the Hawthorn report of 1958, and those of Bruce Ash, regional DIAND agrologist, to explain the slow rate of agricultural development on First Nations reserves during the 1950s and 1960s. Government explanations, however, did not discuss what were probably the most important causes of First Nations' relative lack of agricultural development: the unequal access to land ownership, to water and grazing rights, and to financial resources and
technology. The document acknowledged, nonetheless, that First Nations communities had remained behind society's overall rate of development not only because of their attachment to a traditional way of life, but also because "many reserves were located in places where little development was possible ... and until recently [the Indian] agencies had staff and funds to do little more than meet the most severe cases of hardship and distress" (DIAND, 1969, pp. 7-8).

The acknowledgment of economic causes beyond those attributed to "traditional ways of life" to explain the lack of development on the reserves exposes a contradiction between what was stated as policy and what was actually delivered through government programs to First Nations farmers. In fact, although the federal government continued to advocate individual rights and political and social equality, and stated in the White Paper that

[the] policy rests upon the fundamental right of Indian people to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life in Canada. ... [and that] no Canadian should be excluded from participation, and none should expect to withdraw and still enjoy the benefits that flow to those who participate. (DIAND, 1969, p.8)

it never treated First Nations people as full Canadian citizens. In the area of economic development, for example, it privileged programs framed in Western ideas that regard individual efforts as central to success, disclaiming traditional communal values. Furthermore, First Nations people remained confined to small reserves usually located in remote areas of the province. Their political rights were severely limited until recently: First Nations people did not have the right to vote in provincial elections until 1949 and in federal elections until 1960, and they lacked access to services that "other" Canadians were entitled to as a matter of course (Frideres, 1993). Barman (1991) claims that the "federal government's policy in British Columbia reflected several critical misconceptions
concerning native people" (p. 154). Three of these misconceptions are quite revealing and help to understand the formulation of policies regarding First Nations.

The first assumed their inferiority. Social darwinism was based on a belief in white superiority ... The second misconception built on the first. Europeans had for centuries cultivated the land [while] Indians simply roamed the face of the land, which was, to quote an observer, 'lying waste without prospect for improvement' ... [and] the third misconception viewed Indian ways of life as detrimental to the Indians themselves. (Barman, 1991, pp. 154-155)

Barman's description of what she calls misconceptions by Euro-Canadians about Native people provides an insight into the foundations of Canada's policy of transformism. It also lends support to the argument that transformism was a policy mainly directed at completing the "civilizatory" project initiated by early European settlers and missionaries that was founded in the superiority of Western values and ways of life.

The establishment after the 1763 Royal Proclamation of a special body of legislation to deal with First Nations as a particular segment of the population, with a unique land tenure system and financial administration, constructed them as a separate race or group within Canadian society. The categorization of First Nations people as "Registered Indians," under the legal and administrative authority of the federal government (Head 24 of Section 91 of the British North America Act, the 1876 Indian Act and its later amendments), is an obvious expression of segregation within the Canadian legal system. "The underlying basis which characterizes Native-White relations in our history is that Europeans have always assumed a superiority over Native people" (Frideres, 1993, p. 10). ^69 First Nations, having been objectified since colonial times as a

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^69 Frideres (1993) distinguishes between biological racism, or "the belief that one group is biologically inferior to another group" (p. 10), and "a new form of social/cultural racism which focuses on the inferiority of a group's way of life, their ethos and their assumptions about the world" (p. 11). Frideres regards cultural racism as a form of structural racism.
separate group of people within Canada, were not going to become "full partners" in Canadian society by the simple enactment of a new policy through legislation. What was needed, were more profound changes in the legal and social structures of Canadian society. The different acts that had controlled the lives of First Nations people since colonial times, and in the process contributed to the creation of the so-called "Indian Problem," needed to be repealed or changed. There was also a need for a change in societal attitudes regarding acceptance of ethnic diversity and cultural differences.

A fundamental aspect in the 1969 government of Canada policy statement on First Nations was its attempt to relinquish its legal and trust responsibilities with regard to First Nations people that originated from the Royal Proclamation and the British North America Act. In fact, the federal government stated that it would try to negotiate the transfer of its obligations to the provinces despite Canada's continued commitment to the maintenance of social and economic equality between all segments in Canadian society.

The acceptance by Parliament of the proposed federal government Statement on Indian Policy would have resulted in the repeal of the Indian Act. Consequently, the federal government expected "that all programs and advisory services of the federal and provincial governments should be made readily available to Indians" (DIAND, 1969, p. 10). This new concept called "enriched services" was presented in such a way as to give the impression that the slow rate of development on the Reserves could be reversed by simply allowing First Nations access to other federal and provincial programs. In addition, enriched services were described as measures that were more efficient and cost saving, given that many "services require a wide range of facilities which can not be duplicated by separate agencies" (p.9). The document stated that negotiations between the Federal and Provincial government regarding funding of services to be provided to First Nations would be undertaken so that "federal disbursements for Indian programs in each province be transferred to that province" (p. 9).
What was not considered at the time of advancing the policies proposed in the White Paper was the allowing of time to complete the consultation process with First Nations communities and organizations (Terry, 1993). These consultations were quite important, especially regarding the transfer of federal responsibilities to the province, because of the significant impact it could have on the lives of First Nations peoples. Instead of dealing with the root causes of stagnation and poverty on the reserves, the federal government chose to completely ignore the issue of First Nations rights to ownership of the land, water, range and other productive resources within their traditional territories. There was, as well, no discussion of First Nations rights to self-government, and their right to deliver services within their own cultural traditions.

More fundamentally, the White Paper never addressed the issue of aboriginal rights that would have allowed First Nations governments jurisdiction to plan and decide about development strategies and policies. The suggested "solutions" to the Indian Problem did not consider the structural problems historically faced by First Nations communities and left untouched the land title question (as First Nations called it, as opposed to Land Claims as used in official government discourse) (Terry, 1993, p.2). Although the government of Canada asserted that it would continue to recognize First Nations claims and suggested the creation of a Commission to deal with them, the new body would only have an advisory capacity. "It was made clear that the government was not prepared to accept Aboriginal rights claims" (Frideres, 1993, p. 102).

**The DIAND Agricultural Development Policy Shift**

**Towards Growth-Pole Theory**

In the early 1970s DIAND agricultural policies, following federal government development policy directions, began to move away from development as growth to embrace the emerging approach of development as modernization through growth-POLES
and labour adjustment. In fact, the creation of large enterprises was thought to be the most appropriate means of implementing these development principles. As a result large, band-owned, corporate farms emerged in many places in British Columbia with the idea that they would serve several purposes. They would provide revenue for band administrations, personal income for band members, and serve as the basis for training farm workers and potential farmers. The expectation was that trainees would eventually become new entrepreneurs or labourers in other band projects or elsewhere in society.

The policy of promoting the establishment of big farms also fitted well within the notion of moving away from the old integrated rural development approach of FRED, towards policies that favored industrialization and urbanization. In the First Nations agricultural sector, the establishment of big farms on reserves was promoted with the idea that they would become the local growth-poles of development (i.e., the agricultural counterpart to the industries that were expected to become established in specially designated development areas across Canada). While DREE provided incentives for industries to locate their facilities in designated areas through the installation of basic services and infrastructure in addition to direct cash grants, DIAND provided funding for agricultural production infrastructure in the form of irrigation systems, electrification, drainage, and so on. DIAND financial assistance was in the form of loans, loan guarantees and contributions (equity funding) through the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF). DREE and DIAND expectation was that new industries and big farm enterprises would, respectively, absorb rural and farm labour surpluses. Some examples

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70 In 1970, the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF) was reviewed and increased to $50 million. In 1971, a provision for loan guarantees and grants was introduced to the program. In 1973 a "considerable volume of job training material was added" (DIAND, ca.1983, p. 81).

71 Between 1970 and 1982 IEDF loans for agricultural development were concentrated in a few big projects that, however, did not represent a significant percentage of the total IEDF funding. During this period IEDF disbursed loans for a total of $14.4 million (DIAND, 1983, Table 2-2) out of which about $1 million (7%) were for agricultural purposes (WIAC, 1988, Table 3-1).
of this policy in the First Nations agricultural sector in British Columbia were the Seabird Island Vegetable Farm in Agassiz, the Cowichan Vegetable farm in Duncan, the Spahomin Cattle Company in the Nicola Valley, and the Kanata Hay and Cattle Company at Black Pines, north of Kamloops (Ash, 1974a).

The establishment and growth of these big First Nations corporate agricultural farms was facilitated by the electrification of rural areas. Agricultural uses of electrical power increased considerably during and after W.W. II in response to the shortage of labour created by the war effort. "It is hardly likely that agricultural production during this period would have been nearly as high had it not been for labor-saving electrical power" (Challenger, 1971, p. 5).

A classical example of what the combination of labour adjustment policies, growth-pole development concepts and electrical power expansion could achieve was the Cowichan Indian Farm Co-operative in Duncan, Vancouver Island. What made the Cowichan Band unique for the purpose of creating a large farm according with the development policies prevalent at that time, was its availability of agricultural land, its large working force, and its proximity to Victoria and Nanaimo as important markets for its produce. The Cowichan Band had, in 1972, the largest membership (1,552 persons) and on-reserve population (1,317 people) in the province. It had a potential labour force estimated at 756 people (42% of the male and female population between 16 and 64 years of age), and an estimated participation rate of 53%. The percentage of men and women working were very similar, although there were more unemployed men than women.
"The unemployment rate for women was 17.1%, compared to an unemployment rate of 39.6% for men. Currently male unemployment could exceed 50%." (DIAND, ca.1983, Appendix J).

In 1969 an agricultural co-operative of 6 band members (that grew in 1977 to 14) was organized with the purpose of creating job opportunities for the local population, and
to serve as training ground for band members with an interest in farming. The first objective was especially important considering that "access to employment off-reserve [was] blocked to band members ... [because] in Duncan no merchants [employed] Indians" (DIAND, ca.1983, Appendix J, p. 10, [emphasis in text]). The project operated successfully for a few years and became the primary source of employment for band members. Crops grown in 1974 included 130 acres of various berries and vegetables, and 150 acres of hay. Production continued to grow after the installation of "[new] electrical equipment ... [that included] a large refrigerated vegetable storage and sprinkler irrigation equipment" (Hall, 1974, p. 7). The original success of this growth-pole project came to an end in early 1978 when the co-operative went bankrupt after having received close to $2.5 million in funds from different sources since its creation in 1969. Funding was provided to the Cowichan Co-operative by the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF) in loans and grants; by ARDA as contributions; by First Citizens Fund in grants; by Farm Credit Corporation in loans; by DIAND through Capital appropriations; and in the form of local commercial bank loans. An analysis of how the funds were invested showed that a significant amount was expended in infrastructure development and operating capital (salaries and other farming inputs) while only $48,000 (or 2.1% of the total) were allocated to training by Canada Manpower (DIAND, ca.1983, Appendix J, p. 14).

The majority of problems encountered in the development and operation of the Cowichan Co-operative serve to illustrate why this and similar projects did not succeed in the long run. In the evaluation of the IEDF program (DIAND, ca.1983) several areas are discussed as sources of the problems of the Cowichan Co-operative. Many of them relate to the incompatibility arising between meeting the day to day operational needs of a business and the administrative and legal requirements of the use of public funds. "During the period of 1972 to 1975 the IEDF loan and grants were disbursed on a piece-
meal basis. The funding was usually late for various reasons" (DIAND, ca.1983, Appendix J, p. 22). Moreover, project funding required that a number of institutions and programs coordinated their assistance. "Eight government departments and private lending organizations used more than 13 programs to fund this operation" (Kerr & Assoc., 1991, Appendix A, p 3). These circumstances illustrate the insensitivity of administrative rules to the inflexible requirements imposed on agricultural production by natural processes. "In this valley [Cowichan], agricultural work starts in February with raspberries while March and April see the bulk of first crops started in cold frame and then transplanted. The annual money seldom came till May or June" (DIAND, ca.1983, Appendix J, p. 23).

Besides the administrative problems related to funding there were also problems with planning, project ownership, and management and workers' skills. The idea of forming a co-operative was not the result of the initiative of a group of band members interested in farming together. It was rather suggested to them by DIAND as the only alternative to secure funds. Furthermore, according to the IEDF evaluation report the project grew too big in a very short period of time when the co-operative did not have the administrative capacity to adapt to the many obstacles they faced in the process.

Almost every time that there was a problem the solution that evolved was based on further diversification and growth. It is evident that the Band and the Farm were driven by advisors. There was no local input from the Band, the owners, their manager, or even the District office ... There never was a Native voice in the actual planning of this project ... They were sold these plans by well meaning Government people, and latterly by advisors and partners whose motives are not clear. (Kerr & Assoc., 1991, Appendix A, p. 4, [emphasis in text])

Besides the technical, the management and the funding problems confronted by the co-operative over the years, no less important in the final outcome of the project was the lack of skilled workers which resulted in low productivity rates and in crop yields substantially below the projections. Training of the labour force and management
personnel was not a priority for the project planners and administrators as indicated by the minimal amount of funds allocated for this purpose over the years. As in similar big projects elsewhere in the province, management of the operation was left in the hands of a non-First Nations individual, a former Fraser Valley farmer, who had the "knowledge and experience needed for the growing, harvesting, and marketing of a variety of fruit and vegetable crops" (Hall, 1974, p. 7).

The Special ARDA Program: From Job Creation to Equity Building Through First Nations Leadership

Special ARDA was the first development program jointly undertaken by the federal and provincial governments to "provide residents primarily of Indian ancestry in rural areas of British Columbia with better opportunities to improve their economic circumstances" (SARDA, 1981, p. 22). The program, that started its operation in 1972 under the administrative authority of DREE, was part of the federal government growth-centre approach to development initiated by the Trudeau government in 1969. It constituted another element in the policy of transformism aimed at encouraging First Nations people to become integrated into mainstream Canadian society through development policies based on modernization principles. The BCDA Annual Report (1972) indicated that in 1971 "[negotiations] were commenced to introduce a supplement to the third ARDA Agreement to provide for a special programme of economic assistance to the Province's native people" (p. 25). Although Special ARDA was the second major provincial program involved in addressing issues of social and economic development related to British Columbia First Nations people (the first being the First Citizens Fund of 1969), the actual degree of financial contribution of the province was very limited. "In terms of financing the ... total provincial commitment, over the [nine year] life of the program to the end of March 1980, [was] approximately $355,000, or less than 3% of the
total federal commitment over the same period" (SARDA, 1981, pp. 16-17). The relative significance of the provincial contribution to First Nations development can be better appreciated if it is compared with the amount of provincial financial support to all economic sectors (as is the case of the provincial contribution to ARDA). Under the GDA signed in March 1974, the provincial government committed, between 1977 and 1983, a total of $136 million for projects in the areas of intensive forest management, travel, industrial development, highways, and coal, on top of the $30 million allocated to agriculture (Savoie, 1992).

From the federal government perspective, although their commitment to SARDA was substantially greater than that of the province, and despite the program expansion over the years, "[relative] to other programs, ... expenditures under Special ARDA were modest. In 1980-81, for example, DREE spent [in Canada] just over $11 million for Special ARDA initiatives" (Savoie, 1992, p. 41). 72 In British Columbia the federal contribution to SARDA was, in relative terms, more substantial than the figure reported for Canada. Between 1976 and 1982, SARDA contributed a total of $16.4 million to First Nations projects (DIAND, 1983, p. 22), an amount that represented 10% of the $160 million of federal government funds contributed to the B.C. economy between 1977 and 1983, under the 1974 GDA.

From the point of view of the people living on reserves interested in becoming involved in new agricultural projects or in expanding existing ones, the constitutional division of power established in the Canadian constitution might have seemed distant and not unlikely, irrelevant. In practical terms, however, it was (and still continues to be) a fundamental element determining the involvement and financial commitment of each level

72 "A substantial amount of public money has been spent in Canada over the last thirty years in the name of regional economic development. DREE expenditures alone amounted to over $7 billion during this period; under the equalization program, over $60 billion was spent" (Savoie, 1992, p. 189).
of government. Under the prevailing division of power, the province was responsible within SARDA for all aspects of training and advisory services (TAS) and for the management of the sections called Primary Producing Activities (PPA) and Remote Rural Communities (RRC). At the federal level, because Special ARDA was administratively under DREE and not DIAND, non-status (or non-registered Indians) could become potential beneficiaries of the program. Although the program funding was, under the conditions of the agreement, to be shared equally by the federal and provincial governments, specific clauses were included stating that whenever the beneficiaries were status Indians (as defined by the Indian Act) or the project was to take place on reserve lands, the federal government became responsible for the total project cost.

The funding formula in the Special ARDA program was another manifestation of British Columbia's refusal to take any kind of responsibility for issues related to First Nations people that were regarded in federal law as wards of the state. It can be argued that British Columbia saw the acceptance of any responsibility for the welfare of Status Indians as a potential weakening of their long-standing position of denial of aboriginal rights in the form of title and control and/or compensation for the occupation of First Nations traditional territories. Despite the official position of the British Columbia government on First Nations rights, SARDA provided the province with the opportunity to utilize its participation in the program to improve its public image with respect to its relation with First Nations, at a minimal financial cost. The SARDA (1981) evaluation stated in this regard that "[some] Native people interviewed ... expressed the view that

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73 According to the Indian Act, only Status or Registered Indians are entitled to participate in programs provided by DIAND. Today there are other ethnic groups whose existence is recognized by the federal government, although without any formal legal obligation. "On the other hand, ... Alberta and British Columbia, have formally recognized the Metis and have established Metis colonies (Frideres, 1993, p. 28). For a comprehensive discussion of this topic see Frideres (1993), Chapter Two.
provincial officials only attend meetings [of the Advisory Board] to protect the provincial government's interests" (p. C-29).

The Special ARDA program, being part of the new federal development policy that was oriented toward industrial and urban development, gave small-scale agriculture in the PPA component a secondary role during the initial six years of the program (1972 to 1978). During the first two agreements (1972-1977 and 1977-1980) the program tended to concentrate its activities on the component called Commercial Undertakings (CU) that included an Agriculture sub-component. Commercial Undertakings received the bulk of the budget for financial assistance to projects. Of the $16.7 million of federal funds committed to all components, 75% (or $12.5 million) were allocated to the [CU] component. "The [CU] component has been historically the most heavily utilized ... representing 76 percent of total applications and 65% of offers made" (SARDA, 1981, p. 30).74

Commercial Undertakings (CU) projects generally corresponded to relatively large operations that were capital intensive and expected to provide employment for many people. "A major factor in determining the dollar amount of the SARDA grant is the number of jobs that will be generated by the project' (SARDA, 1981, p. 96). The emphasis given to CU projects is an indication that program policies were embedded in Western ideals of development that favored industrialism and profits over rural and community development. The program's administrative efforts were concentrated on the assessment of CU projects with a special emphasis on accounting and financial procedures. Program officers were trained accountants and former bank employees who had strong business skills and consequently understood the logic of the market but had little, if any,

74 The total number of applications received by the Special ARDA program to March, 1980, for its four components, was 864 and the total number of offers made was 289 (SARDA, 1981).
training in the social and cultural aspects of community development, or for that matter, in agricultural production. The stress placed on the business aspects of the projects prompted the consultants who evaluated the program in 1981 to write: "The interdependence of social and economic goals should be fully recognized in redesigning SARDA. This implies that a broad 'socioeconomic' perspective should be employed, rather than a narrow financial perspective" (SARDA, 1981, p. xi). The importance of the non-business aspects was also stressed in the report with reference to Remote Rural Communities (RRC) projects were Program Officers had to assess projects not only based on strict accounting and financial criteria but also on related social and cultural aspects of the communities. "The Program Officer is required, in effect, to be both a financial analyst and a sociologist" (SARDA, 1981, p. xvii).

The Primary Producers Activities (PPA) component, designed to finance activities such as small scale agriculture, fishing and logging operations that were considered non commercial, received during the first SARDA agreement a minimal number of applications. Between 1972/73 and 1977/78 the PPA applications received were only 16.

SARDA emphasis on big commercial projects was also reflected in the conditions established to apply for funding under the different components. The PPA component, under which most First Nations ranchers and farmers had to apply, had a ceiling of $30,000 as the maximum contribution that could be received. In contrast, CU projects did not have an upper limit and the grant was calculated based on $30,000 per job created. Another very important barrier to access the program, specially for those with small/medium sized farms trying to expand their operations or starting new ones, was the equity-contribution requirement of the program. Applicants had to demonstrate to

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75 In 1981, SARDA had four Project Officers that were in charge of project development. Two of them were located in Victoria and two in Prince George. "All four officers are classified as Commerce Officers" (SARDA, 1981, p. 169).
SARDA that they were able to contribute up front 20% of the total project cost (In the second SARDA agreement this requirement was reduced to 10%).

An analysis of the program funding allocation shows that the underlying criterion driving the selection of projects was the performance of financial indicators, with little consideration for the educational and training needs of those having to implement the projects. In fact, the training component of SARDA had the fewest funds allocated and was the least utilized. Only 5% of the total federal dollars committed to the program, up to the end of March 1980, were allocated to this very important aspect of development. Moreover, funds for training were provided mainly to activities centred around improving business skills (accounting and bookkeeping), and to a lesser degree, to technical aspects of production. Moreover, training funds were directed exclusively towards Commercial Undertakings (CU) projects.

The decision to allocate training funds only for CU projects was another manifestation of the program's predisposition toward an industrially oriented growth-pole approach to development, within a functionalist approach to education. From a practical perspective, the combination of growth-centre and labour adjustment federal policies invited program administrators to favor SARDA projects with a capacity to create employment opportunities. As discussed elsewhere, non-financial aspects of the project (i.e., preserving the way of life of the communities based on their cultural values and beliefs) were not a priority. They were disregarded as unimportant for the economic success of the project and, hence not even considered as a possible theme to be included in the training program. Furthermore, given the ongoing government concern with short term employment creation, SARDA funds were mainly allocated for capital investment projects, making appropriations for educational purposes difficult to obtain given the long term character of their potential benefits.
In the second SARDA agreement of 1977 there were changes in development policy. Projects became smaller and tended to emphasize First Nations ownership with the aim of building equity and stable operations that could have a long term impact on the life on reserves. The first SARDA program agreement was based on the assumption that First Nations people were not technically prepared to establish and manage their own enterprises. Therefore development on the reserves was to be promoted through the guidance of non-First Nations entrepreneurs who were willing to get established in remote rural areas and hire First Nations workers. If they were willing to meet these conditions, they could apply for grants to establish their businesses. At the same time, large corporate enterprises owned by First Nations bands were also favored to receive financial support. The large operations, however, whether they were owned by private non-First Nations entrepreneurs or by bands, did not produce positive results.

[Either] the projects were operated by experienced non-Native managers with Native people, if they were hired at all, occupying only the most menial jobs which provided little opportunity for advancement; or they were operated by inexperienced Native managers whose lack of expertise resulted in the project experiencing serious financial and operational difficulties. (SARDA, 1981, p. 131)

Despite its shortcomings, SARDA made a significant contribution to the creation of First Nations businesses in rural communities, and to the development of agriculture on reserves. The SARDA (1981) evaluation indicated that "the province's Native community [viewed] SARDA as a positive development tool" (p. xxii). Also noteworthy is the fact that people in all categories interviewed during the evaluation of SARDA mentioned as social benefits the creation of jobs and other income earning opportunities because of their direct impact on overall community well-being. "[Opportunities] for youth could be viewed as an economic benefit, but the people interviewed saw jobs for their children as a key to dealing with the devastating social problems of teenage suicide, homicide, and drug
abuse" (SARDA, 1981, p. ix). The evaluators commented that counselling programs alone were a necessary but not sufficient condition to mitigate the negative impacts of social problems. Governmental efforts could have been more fruitful if they had primarily concentrated on creating mechanisms to allow First Nations people to define by themselves, within their own cultural traditions, the activities that would make their everyday life meaningful.

SARDA was credited with being more sensitive and responsive to community needs that the usual "make-work" projects designed by civil servants working in remote offices in Ottawa or Vancouver. The closeness of the program to the needs of the various communities can be attributed to the participation of First Nations representatives in the SARDA Advisory Board. The first Advisory Board was composed by a minimum of two representatives of the federal government, two from the provincial government and two from people of First Nations ancestry. In the second SARDA agreement of 1977, the Advisory Board was expanded to 13 members. First Nations representation was increased to seven to include representatives from North coastal communities, women and non-status Natives. Although First Nations representatives had now a majority of members, the Director General for DREE in British Columbia chaired the Board and the B.C. Coordinator of Native Programs was the Vice-Chairperson.

First Nations participation in the SARDA Advisory Board was decisive in setting the direction of the changes that took place during the negotiations of the second SARDA agreement that was signed in 1977. Their input resulted in SARDA changing its emphasis from job creation to business equity building. This was a clear indication that First Nations leaders were looking for long-term solutions to the problems in their communities through the establishment of permanent sources of creation of wealth. As a consequence, grants for non-First Nations people to establish big businesses became less significant, and the new projects undertaken by First Nations entrepreneurs became smaller in size and
more manageable. Along with the big band enterprises that were the training grounds for new farmers and farm workers, more grants and loans were provided to encourage the development of private individual farm operations that were to produce for the market economy.

**First Nations Views on Development in the 1970s**

The contrasting views of First Nations governments and federal and provincial authorities on issues of development stems fundamentally from the different meaning attributed to the relationship between humans and the natural world by these two very different cultural traditions. First Nations, by defining this relationship as a sacred, spiritual one, where the Earth has to provide for all living beings and the common good, favor a communal form of organizing society, where the central motive is sharing and not individual accumulation. The 1973 National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) position paper on development and the environment, for example, contends that since the time of first contact the colonial powers, especially through the work of missionaries (who until recently were in charge of formal education of First Nations people through the residential school system) "sought to convert [First Nations] not only to European religious tenets, but also to European notions of property and work" (NIB, 1973, p. 4). Furthermore, the NIB claimed that the federal government development policies (whether they had been centred around rural development or urban/industrial development concepts), usually reflected the urban mentality of technocrats and civil servants who had consistently tried to break First Nations peoples' relationship to the land.76

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76 The activities of the National Indian Brotherhood in Canada during the early 1970s corresponded with the internationalization of the struggle of Indigenous peoples. "In 1977, the International Indian Treaty Council requested and gained consultative status with the [United Nations] Economic and Social Council thereby making it the first indigenous organization to have rights of participation in United Nations meetings ... Pressure was, thus, present from indigenous peoples themselves for action by the United nations system (Burger, 1994, p. 90).
The resolution of the conflict of interests emerging from these two very different perspectives on development provided a practical illustration of the concept of political and cultural hegemony. At the end the type of programs that were actually implemented showed that Euro-Canadian interests dominated the formulation of development policies. "Not only are we not consulted in these projects of vital concern to us, but we also find that traditional and even treaty-assured territorial rights including environmental rights are being violated" (NIB, 1973, p. 8). Only after the NIB and other regional First Nations organizations joined efforts to oppose the White Paper, the federal government began to be challenged on its views. NIB preoccupation for the environmental impact of big projects on the local ecosystems (James Bay in Quebec was a prime example) generated forms of cultural resistance that questioned the industrial-urban orientation of development programs. In their view, "the old metropolitan imperial stance of Canada's past [where] progress is the center point [that] is measured by gross national product, balance of payments and similar considerations" (NIB, 1973, p.2) should no longer be the principle guiding development.

The unsymmetrical relations of power were also manifested in the persistent representations made by First Nations political leaders about the limited degree of participation they had in the definition of the type of development programs to be implemented on the reserves. Cardinal (1969) contended that the majority of policy decisions were made in Ottawa by civil servants working for DIAND.

These faceless people in Ottawa ... decide what types of social or economic development will take place and where and how it will be controlled ... [They] make the decisions, the policies, the plans and programmes by which we live, decisions made in almost total isolation from the Indians in Canada. Their ignorance of the people whose lives and destinies they routinely control perpetuates the stereotype image that have developed of native people ... They have fostered an image of Indians as helpless people, an incompetent people and an apathetic people in order to increase their own importance and to stress the need for their own continued presence. (1969, p.9)
Cardinal argued that the revitalization of First Nations communities was the responsibility of First Nations people themselves. "It is the Indian leaders, Indian organizations and the Indian people themselves who have the duty to explore new social and economic alternatives" (Cardinal, 1969, p. 93). First Nations vision of development was not against the use of technology and "progress." What they insisted upon was that they should be the ones who must define what the meaning of "progress" was in their circumstances. They acknowledged the positive effects that funding programs such the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF) and others had on many communities but were conscious that investment dollars were not the complete answer.

More important for First Nations leaders was gaining enough political power to take control over their own development, educational and training programs so that the programs will serve the needs of the people on reserve and not those of the dominant society. "Remaining Indian means that Indian people gain control of the economic and social development of our communities, within a framework of legal and constitutional guarantees for our land and our institutions" (Manuel and Posluns, 1974, p. 221). Chief George Manuel was adamant in stating that Canada's educational programs were an instrument for economic penetration and "racial bias that sees modern as better than traditional (and also as inevitable)" (Manuel and Posluns, 1974, p. 193). According to

77 According to Chief George Manuel the IEDF objective was to facilitate the exploitation of the natural resources on the reserves "by outside interests [rather than] the development of our human resources under local management" Manuel and Posluns, 1974, pp. 206-207).

78 The DIAND (1983) IEDF evaluation reported that "since 1973 ... to 1982 an average of 79 clients per year have received a total of $11.1 million in contributions. During the same period direct loans and guarantees were provided to an average 49 clients per year for a total of $16.5 million" (DIAND, 1983, p. 9). As Chief Manuel points out, however, the funding figures need to be analyzed in relative terms. "Prince Edward Island, with a population of less than half the size of the Indian population of Canada (110,000 compared to 250,000) receives $725 million [from DREE], which works out to $6,500 per Islander ... Where does that leave us with a loan fund offering an average of $200 per person? (Manuel and Posluns, 1974, p. 206).
Chief Manuel the curriculum of educational and training programs must be flexible enough to allow people to decide whether they want to work and pursue a career outside their communities or stay and make a contribution to the achievement of the community goals. "[A] valid curriculum can only be designed in harmony with the local economy and the goals and aspirations of the people" (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p. 249).

Summing up, in the 1970s First Nations organizations (NIB specially) began to assert their views and slowly began to influence government policy formulation. Their main preoccupation was the definition of First Nations rights and the resolution of the land question as the basis for self-government. The main concern expressed by most First Nations leaders was the lack of participation in decisions that were directly affecting their communities. First Nations articulation of their concerns about the impact of "progress" on the environment is also a salient feature of this decade. From the point of view of material development, the DIAND (ca.1983) evaluation of the IEDF operation in the ten year period between 1970 and 1980, comes to the conclusion that "[despite] a number of shortcomings ... the 10 year period of economic development has realized significant successes. A comparison of conditions before and after the period clearly reveals progress has been achieved and that investments were justified" (p. 136, emphasis in text).

Agricultural Extension and First Nations Farmers

Although First Nations strong opposition to the 1969 Government of Canada Statement on Indian Policy forced the federal government to abandon the idea of repealing the Indian Act, it did not cause it to abandon its policy of transformation.

Because of the Red Paper and the backlash as a result of the White Paper, the government quietly dropped the policy implications that were contained in that paper. Now, while it dropped from the front burner, from visibility, I don’t know whether it dropped from the psyche of everybody who was dealing with First Nations. (Munaweera, 1993, p. 2)
While the land question and aboriginal rights continued to be negotiated, the government strategy was to implement the development ideas enunciated in the White Paper through DREE and DIAND. DREE, as discussed earlier, was in charge of coordinating development efforts with the provinces through Special ARDA Programs. At the same time, within the White Paper policy framework, DIAND decided to increase its efforts to promote development on the reserves to "provide a livelihood for a larger number of family units than is presently the case" (DIAND, 1969, p. 10).

In British Columbia one of the areas targeted for development was agriculture. Following instructions from Ottawa the B.C. Region began the task of preparing a Regional Agricultural Development Program (Ash, 1972). An important part of the program was to undertake another study on the state of agricultural activities on reserves. The decision was made to prepare a comprehensive evaluation of the agricultural potential of the British Columbia reserve lands, and of the "many factors which tend to limit agricultural development of Indian lands as well as the progress of Indians as farm operators" (DIAND, 1972, p. 1). Following policy directions originating in the White Paper regarding increasing consultation with local communities, the process leading to the preparation of the Regional Agricultural Program was intended to be more inclusive. To accomplish this objective, DIAND organized steering committees in several areas "composed of representatives of the Indian political and farming groups, Federal Department of Agriculture specialists, ... our staff agrologists" (Ash, 1972) and BCDA District Agriculturalists.

79 Prior to the new study several reports had been previously prepared on the same area. In the Preston Report (DIAND, 1972, pp. 17-18) are listed as references to the study 24 reports prepared by private consultants regarding agricultural feasibility, irrigation systems, water resources and land development, and so on, for nearly 20 bands in the Okanagan, Kamloops and Cariboo regions. Furthermore, in 1971/72 DIAND requested the Canada Department of Agriculture Soil Survey Division to prepare soil capability reports for eight bands, a majority of them in the Cariboo-Chilcotin area.
The Preston Report and DIAND Extension Program

The study of the agricultural potential of the British Columbia reserve lands was commissioned by DIAND to a professional agrologist, S.G. Preston, who prepared an extensive inventory of the agricultural resources and farms on the reserves of British Columbia. The study, known as the Preston Report, was conducted in the early 1970s. The report reiterated the assertion originally made in the AIC and DIAND study (1968b) that First Nations people could become successful farmers if they had access to adequate resources and support services similar to those of Euro-Canadians. Preston indicated that at the time of the report a total of "262 Indians [were] ... farming, mostly on a part-time basis" (p.1), in British Columbia. This number is the same indicated in the AIC and DIAND study (1968b), and presumably has its origin in DIAND internal reports. The report also reiterated that First Nations agriculture had a great degree of potential for growth given the abundance of natural resources available on the reserves that were not being utilized. However, it concluded that "[it] is not anticipated that maximum agricultural development of these reserves will occur in the foreseeable future" (p. 1).

The reasons stated by Preston to explain why, in his view, First Nations reserves could not achieve their full agricultural potential are quite revealing of the way Euro-Canadian professionals ("experts") consistently framed the description of the circumstances occurring on the reserves. Preston categorized his explanations in three groups: Indian problems, economic problems and social problems. The first group included eight factors that can be considered directly related to people's personal attributes, and hence are difficult to judge on absolute terms since they are dependent on cultural and personal,

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80 S.G. Preston worked for the British Columbia Department of Agriculture, Development and Extension Branch in the late 1950s. He was the Supervising Agriculturalist in Prince George (BCDA, 1957).
subjective values.\textsuperscript{81}

In Preston's opinion, however, First Nations had "not yet acquired the attitudes, education and training necessary to become competent farm operators" (DIAND, 1972, p. 4). Furthermore, he wrote that part of this problem stemmed from the farmers "unsatisfactory ability to communicate and comprehend (largely related to low level of education and \textit{constant use of own language}) [emphasis added]" (DIAND, 1972, p.2). Although he recognized that agricultural development initiatives, to be successful, would have to be "largely the prerogative of the Indian themselves" (p. 4), he could not escape the prevailing ideology of transformism founded on the belief that, in order to "progress," First Nations had to become "modern" and "Westernized," and in the process forget their language and cultural heritage. In the category of "Indian Problems" the other reasons he indicated were lack of motivation; suspiciousness; ridicule of those who tried to progress; apprehension about changes, and the acceptance of responsibility.

The report also mentioned structural reasons under the heading of economic and social problems. Among them, it mentioned the following as factors affecting the development of First Nations agriculture: the low returns of farming; the difficulties in obtaining financial resources; social and job discrimination; various degrees of isolation from the rest of society; and the "[ease] with which social assistance might be obtained" (p. 3).

Although Preston concluded that many First Nations farmers "were not yet ready to seek agricultural assistance" (p. 13) from BCDA personnel, he nonetheless suggested that agricultural extension services for First Nations farmers should be provided by a

\textsuperscript{81} In an interview, discussing issues related to the discourse of ethics and law, Habermas stated: "[I]n modernity, the plurality of individual life-projects cannot be prejudged philosophically, because ways of living are handed over to the responsibility of socialized individuals themselves, and can only be assessed from the standpoint of the participant, the element which can convince everyone is narrowed down to the \textit{procedure} of rational will-formation itself" (1992b, p. 248, emphasis in text).
combination of DIAND professionally trained agriculturalists and BCDA representatives. He also suggested that First Nations farmers be encouraged to participate in Canada Manpower Training programs and that "Indian organizations and the educational branches of federal and provincial governments concentrate on plans to raise the [formal] educational level of Indians" (p. 6) engaged in agriculture.

Although the report was written at a time when the policy on First Nations affairs pursued by the federal government was the achievement of individual equality and more local participation, the report never considered the possibility of fulfilling this goal based on the establishment of an extension program controlled and managed by First Nations. Neither did it give consideration to the creation of mechanisms through which First Nations could participate in the definition of the organization and content of the different educational activities related to agriculture. Preston's recommendations fitted perfectly within the policy of transformism that promised equality as long as the decision-making authority continued in the hands of those in control of the state. Participation in DIAND and Preston's understanding seemed to mean consultation about issues but not the authority to decide about them.

Although the Preston study was released the same year that the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), responding to the attempt expressed in the White Paper to completely assimilate First Nations people into Euro-Canadian society, called for First Nations control of their education, the report did not address this matter. For First Nations people, as stated in the NIB document, "only Indian people can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living" (cited in Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, 1986, p. 15). While the NIB position on education did not seem to have had a major influence on the recommendations of the Preston report on the matter of agricultural extension and training of farmers, it did likely have an impact on
the thinking of a First Nations group of farmers in the B.C. interior, who at the time, were beginning to consider the creation of their own agricultural extension service.

**DIAND and Other Federal Extension and Advisory Services for First Nations Farmers**

In the early 1970s the DIAND agricultural extension field service expanded. Bruce Ash had represented to the Regional Superintendent of Development for some time the need to hire at least three more agriculturalists for the Williams Lake, Thompson River and Okanagan-Kootenay District. More agriculturalists were needed because, according to Ash, BCDA District Agrologists (DA) "[were] not geared to cope with problems that beset Indian people and since [DIAND controlled] the funds the DA [could not] get to involved" (Ash, 1969b). Furthermore, Ash pointed out that more First Nations people were becoming "aware of the resource potential of their reserves and are demanding technical and professional services to assist to develop their lands by both individuals and groups" (Ash, 1969b). At last, in 1970 J. Campbell, Professional Agrologist; C. Dodd, Agriculturalist, and T. Lobb, Agriculturalist, were hired to work in the Kamloops, Vernon and Williams Lake offices respectively. During the 1970s, in addition to the DIAND extension activities, the SARDA program provided funding for training of clients, and advisory services to grant applicants, among them, many First Nations farmers.

**The DIAND Approach to Extension**

The DIAND agricultural extension education program of the 1970s was particularly influenced by Western ideas of modernization that shaped the recommendations of the Preston Report. These ideas led DIAND to regard the delivery of education programs under the close supervision of its own District Agriculturalists and
competent project managers as the best approach to train First Nations farmers. "The project manager would act as overseer and be responsible for training the Indians in farm production, management and accounting as well as training an Indian farm manager to succeed him" (DIAND, 1972, p. 15). Preston wrote regarding the DIAND approach to extension that "to my mind, [it] is one of the most important progressive steps in the history of Indian Affairs Administration" (Preston, 1972, p. 2). F. J. Walchli, Regional Superintendent of Economic Development for B.C., in a hand written comment sent to the Regional Director General of B.C. regarded Preston's statement as significant and illustrative of DIAND's approach to agricultural development. Walchli wrote: "It is heartening to note that he [Preston] feels our approach is correct" (Preston, 1972, p. 1).

Where projects were too small to warrant a project manager, the Preston report recommended contracting "deputy agriculturalists to provide 'on farm' guidance, training and loan servicing" (p. 6). The report also recommended that loans and grants should be given only to "viable farm units" (p. 15).

The recommended extension education approach was undoubtedly rooted in an ideology that privileged Western colonial and patriarchal views of the world. The role of women in agriculture illustrates this point. Despite their important contribution to many First Nations production systems, women were usually ignored in development and extension programs. Likewise, the role that First Nations concepts of development could play in the design of the curriculum and the delivery of training programs did not appear anywhere in the report. In Preston's opinion the solution to the slow rate of growth of agriculture on the reserves rested on the completion of the acculturation process initiated since the time of first contact. "Many of the limitations [to agricultural development] cited earlier will disappear or vanish when Indians have attained levels of knowledge and skills comparable with the non-Indian segment" (p. 5). In a letter written to the DIAND agriculturalist in Williams Lake, Preston wrote: "In the more 'primitive' areas, many of
the Indians have neither the motivation, experience, nor [are they] prepared for 'sustained effort' to take over, or even be interested in a modern farm/or/ranching operation."

(Preston, 1972, p. 1).

As pointed out earlier, until the 1970s women's contributions to the production process were rarely acknowledged (Wasilewski, 1993). Hurt (1987) commenting on the accomplishments of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs agricultural aid and education programs, contends that their slow rate of success can be attributed, in part, to their exclusive concern with teaching men.

By insisting that only men and boys learn farming methods, the federal government broke the Indian tradition, which relegated agriculture to women ... Because white society required women to work in the home and not in the field, the federal government wasted the great agricultural abilities of the Indian women (p. 110).

Daryl McNeil (1990), Band Manager of the Seabird Island Band in Agassiz, described the role of women in his band in a similar manner. He stated that in the traditional society of his people, women always played an important role. "Our people are ... maternalistic rather than paternalistic. The mother and the grandmother were always perceived as [the] central figure" (p. 11). McNeil, however, clarified that the importance of women has diminished over the last fifty years due to the influence of a mainly male-dominated non-Native society. Therefore, increased participation of women in agricultural development and extension activities could constitute a new and interesting aspect to be included in future programs.

The idea of Manager-Trainees fitted very well within large, growth-pole type projects. The Cowichan Farm, a co-operative enterprise discussed earlier, exemplified how big farms were thought of as part of the education and training programs for First Nations farmers. "Besides developing the land resources, these projects provide a medium
for on-the-job training and employment for several hundred people at the student and adult
level" (Ash, 1974a, p. 3).

**SARDA Advisory Services**

Like that of DIAND, agricultural training supported by SARDA was also centred around the concept of on-the-job training done by non-Natives. This was especially prevalent during the years of the first agreement (1972-1977) when the emphasis was on big corporate farms and other commercial undertakings. The results of SARDA training efforts were criticized in the SARDA (1981) evaluation that recommended that "responsibility for funding and administering of training ... should be transferred to other government departments or government supported agencies whose staff had the required skills and experience" (p. xxv). This comment was particularly relevant in the case of agricultural projects because the SARDA did not have on staff any person professionally trained in agriculture who could see beyond accounting and strictly financial concerns.

Another component of the program that offered the opportunity for training was the provision of advisory services to farmers at the time they were developing business ideas and preparing formal applications to SARDA. There was also some advice to farmers after the project had been approved, in the form of what was called after-care. The application process included two stages: Part One, a simple statement of intentions that was used by program officials to decide whether the applications fell under the general program guidelines, and Part Two, to be prepared after the business idea had been accepted in principle. Part Two consisted of a detailed application and business plan. The preparation of the business plan provided an excellent opportunity for program officers and private advisors to work with the farmers in the concretization of their projects. Regrettably, this unique learning opportunity was generally not understood as such by those involved in the application review process, given that the satisfaction of the very
specific financial, legal and administrative requirements of the program took precedent over teaching and learning. The SARDA (1981) evaluators wrote regarding this issue: "There is considerable feeling that Part II applications are being filled out by consultants and accountants rather than the applicants themselves, with the result that the applicant benefits very little from the Part II process" (p. 139).

A Developing Country Extension Model

An analysis of the concepts prevalent in DIAND and SARDA agricultural extension and advisory activities in the 1970s permits one to describe these programs as belonging to what Boone (1989) calls a Developing Country Extension System. In this approach the information flows from the top down and the agriculturalist plays the central role of expert. As discussed earlier, the DIAND and SARDA extension approach was generally paternalistic and embedded with the ideology of modernization. "Tutors" from outside the communities were to be hired to "train" potential First Nations farmers in the efficient use of the new technologies available. Absent from DIAND and other government documents was any indication of the need to consult with the people in the communities about what kind of projects they wanted to undertake and considered important for their future. The local cultural code was never an essential consideration in any of the development plans and the attached extension education training programs. Summing up, it is revealing to notice that DIAND and SARDA insisted on a functionalist and paternalistic approach to extension education despite the limited success of these systems in promoting development.

The BCDA and Extension for First Nations Farmers

Although there was cooperation between DIAND agrologists and BCDA extension personnel, as in previous years the contacts were kept to a minimum and informal level.
BCDA in its 1970 Annual Report briefly mentioned that the Extension Branch offered "increased advisory services to Indians in various areas of the Province. These involved general workshops on the basics of agriculture, in addition to specific undertakings in livestock and field-crops husbandry" (BCDA, 1971, p. 18).

These services were provided mostly to farmers in the Kamloops-Nicola area as part of BCDA general extension activities. The official provincial policy was, however, to maintain that constitutional reasons prevented the province from getting involved in the provision of special extension services to First Nations farmers. At the federal level, Agriculture Canada alleged that constitutional reasons precluded its participation in extension activities, while the division of administrative responsibilities between government departments prevented its financial support of First Nations programs. Despite these presumed limitations, Agriculture Canada actively participated in the provision of training to Euro-Canadian farmers through their contribution to the ARDSA agreements. The 1977/1983 ARDSA Agreement, for example, allocated $4.95 million (shared equally by the federal and provincial governments) to Part I of the agreement that provided funding for research, planning, training and market information. Both levels of government regarded the training of farmers as essential for the future of B.C. agriculture. "The farmer must be knowledgeable of management methods, keep abreast of technological changes and understand marketing ... [Training would] include short courses; a combination of formal and on-farm training; and the use of an innovative demonstration program" (BCMA & DREE, 1977, p. 18).

Despite their acknowledgment of the importance of farmer's training, and the general acceptance among agricultural professionals that B.C. First Nations' agriculture lagged behind that of the Euro-Canadian sector, the only First Nations project that

82 The average gross earnings per farm among B.C. First Nations was, in 1973/74, $6,600 compared to $16,000 for non-First Nations (DIAND, 1975, p.3).
received funding under ARDSA Part I was an economic feasibility study of the diking of the Similkameen River in Keremeos. The Lower Similkammen Band received $35,600 to hire a consultant to conduct the cost-benefit study for the diking project. The unequal treatment that First Nations farmers had received in the use of funds in previous agreements was quite evident. It was even acknowledged by DIAND in a briefing paper on B.C. Indian Agriculture sent to the Deputy Minister of Indian and Eskimo Affairs in Ottawa. In the document it was stated regarding the implementation of the Federal/Provincial GDA, that "[steps] need to be taken to ensure Indians will receive equal recognition and treatment along with other farmers" (DIAND, 1975, p.2)

In subsequent years BCDA annual reports did not have references to the extension services provided to First Nations farmers. The only allusion to First Nations agriculture was the activities of SARDA. The BCDA annual reports highlighted the financial assistance given to SARDA projects aimed at improving the economic and social conditions of First Nations communities but despite that, as discussed elsewhere, the British Columbia government's financial contribution to these projects was very limited.

In the early 1970s, while initiating the preparation of a First Nations Regional Agricultural Program, DIAND continued to discuss with the province of British Columbia the possibility that BCDA could provide special extension services to First Nations farmers. DIAND considered the "service provided by the province to Indians in agriculture ... very satisfactory" (Walchli, 1973a, p. 3). The idea insinuated by DIAND Headquarters in Ottawa and shared in the B.C. region was "that the province provides additional agrologists in various districts where Indian participation is concentrated and

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83 There were other First Nations projects financed under Part 3 of the 1977-1983 ARDSA agreement. They were the Alexandria Band three-phase electrical power; the diking of 728 hectares of farm land on Reserve 8 in the Lower Similkammen Band in Keremeos; an irrigation system at the North Thompson Band covering 202 hectares; and the flood control improvement in the Pemberton Valley that benefited the Mount Currie Band (Agriculture Canada, 1987; BCMA & DREE, 1980; BCMA & DREE, 1983).
Indian Affairs would cover the cost" (Walchli, 1973a, p. 1). The DIAND proposal to British Columbia was considered by the provincial government inapplicable, although a similar project had already been accepted in Saskatchewan. Ottawa's insistence on trying to negotiate with the province the provision of extension services for First Nations farmers was an indication that DIAND was not prepared to initiate a consultation process that would consider as a possible outcome the delegation of administrative authority to local farmers to manage their own program. The negotiations with the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, that followed the initial DIAND attempt to produce an agricultural plan, were a clear signal that First Nations had a very different idea of what participation meant to them.

**The Power of Human Agency**

The equality revolution of the 1960s that brought about the Statement on Indian Policy of 1969 had a significant impact on the development of agriculture on reserves. The increase in consciousness (Terry, 1993) generated by the opposition organized by the NIB to the White Paper helped First Nations political leaders and farmers visualize the need to request from DIAND the transfer of administrative authority to organize their own agricultural extension services. Furthermore, the NIB program not only considered developing a policy of control of First Nations education but also advanced the idea of community-based development. "The approach was based on the belief that locally conceived and initiated projects are more successful than those imposed on the community from outside. The issue is also known as 'bottom-up' versus 'top-down' development"

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84 The 1978-1983 B.C. Indian Agricultural Program proposal stated that "If, at any time the British Columbia Department of Agriculture agrees to engage the three (3) Agrologists ... and/or the four (4) Indian Assistant Extension Workers ... a three party agreement by the province, the Corporation and the Minister [of Indian Affairs] ... might be negotiated to implement such arrangement" (DIAND, 1977, p.3, emphasis in text).
(DIAND, ca.1983, p. 128). Although the federal government regional development policy tended, under the General Development Agreement (GDA) of 1974, to decentralize the administrative and decision-making authority to provincial centres (OECD, 1994), DIAND officials were not yet prepared to accept the demands of First Nations within that policy framework.

First Nations Reaction to the White Paper

The attempt in the White Paper to ignore First Nations rights was firmly rejected by provincial and national First Nations organizations. First Nations felt betrayed by the Canadian government's decision because they were told that no policy would be presented to parliament until after First Nations across Canada were fully consulted. Cardinal's (1969) words summarized First Nations reaction at the time. He wrote:

Now, at a time when our fellow Canadians consider the promise of the Just Society, once more the Indians of Canada are betrayed by a programme which offers nothing better than cultural genocide. ... The new Indian policy ... is a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation (p. 1). ... [It] is quite obvious that during the exact period in which the government was theoretically pursuing consultation, federal officials, in isolation from the people they were supposed to be consulting, were plotting unilaterally a policy paper designed to alter the future of every Indian in Canada (p. 130). ... When the government drafted its new policy of inequality it became apparent that once again the white men had not heard us, they had not understood us, and one has to wonder if they ever listened to us at the so-called consultation meetings. Some consultations! (p. 131).

The National Indian Brotherhood, founded in 1967, organized a campaign to defend First Nations rights threatened by the new policy statement. In Alberta, after consultation with the communities, Harold Cardinal and other First Nations leaders prepared a paper to express their position. This paper became known later as the Red Paper. In British Columbia opposition to the White Paper provided the first opportunity, since the organization of the Allied Tribes of the 1920s, to create a province-wide
organization. Under the leadership of George Manuel, 170 Chiefs met in Kamloops in October of 1969 and founded the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC).

"The first executive was made up of Victor Adolph, Herbert Maitland and Phillip Paul, although Paul was recognized as the organization's unofficial leader" (McFarlane, 1993, p. 115). The UBCIC and George Manuel would later play a fundamental role in the creation of the first province-wide First Nations agricultural extension program in British Columbia.85

The Process Leading to the Creation of the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC)

After an interval of limited agricultural growth during the years between the work of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs of 1913-1916, and the White Paper of 1969, First Nations political leaders and farmers reaffirmed the need to create an economic base in order to be able to organize their self-government institutions in the future. Once again First Nations politicians and farmers looked at farming as an acceptable form of economic activity on the reserves. "Even though the majority of agricultural activity on Indian reserves deteriorated over this period [1930-1979], some agricultural ventures did flourish, and during the late 60s and 70s agriculture began to emerge once again" (Pasco, 1979, p. 21).

As discussed elsewhere, DIAND policy on agricultural development in the early 1970s was based on two central ideas. The preparation of a B.C. Regional Agricultural Program (Walchli, 1973b), including a detailed inventory of resources, and the implementation of the program with extension services and technical advice provided

85 "Since 1969 Indian political activity in British Columbia has differed from that of previous time most evidently in the presence of organizations with full-time leaders, large staffs, and large budgets, and in the existence of federal funding programs as the source of financial support for the organizations" (Tennant, 1982a, p. 3).
under contract by BCDA. DIAND's own agriculturalists (four at the time) would continue to provide advice to First Nations farmers, but BCDA was to become the main source of extension services. Following the new federal policy of decentralization and local participation, three First Nations farmers were invited to provide input into the preparation of the plan. Since 1971 DIAND had the idea of setting up a formal participation mechanism in the form of a Steering Committee to oversee the preparation of the plan. The committee would have representatives of DIAND, ARDA, Farm Credit Corporation (FCC), BCDA, and three First Nations ranchers (Walchli, 1973b).

The following year, while the Preston report was still being prepared, in March 1972, DIAND tried to initiate the consultation process with a meeting in Kamloops. DIAND's effort did not meet with much success. While all four DIAND agrologists attended, no First Nation representative showed up at the meeting (Ash, 1975). At that point, DIAND realized that to legitimize the negotiating process it would have to acknowledge the leadership and authority of the UBCIC, and its role as a major First Nations organization in British Columbia. Consequently, in January of 1973 the UBCIC was invited to join the planning process and respond "at the earliest possible time on the Union's position regarding the development of an agricultural program and in what way we can jointly formulate such a program" (Wight, 1973). The UBCIC did not reply to the DIAND letter and in the spring of that year the Ottawa DIAND Agriculture Specialist expressed concern about the matter. "It is at this stage that the contributions from the Union and the Indian farm representatives is most essential... How can we induce them to become involved is a real problem" (Stoyko, 1973, emphasis added). Stoyko also recommended that the question of how and by whom the program would be administered

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86 It should be noted that the original membership of the Steering Committee did not consider the participation of any political First Nations organization, especially the UBCIC, whose membership was largely from the interior of the province.
should be left aside. Belanger, Chief of the Economic Development Division in Ottawa, also insisted that the Steering Committee should be functioning "before the final drafting of the program so that the Indian input could be registered" (Ash, 1973, p.1). Despite recognizing the UBCIC as political representative of First Nations farmers, DIAND insisted on inviting three farmers at large to participate on the committee. The presence of individual farmers invited by DIAND to participate on the committee can be interpreted as an attempt to undermine the political authority of the UBCIC. Furthermore, it was an early signal that, in years to come, in the annual negotiations to allocate the regional economic development budget between the farmers in the interior represented by the UBCIC, and the north-coast fishermen represented by the Indian Brotherhood of B.C., the Superintendent of Economic Development (and later DIAND Regional Director General for B.C.), F.J. Walchli would generally be more inclined to support the demands of the Indian Brotherhood. "Union activists saw Bill Wilson's return as part of an orchestrated campaign by the three 'W's: Bill Wilson, George Watts, and Fred Walchli, the DIA's regional superintendent, to overthrow the Union" (McFarlane, 1993, p. 256). This alliance between some of the influential coastal organizations and Walchli would have a detrimental impact on the survival of WIAC in future years.

Towards the end of the year (October, 1973) the first meeting of the Steering Committee organized by DIAND took place in Kamloops. The UBCIC did not participate and First Nations farmers were represented only by two private individual ranchers. The meeting's agenda had a technical character and was centred around issues of education and training of farmers. The agenda did not include discussing topics related to the future administration of the agricultural program. From the minutes of the meeting it seems rather evident that the steering committee was being interpreted by DIAND as a mechanism to legitimize its policies rather than one aimed at providing First Nations with the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. One of the
recommendations from the meetings was, for example, that the best way to deliver technical information and teach some technical skills to First Nations farmers was through workshops on production technologies to be presented, on reserve, by federal and provincial specialists. Once again no consideration was given to the inclusion in the curriculum of themes related to the cultural and social objectives that were important to many First Nations people. Although this October meeting was a first attempt to collectively establish a basic development policy for agriculture in B.C., the level of First Nations participation in the actual definition of policy was minimal. From DIAND's perspective, First Nations participation was a positive but not essential step in the decision making-process. The DIAND B.C. regional office was interested in having the agricultural program initiated by April 1, 1974, after three years of planning and negotiations (Walchli, 1973b).

However, a few months later, R.H. Belanger, Ottawa DIAND Chief of the Development Service Division, commenting on a draft version of the agricultural program sent by the B.C. Region did not seem very pleased with what was being suggested in it. He wrote: "I am wondering how much consideration was given to having the Province or some other organization taking over administration of the program and the maximizing of Indian participation" (Belanger, 1974). He also thought that the program needed considerably more work in its organization, justification and definition of roles of DREE, BCDA and other government agencies. It took DIAND until November of 1974 to have a new program proposal ready to discuss at a steering committee meeting planned for December.

In the meantime UBCIC decided to take the initiative and prepared its own Indian Agricultural Development Plan that was put together with the assistance of Tim Pyrch, UBCIC Research Co-ordinator (UBCIC, 1974b). On November 18, 1974 UBCIC organized a meeting of its Agricultural Committee in Kamloops to present their plan. The
meeting was chaired by Tim Spinks and attended by 12 First Nations political leaders and farmers, among them Gordon Antoine from Merritt, Bob Pasco from Ashcroft, Gordon James from Lillooet, and Don Moses from Merritt. Also present were officials from SARDA, BCDA, Agriculture Canada and DIAND.

The previous non-participation of UBCIC in the DIAND Steering Committee activities was an indication that First Nations were not satisfied with the form of the consultation process. First Nations aspirations regarding the future of agriculture on the reserves were very different. At the meeting First Nations representatives said that, in their view, the B.C. agricultural program should consider all aspects of agriculture and include part-time as well as full-time ranchers and farmers. The plan gave special emphasis to the training of farmers because they claimed:

Indian people have been denied proper training in agriculture for too long, and so have declined in agricultural productivity ... [Training] will ensure renewed Indian agricultural productivity for a number of training programs, some of which will be designed specifically for the uniqueness of the reserve situation (UBCIC, 1974b, p. 28).

First Nations also voiced their concern about what they regarded as discriminatory practices of BCDA financial programs. First Nations farmers could not apply, for example, to programs such as the Agricultural Land Development Act (ALDA) for low-interest loans to develop their lands because the rules defining the legal authority of the federal and provincial governments impeded it. Another important issue that was raised referred to the possibility of applying for loans to purchase land outside the reserves. Gordon Antoine stated "that this should be included as part and parcel of any program aimed at Indians, to give them an opportunity to buy other land off the reserve or go into production off the reserve" (UBCIC, 1974a, p. 17). To accomplish all these objectives the plan proposed that the federal government establish a $45 million trust fund, an
amount that was comparable to the funding allocated to the Indian Fishermen Assistance Program (UBCIC, 1974b).

Given the existence of two program proposals, the one from UBCIC and the one from DIAND, it was decided on Gordon Antoine's suggestion to have another meeting "to look at the paper that Bruce Ash put together and perhaps there are some ideas in his paper that can be incorporated in our paper" (UBCIC, 1974a, p. 20). The new meeting took place in Kamloops on December 16, 1974 and was attended by representatives of BCDA, FCC, DIAND and more than ten Chiefs. At the meeting, the Chiefs, after listening to Bruce Ash's report held a caucus and decided to disband the DIAND Steering Committee. They replaced it by another committee of seven members, with First Nations majority representation. The Chiefs did not accept the DIAND Agricultural Program Proposal because they felt is was too paternalistic (Ash, 1974b) and "merely reflected Indian Affairs policy, [and neither] UBCIC nor the Provincial and Federal Departments of Agriculture had any input into the proposal" (Demerais, 1974). They were told, however, by DIAND officials that "Indian Affairs would have to be involved and that public funds would not be transferred to a group outside of federal government control" (Ash, 1974b). The Chiefs, realizing that any attempt to take complete control of the program would be a very difficult to accomplish at that time, decided to ask the B.C. regional DIAND office to develop a joint submission for consideration in Ottawa.

Despite the barriers that the many legal and administrative rules represented, after the Kamloops meeting, through the leadership of the participating Chiefs and the vision of Chief George Manuel, First Nations people began to take control of the process leading to the implementation of the B.C. Agricultural Program. The main thrust of the First Nations Agricultural Program Proposal was the creation of a $45 million trust fund, and through the interest generated by the fund, implement an agricultural extension and lending program that would meet their goals and aspirations.
The increasing awareness among First Nations of the need to have more control over how the resources on the reserves should be developed led a group of bands from the central interior of B.C., in 1975, to pressure the DIAND to close its district offices in Kamloops and Vernon. The reasoning was that after the offices were closed, the services that were originally provided by DIAND agrologists to First Nations farmers could then be replaced by new services provided by First Nations themselves (Antoine, 1991).  

The next step in the process was a meeting between the UBCIC Agricultural Committee and the Ministers of Indian Affairs (Judd Buchanan) and Agriculture (Eugene Whelan) on April 11, 1975, in Ottawa (Gaspe, 1975). The Committee requested that the DIAND followed the directions of the Treasury Board (T.B.) Minute # 72585 of May 13, 1974 to provide them with the funds necessary for establishing an Indian Agricultural Development Program in the province. A lengthy negotiating process was initiated that after three years culminated in a Treasury Board submission requesting the amount of $10.7 million to implement a six-year agricultural extension program, and $7.9 million for a complementary agricultural credit program. "The major objective of the program is the creation of 244 viable farm units ...[and the training of] 420 Indians so that they are fully qualified to be placed in primary, secondary and tertiary jobs" (W. Lewis, 1978, p.3). These funds were to improve the productivity levels of the estimated 19,300 acres being cultivated, and to incorporate into production another 110,000 acres or so. They were also for developing another 206,000 acres of grazing and forest lands. (Except for the ranching activity in the Nicola, Kamloops and Cariboo areas, grazing lands were

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87 After the closure of the District offices in Vernon and Kamloops, DIAND still tried to secure the services of BCMA. The possibility of creating a First Nations extension program was not in their plans. "Since Indian Affairs does not have offices in these two agriculturally oriented districts, it is recommended that we negotiate with the B.C. Department of Agriculture to allow the placement of a well qualified agrologist in either or both the Kamloops and Kelowna provincial offices" (Ash, 1975, p. 2).

88 The Preston Report estimated that in 1972 there were 62,000 acres under some type of cultivation.
The B.C. Indian Agricultural Program 1977-1982 was not, however, approved by the Treasury Board\(^8\) and Chief Robert Pasco denounced the DIAND Headquarters office for its lack of support. In a letter to Hugh Faulkner, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs he stated: "[We] must express an obvious regret as to the manner in which your Ottawa Headquarters staff steadfastly raised obstructions against efforts of both our Agriculture Committee and your Regional Officers. We regret the weak recommendations of the Department's Headquarters to the Treasury Board (Pasco, 1978b).

Although a considerable amount of time and effort was devoted by First Nations farmers and regional DIAND personnel to develop a joint comprehensive five-year agricultural development program,\(^9\) in Ottawa DIAND Headquarters was not actually in favor of supporting the idea. They were following a development policy that had as its underlying argument that, in the economy, there were better investment sectors than agriculture. Bob Knox, DIAND Director of Programs stated at a meeting of the Western Provinces Sectoral Agricultural Committee held in Ottawa on December 1, 1977:

"[We] know that when we go to T.B. [Treasury Board] and we are requesting funds ... we have to be prepared to answer the obvious questions such as how come you wish to make this kind of investment in agriculture as opposed to manufacturing. You have to be able to justify it in terms of return, return for Indians in terms of creation of wealth, use of resources. That provides a general position. (NIB, 1977, p.5)"

Knox added later in the meeting that "if you get taxpayers' dollars then you get it for a specific purpose" (NIB, 1977, p.7). Chief Bob Pasco, who was representing the

\(^8\) DIAND was advised by Treasury Board that the program had not been approved on May 9, 1978.

\(^9\) Between the December 16, 1974 meeting of the UBCIC Agricultural Committee and DIAND officials in Kamloops, and the constitution of WIAC in October 2, 1978, numerous local and national meetings of the B.C. Steering Committee and the Western Provinces Agriculture Committee took place in Kamloops, Vancouver and Ottawa.
B.C. farmers, expressed his frustration and asked whether DIAND was deliberately preventing the program from going to T.B. since in B.C. his group had been working ...
"starting three ministers ago which is about four years, [during which period] we met every possible roadblock in developing our program" (NIB, 1977, p.8).

Almost a year after the Ottawa meeting the response to a telex sent by Chief Don Moses of the UBCIC inquiring about the possibility of increasing the DIAND contribution to the agricultural program, was a clear expression of the Ottawa development policy. In a letter to Chief Moses, Walchli (1978a) indicated that R.D. Brown, Assistant Deputy Minister - Programs, had said:

$60,000 will be made available to your Region as part of the funding necessary to implement the first year of an agricultural program in British Columbia ... It must be understood that these are the only funds that will be provided for this program out of Headquarters budget. (p. 2, emphasis added)

Brown's answer meant, in administrative terms, that future funding for an agricultural extension program would have to be provided out of the B.C. regional economic development budget, and not from national funds. This decision had a significant impact on the funding of WIAC over its entire institutional life.

The UBCIC Agricultural Committee decided to press on with its program and incorporated, under the Canada Corporations Act, on October 8, 1978, a company in the name of Western Indian Agricultural Corporation Limited (WIAC). They immediately petitioned the DIAND for funds to operate the agricultural extension program for one year. Prior to the legal incorporation of WIAC the President of the Board, Chief Bob

91 The only administrative alternatives left for WIAC to obtain five-year block funding for its agricultural program were to petition once again the Treasury Board to set aside a certain amount for agricultural development within the DIAND regional budget, or to prepare a Cabinet Submission, requesting new funds for the B.C. Region. Both alternatives proved, over the years, to be an impossible task.
Pasco, had submitted a grant application to SARDA to finance the provision of "[badly] needed extension and training services" (Pasco, 1978a, p.1) for First Nations farmers. In November 1978, after receiving confirmation of the approval of the contribution agreement for $60,000 announced by the Assistant Deputy Minister, Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC), a not-profit First Nations organization, owned by the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, initiated its operations and started providing extension services for First Nations farmers.

Transformism and Industrialism in the 1970s: Obstacles to First Nations Agricultural Development

Two significant policy events marked the 1970s. In the realm of First Nations policies, the Government of Canada Statement on Indian Policy of 1969 changed definitively the nature of the relationships between the federal government and First Nations. In the field of development policies there was a change in direction with the federal government starting to move away from rural development concepts to counter regional disparities towards urban/industrial approaches. This new approach favored encouraging people to move away from depressed poor regions towards growth-centre poles whose infrastructure was being developed by financial contributions from DREE. First Nations' agricultural development in British Columbia was influenced both by federal policies, and by the internal dynamics of the relationships between First Nations' organizations. As a result, First Nations agriculture had to struggle not only with federal acts that treated them differently from the rest of the Canadian population and with development policies that favored Western modernization approaches to development, but also with the pressure exercised by First Nations fishermen regarding how development funds should be allocated.
The raised consciousness resulting from the struggle against 1969 federal policy led the UBCIC and a group of Chiefs from the interior of the province to initiate a lengthy process of negotiation that culminated in the constitution of WIAC, a fully-controlled First Nations institution that managed the B.C. Agricultural Program for the next fifteen years. The study of these negotiations provided insight into how the power of existing social structures influenced policy making, and how, at the same time, those power relations could be changed if the people being affected became organized at the grass roots level. As discussed elsewhere, the formalization of the First Nations agricultural program took ten years of negotiation, many times frustrating for First Nations leaders and communities. They are, nevertheless, a symbol of what patience, perseverance and clarity of goals can achieve. The challenge for First Nations farmers and the UBCIC was now in front of them. They had managed to establish the B.C. Agricultural Program and now they had to bring into reality what they proclaimed as their aspirations. The following chapter describes and analyzes the activities of WIAC as part of this process, its achievements and drawbacks.
CHAPTER SEVEN

1978-1994: INCORPORATION, NEO-CONSERVATISM AND
FIRST NATIONS AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

Clearly Indian people must have assistance to develop the economic
potential of their land. The best way to do this is through [an]
Agricultural Program which Indian people themselves have developed.
(UBCIC, 1978, p. 4)

This chapter examines the circumstances surrounding the activities of the Western
Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC) since its incorporation in October of 1978.
WIAC established its headquarters at the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs'
(UBCIC) office in Vancouver and soon afterwards, field operations began in several
locations throughout the interior of the province. As an organization fully controlled by
First Nations farmers WIAC managed, for the next fifteen years, the B.C. extension
agricultural program through phases of expansion and contraction that ended with the
closure of its field operations in 1993.

After an analysis of the evolution of federal policies on regional and First Nations
development issues, a description of First Nations perspectives on resource utilization in
the 1980s and 1990s is presented. This analysis is followed by an in-depth discussion of
the role of WIAC in relation to agricultural development on reserve. Reflections on the
relative transformative capacity of humans as agents for social change close this chapter.

The Evolution of Federal Policy on Regional Development: Industrialism,
Advanced Technologies, and Market Globalization

Towards the end of the 1970s Canada was entering a period of limited growth and
high unemployment that prompted people to question the effectiveness of the federal
government's policy of infrastructure development and transfer payments to diminish
regional disparities. Although federal regional development policies continued to be
driven by Western modernization ideas, critiques from within the paradigm suggested the need for changes in policy direction towards less government intervention in the economy. In 1978 a review of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) contended that regional programs were interfering with market forces and there was a need to change towards policies that allowed the regions to develop individually, based on their own natural comparative advantages (Savoie, 1992). It was generally acknowledged that programs in the General Development Agreements (GDA) had allowed for bilateral agreements between the federal government and the provinces in areas of their mutual interest, but they had not provided a framework for dealing with national development issues such as energy, inter-provincial trade, and transportation. By the early 1980s, DREE underwent a structural change to strengthen federal visibility and control of the delivery of regional development programs. Under the new policy other federal departments (Agriculture, Energy, Fisheries) would also participate in these programs, while the provinces role would be diminished. The new regional development policy directed DREE to concentrate its efforts in "high-growth-potential manufacturing sectors and dynamic industries, so that the new activities would sustain themselves" (Savoie, 1992, p. 81). In 1982 the government announced the dismantling of DREE and the creation of the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (DRIE). The new Department resulted from an amalgamation of DREE and the industry, small business, and tourism components of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce (ITC).

The amalgamation of DREE with ITC signaled that the federal government was continuing to emphasize industrialism and "resource-based megaprojects ... predominantly in energy and resources" (Savoie, 1992, pp. 84-85) as the forces driving regional economic development. The new policy was to concentrate government development efforts in supporting those sectors that had shown higher productivity levels and had also provided high-wage employment opportunities. Development policies changed from the
1970s' preoccupation with correcting regional differences to providing support to the different regions based on their potential for growth. "[The] focus of regional development under the new approach shifted away from the disadvantaged regions for a time to place greater emphasis on national and nation-wide assistance" (OECD, 1994, p.21). The GDAs that governed the cooperation agreements between the federal and provincial governments, once expired, were replaced by the new Economic and Regional Development Agreements (ERDA) that emphasized direct program delivery by the federal government. DREE had helped to build the necessary infrastructure of production in the regions and they were now in a position to take advantage of their unique production environments. Within DRIE's policy of modernization, industrialism, and diminishing government intervention in the economy, traditional primary production activities such as agriculture were not specially targeted for assistance. So-called primary producing activities (such as agriculture, trapping and food gathering) were supported only where they had typically shown clear comparative advantages. This new federal policy implemented through DRIE had a considerable impact on the development of First Nations agriculture in British Columbia as will be discussed later.

Under the latest regional development policy an ERDA agreement for a total of $589.5 million, to be shared equally by British Columbia and Canada, was signed in 1984. One of the components of the ERDA agreement was a new Canada/British Columbia Agri-Food Regional Development Subsidiary Agreement (ARDSA) for the period 1985-1990. The new ARDSA was for a total of $40 million. Under the new ARDSA, five projects related to the improvement of the agricultural production

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92 A measure of the relative importance of agriculture within the ERDA agreement is the federal and provincial financial contribution to other sectors. The forestry subsidiary agreement was for $300 million, the industrial development for $125 million, and the small business incentives for $50 million. ARDSA funding could only be applied to projects outside the farm gate, and that would benefit a community.
infrastructure (mainly irrigation systems) on the reserves were financed under Program II (Resource Development) of the agreement. The total financial contribution to First Nations projects was $575,000.\textsuperscript{93}

It became apparent early on that DRIE's policy of national development was not contributing significantly to diminishing regional disparities. Furthermore its centralized focus created problems with the regions who felt that DRIE was mainly concerned with the development of central Canada (OECD, 1994; Savoie, 1992). These concerns and the election of the Mulroney government that announced decentralization measures to promote national reconciliation and economic renewal, led in 1987, to another reframing of regional development policies. "The main features of the new policy comprised a decentralisation of administration and authority away from Ottawa to give regional agencies primary responsibility for regional development within their local area" (OECD, 1994, p. 22). Two new regional agencies were created as a result of the proposed restructuration: the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and the Western Economic Diversification Fund (WD). These agencies would operate under a new proposed federal department, the Department of Industry, Science and Technology (DIST) resulting from the merger of DRIE and the Ministry of State for Science and Technology. WD had an initial $1.2 billion for a period of five years and later received an annual budget allocation. A central "feature of the WD approach is the almost exclusive focus on innovation in its broadest sense. Unlike other agencies, WD is less concerned with the employment implications of the project proposals" (OECD, 1994, p. 49). Although the new federal regional development policies went back to more decentralized, agency-based program decision making, the overall focus of the policy was to move further away from

\textsuperscript{93} The projects correspond to investments in agriculture infrastructure development at the Toosey Band in the Cariboo region; the Inkameep Vineyards in the Osoyoos Band; the Kamloops Band in Kamloops; and the Neskainlith Band in Chase (BCMA & Agriculture Canada, 1992).
an emphasis on rural development and community control, towards industrialization, advanced technologies and entrepreneurship as the basis for giving Canada a competitive edge in the market globalization process. In the agricultural sector, the strategy of WD is to concentrate its efforts on enhancing "the level of value added throughout the market chain ... with the ultimate goal of securing and improving the future of rural communities" (OECD, 1994, p. 51).

**Federal Policies on First Nations Development**

During the 1980s the federal government's First Nations development policies were greatly influenced by two forces, the economic recession of the early 1980s and the increased demand by First Nations people to govern their own affairs. The former prompted the federal government to undertake budgetary cuts that were directed primarily at eliminating program expenditures that were regarded as economically inefficient.

In the 1980s and into the 1990s, 'restraint' has become a key word in electoral politics ... [challenging] the political ideas and political practices forged by the Keynesian revolution of the postwar years ... The end of the long postwar economic boom disrupted economies and resulted in financial crisis of governments. (McBride and Shields, 1993, pp. 20-21)

This need to downsize federal departments' expenditures coincided with the increasing pressure exercised by First Nations organizations to manage their own affairs. The transfer over time of the administration of statutory and non-statutory responsibilities to First Nations organizations was seen by Canada as the final step in its policy of transformism. From the federal perspective, once self-government was achieved Canada's fiduciary obligations with First Nations people would eventually disappear.

From the First Nations' perspective, self-government meant gaining control not only of the administration of programs but - more importantly - of the decision making process related to policies governing the lives of First Nations communities.
Furthermore, self-government was only part of the final solution that required completing negotiations regarding the land question, especially in British Columbia. L. Munaweera, a former Head of the DIAND Resource, Economic and Employment Development Branch in the B.C. region, and a DIAND employee for nearly fifteen years, commented that DIAND policies regarding self-government in the early 1980s could be better described as deconcentration rather than decentralization. The fundamental difference between the two ideas concerns the issue of decision-making authority. "Decentralization really takes place when real decision-making authority is given to local [communities] where the funds [are needed] and the people are. But that has never been done. So they [DIAND] deconcentrate but never decentralize" (Munaweera, 1993, p. 36).

**DIAND Development Policies and the Devolution Process**

In the economic development field, following the recommendations of the House of Commons Special Committee Report on Indian Self-Government released in 1983 (also known as the Penner Report), DIAND began to discuss how the department roles and responsibilities could be adjusted to facilitate the transition to First Nations self-government. In the early 1980s, in accordance with federal regional development policies that promoted increased regional input into local investment decisions, and responding to increased demands by First Nations organizations to control their own affairs, DIAND initiated an internal policy review under a general concept that became known as the "Devolution Process." One of these policy proposals was the B.C. Third

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94 At the international level the creation of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations as a permanent organism within the United Nations system provided opportunities for political action to many groups who were "[once] neglected and totally excluded from the international scene" (Burger, 1994, p. 91). Indigenous Nations public criticism of ILO Convention 107 because of its paternalistic and assimilationist orientation led, in 1989, to the adoption of the new ILO Convention No 169, "which recognises the distinct cultures right to self-development of indigenous people" (Burger, 1994, p. 91).
Stream Initiative that suggested a new funding mechanism that attempted to make contribution agreements with bands more flexible.95

The proposal sent by O. Anderson, DIAND Regional Director General for the B.C. Region, to D.K. Goodwin, Assistant Deputy Minister Indian and Inuit Program, under the title New Relations (DIAND, 1984) claimed to have the support of the First Nations leadership in the province, at the time, organized in what was called the Pacific Planning Symposium.96 One of the key elements in this First Nations/DIAND proposal for a new funding arrangement was the suggestion that it would only be "established for a selected number of Bands and Tribal Councils ... who have demonstrated over a number of years sound financial management, a service delivery capability, commitment to management training where required, and a history of good financial audits" (DIAND, 1984, Executive Summary).97 This new proposed funding arrangement, by selecting as targets of the initiative those bands and tribal councils that were the most technically and

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95 Another proposal on the subject of devolution was one prepared by L. Munaweera (1985) for restructuring the Resource, Economic and Employment Development (REED) branch to facilitate the establishment of First Nations self-government. In Munaweera's opinion REED's "existing structure [was] not predicated on an ultimate move towards Indian Self-government ... and [its] Advisory Service Unit [was] an anachronism which [did] not adequately address the emergence of and the need to support Indian sectoral institutions' (p. 16).

96 The Pacific Planning Symposium was a First Nation organization that replaced the Regional Forum existing when F. Walchli was Regional Director General of B.C.. Both organizations, according to DIAND officials represented all First Nations in the province. However, they did not have the support of the UBCIC. Actually, the Forum in the late 1970s, and the Symposium in the 1980s were formed to provide representation to those groups who did not wanted to be associated with UBCIC. The differences between the UBCIC and the Symposium stemmed, historically, from disagreements regarding land claims, distribution of federal funding to status Indians and from differences in cultural traditions, economic interests and leaders' personalities. The UBCIC maintained that band Councils were the legitimate representatives of Indian Government, while the Symposium favored tribal and district councils, representing traditional First Nations groups. The strong support for UBCIC came from the bands in the central interior of the province while the Symposium represented mainly the interest of the central and north coast, and some tribal councils in the interior such the Kootenay Area Council that belonged to both organizations. A central figure in the Pacific Planning Symposium was George Watts of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council who was previously the Forum coordinator. A detailed discussion of how these organization were formed can be found in Tennant (1982a).

97 Another important feature of the New Relations proposal was the idea of moving away "from government designated program criteria, standards and eligibility criteria to those developed by each community to meet specific requirements" (DIAND, 1984, Executive Summary).
administratively organized, would likely have the effect of increasing the gap existing between relatively advantaged and disadvantaged First Nations communities and individuals. By pursuing the logic of supporting those groups who were economically more advanced, federal policies were supporting a First Nations system of self-government that was going to tend to reproduce class and ethnic differences among First Nations, similar to those existing in Canadian society at large. Following Satzewich and Wotherspoon (1993) it could be said that the format of the devolution process proposed to Ottawa in the New Relations document was going to mainly benefit "an extant petite bourgeoisie within the aboriginal population and an embryonic capitalist class" (p. 253).

By 1985 the emphasis on the devolution process began to change towards developing more flexible approaches that could be adapted to bands' local circumstances. Funding arrangements took the form of Comprehensive Funding Arrangements, Alternative Funding Arrangements, Contribution Agreements, Self-government Arrangements, and Grants (DIAND, 1993c). This new approach made the devolution process more comprehensive "by broadening the scope of decision-making authority available to First Nations" (DIAND, 1993b, p. 10).

The devolution of the administration of many programs served the federal government to reduce its administrative expenditures through reducing the size of DIAND operations. Furthermore, downsizing government services served other political objectives as well. "If government gets out of business and transfers an envelope of funds, then government can claim responsibility for successes but walk away from failures ... We are not in charge ... That is a very strong motivation (Munaweera, 1993, p. 8).

The reduction in DIAND personnel and direct delivery of services that began in the early 1980s, can arguably be attributed not only to the government commitment to giving First Nations increased decision-making authority but also to an increased federal government interest in reducing budget expenditures. The intentions of the government in
this regard became clear in another report on First Nations affairs tabled in the Canadian Parliament in the mid-1980s. This report, known as the Nielsen Report,\(^9^8\) according to Frideres (1993):

narrowly defined the government's legal obligation towards Natives and identified ways in which DIAND could trim its budget. A major campaign was undertaken by Natives to inform Canadians of the federal government's legal and moral responsibilities toward natives. Legal challenges emerged, and the Supreme Court of Canada upheld the federal government's fiduciary responsibilities. (p. 325)

Government efforts to reduce DIAND expenditures succeeded in the areas of personnel and direct service delivery.\(^9^9\) However, the ongoing First Nations pressure and vigilance forced the government to fulfill its trust responsibilities, and as a result "[since] the 1970s funding for Aboriginal peoples has grown dramatically ... This reflects enhanced services, rapid population growth in First Nation communities (in part a function of Bill C-31) and the effects of inflation" (DIAND, 1993b, p. 3).

From the standpoint of economic development policies, aimed at creating productive infrastructures that could become permanent sources of wealth creation at the community level, the increase in federal expenditures for First Nations peoples should be viewed with caution. Although total federal expenditures, including all departments that deliver services to First Nations (i.e., National Health and Welfare, Employment and Immigration Canada [EIC], Canada Mortgage and Housing, Justice), increased in

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\(^9^8\) During the 1980s other important events that directly and indirectly had an effect on First Nations development took place. In 1982, Aboriginal and Treaty rights were incorporated into the Constitution Act (section 35.1) and between 1983 and 1987 a series of First Ministers' conferences on First Nations took place. While all these happenings "reflected favourably on Natives' quest for self-government, it meant that Natives would have to promote and lobby Canadians to establish what those rights were" (Frideres, 1993, p. 325).

\(^9^9\) DIAND's (1993b) report indicated that "[in] the last 10 years, funds administered by First Nations have increased from 41 percent to 77 percent of Indian and Inuit Program funding. Departmental staff has decreased since 1975-76 from 8,000 to 3,800" (p. 44).
nominal terms from $700 million in 1975-76 to $5 billion in 1992-93, only a small percentage of that total was targeted for economic development and training. Out of the $5 billion in federal expenditures for First Nations peoples in 1992-93, $98 million of DIAND's budget went to Economic Development Programs; $76 million of DIST went to its Aboriginal Economic Programs, and $200 million of EIC went to training and employment programs (DIAND, 1993b, Table 2, p. 4).

Another aspect of the relationship between development and devolution policies relates to the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF) funding for projects in the form of loans, loans guarantees and contributions (equity funding). Given that IEDF administration was under the direct legislative responsibility of DIAND officials, (contrary to DREE policy that since 1974 had involved an increased provincial participation in development programs through GDAs), IEDF policy decisions continued to be centralized in DIAND Ottawa until the mid-1980s. As a result of the 1978 IEDF program stabilization that streamlined the administration of the fund and removed from the books $26 million of unrecoverable loans (DIAND, 1985b), "[some] revisions of regulations were made ... Chief amongst these were short term severe lending and granting authority reductions at the regional level, followed by long-term, less austere measures" (DIAND, ca.1983, p. 11). As a result of the so-called IEDF "stabilization era", program objectives became increasingly focused on projects with a business (profit-maximizing) orientation, rather than on those that had a community focus and emphasized job creation. In the early 1980s the IEDF became unofficially known among First Nations entrepreneurs and DIAND personnel working in economic development projects as the Indian Business Loan Fund (IBLF). This was an indication of how clients and civil servants perceived the policy goals of the revised IEDF. The program emphasis on business development over community development was not, however, reflected in an increase in loans and a decrease in equity funding. On the contrary, DIAND decided to diminish the rate of
project failure by increasing the level of contributions. "Prior to [IEDF] 'Stabilization' loans and loan guarantees exceeded contributions by a ratio [of nearly] 4 to 1. Since stabilization, the ratio has almost reversed" (DIAND, ca. 1983, p. 23). By 1985, DIAND began negotiations to transfer part of the administration of the IEDF loan portfolio to recently created First Nations sectoral institutions. In the case of agriculture, the role of WIAC in the devolution process will be discussed later in this chapter.

During the 1980s, DIAND policies in British Columbia showed it did not consider agricultural development as one of its main objectives. Out of 81 loans disbursed under IEDF between 1979 and 1982, for a total of nearly $2 million, only 28 loans for an amount close to $700,000 were destined for agriculture (WIAC, 1988). Meanwhile, First Nations fisheries received between 1976 and 1982 $12 million in loans and equity contributions (DIAND, ca. 1983).

Summing up, it can be said that DIAND began to be transformed during the 1980s from a direct-delivery federal agency to an institution "in the business of supporting First Nation governments in their delivery of programs and services to their own people" (DIAND, 1993b, p. 44). The government of Canada's policy of "devolution" of the 1980s was congruent with the approach of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations that advocated the implementation of national policies of Indigenous self-development (ILO Convention 169). In British Columbia, however, the political objectives sought by First Nations were more comprehensive. They included not only the right to self-development but more fundamentally, the right to self-determination and self-government. Since 1969 the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) has fought,
as Chief Saul Terry (1995) stated, for "the Political Right of self-determination and the right to decolonize. By virtue of these rights, our nations may freely choose their governments, and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural and spiritual development" (p. 3).

**DRIE and First Nations Economic Development**

In September of 1981 the federal Cabinet approved the idea of creating a special fund to provide financial support to First Nations development initiatives. A total of $345 million was committed, in the form of a special budget allocation, to create a nation-wide program to be open to "all Status, Non-Status Indians, Metis and Inuit" (DRIE, ca.1983, p.2). One of the program's main objectives was to provide access to investment capital that otherwise could not be obtained by First Nations entrepreneurs from private sector banks and financial institutions.

The new program was not intended to replace already existing Special ARDA programs because it was technically directed at a different set of potential clients. "The mission of the Native Economic Development Program is to play a direct and coordinating role on behalf of the Government of Canada toward increasing economic self-reliance, and promoting culturally appropriate aboriginal economic development amongst Canada's Native people" (Native Economic Development Program [NEDP], ca.1985, p. 2).

Despite Chief Pasco's statement in the Primary Producing NEDP Task Force Report that the program would support culturally appropriate (traditional) economic development initiatives, official program objectives revealed the predominantly (modern) economistic ideas driving the program when they stressed that projects to be supported were those that "have a strong economic focus, increase economic self-reliance and have the potential to be commercially successful" (DRIE, ca.1983, p. 3).
The decision to create a national First Nations development program was in consonance with the federal government decision to move from regional to national development policies, dismantle DREE and replaced it by DRIE and the ERDA agreements (Savoie, 1994). NEDP was a direct result of this new policy aimed at strengthening the presence of the federal government at the provincial level through giving central agencies more control.

NEDP funds, given the special legal conditions prevailing on reserves, were also thought of by First Nations and policy makers as a source of venture capital (i.e., to finance more risky investments). Under the section on special projects, funds were provided to allow individuals to take advantage of unique opportunities that might arise and have a significant impact on local economic activities. This section also supported scholarships and specialized training "aimed at increasing business, technical and applied scientific expertise to the Native community" (DRIE, ca.1983, p. 12).

DRIE was given the mandate to administer the program in November of 1982 along with the task of organizing a new federal institution. This new institution that became known as the Native Economic Development Program (NEDP) began to operate in April of 1984, after a year and half of internal planning and consultations with community leaders and representatives of First Nations economic institutions in Canada. NEDP was given an original four year mandate to disburse a $350 million fund in the form of non-repayable contributions, a mandate that was later extended until 1990 to allow for the complete allocation of the funds. Applicants to NEDP could receive funding under three categories: building of Native economic and financial institutions;

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101 In October of 1983 a two day meeting was held in Quebec City with representatives of all major First Nations existing economic institutions "in preparation for the implementation and administration of the Native Economic Development Program ... [searching] for ideas, positions and recommendations from various Native individuals and groups, with respect to the allocation and utilization of the fund" (Department of Industry Trade and Commerce, 1983, p.1)
community-based economic development, and special projects. The first and the latter areas were, according to the projected program cash-flow, the elements that were expected to receive the bulk of the funds. Meanwhile, community-based economic development was expected to utilize only $20 million or 6% of the total fund (NEDP, ca.1985).

Program activities were under the guidance of a Board of Directors that had First Nations majority control and whose main purpose was to advise the Minister on policy matters. To run the day to day operations of the new program, DRIE appointed a senior federal civil servant, Cam Mackie, as the Federal Coordinator for NEDP, with a staff of 60 to 70 people. Once again, the program structure was modeled on a traditional dual design that limited First Nations participation to advisory positions while the legal administrative decision making authority was reserved for civil servants who were responsible for federal policies and interests.

After the consultation meeting in Quebec City it took DRIE two and half years to actually get NEDP into full operation. The total amount of program funds disbursed to First Nations communities across Canada during this period was $23.7 million out of which $12 million was in business contributions and $11.7 million in administrative costs (NEDP, ca.1985, p.29).

The lengthy organizational phase and slow pace of service delivery in the initial years of the program exemplifies the leisurely approach of many federal initiates directed at promoting development in First Nations communities. They also help to understand the sense of frustration expressed by First Nations leaders on many occasions when they, confronted with social and economic problems in their communities, did not have the

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102 In the opening statement to the Quebec City meeting of Native Economic Institutions, NEDP Federal Coordinator Cam Mackie said: "As I came into the business and as many of you know, I'm not new to it, ... old ADM's [Assistant Deputy Ministers] of Indian Affairs never fade away ... I felt very comfortable coming in." (Industry, Trade and Commerce, 1983, p. 4).
resources to deal with them despite the availability of those programs. It took the federal
government five years, from the moment the decision was made by Cabinet, to implement
the program and get the initial funds to the people that were its intended clientele.

Furthermore, agriculture and other so-called primary producing sectors that
constitute the basis of the economic activities on most reserves in Western Canada were
not included as potential clients of NEDP. The federal government, following the
regional development policy prevalent in the early 1980s that favored modern industrial
and urban development (within a general framework of expanding and modernizing the
reserves), placed the program under the authority of DRIE. DRIE's legislative mandate
was "to promote the establishment, growth and efficiency of manufacturing, processing,
service and tourist industries in all regions of Canada" (NEDP, ca. 1985, Appendix B, p.
2). The mandate explicitly excluded DRIE from becoming involved in supporting any
primary resource activity. The impact of this policy decision on the development of
agriculture on the reserves will be further discussed later in this chapter. Suffice it to say
now that the decision was strongly opposed by First Nations farmers in British Columbia
who under the leadership of Chief Robert Pasco, WIAC's President, pressured DRIE into
reviewing its policy.

In June, 1989, the federal government, after consulting with First Nations
organizations across Canada on the future direction of economic development programs,
announced a new strategy. This strategy paralleled the 1987 policy that sought a return to
regional and local participation, and program responsiveness to community-defined needs.
After the consultation process the government of Canada decided on an integrated
approach, the Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (CAEDS), that
brought together funds allocated to the three main federal departments dealing with First
Nations development: DIAND, DIST and Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC).
In May 1990, Tom Siddon, Minister of Indian Affairs stated: "Our ultimate objective
under CAEDS is for Aboriginal people to achieve full control over the design, management and delivery of their own economic programs" (DIAND, 1991, p.1). To achieve its goals the program supported the creation of working partnerships between First Nations, the business community, and the federal and provincial governments.

Another important feature of this new approach referred to the time horizon of funding allocation. The program, after receiving an initial budget of $873.7 million for five years was allocated funds through the three departments' annual budgets. In contrast to previous programs that usually received funding for a three to five year period (and then had to wait for the government to decide whether they would be renewed), the new funding arrangement provided CAEDS with long term institutional stability (Canada, 1989).

CAEDS' main policy objective was "to bring Aboriginal people to a new level of economic self-reliance" (Canada, 1989, p. 5), through the creation of business opportunities, the strengthening of community economic development organizations, and the expansion of managerial and vocational skills. In 1989 the federal government described the purpose of this reorganization, as follows:

A new national partnership, based on common understanding, joint planning and implementation, and a shared will to bring about needed changes in policies, programs and institutions, is essential for Aboriginal individuals and their communities truly to enjoy the benefits of a growing Canadian economy. (Canada, 1989, p.5)

From the standpoint of the overall approach to development, although the CAED strategy provided space for local input and decision making, it continued to be driven by a business-oriented approach centered on industrialism and modernization. "All the

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103 The total amount of funds assigned to CAEDS did not included new appropriations. It only represented the consolidation into one program of funds previously included in the federal budget through SARDA, NEDP, CEIC, and IEDF.
development programs established in recent years by the federal government have been explicitly economic and favour individual entrepreneurship and enterprise over any strategies based on community control" (Frideres, 1993, p. 475). Through the 1980s, federal approaches to development began to be reformulated to accommodate the new advances in production technologies, the increased demand for special products, and the globalization trends in international business. Unfortunately, a majority of First Nations farmers living in isolated locations and working in traditional areas of production stood to gain little from this new approach. The only exceptions were the CAED components aimed at creating new First Nations community economic development organizations (CEDO), and at strengthening the agricultural lending companies created under NEDP.

With the establishment of the CAED strategy, the Special ARDA program, that had been an important source of investment capital for farmers for many years, including small and medium-size-operations, was not renewed. Program funds for financial assistance were now to be allocated, as indicated earlier, directly through the Business Development component and indirectly by means of Aboriginal Capital Corporations (ACC). The former aimed at providing assistance to First Nations entrepreneurs and the latter at augmenting the network of financial institutions owned by First Nations.

Under the new strategy, ACCs with their First Nations boards of directors, were given the responsibility of allocating development funds and hence deciding whether agriculture production should constitute an area targeted for development (i.e., they became responsible for the original function performed by SARDA and IEDF). The new policy also transferred to the ACC the decision to select the level of risk they were willing to take in their commercial loans. Another important change in policy, with respect to previous DIAND and NEDP programs, was the decision that contributions over $100,000,  

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104 An important portion of the ACCs revenue was the interest collected on loans.
disbursed under the Business Development component, had to be repayable (DIST, 1993).

The educational component of the CAED strategy came under the authority of EIC, DIAND or DIST, depending on the objective pursued by each educational program. EIC programs emphasized improving the vocational, professional and management skills of First Nations people that would help them find employment, establish businesses, and become "more mobile ... upwardly, occupationally and geographically" (Canada, 1989, p. 8). DIST educational efforts focussed on providing funding for augmenting managerial and business skills (management, accounting, technical expertise) among those who were the recipients of business development funds. A new welcome addition to the DIST component was the provision of funds for assisting project participants "to purchase technical and professional advisory services from the private sector for a fixed period after project start-up" (Canada, 1989, p. 11). The lack of technical and management support services after the projects started operating was a major factor in determining business failures in the previous NEDP program. DIAND was also involved in the provision of training through its Indian Community Human Resource Strategy that "[supplemented] CEIC's Canadian Jobs Strategy program with literacy, academic and basic skills upgrading, particularly for a burgeoning young adult population" (Canada, 1989, p. 13).

In agreement with the federal policy of devolution initiated in the early 1980s, the CAED strategy included the appointment of various advisory and decision-making boards. The main objective of this policy, as stated by DIAND, was to allow First Nations people to become involved in economic programming to make sure that program decisions reflected the particulars of regional circumstances and local communities (DIAND, 1993b). DIST Aboriginal Economic Programs, for example, operated under two regional and one national private sector board "made up primarily of Aboriginal people - entrepreneurs and individuals with backgrounds in business development and financing" (DIST, 1993, p.10). DIAND worked, at the regional level, with First Nations advisory
groups such as the Aboriginal Economic Council of British Columbia and the Chief’s Economic Development Advisory Council of Alberta (DIAND, 1993c). In the area of training, in November of 1989 the Aboriginal Employment and Training Working Group (AETWG) was formed to review training programs and make recommendations to the Minister of EIC. "Key to this strategy is the establishment of Aboriginal management boards at local, regional and national levels" (DIAND, 1993c, p. 15).

In agriculture, the Industrial Adjustment Committee on Aboriginal Agriculture (IACAA) was formed in 1992 "to establish a process of consultation, research, assessment, and planning in order to lead to the development of strategic approaches to Aboriginal human resource development in the Agriculture sector" (IACAA, 1992, Introduction).

In 1993, the Aboriginal Economic Programs Branch became part of the Department of Industry and Science. In June of 1994 the Aboriginal Business Development Program was once again renamed and became Aboriginal Business Canada, under the authority of what is now known as Industry Canada. The consequences of the policy changes in the areas of financial support and training on First Nations agriculture development will be discussed later in this chapter.

To sum up, during the 1980s there were various federal policy decisions that severely restricted the First Nations agricultural sector’s ability to obtain an adequate level of funding. Chief among them were the federal government expenditure reduction policies, the DIAND devolution process that favored the transfer of funds to tribal councils (not sectoral programs), the DRIE policy of industrialism and technological innovation and the initial exclusion of agriculture from NEDP. WIAC’s clients, who were in their majority medium and small (many of them part-time) cattle ranchers and farmers, were not part of federal development programs' target population.
First Nations Views of Development in the 1980s and 1990s

First Nations perspectives on resource utilization have been transmitted from generation to generation by oral cultural traditions. It was around the early 1970s, through the written work of First Nations political leaders like Harold Cardinal in Alberta, George Manuel in British Columbia, and more recently Ovide Mercredi, that First Nations' views on resource utilization slowly began to become known among Euro-Canadians. Another definite step in that direction was the work on environmental issues undertaken by the National Indian Brotherhood in the early 1980s, and more recently by the Assembly of First Nations. At the provincial and local level many organizations - among them the UBCIC, the Council of Haida Nations, The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, and the First Nations Advisory Council on Land Use (FNACLU) - have also made substantial contributions to raising general public awareness of First Nations' perspectives on development. Their continuous efforts have now begun to influence policy formulation on resource utilization in British Columbia.

Today First Nations perspectives continue to be articulated by national and local leaders who see in the renewal of their cultural traditions a fundamental and necessary first step towards the revitalization of reserve life. Paul Scotchman (1993), President of the Western Indian Agricultural Producers Association (WIAPA) expressed this view when he stated:

First on the matter of healing, people have to heal themselves before they can be self-determined, and ... have self-government, and before they can have relationships [with society at large]. I think that a lot of communities are realizing that. I see that back home. They're are starting to put in some healing programs, Tribal Council, Friendship Centres, you know, bringing these facilities to the communities, get their people back in there ... Because it's working, it's going to take a little more time. (p. 14)
For those First Nations peoples who advocate a revival of past cultural traditions this process does not mean a return to ways of living that were relevant in the past. "Aboriginal people must have the capacity to create systems of government to match as closely as possible local historical and cultural circumstances and contemporary economic needs" (Elias, 1993, p. 16). What they are proposing is the implementation of a social, economic, and cultural system that, based on traditional First Nations values, is able to flourish on its own merits while, at the same time taking advantage of the positive aspects of the modern technological, post-industrial era. In their analysis First Nations communities were negatively affected by the imposition upon them of a "European [educational] system which is totally different in essence to what the traditional education has been and still is" (Holmes, 1993, p. 2). Chief Fred Holmes' comments point out an important element that is often overlooked when First Nations' perspectives on development are being discussed. More than one hundred years of colonial policies and contact with Euro-Canadian society have undoubtedly had an impact on the ways different First Nations people visualize their future. "There is some conflict between those people that were educated at that time [in the Euro-Canadian educational system] with some of our other people that were brought up in an education of traditional ways" (Holmes, p. 2).

An important distinction between First Nations and Euro-Canadian perspectives on resource utilization stems from their different interpretation of what should be the central purpose of their activities. A First Nation's person who has been involved for many years in the field of natural resources stated that, in his opinion, "development" was a word used as an euphemism for harvesting the resources to the point of over-exploitation. "Development," he stated, was the result of a colonial mentality based on the concept that bigger is better. "We [First Nations] see making use of the resources … [as] just [taking] what you need … to survive in this world and not be looking at creating an industry … to the point of exploitation" (First Nations Development, 1993, pp. 2-3). This is the
fundamental difference between a modernization and a First Nations perspective on resource use. What separates them is how they understand the relationship between humans and the natural world. In this person's opinion, what needs to be managed are human activities, not natural resources.

In the discussions of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1993) on economic development and resource use, different positions emerged about the types of approaches that could improve the well being of communities. Among them, two were most notable. As described by Elias (1992), there were presenters who saw development "as the successful merging of Aboriginal interests and ways of doing things and Canadian interests and ways of doing things" (pp. 19-20), while others favoured "[striving] to achieve a way of life that is as consistent as possible with tradition" (p. 20).

There were also presentations that brought attention to the conditions existing in most reserves that would have to be considered in any plan, irrespective of the overall development perspective followed. They stated that a majority of Bands are not resource rich and are fundamentally "rural-based with a limited primary production capacity" (Lafond, 1993, p.67). The potential for developing these rural-based reserves in production systems that can take advantage of global markets and the information era are severely restricted. Furthermore, from an agricultural point of view the limited land and water resources available to First Nations farmers (and in most cases the poor quality of the land) makes it difficult to envision production systems that can make the communities self-sufficient. Therefore, until the land question is settled and First Nations have access to and control over more productive and financial resources, success in agriculture will depend on the creativity of the people living in those communities, and on activities that add value to what is produced.

A fundamental question asked at the Round Table was whether First Nations development should take the form of a modified capitalistic system that incorporates
aboriginal traditions (Newhouse, 1993), or should try to strengthen the traditional
economies (Brascoupe, 1993). Newhouse (1993) claimed that "Aboriginal people in
Canada appear to have accepted the fundamental premises of capitalism: the notion of
progress as defined through social competition and the notion that one possesses either
capital or labour, which can be used to produce surpluses" (p. 93). What makes
Newhouse's position interesting to analyze is his attempt to modify the fundamental tenet
of the capitalist system, and replace it with a set of First Nations values that, if adopted,
would change the foundation of capitalism itself. It is hard to conceive of a capitalist
system based on consensus decision-making, a collectivist orientation that takes
precedence over the needs of the individual and pursues long-term goals over short-term
profits, and - more importantly - conceptualizes humans as an integral part of nature.
What Newhouse is proposing, it can be argued, is not capitalism with an aboriginal face,
but a form of social and economic organization based on First Nations values that includes
markets as a means of exchange, but not as the arbitrator of what and how much to
produce. Trade and markets are not new concepts for First Nations peoples; trade routes
and commercial exchanges existed hundreds of years before the first Europeans came to
North America. These exchanges (and routes) played an important role in an economic
system what could hardly be called capitalist. "Uneven distribution of resources ensured
that all of these people traded; indeed the rich kaleidoscope of Amerindian cultures could
hardly have been possible without such an integrative institution" (Dickason, 1992, p.
76).

For those who advocate First Nations development through the reinforcement of
traditional economies the fundamental concern is to recover the value system on which
those economies were originally based. A value system that was characterized by a
philosophy [that was] community oriented or everybody pitches in ... I see the European system in terms of agriculture [as] black and white, profit or loss. ... [For First Nations it] is not black and white or profit or loss; it is how much do we all get out of [the economy], in terms of how much food can we sustain ourselves with; the more people [that are] involved with [production] the more growth we get. (Holmes, 1993, p. 3)

Notwithstanding their differences about approaches to development all First Nations presenters to the Round Table on Aboriginal Economic Development at the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1993) agreed on one point: the right to be heard when economic development policies were being discussed and to decide on the types of programs to be implemented in their communities. They regarded consultation and decision-making through First Nations self-government institutions as the only guarantee that their interests would be given consideration. Illustrating this point, Brascoupe (1993) compared the Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) to show why some agreements fail where others succeed. The success of JBNQA was, according to Brascoupe's analysis, the result of not only respecting traditional economies in local communities but also placing emphasis on strengthening them. Contrarily, in the case of ANCSA the program failed because its thrust was on replacing local economic institutions by corporate-style institutions. Brascoupe concluded that:

[if] cultural values, beliefs and practices are ignored in development, social experiments and economic development will fail ... However, if Aboriginal peoples' culture and values are respected, forming part of public policy, and Aboriginal/white relations are based on both subsistence and market systems, Aboriginal peoples' culture and society can be protected when economic development projects occur in their lands. (p. 107)

In British Columbia, over the last four or five years, concerns about environmental degradation and land-use conflicts, and an increasing public interest in issues related to the resolution of the First Nations land question have prompted the provincial government to look for ways to bring First Nations to the negotiating table. One of the mechanisms for
public participation has been the consultation process to prepare Land Use Plans for different regions of the province, under the auspices of the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) that has the "statutory duty ... to encourage Aboriginal participation, ... and give due consideration to the interest of Aboriginal people" (CORE, 1994, p. 29). The response from First Nations has been varied and many organizations and leaders have expressed concerns about entering the CORE process. Their concerns relate to two different sets of circumstances: constitutional and legal matters, and their degree of preparedness to represent their interests (CORE, 1993). The former involves issues related to First Nations' unresolved historical grievances concerning their inherent right to govern themselves (and hence participate in negotiations as another level of government and not simply as "guests"), and to prejudicing the on-going treaty negotiations. "First Nations are concerned that the regional processes will force them to 'play their hand' on land and resource issues prior to the treaty negotiation process" (CORE, 1993, p. 5). The later concern refers to more practical, although also very important matters, such as the different states of readiness of different Nations and Bands to enter the negotiations, according to the availability of financial and human resources at their disposal. "First Nations in the [Cariboo-Chilcotin] region believe that they are not on an equal playing field and do not have sufficient resources to represent their interests adequately" (CORE, 1994, p. 34).

The degree of First Nations participation in CORE negotiations has fluctuated considerably as a result of these concerns. This is the case in areas where the process has already produced a Land Use Plan (Vancouver Island and the Cariboo-Chilcotin), as well

105 For a detailed account of First Nations concerns about their participation in regional planning processes established by CORE, see CORE (1993), section C.
as in those regions where discussions are still being conducted to define the character of First Nations participation.

The CORE process and the issue of First Nations' representation as it relates to future government-to-government negotiations, after the provincial government announced on December, 1991, its recognition of "aboriginal title and the inherent right to First Nations self-government (CORE, 1995, pp. 55-56), provides insight into the complexity of current and future negotiations. In the process of formalizing relationships with First Nations, British Columbia signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the UBCIC in June, 1993, and a Protocol Respecting Government-to-Government Relationship with the First Nations Summit in August, 1993. Despite these agreements, First Nations, once again, are being forced into a difficult negotiating position. They have to decide whether to enter a negotiating process without knowing the exact nature of their rights on resource title and control or to not participate until the land question is settled. In the latter case their interests will not be represented and, in the provincial government's opinion "their interest will have to be addressed or protected through other or subsequent forums" (CORE, 1993, p. 9).

In the south-central interior, First Nations responded to the province's request to participate in land-use planning initiatives by organizing, in 1994, the First Nations Advisory Council on Land Use (FNACLU).\footnote{The FNACLU includes representatives of the Lillooet Tribal Council, Mount Currie Indian Band, Osoyoos Indian Band, Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, Shuswap Nation Fisheries Commission, Shuswap Forest Land Management Committee, Siska Indian Band, Upper Nicola Band and Westbank First Nation.} The FNACLU stated at the outset that "it functions primarily as a communications tool, [and] its purpose is not to advise government - that is a function of Bands alone" (FNACLU, 1995, p.1). The Council tries to coordinate between bands and the numerous government agencies involved with land and resource planning. One of its main initiatives is to maintain a community consultation
process "which would assess the degree of interest and readiness of First Nations communities to participate in land use planning" (FNACLU, 1995, p. 2).

The actions initiated by First Nations chiefs, tribal councils, and local organizations dealing with resource utilization in the south-central interior exemplifies the kind of relationships that exist today between First Nations and the provincial and federal governments. On the fundamental question of self-government and treaty negotiations the relationship is between the three levels of government, federal, provincial and First Nations. However, on matters of resource use and local development plans, including agriculture since 1992 has been mainly with provincial government ministries and agencies (Forestry, Agriculture, CORE).\textsuperscript{107}

The corollary that can be drawn from the analysis of First Nations' perspectives on development, especially those related to the utilization of natural resources, is that all First Nations share a fundamental respect for the Earth and regard it as the centre of their cultural and spiritual life. Furthermore, all First Nations governments and organizations, despite their different views about the best way to proceed in future negotiations, are equally concerned with reaching a prompt and final resolution of political and constitutional matters that are currently hindering their future. Among these matters, the settlement of the land question and resource title and control, and the recognition of their right to participate in the negotiations in conditions of equality are central to the implementation of development initiatives.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{107} In 1992 DIAND closed the Economic Development Branch in B.C. (Munaweera, 1993).

\textsuperscript{108} A recent document from the FNACLU (1995) refers to the issue saying: "[The] Inter-Agency Management Committee (IAMC) of the provincial government ... initially asked Chief Nathan Matthew to attend a meeting early last year as a 'guest' ... The initial meetings ... were simply to share general information about the government's planning processes, and ask if we had any concerns ... Nathan pointed out that everything that was on their agenda was of interest to us, not just those items which they have determined to be 'aboriginal issues' ... It was only in September of 1994 that an arrangement was made to have First Nations sit at the table as Governments and equals" (p. 1).
Notwithstanding the similarities, it also became evident through analysis that First Nations do not have a common point of view on development. Whereas all First Nations consider Mother Earth as the founding element of their social organization, some favor community-based economic development concepts while others support competition and individualism in a form of economic organization that has been described as capitalism with an Aboriginal face (Newhouse, 1993), or simply capitalist (Helin, 1991).

In the interplay of power relations within the CORE negotiations, First Nations' participation in the process has given them the opportunity to make sure that their treaty rights are not jeopardized by agreements on future land use. Furthermore, it has also allowed them in some circumstances to incorporate their perspectives on resource utilization into the land use plan. Nonetheless, the form that their participation took at the negotiating table (guests or government representatives) was a contested matter until the organizational capacity of First Nations groups compelled the B.C. government to accept the discussion of "land, resources, social, and economic policy issues of common concern ... on a government-to-government basis (CORE, 1993, p. 3). What First Nations have accomplished through their participation in the CORE process is an indication of the capacity (as limited as it might be) of community organizations as agents for change.

To sum up, under the present government budgetary restrictions that affect the non-mandatory expenditures of DIAND (financing of economic development among them), the future of First Nations agricultural extension and financial services is not very promising. Decisions about funding for such programs are made by local First Nations governments that are also under severe budgetary constraints. Until the inherent rights to self-government, treaty rights, and some form of equalization payment are entrenched in the Canadian Constitution, the financial capacity of First Nations governments will be
very limited. One of the reasons stated by Elijah Harper (1992) for his opposition to the Charlottetown Accord was that it did "not entrench an obligation to finance self-governments or provide additional land and resources for Aboriginal peoples. This is a serious practical threat to self-government" (p. 5). The final settlement of these important matters rests upon the unlikely possibility that the Canadian constitutional agenda on aboriginal issues, put on hold by the "No" vote in the October 1992 referendum on the Charlottetown Accord, \(^{110}\) will be re-opened.

A New Era in First Nations Agricultural Development

DIAND participation in the delivery of agricultural extension and development programs for First Nations farmers became virtually non-existent after WIAC started its field operations in early 1979. Bruce Ash who had been the DIAND Regional Agriculturalist since 1957 retired on December 31, 1979 and was not replaced until 1981. That year, Robert James, a professional agrologist and former WIAC Director of Extension was hired by DIAND as the Economic Development Advisor responsible for agriculture.

\(^{109}\) Many First Nations organizations do not share the position of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) on constitutional matters. The UBCIC, for example, opposed the Charlottetown Accord on the basis that "the real political objective of our peoples [is]: re-establishing and securing our nationhood, now and for the future generations" (Terry, 1992, p.4, emphasis in text). According to UBCIC, the agreement between Canada and First Nations has to be achieved through a nation-to-nation treaty-making process.

\(^{110}\) For an analysis of the possible impact on future First Nations political struggles of the No vote on the referendum on the Charlottetown Accord, on October 1990, see Mercredi and Turpel (1993), and Turpel (1993).
After many years of work a group of First Nations farmers from the interior, under the leadership of the UBCIC Agricultural Committee and with the political support of Chief George Manuel, finally succeed in taking control of the agricultural extension and development program in British Columbia. Their accomplishment was especially significant considering that the agricultural sector in British Columbia was not regarded by DIAND officials in Ottawa and Vancouver as important. Looking at First Nations development from a pure economistic point of view, DIAND did not consider agriculture as a major potential contributor to the improvement in living conditions on reserves. Nevertheless, the visionary work of First Nations farmers and political leaders served as a model for the devolution process that was initiated five years later. "The creation of First Nations institutions ... was another [important event in the late 1970s], and WIAC was one of them ... It was very appropriate that ... agricultural organizations were the spearhead of First Nations managing their own affairs" (Munaweera, 1993, p. 5). He added: "Sectoral programs proved that by and large they could do a better job than Indian Affairs ... That helped with the second stage [of devolution]" (p. 5).

For more than ten years the WIAC Board, and later the Western Indian Agricultural Producers Association (WIAPA)\textsuperscript{111} Board of Directors lead the First Nations agricultural sector through a phase of renewal. WIAC and WIAPA development policies in the 1980s emphasized the need to create production infrastructures (irrigation systems, erosion and flood protection works, improvements of range land, and so on) that would in the long run provide a solid foundation for First Nations agricultural development. WIAC work and achievements lent support to the principle "that Aboriginal people are better able to govern and manage local affairs for purposes of development than any level of non-

\textsuperscript{111} The Western Indian Agricultural Producers Association (WIAPA), a non-profit organization, was incorporated under the B.C. Society Act on October 16, 1984. WIAPA was formed to transfer the control of WIAC to First Nations farmers. Until 1984, WIAC was owned by the UBCIC, a political organization.
Aboriginal government" (Elias, 1993, p. 16). This was a position strongly supported by most speakers at the National Round Table on Aboriginal Economic Development and Resources (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993).

The circumstances leading to the rise and later disintegration of WIAC constitute an interesting area of study. They illustrate the choices faced by politicians and policymakers (First Nations and Euro-Canadians alike) regarding what should constitute the foundation for economic, social, and educational policies. In the present case, when WIAC was in operation, the WIAPA Directors had to decide between pursuing a community-based agricultural development approach based on First Nations traditional values; an approach based on Western technocratic modernization ideas, or some intermediate approach that incorporated sustainability concepts. Furthermore, their decisions were always constrained by legal and political structures (at the federal, provincial and community level) that severely limited their options for action.


After its incorporation on October 2, 1978, WIAC started its field operations in November of that year, opening a head office in Vancouver in space provided by the UBCIC. The first WIAC Board meeting was held in Vancouver on November 9 and 10, 1978. At this meeting, Chief Robert Pasco from the Oregon Jack Band in Aschcroft was elected President and Gordon Antoine from the Coldwater Band in Merritt was

112 There are many different and opposing interpretations of the meaning of sustainability. For a detail explanation see Pezze (1992), Redclift (1987), M. O'Connor (1994).

113 The other members of the first WIAC Board of Directors were: Ernie Lezard from Penticton, Vice-President; Gordon James from Lilooet, Secretary Treasurer; Philip Paul from Brentwood Bay; Mary Louise Williams from Mount Currie; Tom Elkins from Alexis Creek; Barney Allison from Cawston; and, Dennis Sam from Lower Nicola, Merritt (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, November 9 and 10, 1978).
appointed as the General Manager. Shortly thereafter, in 1979, WIAC hired three professional agrologists - two non-First Nations and one First Nations - to work along with four First Nations field extension workers stationed on their home reserves in locations throughout the interior of the province. Also in 1979 Art Devlin, a volunteer agrologist with the Canadian Executive Services Oversees (CESO) joined the corporation's professional staff.

Although the proposal sent to Treasury Board to establish the British Columbia Indian Agricultural Program (1977-1982) was not approved, WIAC's agenda was guided by the original goals set by the UBCIC Agricultural Committee. WIAC's main purpose was "to provide the means whereby Indians can maximize the long term benefits obtainable from the agricultural resource base at their disposal" (DIAND, ca.1977, p. i). The underlying objective of WIAC was the creation of private, viable, mainly individually-owned farm units, although it did not ruled out providing technical support for large corporate farms if requested. The rationale for the existence of the WIAC program was predicated by First Nations farmers and political leaders on the basis that "[the] majority of Bands residing in the agricultural zones of the province have a paucity of resources other than arable land at their disposal to effect economic improvement amongst their members (DIAND, ca.1977, p. i). Contrary to the federal policies that regarded industrialism as their guiding principle, First Nations leaders considered agriculture essential in the development of the reserves and their future economic self-reliance.

114 Gordon Antoine is currently the Chief of the Coldwater Band in Merritt. After leaving WIAC he was for many years the CEO of the Nicola Valley Indian Administration and during that time he pioneered the creation of the first post-secondary technical institute in British Columbia, the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT).
With a $60,000 contribution from the DIAND regional budget, WIAC financed the administrative overhead costs of its first year of operation and its program of Band visits to lay the groundwork for the future activities of the corporation. Since the limited DIAND funding did not allow for the organization and delivery of training programs for farmers, WIAC petitioned SARDA for $125,000 to organize workshops until the end of fiscal year 1979-1980 (Pasco, 1978a). WIAC's application to SARDA was denied on the basis that funding educational activities of a short-term nature could not provide farmers with any significant long-term benefit. The reasoning used by SARDA to deny WIAC's application highlights the financial constraints and administrative barriers that WIAC, as a sectoral development organization, constantly faced. The ongoing uncertainty about the level of financial support that the program would receive from DIAND made long term planning in WIAC a very complicated task. The permanent doubt about WIAC's capacity to financially survive made it difficult to access other sources of federal and provincial funding. The irony of this situation (that characterized WIAC's entire existence) is well illustrated in a paragraph from a letter sent by F.W. Walchli, DIAND Regional Director General, B.C. Region to Chief Robert Pasco, WIAC President.

The effectiveness of the Corporation itself will depend to a large extent on its ability to maintain an ongoing service to Indian people ... [However at] this time in the fiscal cycle I cannot make any commitments for funding during the 1979-80 fiscal year. (Walchli, 1978b, p.2)

Despite many obstacles, WIAC's ongoing lobbying efforts finally succeeded in securing financial support for its extension and agricultural development program. DIAND's contribution to WIAC, for the fiscal year 1979-1980, was $542,120 for the purpose of "improving the quality of farming techniques used by Indian farmers and improving the farming skills of potential Indian farmers" (DIAND, 1979, p.2). The signing of this first contribution agreement was significant because within its general
statement of purpose the WIAC board could for the first time decide on the type of extension programs First Nations farmers considered relevant. This new decision-making capacity, gained by First Nations farmers through years of negotiation was, however, limited by statutes governing the use of public funds, and by the right given to the DIAND Director General to "terminate this Arrangement at any time before completion for any reason whatsoever" (DIAND, 1979, p. 4). Furthermore, this was only a relative accomplishment because the financial contribution was only adequate for one fiscal year. Since the inception of the WIAC program, federal government policies on development and internal differences among First Nations people regarding the allocation of economic development funds conspired against WIAC chances for obtaining funding.

During its first year of operation WIAC undertook a number of steps leading to providing the corporation with an administrative structure and working program. These steps included identifying the potential clientele, developing a communication system both within WIAC and with the clientele, determining specific farmers' extension needs, addressing identified local needs, training WIAC field extension workers and developing a working relationship with other agencies and institutions working in agriculture.

WIAC assembled a team of six extension workers, four professional agrologists, one youth coordinator and three administrative personnel. All members of the Board of Directors and staff, with the exception of three agrologists, were First Nations people (WIAC, 1980). It is interesting to observe that the ethnic background of the WIAC staff, although skewed towards non-First Nations among professional agrologists, did not interfere with the daily activities of the corporation. "In total the agrologists have made substantial contributions to WIAC. They have interacted well with other staff of WIAC, Indian Clients and other individuals and institutions. Difficult problems within WIAC have been resolved cordially" (WIAC, 1980, p. 25). It can be hypothesized that the harmonious working environment in WIAC resulted from clearly defined roles for the
directors, management and field personnel. Major policy decisions were made by First Nations farmers at the board level. Day to day administration was in the hands of a very capable First Nation manager. The professional staff performed a well-defined technical advisory role. In addition, the majority of the agrologists who had worked for WIAC had many years of experience in agricultural and rural development programs in less industrialized countries in Africa, and Central and South America, "where an integrated approach to rural agriculture is the norm. This has no doubt served to reinforce the developmental approach which has been the model preferred by WIAC today" (WIAC, 1988, p. 2-21). For the next ten years, until 1989, WIAC delivered different services to the First Nations agricultural community in B.C. These services and activities are discussed in the following section.

**WIAC's Extension, Education and Advisory Services**

The extension, education and advisory services provided by WIAC were regarded, according to the original mandate of the UBCIC agricultural program, as the central purpose of the corporation. Initially, WIAC's extension education program was organized around two distinct aspects: dissemination of information about the potential for agricultural development, and training of farmers in technical aspects of production and basic management skills. In the area of resource development, the corporation prepared, during its initial years of work, studies on rangeland use, flood and erosion control, and wet-lands management. WIAC also played an important role helping farmers and potential farmers to become aware of the different financial programs available to them.

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115 It must be acknowledged, however, that previous evaluations and the 1988 management review pointed out some confusion about lines of administrative authority. "In practice, the lines of authority and responsibility appear somewhat blurred and field advisors and agrologists work at more or less the same level" (WIAC, 1988, p. 2-39).
In the case of SARDA, for example, the number of applications under the Primary Producers Assistance [PPA] section of the program increased substantially after WIAC began to operate. In 1977/78 only six PPA applications were received compared to 30 in 78/79, and 64 in 79/80.

The increase in demand within the PPA component is due to an increase in agriculture-related applications ... The activities of [WIAC] may well have increased Native people's awareness of the agricultural development potential of their reserves lands, and there is no doubt that WIAC has greatly increased peoples' awareness of this particular funding source. (SARDA, 1981, p. 35)

During this first year of activities, WIAC's field extension workers visited Bands to meet with chiefs, band councils, individual farmers, and people interested in farming to explain the objectives of the program. WIAC also began to publish a monthly newsletter that was mailed to more than 500 persons, including farmers, students and other individuals interested in agriculture.

Training activities included workshops that were generally well received by participants. Jenson's first evaluation (WIAC, 1980) did, however, point out some problems in the delivery of educational events. Among them, the evaluator indicated the short duration of training activities, the lack of opportunities to reinforce what was discussed in the workshops, and the few occasions open to participants to apply concepts learned to practical situations (especially in relation to their own farms) (WIAC, 1980). In the planning process difficulties were identified at the need-assessment stage (i.e., incorrect identification of the type of training that was needed in a certain community), in the promotion of the events, and in the selection of participants. In a report on a Farm Management Workshop presented at St. Mary's Band in Cranbrook it was said: "Two aspects can be considered to be problems that should be looked at: poor attendance [and] rotating people ... [Out] of a total of 10 people who attended the workshop, only three
were there for the full three days" (WIAC, 1981, p.1). Furthermore, many of the topics presented in the workshops required more than one session so that participants could become familiar with a certain production technology or proficient in a specific management skill.

Although workshop planners were aware of these shortcomings they could do little to overcome them because there was a lack of funding to conduct needs assessments and to organize educational programs that were more than one day in length (WIAC, 1981). It can be said that the inability to maintain a core group of participating farmers attending the educational activities on a regular basis was one of the main weaknesses of the WIAC training program. The reasons for the inability to obtain funding from federal agencies to plan the educational activities and organize courses over extended periods of time can be illustrated by comments made by L. Munaweera, former DIAND Regional Director of Economic Development, regarding development programs directed at creating jobs. His remarks would have applied equally to cases when success was equated to the number of participants attending the training activities. "I think a lot of that comes from the motivation within the bureaucracy .... bureaucrats that work for governments are in constant crisis to justify what they do with taxpayers dollars ... numbers that look the most impressive are the numbers that bureaucrats will gravitate towards" (Munaweera, 1993, p. 6). The constant administrative pressure to utilize funds within a relatively brief period of time, and to organize educational activities that were evaluated by short term measurable indicators (i.e., number of farmers attending and total number of workshops), conspired against WIAC's ability to plan its extension education activities. The possibility of planning educational activities where the objective was to help First Nations people through the lengthy and arduous process of becoming a farmer, or improve their competency in complex technical and management skills, was not realistically available. Despite these difficulties, in the second evaluation it was stated that "WIAC [was]
beginning to emerge as an effective educational force in Indian agriculture. Significant progress has been achieved to this point considering the short number of years it has existed" (WIAC, 1982, p. 79).

Starting the second year WIAC's extension services added an advisory component. Extension workers and agrologists visited individual farmers and band operations to discuss their production objectives and help them in the preparation of their business plans and financial applications. In the DIAND (ca.1983) evaluation of the department's economic development activities in British Columbia it was said that:

WIAC's extension service program has received excellent reviews in the four areas we surveyed (Burns Lake, Williams Lake, Similkameen and Kootenay). [They] provide good agricultural advice. They are very aware of the available funding sources and the terms and eligibility requirements ... They regularly assist clients to fill out the appropriate applications. WIAC puts on well-attended training sessions and seminars. (DIAND, ca.1983, p. 100)

The second WIAC evaluation (1982) indicated that another very important factor in the success of the WIAC program was the work performed by its field extension workers. All of them (with one exception) were First Nations people who were cognizant of the local conditions in the different regions. "[The] results which the fieldworkers have been able to produce have been impressive ... and [have] created a positive environment for change in Indian Agriculture" (WIAC, 1982, p. 83).

By 1987, First Nations agriculture in British Columbia was going through an expansion phase. In a comprehensive market study commissioned by WIAC that was part of the application to the Native Economic Development Program (NEDP) to create an agricultural lending company, 690 First Nations farmers were identified as potential applicants for funding. Of this total, 200 made more than fifty percent of their income from their agricultural activities. The majority of those potential clients were located in the Kamloops (131), Thompson and Nicola areas (110) and Williams Lake (178). The
total number of First Nations farmers reported in the WIAC (1988) market study was similar to that of the Hawthorn et al (1958) study, and more than double that of the reports by the Agriculture Institute of Canada and DIAND (1968a), and DIAND (1972) (WIAC, 1987).

The extension and development efforts of WIAC during the 1980s made an important contribution to the growth of the B.C. First Nations agricultural sector. WIAC was credited with having achieved success as a result of its 'insider' approach to First Nations agriculture. The Annual Fall Fair and the youth development activities "were said to introduce new ideas for future development and reintroduce old, but lost, cultural practices that contributed in the past to the peoples' livelihood" (WIAC, 1988, p. 2-13). The 1988 WIAC's Management Review also reported on the perceptions of the effectiveness of WIAC held by officials of BCMAF, Farm Credit Corporation, Native Affairs Secretariat, and DRIE. Based on focus interviews and answers to a questionnaire, the concluded that WIAC's activities were specifically appropriate to serve the needs of First Nations farmers and, therefore, there were very few cases of service duplication. "It is unlikely that other agencies operating in the agricultural community would provide these services and programs if they were not provided by WIAC" (p. 2-16).

Although WIAC was credited with being culturally sensitive - mainly as a result of being a fully-owned First Nations organization - a more detailed analysis of the content of its extension activities reveals that the program was primarily based on a neo-populist development policy that had important modernizing and technocentric overtones. As indicated earlier, within the extension program there were activities such as the Fall Fair and youth clubs that were dominated by First Nations cultural perspectives. However, a review of WIAC's 1987/88 annual report showed that 29% of the workshops organized that year covered topics related to business organization and management, while the remaining 71% related to the transfer of specific technologies in livestock production,
horticulture, orchard management, etc. Very sporadically, training programs were organized around the ideas of sustainable agriculture or organic gardening, or extension activities organized around content that allowed for discussion and analysis on how to incorporate into agricultural production plans First Nations ideas of communal survival, sharing as a form of resource use, and utilization of available resources in ways that were in harmony with the natural environment.

One possible explanation for WIAC’s adoption of neopopulist/modernization development concepts was the presence, among its professional agrologists, of a majority trained in universities embedded in Western cultural traditions. Although agrologists and field advisors were generally sensitive to and respectful of cultural differences in their personal interactions with farmers, they subconsciously introduced into the extension and training programs ideas about resource use that favored development as growth and modernization. WIAC's extension program, despite being run by First Nations, was contributing to a certain degree to the process of incorporation of First Nations into mainstream Canadian society.

Furthermore, it can be also argued that many First Nations farmers were also subconsciously embedded in the same modernization ideals since this matter was not raised as an important concern either at the farm community level, at WIAC Board of Directors meetings, or at staff activity-planning meetings. Chief Holmes' (1993) comments on what he called negative aspects of education represent a possible explanation. "I think that in terms of education we adopted a system that was different

\[116\] A similar, though less extreme, pattern was described in WIAC’s second evaluation (1982). A summary of the topics presented in workshops conducted from April 1980 through March 1982 indicated that out of 53 workshops conducted, 62% were related to production technologies, 17% to farm and financial management, and 21% to food preparation, gardening and 4-H leadership (WIAC, 1982, Workshop Activities, p. 6).
from our cultural education system ... so, I guess, we adopted a lot of non-Native ideas" (p. 2).

The WIAC experience demonstrates that First Nations' control of extension programs does not necessarily guarantee the implementation of programs founded on a First Nations perspective of development. What the First Nations ownership of WIAC produced was an ongoing preoccupation for improving the conditions of rural First Nations communities, within a culturally sensitive, neo-populist approach rather than the predominantly market-oriented modernization program of DIAND and other federal agencies. The neo-populist developmental approach of WIAC can be briefly outlined utilizing some of the comments made by Band and Tribal Council representatives during the WIAC (1988) management review.

[Although] agricultural ventures may not necessarily provide significant sources of income, there were numerous social benefits associated with developing the reserves' agricultural potential. For instance, it was noted that, given their communities' high levels of unemployment and reliance on social welfare systems, backyard garden projects could serve as important stepping-stones leading to greater self-reliance. (WIAC, 1988, p. 2-15).

Another important conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of WIAC's extension program is that not all First Nations people share a common view on development. In an interview with a First Nation person who had worked in economic development projects for many years, he stated:

Not all Native people are coming from the same place. We have people totally assimilated to a community of Western systems ... I call them Corporate Indians ... We have the person who is in transition ... and we have the person who is bicultural and can actually live in both worlds ... [who] has a First Nations worldview as well as a Western worldview and tries to integrate the two. I think that [the last] is our future to be quite honest. (First Nations Development, 1993, p. 12)
The WIAC extension program can be characterized, according to Boone's (1989) classification, as a Developing Country Extension System given its rural development character and the central role played by the professional agrologists in the delivery of extension, training and advisory activities. However, the WIAC model included as one of its essential components field extension personnel who were, with few exceptions, First Nations "local people" who played the role of mediators between the outside world and the local situation. WIAC's centralized administration resulted in an educational approach that can be characterized as lacking real participation by local farmers in the planning of extension activities and content of programs. Although WIAPA was organized on a decentralized model with regional branches to facilitate farmers' participation and direct access to the provincial WIAPA board, local branches never became very active.

The period between 1979, when WIAC initiated its operations, and the formation of the Western Indian Lending Association (WILA) in 1988 witnessed the birth and the beginning of the end of the B.C. Indian Agricultural Program. Although the program faced many challenges during this period, the extension, training and advisory services of WIAC managed to instill a resurgence in farming activities on many First Nations reserves. The program was, however, unable in the long run to surmount federal development policies that favored urban business development, privatization of services and profit-oriented ventures. Neither could the program resist the internal political pressures from First Nations local governments who opposed central sectoral institutions and favored localized agricultural extension services (if they deemed them necessary).

The final result of the interaction between these different power structures was the transformation of the original mandate of the B.C. Indian Agricultural Program from an extension education service to a lending institution dedicated to providing commercial loans to relatively low-risk clients. The original concept of an extension program being
the catalyst for the development of rural and remote First Nations reserves finally vanished in 1993, when WIAC ceased to operate.117

Resource Development Activities

In the area of resource development, WIAC prepared a number of studies.118 WIAC also played a fundamental role in the preparation of a cost-benefit study that eventually led to the construction of flood and erosion protection structures on Indian Reserve #8 in the Lower Similkameen Band in Keremeos. The flood protection work funded under the 1977-1983 ARDSA agreement, with an investment of $1.8 million, protected 1,800 acres of the best agricultural land in the south Okanagan region.

After the dikes on Reserve #8 were completed the protected agricultural land was not placed under a more intensive agricultural production system, as predicted in the cost-benefit study conducted by WIAC. As a consequence, ARDSA did not provide the funding for the construction of the remaining sections of the dikes that would have protected the rest of the Band's agricultural land. The evaluators of the 1977-83 ARDSA Agreement concluded "that the estimates of production increases were unrealistic, and that cultural and socio-economic factors should have been considered" (Agriculture Canada, 1987, p. 43).

117 A study of First Nations economic development institutions (DIAND, 1987) concluded that WIAC "[in] its early stages ... devoted much more of its budget to pure advisory services, as programs and budget levels available were able to provide for this. Later on, the organization was forced to shift its emphasis in the provision of advisory services, in part because program criteria and departmental priorities changed. The point is that, to be effective and appropriate to client needs, advisory services should not have to continually change to fit specific program criteria" (pp. 40-41).

118 WIAC undertook a number of resource management studies. The included range management plans for the Lower Nicola Band, Upper Nicola Band, Okanagan Band, and Kamloops Band; wetlands management programs for the Alexis Creek Band and Alkali Lake Band; soil management and agronomic evaluations for the Alexandria Band, Alkali Lake Band, Soda Creek Band, and Williams Lake Band.
Chief among these socio-economic factors that made WIAC's production estimates unrealistic was the ownership distribution of the protected land. A study conducted in 1984 indicated that 5,330 acres of land in the Lower Similkameen Band, Reserves #2, #7 and #8, were controlled by 26 people (with and without Certificate of Possession), with 10 of them having the right of use of 77 percent of the land (WIAC, 1985b). When taking into consideration that a significant portion of the agricultural land protected by the dikes was concentrated in a few ranches, one can began to understand why the land was not developed according to the original plan indicated in the cost-benefit analysis. The ranch owners did not have an incentive to engage in new capital-intensive agricultural enterprises (orchards, vineyards, vegetables) because their ranches were large enough to generate for them a more than adequate annual income at their current level of production.

The present land tenure system of many bands has also been identified elsewhere as one of the obstacles to agricultural development on the reserves. In the conclusions of a 1984 conference on First Nations agricultural development held in Vancouver, B.C. it was stated that "[many] families are without any land because of the present system of land ownership ... Absentee ownership also causes important blocks of land to be left unused (WIAC and UBC, 1984, p. 1).

The conditions described above support the proposition that a small oligarchy of land users (owners) exists in many bands that have an important agricultural land base. If this proposition and previous claims about the formation of a small petite bourgeoisie and incipient capitalist class among First Nations populations (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993) can be sustained through further research, they would lend support to the thesis that

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119 Given that according to the Indian Act the land on reserves is owned by Canada, farmers might obtain the right to use a certain section of farm land "if there is an allotment of the land by the band council with the approval of the Minister. The documentary proof on the right is ... a Certificate of Possession (under current legislation)" (Sanders, 1976, p. 4). There are also many occasions where farmers have the right to the land based on traditional use patterns.
general development patterns on the reserves are influenced by internal as well as external factors (Elias, 1993), in a manner similar to what was described for Latin American by Cardoso and Faletto (1978).

WIAC involvement in the preparation of resource development studies declined after 1984 as a result of its limited financial resources and availability of technical and professional personnel. As discussed elsewhere, the activities of WIAC became concentrated around the administration of the IEDF loan portfolio and the provision of advisory services to the farmers who had received loans.

Youth Development: 4-H Clubs and the Indian Fall Fair

As previously indicated, WIAC's extension education program considered the youth development portion to be very important. This section of the program included the organization of 4-H clubs,120 a provincial garden program, a range camp, and summer training for students. Every summer, with funding provided by CEIC, an average of ten students was hired to work either as assistants to the field extension advisors or in the Knapweed Spray program. However, WIAC's main efforts concentrated on the organization of youth clubs because it was thought that they offered the possibility of instilling an interest in agricultural activities and citizenship responsibility among First Nation rural youth. When WIAC initiated its activities there were no First Nations 4-H Clubs in the province. By 1982, after two and half years of work, 12 clubs with a total of about 150 members, and a Provincial First Nations 4-H Council had been organized. The culmination of the initial developmental stages of the WIAC 4-H program was the First Annual Indian Fall Fair that took place in Kamloops in October of 1980. The Indian

120 4-H Clubs had existed for many years in local farming communities. The program is coordinated by a provincial council and has the support of BCMA.
Agricultural Fall Fair continued to be organized for the next four years, until 1984, when under pressure derived from a declining DIAND financial contribution to WIAC, the Board decided "[that] the 1985 Indian Agricultural Fair be suspended due to the reorganization process WIAC is undergoing because of the new funding guidelines" (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, February 14, 1985, p. 2). In 1988 an attempt was made to reestablish the Fall Fair as an yearly event. The Sixth Fall Fair was organized in Kamloops and had limited success. Although it was well attended by farmers and government officials, only three 4-H clubs participated (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, October 26, 1988). The 1988 Fall Fair was the last one organized because in the following year the WIAC extension budget was minimal and the youth program was no longer active.

During the years it took place the Fall Fair was regarded as an important element and a regular feature in the WIAC extension program. "It provided the opportunity for Indian farmers and ranchers from different regions within the province to meet, exchange ideas and learn about what was being done elsewhere" (Piedrahita and Palacios, 1982). For three years the Indian Fair was held on the weekend prior to the Provincial Agricultural Winter Fair in Kamloops to allow First Nations 4-H Clubs to participate and compete in it. The participation of First Nations clubs in the Provincial Winter Fair allowed for a closer interaction between First Nations and non-First Nations youth and parents. First Nations participation in the competitions demonstrated that a successful ranching tradition started in the 1870s was not lost. On two occasions First Nations youth won important prizes in open competitions in provincially held agricultural fairs. In 1983, at the Provincial Winter Fair in Kamloops a young female participant from Merritt won the Provincial Reserve Champion. At the Kamloops Fair "WIAC 4H'ers won two weight classes and a second Place. Three animals were eligible for the Grand Champion class. This is an excellent showing in a fair that draws 400 to 500 beef animals" (WIAC, 1983,
p.35). The following year the Ashcroft Club won a major prize at the Pacific National Exhibition (PNE) Agriculture Fair in Vancouver. The Indian Fall Fair quickly became a major event for First Nations people.

**Representing First Nations Farmers' Interests**

WIAC invested time and resources to build relationships with the provincial Ministry of Agriculture, educational institutions, professional associations, agri-business people, and other similar institutions and individuals (WIAC, 1980). These activities were regarded as important because they provided WIAC with an opportunity to inform the general population about First Nations cultural traditions, values and current concerns. One of these activities was, for example, the organization of a two-day conference, done jointly with the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of British Columbia (UBC) on the topic of agricultural development on B.C. Indian reserves. The conference was attended by "Indian farmers, Indian leaders, Indian businessmen and Indian scholars, [who] together with public officials, academics, research workers and others whose concern and expertise touched these problems, participated through presentations, dialogue and workshop discussions" (WIAC and UBC, 1984, p. 5). On many other occasions WIAC Directors met with representatives of the B.C. Federation of Agriculture, the B.C. Institute of Agrologists and others to discuss issues of common interest.

Whenever necessary WIAC brought First Nations farmers' concerns to the attention of federal and provincial officials and politicians. An important achievement in this area was, for instance, managing to reverse the decision that originally excluded primary producing activities (i.e., agriculture, forestry, fishing) from receiving financial assistance from NEDP. This decision was strongly opposed, on behalf of B.C. First Nations farmers, by Chief Robert Pasco, who was one of the B.C. representatives on the
His actions and those of local farmers resulted, after months of negotiations, in the formation of an NEDP Primary Producing Task Force, that was chaired by Chief Pasco. The Task Force Report (NEDP, ca.1985) concluded that "[the] overall intent of NEDP ... provides significant justification to respond to small business activity even in primary [producing] related areas, ... and would provide logical support to a major sector of the Native and Canadian economy" (NEDP, ca.1985, p. 25). Despite the favourable recommendation in the Task Force Report, it took NEDP another three years to change its policies. When the NEDP Board finally decided to accommodate the needs of First Nations farmers (NEDP, 1988), the program had less than one year left in its mandate. The new Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (CAEDS) that replaced SARDA and NEDP, although it did not explicitly exclude farming, did not consider it a priority, except for those commodity groups that were more technologically advanced.

Federal development policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s were designed to support the introduction of sophisticated production and information technologies that could allow entrepreneurs to take advantage of global market opportunities, a condition that could rarely apply to the vast majority of small and medium size First Nations ranches and farms located in the interior of British Columbia.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{121} As indicated elsewhere, NEDP, under the administration of DRIE, followed the federal policy of industrialism predominant in the early 1980s that supported urban business development (with higher productivity and wage levels), and excluded primary producers.

\textsuperscript{122} Under the new Aboriginal Business Development and Joint Venture Program of Aboriginal Business Canada (ABC), until January of 1995, 649 First Nations people had their projects approved in British Columbia. Out of that total, only 14 (or 2\%) were in the agricultural sector (Aboriginal Business Canada, 1995b). According to ABC statistics, during the years of operation of SARDA, NEDP and the Aboriginal Economic Program in B.C., a total of 235 First Nations farmers received some form of financial assistance that amounted to $8.4 million. Of the 235 projects, 178 (76\%) were related to cattle and hay ranches and received a total financial contribution of $5.9 million equivalent to 70\% of the total allocated to the agricultural sector (Aboriginal Business Canada, 1995b).
WIAC's efforts to advance First Nations farmers concerns in other areas of their interest met with both failure and success. For many years WIAC petitioned the Canada Department of Agriculture (CDA) to financially support First Nations extension agricultural services in a manner at least similar to its contribution to the provincial Ministry of Agriculture, through the ERDA agreement.

In our discussions with CDA officials in British Columbia, they have clearly conveyed the fact that they will not support core sectoral program activities, regardless of the circumstances ... In order to improve Indian access, we should use the argument that the federal government does assist provinces (through Federal transfer payments) to support extension services for non-Indian farmers (Munaweera, 1986a, p.2)

The Canada Department of Agriculture response to DIAND and WIAC was, invariably, that First Nations matters were a legal obligation of DIAND, and extension services the responsibility of BCDA. Consequently, CDA argued, they could not get involved in funding WIAC's extension program. Notwithstanding CDA's position regarding First Nations extension services, in 1985 the federal government signed an ERDA agreement with the provincial government that included many components that could be regarded as part of extension and training. The policy decision of funding extension activities through ERDA, but not WIAC, resulted in First Nations farmers' interests not being directly represented in the ERDA negotiations. At the provincial government level, farmers' interests were represented by the B.C. Federation of Agriculture (BCFA). However, most First Nations farmers did not belong to BCFA because of cultural and historical reasons. "Indian farmers [are reluctant] to participate in a group with ties that appear to be so closely allied with the objectives of the Provincial Government" (Anderson, 1985, p.1). Anderson's (1985) report to DIAND Ottawa also stated that in "some areas of the province where the range resource is a very scarce commodity, BCFA has not always acted in the best interest of the Indian farmers" (p. 1).
Furthermore, he wrote: "Indian people had not been consulted about the allocation of resources for Indian land or the potential impact that this proposed agreement may have on their land and community" (p.2).

The circumstances surrounding the relationships between First Nations and government departments (NEDP, CDA, BCDA and others) as well as private organizations are a prime illustration of how social and legal practices (Cohen, 1987) can be used as instruments of political power. Euro-Canadians interests groups who were in control of the state used part of its administrative apparatus (DIAND, CDA, NEDP and other programs) as the medium for imposing on B.C. First Nations farmers a certain worldview of development utilizing legal and normative rules at their disposal. Furthermore, they were also able to restrict First Nations farmers' ability to compete in conditions of equality with Euro-Canadian farmers by restricting their access to technical, financial, and productive resources (land, range and water). On the issue of water rights, for example, in a document prepared by the UBCIC (1991) it is said:

[A] strong argument exists that the Federal Government continues to be in breach of its fiduciary obligations in failing to have defined the scope of a Band's water rights while permitting these rights to be encroached upon by the Provinces, which continues to allocate water interests for the benefit of non-Indian users (p. 38).

123 See, for example, a document prepared by DIAND Regional Economic Development on Agricultural Extension, Water Rights and Grazing rights on First Nations reserves in British Columbia (Munaweera, 1986b). Another classical example of the use of legal and administrative rules to restrict First Nations farmers’ access to public financial resources is the lengthy negotiating process around the Agricultural Development Act (ALDA), a program administered by BCDA. In a 1971 letter from Cyril Shelford, B.C. Minister of Agriculture to Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs, can be read: "This government looks with favor on the proposal suggested in Mr. Clark's letter, and is prepared to enact appropriate legislation to make funds available to Native Indians on reserves lands" (Shelford, 1970). In 1988, John Savage, B.C. Minister of Agriculture reiterated the province's position: "The Provincial Government is not prepared to offer loans to Native farmers unless security requirements are met. If the Federal Government is prepared to guarantee the repayment of ALDA loans made to Native people, I would be prepared to re-examine the present terms and conditions of the Program" (Savage, 1988, p.1). Today, twenty four years later, the exchange of legal arguments between federal and provincial officials (along with many letters of protest by First Nations farmers) continues and the matter has still not been resolved.
There were instances, however, where WIAC lobbying efforts were successful. The change that led NEDP policies to accommodate agricultural projects, although it came very late in the program's mandate, can be regarded still as a partial success. Other successful lobbying attempts were the extension of the benefits of the Provincial Partial Interest Reimbursement Program to First Nations farmers (Peterson, 1981), the inclusion of purchases of breeding cattle under the SARDA, Primary Producers Activities (PPA) component (Moore, 1983), and the establishment of the Alfalfa Winter Kill Program (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, August 12, 1986), to name some of the most noticeable cases. WIAC achievements in modifying government policies demonstrate that structural constraints can not only be limiting but also enabling.

Constraint here refers to the structuration of social systems as forms of asymmetrical power. [However], ... power is never merely a constraint but is at the very origin of the capabilities of agents to bring about intended outcomes of actions (Giddens, 1984, p. 173).

Giddens' assertion speaks directly to the experiences of First Nations farmers in British Columbia. The obstacles (political, legal, and administrative) that since the early 1950s hindered the possibilities of realizing the full agricultural productive potential on reserves, motivated First Nations farmers to become organized. The realization that individually they lacked political power to overcome the obstacles they collectively faced, led to the formation of organizations such as WIAC, WILA and WIAPA that became important mechanisms in the promotion of agricultural development on reserves during the 1980s.

The Ongoing Quest for the Funding of WIAC

After having operated for one full year, in 1980, Dr. E. Jenson, a former Professor at the University of British Columbia Faculty of Agriculture was hired by
DIAND, after consultation with WIAC, to evaluate the performance of the program. First Nations had to demonstrate to federal officials that they were capable of managing an institution and were responsible managers of the funding they received. Dr. Jenson concluded that "[the] first year of operation of WIAC has shown that the Board of Directors and Manager and Staff of WIAC can operate the organization successfully" (WIAC, 1980, p. 2). Furthermore, the evaluation stated that WIAC "has individuals with demonstrated capacity at all levels from Board of Directors through secretarial staff" (p. 3 of Summary and Conclusions), but recommended that the competency of fieldworkers be upgraded. As previously indicated field extension personnel, with the exception of one of them who was a professional agrologist, had different degrees of formal agricultural training, from agricultural college diplomas to practical experience in working or managing a ranch.

In 1982 WIAC's performance was once again evaluated by Dr. E. Jenson under contract with DIAND. He concluded that WIAC activities "[were] resulting in increased awareness by Indians of opportunities in agriculture in British Columbia ... There are other successes of W.I.A.C. such as the weed control program, 4-H, fall fair, financial applications by Indians, project evaluations and grazing studies" (p. 104). The evaluation also discussed several problems in the organization including uncertainty of funding and support from DIAND and other federal agencies, and problems with program organization as a result of the loss of key professional staff. "This situation is aggravated because of a workload beyond the capability of existing staff due to low numbers of staff, areas of expertise and levels of expertise" (WIAC, 1982, p. 105). Jenson also indicated that WIAC needed to expand and consolidate its clientele base and incorporate representation on its board from other important agricultural areas.

During the initial stages of the program the political support of the UBCIC was essential for the operation of the program. However, after successfully operating for over
three years it seemed necessary to transfer the ownership of the agricultural program to a non-political farmers' organization to avoid being identified as exclusively serving those farmers in the interior of the province who were associated with UBCIC. As early as 1982 the Board of Directors instructed the Manager to "meet with the Corporation's lawyer to see how the Corporation could be placed in the hands of Indian farmers" (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, October 28, 1982, p. 1). The result of two years of consultations with UBCIC, farmers and lawyers was the organization of a non-profit society called the Western Indian Agricultural Producers Association (WIAPA) that became the owner of WIAC in October, 1984. The transfer of WIAC's ownership to a non-profit farmers' organization was aimed at moving the corporation away from direct political pressures, and stressing its technical advisory function. These factors were expected to help secure long term stable funding for the extension education program. Unfortunately, this decision proved in the long run to be not very advantageous for First Nations farmers in British Columbia.

WIAC's budget, although it continued to be granted in the form of annual contributions, increased to nearly one million dollars in its third year of operation (1982/83), and remained at that level until fiscal year 1986/87. The core budget was for administration of the extension and advisory services, supplemented with funding for the Knapweed Containment Program (a weed-control program on the reserve's rangelands) and the Annual Fall Fair. WIAC also received SARDA grants during the four years from 1982 to 1986 for the specific purpose of organizing a series of workshops to deliver technical and management information to farmers.

Since WIAC's inception the funding of its extension and education programs tended to occupy a considerable amount of the administrators' and Board of Directors' time. Every year, a few months after a new contribution agreement had been signed, the budget negotiations for the following year were reopened. Since the early 1980s WIAC
directors and administrators lobbied DIAND officers and the Minister of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, trying to arrange a funding formula similar to the one enjoyed by the First Nations agricultural programs in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Central among these efforts was the preparation of two Treasury Board submissions to fund a five-year program. The first was prepared in 1980 and consisted of a revised version of the original UBCIC Agricultural Committee proposal. This 1980 version considered two alternative models: an extension program with an agricultural loan component, and a stand-alone extension program. None of the proposed program formats were accepted by DIAND Headquarters in Ottawa. In October, 1982, in agreement with the DIAND Regional office in Vancouver, the WIAC Board decided to form a committee of farmers to try once again to secure long term funding (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, October 28, 1982).

In March, 1983, a consultant was hired to prepare a submission to the Treasury Board (TB) under the guidance of the farmer’s committee. The proposal - WIAC Five Year Plan 1985-1989 - was ready in October of 1983 and sent to Ottawa (WIAC, 1983). Shortly thereafter, the WIAC Board scheduled a series of meetings with O. Anderson, DIAND Regional Director General for B.C.; John Monroe, Minister of Indian Affairs; Donald Goodwin ADM of Indian Affairs and several federal politicians to try to gain their support for the initiative. Notwithstanding all the lobbying efforts, once again the proposal did not receive approval. The promise made personally by Minister Monroe to the WIAC Board in a meeting in Vancouver never materialized.

Commenting on WIAC’s ongoing quest for long-term funding, Arnold Armitage, former Head of Business Development in the DIAND B.C. Region, said that he was always under the impression that WIAC was led to believe that its extension program would eventually be funded for five years, although a policy decision had already been made in Ottawa to financially support only one economic sector in each DIAND region.
Do not forget [Assistant Deputy Minister] Don Allen's argument that he was prepared to fund one industry in each region ... That was one of the reasons why he was not in favor of providing more in the way of funding for agriculture, because we in the B.C. region always preferred the fishing industry ... Ernie Hobbs [former National Director of Economic Development] found eight million dollars to buy the B.C. Packers fleet ... and for three or four years the money for that came out of other regions' budget (Armitage, 1993, pp. 16-17).

Armitage's conjecture was not wrong. In an memorandum from Donald Goodwin, ADM of Indian and Inuit Affairs, to Ernie Hobbs, Acting Director General, Resource, Economic and Employment Development, commenting on a draft letter to be sent to the WIAC President to inform him that the Five Year Plan 1985-1989 was not going to be funded by Treasury Board, it was said:

This [draft] letter is a 'cut off which is fine if we give WIAC some explanation regarding the preparation of this 'TB Submission' ie, what was going on in the region, did we know about it, etc. They're not going to be amused with our response after all their work (Goodwin, 1983, emphasis added).

One month later, in January of 1984, the B.C. Regional office suggested to DIAND Headquarters in Ottawa that the letter to WIAC should state, as a polite gesture of good will, that DIAND was fully prepared to support a submission to the federal Cabinet for new money. In February of 1984 WIAC was told that their Five Year Plan was not going to be funded by TB because "the limited economic development budget of the Department, and more specifically the budget of the British Columbia region [did] not permit increased allocations at this time" (Goodwin, 1984, p.1). A few months later the original WIAC submission was combined with the funding proposal for all other First Nations Agricultural and Wild Rice Programs across Canada, and transformed into a submission to the federal Cabinet. In June 1984 the WIAC Board
was informed that the joint Indian Agricultural Five Year program was tabled by Cabinet until a full review of Indian agricultural policies takes place in Ottawa. DIA Headquarters [afterwards] took [the] WIAC proposal to Treasury Board but it was not considered [for] the same reasons given by Cabinet (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, June 6, 1984, p. 3).

This detailed chronology of the process leading to the final refusal of WIAC's Five Year Plan documents the weak position of First Nation peoples within the Canadian social system and its structures of political power. First Nations had no representation or access to the administrative process where their application was being reviewed and, hence, had no actual knowledge of decisions being made behind closed doors. WIAC, in good faith, responded to all DIAND requests for information and spent in the process considerable effort and resources that could, instead, have been devoted to training and extension. The conditions under which the review process of the Five Year Plan was conducted indicates the need to consider the introduction of more participatory, collaborative, and transparent forms of dealing with the concerns of different communities.

Although during the time when the submission to TB was being reviewed it became clear that WIAC's President, Chief Bob Pasco, and General Manager, Gordon Antoine, were not in favor of getting involved with administering loans, given the new funding prospects faced by WIAC, they were compelled to negotiate with DIAND taking over the administration of the agricultural portfolio of IEDF. Pasco and Antoine had always thought that WIAC's function was to provide extension services (and help farmers access funding from other agencies), and not to administer loans (WIAC, Minutes Board Meetings, June 28, 1983). However, the circumstances were forcing them to look for alternatives.

By 1984, although the transfer of WIAC's ownership from UBCIC to WIAPA had been completed, and the program was credited by clients and evaluators as being successful, DIAND funding started to look increasingly problematic. The survival of the First Nations Agricultural Program in British Columbia was being compromised as the
result of a combination of factors. Chief among them were DIAND's Ottawa Headquarters' standing policy to support fishing as the main economic activity in the province, the ongoing tension between sectoral institutions and Tribal Councils regarding the allocation of regional economic development funds, and the general reluctance shown by band councils in the agricultural areas, to make direct financial contributions to WIAC.

These conditions finally forced the WIAC Board to abandon the original policy of keeping the extension and lending functions separated. In February 1985, the WIAC Board initiated negotiations with DIAND to manage the Indian Economic development Fund (IEDF) agricultural portfolio for an annual fee. A year later, "in the 1986/87 fiscal year, WIAC assumed administration of the IEDF Loan Program. In the last quarter of 1985/86, WIAC received training in IEDF administration and throughout the 1986/87 year, WIAC assumed the various functions of the loan program" (WIAC, 1988, pp. 2-26 and 2-27). In the agreement reached between WIAC and DIAND, although the corporation was given a three year contract to manage the IEDF agricultural portfolio, the overall DIAND annual financial contribution to WIAC declined by about 25% (to around

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124 The Pacific Planning Symposium Task Group passed in 1984 a series of recommendations, among which, two had a direct effect on WIAC's funding. The recommendations asked for DIAND non-mandatory funds to be distributed on a per capita basis (as opposed to production sectors), and that the Regional Office could only transfer funds to Sectoral Indian Institutions (like WIAC) only after Bands had consent to such transfer (Pacific Planning Symposium, 1984). At the meeting Chief Pasco presented the WIAC position and argued that funds for agricultural extension should not come from the District Economic Development budgets, but from the Region and Ottawa with input from Reserve and Trust (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, September 21, 1984). Chief Pasco argument was based on the fact that DIAND had a legal mandate to care for the preservation of the land and water resources on Indian reserves, and so far that objective had not been adequately fulfilled" (WIAC Minutes of Board Meetings, June 28, 1984). Early in the year, the Regional Forum had also passed a resolution recommending that economic development funds should go directly to bands and Tribal Councils (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, January 19, 1984).

125 Band Councils sent resolutions stating their political support for WIAC and the need for its continuing funding. "The agricultural area represented is 393,906 acres, ... which represented 89.26% of the total" (Maestrello, 1985). However, only a few committed a direct financial contribution from their economic development funds. The decision of not making cash contributions to WIAC can be understood if one considers the limited economic development funds bands received, and the fact that those funds had to be used to finance all economic development activities, not just agriculture.
Within the new budget, a significant portion was allocated for the loan administration while funding for the extension component of the agricultural program was reduced to less than $150,000. These changes in the funding formula for WIAC played, a few years later, a decisive role in the process leading to the dismantling of the extension program. Commenting on this new financial arrangement, a report to the WIAC Board of Directors stated:

This alternative, if not supplemented with other funds, will mean a change in emphasis in the current WIAC activities. We will have to move from general awareness and extension services ... to mostly serving those farmers applying for loans. Our work to promote the incorporation of new areas into agricultural production will suffer and be considerably diminished (WIAC, 1985a, p. 2, emphasis in text).

After being in operation for only six years WIAC's extension education program was already being forced by factors internal and external to the First Nations community to fight for its survival. Reading through the Minutes of the Board of Directors one realizes the extraordinary amount of time and effort expended by Directors, administrators, and consultants to generate organizational schemes that would allow WIAC to continue to deliver its extension program according to the original mandate of the UBCIC Agricultural Committee.

At the same time that the application to manage the IEDF loan program was being negotiated, the WIAC Board was trying other routes to make the corporation financially self-sufficient. In 1985, an application was sent to NEDP for a grant to study the feasibility of organizing a First Nations agricultural lending company. The feasibility study resulted in an application to NEDP for a $5 million capital grant to establish a revolving agricultural loan fund. After a lengthy negotiating process that lasted almost three years, the application was finally approved, and on September 1, 1988 the First Nations farmers association incorporated a new non-profit society, the Western Indian
Lending Association (WILA) to manage the loan program that had been created with the NEDP capital grant.

In 1988, DIAND decided to undertake another evaluation of the B.C. Indian Agricultural Program, this time to decide whether it should continue to financially support the agricultural extension and loan administration activities of WIAC. A consulting company from Winnipeg (WIAC, 1988) was asked to document the need for a First Nations Extension Program in British Columbia and make recommendations about the possibility of DIAND selling the agricultural loan portfolio to WILA, the recently-formed lending company.

The study concluded that despite WIAC (and previously DIAND) extension and agricultural development activities, First Nations farmers often lacked formal general and technical education. Moreover the rapid pace of technological transformation that required not only access to information but along with it, access to sources of financing, in most cases had not been available to First Nations farmers. First Nations farmers needed more than the technological know-how; they needed the land base and the financial resources that would have allowed them to acquire these new technologies. The WIAC (1988) study concluded that, in the late 1980s, "there [was] often an underutilization of the agricultural potential of reserve land ... [Furthermore the] scale of operation [was] usually very small and the level of productivity [was] below that of comparable units in the general farming community" (WIAC, 1988, p. 2-6).

Although by 1988, as a result of the extension and development efforts of WIAC, the number of First Nations farmers had increased to levels similar to those of the early 1950s, the lack of consistent extension education programs tailored to their needs had left farmers in a weak position to take advantage of technological advances. Another report commissioned a few years earlier by NEDP (1985) estimated that in 1984, the value of
capital investment per farm (exclusive of land and buildings) in British Columbia's First Nations agricultural sector was only 66% of the provincial average.

The management review (WIAC, 1988) strongly recommended that the extension program continue to be funded directly by the federal government, based on the demonstrated need for such a program, and the premise that it could not be financially self-sufficient. As an additional source of funding it suggested that the administration of the IEDF loans be transferred to WILA until the completion of the negotiations to purchase the IEDF agricultural portfolio.

The formation of WILA\textsuperscript{126} in 1988 had a direct impact on the operation of the WIAC extension program. The increasing preeminence of lending activities and their central role in generating revenue for the operations of WIAPA left WIAC with a minimal operating budget. The original plan that the revenue generated by the lending activities of WILA would be used to finance in part the extension program could not be realized. NEDP strongly enforced the policy that their capital and operating grants were only for the purpose of lending and not for extension or training activities. The only educational activity allowed by NEDP were those related to the provision of advisory services to loan recipients. From 1989 onwards WIAC extension activities steadily declined until the program ceased to operate in 1993.

Summing up, during its formative years WIAC activities focused on the "transfer of new and modern technology to farmers, [to facilitate] ... access to outside resources needed for local agricultural endeavors (water rights, range use permits and financial resources)" (WIAC, 1986), and on representing First Nations farmers' interests. WIAC promoted an efficient use of natural resources on reserves, and provided opportunities for

\textsuperscript{126} WILA was legally chartered under the B.C. Society Act as a nonprofit organization on September 1, 1988.
increasing mutual understanding between First Nations people and Canadian society at large. In the long run the First Nations Agricultural Program was haunted by uncertain and insufficient funding and forced to change from its original emphasis on extension to become a lending operation. Overall, WIAC was always in a weak position because, although it was praised for its work and accomplishments, it lacked the political support of band and tribal councils, and hence had very limited lobbying capacity that could ensure securing adequate funding.

**WIAC, BCDA and First Nations Agriculture Extension**

The creation of a First Nations extension program did not substantially change the relationships between the British Columbia government and First Nations farmers. As had been historically the case, the province continued during the 1980s to maintain that First Nations people were regular provincial residents entitled to the same rights as all other B.C. residents. Over and above past happenings and cultural differences, "[provincial] authorities [continued to be] reluctant to give the appearance that they recognize Indian persons or communities because of the fear of land claim implications" (James, 1986, p. 1). BCMA continued to not acknowledge the existence of differences between reserve and non-reserve farming, and was unwilling to commit specific resources to serve First Nations farmers. As a result of this provincial policy decision, at the reserve level, First Nations farmers utilized BCMA extension services only sporadically.

Over the years WIAC kept a good but informal working relationship with BCMA extension personnel at the field level. BCMA District Agrologists and Commodity Specialists visited projects on reserves when specific requests were made. Formally, however, BCMA politely declined WIAC's proposition to establish a cooperative extension effort. In 1982, when WIAC inquired about the possibility of housing its
extension personnel at the Ministry's local offices in the interior of the province, asserting that its field staff would benefit from the daily interactions with BCMA agrologists and from the opportunity to access technical information, the petition was denied because of "lack of office space" (WIAC, Minutes of Board Meetings, April 12, 1982). On the matter of financial support for agricultural projects, as discussed elsewhere, WIAC and DIAND efforts to negotiate a special subsidiary agreement for First Nations farmers under the 1985 ERDA agreement were unsuccessful. 127

Officially, it was not until 1991 that BCMA acknowledged the particular legal and cultural circumstances prevailing on First Nations communities and decided to establish a Native Affairs Unit (BCMA, ca.1992). The main objective of this unit was to deal with issues related to the potential impact that future treaty negotiations could have on the future of the agricultural sector in British Columbia. 128 Its purpose was not to provide special extension services tailored to the needs of First Nations farmers. The new government policy of recognizing First Nations' inherit right to land and resource use brought about the need to develop "a widespread ... understanding of the issues [involved] ... and [an awareness about] the responsibilities, legal and moral obligations to that sector of society" (Henry, 1993, p. 2).

127 Under the Agri-Food Regional Development Agreement, 1985-1990, four bands received funding for a total of $432,000. They were, Toosey, Osoyoos (Inkameep Vineyards), Kamloops, and Neskaipinlith. A study to assess the agricultural potential of 14 Bands in the Cariboo region was also funded (BCMA and Agriculture Canada, 1992).

128 The treaty negotiation process, although it has been officially operating since December of 1990 (when the B.C. Claims Task Force was established by a trilateral agreement between the First Nations Summit, and the federal and provincial governments) is not unanimously supported by all First Nations organizations in the province. Following the recommendation of the B.C. Claims Task Force, the B.C. Legislature passed the Treaty Commission Act (Bill 22) on May 26, 1993. The Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) strongly opposed the establishment of the Treaty Commission because, according to Chief Saul Terry, UBCIC President, was "a law to commission the extinguishment of our Aboriginal Title and Rights in British Columbia ... [forcing First Nations] to a negotiation process where there is no recognition at all of our ancestors' fundamental principles. We cannot remain silent. This law is a fraud" (UBCIC, 1993).
At a practical level the creation of the BCMA Native Affairs Unit had little effect on the provision of extension services for First Nations farmers. The provincial government, reacting to the political pressure exercised by the general public to reduce expenditures, decided to maintain its old policy that regarded First Nations as regular clients of BCMA services.

[In the past] it may have been within the means of the provincial government to support the functioning of [WIAC], but given the reality of the financial situation I do not see that we are in that position ... If you try to resurrect the cause of providing a fully funded and supported specifically targeted extension program for [First Nations] ... I don’t think [that possibility] exists (Henry, 1993, pp. 3-4).

The ambiguity of provincial government policies on First Nations agricultural development becomes evident when the above statement is read along with the official declaration that during the fiscal year 1991-1992 "a broadening of the constituency [of BCMA] to include visible minorities, aboriginal peoples, and labour groups [had] been actively addressed" (BCMA, ca.1992, p. 7). Despite its declared intentions of actively addressing issues of inequality faced by First Nations and other so-called "disadvantaged" groups, the provincial government opted for maintaining the status-quo. Following an old tradition, while keeping its long-standing policy of not providing financial support for the operation of a First Nations extension service, it provided funds to identify (one more time) the "needs for education, training and financial programming ... in Aboriginal communities in the Cariboo-Chilcotin" (BCMA, ca.1992, p.15).

Another formal intervention of the BCMA Native Affairs Unit was its participation in the organization of a farm management training program for First Nations farmers delivered through the

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129 The Cariboo-Chilcotin study was done in 1992 (BCMA, 1992). In 1993 and 1994 a series of three Native Agricultural Profiles in the Okanagan, Lillooet and Hazelton areas were also completed with the financial assistance of BCMA (WIAC,1993a; WIAC, 1993b; WIAC, 1994).
Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT) in Merritt. This training program was funded under the auspices of the Federal-Provincial National Farm Business Management Program.

The failure to secure funding for its extension activities prompted the WIAPA Board in 1992 to commission an organizational review of its operations (WIAPA, 1992). A few months later with the help of BCMA Corporate Planning Unit, WIAPA (1993) produced a document stating its vision for aboriginal agriculture. The document stressed that WIAPA will support operations conducted "in a manner that is consistent with our spiritual values and culture centred in the needs of the family and in respect for all our relations" (p. 11). At a practical level, based on financial considerations, WIAPA choose to support the lending function (WILA) while extension services were left to those provided by Tribal Councils and BCMA.

All in all, during the 1980s and early 1990s the relationship between First Nations farmers and BCMA did not change. At the political/constitutional level the enactment of the Treaty Commission Act in 1993 was significant because for the first time in B.C. history First Nations' inherent right to self-government and to the use of their territories in traditional activities were officially recognized. Nonetheless, this important political decision has been until now of very little significance in the day to day life on First Nations farmers in British Columbia.


131 The Canada/B.C. Farm Business Management Program is a three-year program that started in February of 1992 with a budget of $20 million (BCMA, ca.1992).

132 The WIAPA document Our Land - Our Future stated: "A major issue facing [WIAC] is the cost of providing an effective, pertinent field presence across the province. The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food have committed to work more closely in the area of providing extension services to Aboriginal clients" (WIAPA, 1993, p. 10).
WILA, the Dismantling of WIAC and Neo-conservatism

The process leading to the organization of WILA, especially the negotiations that took place between WIAPA and the federal Native Economic Development Program, housed at the time in the Department of Industry, Science and Technology (DIST), provided an opportunity for exploring the interactions between federal government policies and First Nations perspectives and interests. The analysis of the dynamics of those relationships illustrates how criteria used to arrive at so-called "rational" solutions to perceived problems are influenced by values rooted in cultural perspectives, local and personal interests, social class, and gender and ethnic considerations. The analysis of these interactions demonstrates, using Gramscian terminology, that those in positions of hegemonic control of society can utilize the administrative apparatus of the state to force non-hegemonic groups to conform to their standards. In the present case it was DIAND who defined what was to be regarded as economically and financially "rational," and what plans were more "beneficial" to the interest of First Nations farmers.

Originally WIAPA pursued the creation of a lending institution as an instrument towards becoming non-dependent in future government funding. WIAPA conceived what later became known as WILA, as a small, but important source of future revenue to finance the education/extension activities of WIAC. Contrary to WIAPA plans, the federal government was interested in the creation of an efficient banking institution. The focus of WIAC's original plan was developmental because it aimed at providing extension services to all First Nations farmers, including those in remote and marginal production areas. WIAC's rationale was that extension services, supported by financial resources, would eventually translate, in the long run, into the creation of permanent agricultural enterprises. Meanwhile, NEDP was interested in creating an efficient agricultural bank, where lending was kept completely separate from extension education activities.
Since the creation of WILA and the dismantling of WIAC, the activities of the First Nations Farmers Association (WIAPA) have concentrated on lending. Following NEDP policies, most loan activity has been directed towards established farmers and ranchers that represent a lower level of risk. Referring to the role of WILA in the promotion of First Nations agricultural development a spokesperson for the institution said that:

We can't afford to take any more risks. The risks were taken in the first few years of WILA's operation ... we funded first time farmers ... and we have to pay for it ... those loans have been written off. [In] a lot of cases if they have never been in agriculture before and raised cattle, we are taking a hell of a risk ... whether that person really know what he is doing (Agricultural Lending, p. 2).

Today, WILA has become - in the words of WIAPA President, Paul Scotchman - "one of the most successful ACC's [Aboriginal Capital Corporation]. Although we have not recovered all our losses from previous management, we are well on our way (Scotchman, 1995). Although, WILA has become a "successful" enterprise from a Western technocratic perspective, WIAPA development policies have moved further and further away from the mandate of the original British Columbia Indian Agricultural Program that led to the formation of the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation in 1978. At the end, WIAC succumbed to the dictates of a dominant neo-conservative technocratic development agenda that since the early 1980s has advocated privatization of government services, self-financing extension education services, and profit maximization over job creation and community based development.

133 In the 1992 organizational review of WIAPA it was said with respect to WILA's activities: "We were surprised to see so few loans. In fact, most of the lenders we met were relatively well-established individuals who had a good income from other sources, easy access to relatively large tracts of land and who were quite influential. In other cases, loans were granted to individuals who already had a ranch but who could take advantage of FCC [Farm Credit Corporation] to enlarge their operation" (WIAPA, 1992, p. 5).
Human Agency and its Relative Transformative Capacity

In the late 1970s the long struggle of a group of First Nations farmers from the B.C. interior, aimed at taking control of an agricultural extension program originally run by DIAND, came to a successful end. The creation of Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC) in 1978, under the auspices of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, came about in the midst of a growing movement towards First Nations self-determination that began as a reaction to the publication of the federal government 1969 Statement on Indian Policy. WIAC, that for fifteen years provided extension education services to First Nations farmers in British Columbia could not, in the long run, survive the internal and external pressures that resulted in 1993 in a complete lack of financial support from First Nations tribal and band councils, and from federal and provincial government agencies.

There were many economic and cultural factors that finally determined WIAC's fate. Chief among these factors were federal policies that continued to favor industrialism over rural community development. Furthermore, market globalization that made traditional beef ranching less economically attractive, and the ongoing continuous downsizing of government services to reduce the deficit at all levels of government, had a significant impact on WIAC's ability to secure funding for its extension program. No less important were differences of opinion among provincial First Nations leaders regarding how the limited economic development funds should be distributed. Among WIAPA board members there were also different interpretations of the direction that the extension program should follow. Some favored an approach based on traditional values that had as its goal the long-term improvement in the well-being of the whole community, while others preferred a more pragmatic approach and were inclined to accept the economistic goals favored by federal officials.
WIAC's developmental efforts, although regarded as generally successful, did not receive a great deal of support from federal departments because its approach did not correspond with DRIE policies at the time. While WIAC's extension program in the early 1980s, responding to the conditions existing on the reserves, was multipurpose\textsuperscript{134} and supportive of agriculture as a rural way of life, federal development policies were shifting away from advocating farming and local industrialization as the foundation for regional development. The gap between WIAC's approach to extension and development became ever greater when towards the late 1980s and early 1990s the federal government adopted a national development policy focussed on the introduction of technological innovations, and aggressive marketing programs to compete in global markets. Moreover, at the provincial level, BCMA was also pursuing a development policy similar to that of the federal government. By the mid-1980s BCMA's extension program was steadily moving away from supporting agriculture as a "rural way of life" in favor of improving farms' competitiveness and profitability (BCMA, 1986), a tendency that has continued until today.\textsuperscript{135}

As stated elsewhere, First Nations agriculture in British Columbia is dominated by small and medium-size ranches and farms that could hardly benefit from these federal and provincial policies oriented to serve the most technologically advanced and capitalized sectors of the agricultural sector. Although financial assistance and extension programs for First Nations farmers have existed for a number of years, they have been generally

\textsuperscript{134} WIAC's developmental approach was oriented towards working with the rural First Nations farming community, not just the individual farmer. As a result besides transferring information on production technologies, farm management, and financial management, it included youth activities, career days, preservation of traditional foods, home gardens, and so on.

\textsuperscript{135} Since the late 1980s BCMA has pursued a total food system approach (that included the creation in 1991 of the Food Industry Branch and the Trade Competition Branch). In 1988 the mission statement was changed to incorporate BCMA concerns for sustainable growth and development. (BCMA, 1989a; BCMA, 1989b; BCMA, ca.1992).
limited in scope as a result of the structural constraints posed by government policies and First Nations priorities on development. Consequently, the extension and development programs were not sufficient to trigger the structural transformations in the First Nations agricultural sector that would have allowed First Nations farmers to adopt advanced technologies and take advantage of new markets as advocated by the federal and provincial governments. Furthermore, the outstanding unresolved issue of the land question (including water and grazing rights) constituted the most important factor precluding agricultural development on reserves.

Today, despite the progress that has been made most of the obstacles to agricultural development on the reserves still exist. A BCMA (1992) study indicated, for example, that lack of continuity in quality agricultural advisory services was an important constraint to agricultural development, second only to the lack of adequate sources of financing. As a result, productivity levels among First Nations farmers continue to lag behind provincial averages.

On the whole, it can be concluded that despite the initial reaction that led First Nations farmers to become organized and to gain control of the agricultural extension program, their capacity as agents of change was severely limited by the structural constraints posed by a state apparatus controlled by Euro-Canadian politicians and

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136 The study reported that ranchers in the Williams Lake region produced an average of 2.5 to 3 tons of alfalfa hay per acre under irrigation, compared to a provincial average of 5 to 6 ton per acre. The average weaning weight of calves among First Nations ranchers was 455 lbs, compared to 505 lbs for the average British Columbia rancher. From a financial analysis perspective, First Nations farmers are also in a weaker position compared to the non-aboriginal rancher. Using as example the Debt/Equity ratio, that measures the amount of debt per dollar owned by the producer, the average First Nation rancher in the Cariboo owed 99 cents per dollar compared to 21 cents for the non-aboriginal rancher (BCMA, 1992; BCMA, 1989b). The weaker financial position of First Nations ranchers was the result of their lack of financial resources to pay for the initial investment in the basic cow herd, hay equipment, and irrigation system. Moreover, given that First Nations farmers can hold only a certificate of possession on the land (i.e. the right of use) but not of ownership, the value of land as an asset was considerably lower than comparable land off-reserve, hence increasing the size of the debt/equity ratio.
administrators who needed to be responsive to the interests of Euro-Canadian farmers and urban populations. Furthermore, farmers also faced structural obstacles internal to the First Nations community that also stemmed from the limited importance attributed, by many First Nations leaders, to farming as an instrument for improving well-being on the reserves.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS AND SOME PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It must be remembered that there is an important distinction between self-determination and self-administration. One means we design our own institutions and rely on our values, the other that we apply someone else's programs. The Department of Indian Affairs would have us embrace the second option, they even dress it up and try to sell it as self-government to Indian bands, but it is self-determination that we seek. (Mercredi and Turpel, 1993, p. 93)

This chapter focuses on the discussion of the main findings stemming from the historical analysis of the relationships between Euro-Canadian society and First Nations farmers between 1951 and 1994, in British Columbia. The presentation briefly restates the purpose of the study and the past and current conditions under which agricultural development on the reserves has taken place. Guided by the three theoretical constructs described in the research approach: hegemony, development, and extension, the findings of the study are discussed and subsequently related to a series of general recommendations. It is important to clarify at the outset that since these recommendations relate to general issues of economic exploitation and political and cultural domination they apply equally to all First Nations peoples, regardless of their gender or ethnic origin. The final section of the chapter discusses the limitations of the research and presents some suggestions for further research.

A Brief Summary of the Study

This study was conducted to understand why agricultural development continues to be slow on B.C. reserves despite the many efforts undertaken by the federal government in the form of extension and financial programs, especially during the last forty-five years. The identification of factors that can be associated with the process leading to the creation of the present conditions prevailing in the agricultural sector on reserves is expected to be
of assistance to policy makers, First Nations and Euro-Canadians in the formulation of future extension and development programs for First Nations farmers.

Starting from the premise that the current state of First Nations agriculture has been determined by past interactions between First Nations farmers and the federal and provincial governments, the research begins with a description and analysis of the socio-historical conditions that existed during the period prior to the enactment of the 1951 amendment to the Indian Act. To provide for a broader understanding of the issues at hand, the background information in Chapter Two includes a description of the present living conditions prevailing on First Nations reserves, along with an overview (for comparative purposes) of the extension services offered to Euro-Canadian farmers by the B.C. Ministry of Agriculture.

The analysis, guided by propositions taken from Giddens (1984) structuration theory, centres around the description of the reciprocal macro-sociological relationships existing between First Nations and the governments of Canada and British Columbia during the period 1951-1994. While studies commissioned by DIAND to determine the state of First Nations agriculture in B.C. (Hawthorn et al, 1958; AIC & DIAND, 1968a; DIAND, 1972) focused generally on the analysis of social and economic interactions at the reserve level (Frideres, 1993), this study links the state of agriculture on the reserves to both federal and provincial development policies, and the dynamics of social and economic forces internal to the reserves.

DIAND consultants, all of them non-First Nations people, have been inclined to attribute the slow rates of development on the reserves to the unwillingness of a majority of First Nations people to adapt to Western-style economic principles and lifestyles. This is also the opinion manifested, through DIAND documents, by many federal civil servants. According to the interpretations of consultants and civil servants, the main cause of the "Indian Problem" was rooted in the cultural traditions and worldview of First
Nations people. In her book on the history of First Nations agriculture in the Prairie provinces, Carter (1990) reported that "when historians have touched on the issue" (p. 5), many of them came to similar conclusions. In Carter's view, however, "[those] who stress that the fundamental problem was that Indians were culturally or temperamentally resistant to becoming farmers have ignored or downplayed economic, legal, social, and climatic factors" (p. 13).

The construction of First Nations people as the creators of their own "underdevelopment" has been part of the modernization discourse used by those in positions of power to claim, through the artificial creation of mutually exclusive dichotomies (Escobar, 1987; Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992), that the difficulties faced by First Nations farmers are not rooted in structural barriers, but on the incapacity of those holding traditional views to fully comprehend the value of time, profit, and competitiveness.

First Nations political leaders present, however, a very different account of the circumstances leading to the current state of agriculture on reserves. They indicate that the present conditions are the result of colonial and discriminatory policies, that despite recent changes, continue until today to deny them access to adequate levels of productive and financial resources, and the right to govern themselves according to their own practices.

Given that the main purpose of the study is to understand the operation of power relations (social, political, and cultural hegemony) operating between First Nations farmers and Euro-Canadians, the research was cast within a sociological historical approach, where the concepts of causality and structuring (Abrams, 1982; Lloyd, 1991) played pivotal roles. The approach guiding the analysis includes a comprehensive literature review of issues related to political and cultural leadership, theories and models of development, and extension approaches and models. The constructs of hegemony,
development, and extension guided the selection of statements from the historical data (policy statements and other government and non-government reports and documents), that were later used to describe the dynamics of relations of power. A second source of information was fourteen semi-structured interviews conducted in the summer of 1993 with First Nations farmers and political leaders, DIAND officials and a BCMA representative.

From the perspective of mainstream Euro-Canadian society three distinct periods have been identified in the development of First Nations and Euro-Canadian relationships: assimilation (1857-1951), transformism (1951-1982), and incorporation (1983-1995). From a First Nations' perspective those periods can be better described as a time of political resistance and cultural survival (1957-1969), and a time of struggle for self-determination (1969-1995). Within this general characterization of the relationships between Euro-Canadians and First Nations, three distinct periods in the development of First Nations agriculture in British Columbia can be described: the period 1951-1969 when DIAND implemented policies that tended to perpetuate economic and social dependency; the period 1970-1978 when First Nations farmers tried to establish their own extension and agricultural development programs; and 1978-1994 as a period of growth and decline of the First Nations Extension Program that ended with its closure in favor of an agricultural lending company under the pressure of neo-conservative policies.

In order to analyze the relationships between First Nations farmers and Canada, within their particular historical context, each of these three periods includes a description of international, federal and provincial development policies that were operating at the time. A description of the social and economic conditions prevailing when the events under study took place was considered necessary to avoid analyzing past events using current standards of evaluation. This is especially important in the analysis of the relationships between First Nations farmers and Euro-Canadians to avoid following the
unreflective practice of framing them within a Western modernization perspective. The description of the conditions prevailing when the events under study took place allowed to bring into the analysis the historical changes in the modernization framework, and the holistic traditional values of First Nations cultures.

First Nations Agriculture and Development Policies

This section presents a brief historical review of federal and provincial development polices, providing a synopsis of the evolution of regional development policies in Canada and their relation to First Nations agricultural development. Table 3 describes the most significant policy changes in federal and provincial development programs during the period 1935-1994.

Table 3

The Evolution of Regional Development Policies in Canada and its relation to First Nations Agricultural Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>The Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act was passed, marking the initiation of a period of federal regional development policies that emphasized agricultural growth and family farms as the basis to maintain a balanced regional growth in Canada.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>The name of the Agriculture Rehabilitation Development Act (ARDA) was changed to Agricultural and Rural Development Act. This change in name signaled a shift from agriculture as the main foundation of rural development towards programs that favored industrialization, labour adjustment and growth poles (i.e., to facilitate migration from the farms to rural towns and cities where industries and urban businesses could provide employment opportunities to the people displaced by farm mechanization and new technologies).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>The Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) is created.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>The Special ARDA (SARDA) program was introduced to look after those communities in remote rural areas that could not benefit from DREE general programs. SARDA was mainly directed to facilitate development in First Nations communities. Within the first B.C. SARDA agreement (1974-1977), agricultural development was not a priority.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the 1970s DIAND also adopted a growth-pole approach that translated in British Columbia into the establishment of big farm enterprises to create new sources of employment.

1974 - The provinces became involved in regional development efforts with the establishment of General Development Agreements (GDA) signed between the federal and provincial governments. Overall, the GDAs continued a policy of promoting industrial and urban development.

1977 - A second SARDA agreement was signed in B.C. for the period of 1977-1980. During the second SARDA program, agricultural development became more significant as a result of the pressure exercised by First Nations leaders who were interested in creating permanent sources of wealth owned by First Nations rather than temporary sources of employment provided by non-Native owned enterprises.

1978 - Under the auspices of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC) was formed to administer the British Columbia Indian Agricultural Program.

1982 - DREE was dismantled and the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (DRIE) was created to implement a new policy that focused on supporting regions to grow according to their own potentiality. The new policy translated into the Economic Regional Development Agreements (ERDA) that included sub-agreements in specific sectors, and emphasized direct program delivery by the federal government. In British Columbia, under ERDA, a new ARDSA Agreement was signed covering the period of 1985-1990 (ERDA replaced GDA).

1983 - Following the recommendations of the Penner Report on Self-Government, DIAND began to implement the devolution process. Regional economic development funds began to be allocated to Tribal Councils and Bands and, as a result, funding for sectoral programs like WIAC became very restricted.

1984 - The Native Economic Development Program (NEDP) was created to promote First Nations development in Canada, within the parameters dictated by a national development policy of industrialism (provide support to sectors with high productivity and high wage employment opportunities). The NEDP was placed under the administration of DRIE and was mainly oriented towards promoting the establishment of First Nations' urban and non-agricultural rural businesses.

1984 - The Western Indian Agricultural Producers Association (WIAPA) was formed and became the owner of WIAC.

1987 - Two federal regional agencies were created; the Western Diversification Fund (WD) and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency that operated under the new federal department of Industry, Science and Technology (DIST). The focus of WD was on innovation through the introduction of new technologies that would allow the different sectors to take advantage of global marketing opportunities. The policy emphasis shifted away from employment creation and balancing regional disparities.
1988 - The Western Indian Lending Association (WILA) was formed to administer an agricultural loan program for First Nations farmers created with a capital contribution from NEDP.

1989 - The three main federal departments dealing with First Nations development matters were brought together under the Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (CAEDS). Although CEADS did not explicitly exclude agricultural projects, its emphasis was on so-called business ventures, leaving funding for small part-time farmers to those Aboriginal Capital Corporations willing or capable of facing higher levels of risk.

1993 - The WIAC extension program was discontinued. The original British Columbia Indian Agricultural program was reduced to a small agricultural lending company that supported a few agricultural projects. After the closure of WIAC, the only extension service available to First Nations farmers is that provided by BCMA. Given that BCMA regards First Nations farmers as any other client group the decision was made that there was no need for a BCMA extension program especially designed to support First Nations farmers.

Discussion of the Findings

This section discusses the main findings of the analysis - organized according to their relevance to the concepts of hegemony, development, and agricultural extension - and how they relate to the state of agricultural production on reserves, and the well-being of First Nations communities.

Issues of Hegemony and Relations of Power

The study shows that Euro-Canadian society, through the exercise of its social, political and cultural hegemony over First Nations peoples, has seriously limited their capacity to maintain their way of life, their economic systems and their cultural traditions.

The initial focal point of the study was an analysis of how external power structures had influenced the development of agriculture on First Nations reserves in British Columbia. However, analysis of the data also has shown that hegemonic relations do not only occur between societal groups or communities but also within them. In fact, relations of class and ethnicity internal to First Nations communities were also found to be
contributing factors in determining the final outcome of the WIAC extension program. Issues of gender and family relations, although recognized as an important area of research, did not emerge as central issues in the analysis of agricultural development matters on British Columbia First Nations reserves. The role of women in agriculture is mentioned only marginally in policy documents and interviews. During the fifteen years that the WIAC program operated, only two women\textsuperscript{137} were appointed or elected members of the board of directors of WIAC or WIAPA.

**Class Issues and Cultural Hegemony: External Relations of Power**

Historical analysis shows that the hegemonic classes in Canadian society have been able to colonize First Nations through the implementation of policies and actions that have legitimized unequal access to the control of the natural and financial resources needed for agricultural development. In the late 1800s and early 1990s, British Columbia's policy of extinguishment of land rights was used to block First Nations farmers' access to land, grazing and water resources. The pre-emption act and the subsequent establishment of reserves (a majority of them small and scattered along rivers and coastlines) are vivid expressions of the use of political power by Euro-Canadians. As in the United States (Collier, 1945), the strategic goal for Euro-Canadian settlers was to take control of the land and resources in First Nations traditional territories. Later, in the 1950s, when the availability of financial resources and technical expertise (to acquire and adopt new technologies) was essential for keeping pace with the rapid growth of the agricultural sector, First Nations farmers had very limited access to financial and extension services. The extremely slow "land claim" process advanced by the federal government and the

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\textsuperscript{137} They were, in the early 1980s, Marie-Louise Williams from the Mount Currie Band in Pemberton, and Tamara Buhr, from the Treaty Eight Tribal Association, in the early 1990s.
long-standing refusal by the British Columbia government to open discussions on aboriginal title have produced a climate of uncertainty and mistrust. Only in 1993 did the British Columbia government pass the "Treaty Commission Act" signaling its intention to initiate negotiations with First Nations on the question of resource title, use and control. The future of First Nations agriculture in British Columbia greatly depends on the resolution of the fundamental issue of aboriginal title to the land (Cassidy, 1992).

Another issue of utmost importance for First Nations peoples is the right to self-government and self-determination. Self-government represents for First Nations peoples the right to decide their own affairs within their values and cultural traditions. Self-determination is a necessary condition in severing colonial patterns that have existed for the last five hundred years.

The right to self-government is not something that is given, it is something that should be recognized in the supreme law of Canada. ... We are not even recognized as the founding people. Only two nations are recognized, the French and the English. And yet we are the people that welcomed these people to our shores, to our homeland (Harper, 1991, pp. 164-165).

The right to self-government is an essential step in the process of shifting political power from Euro-Canadian institutions to First Nations peoples. "The inherent right to govern ourselves has more than symbolic value. It is a clear statement to the rest of Canada that we are reasserting our place in this country" (Mercredi & Turpel, 1993, p. 111).

Political and cultural domination were also entrenched in the Canadian legal apparatus in several areas. Until relatively recent times, First Nations did not have the right to vote in federal and provincial elections, neither had they the opportunity to educate their youth (until the early 1980s) according to their own cultural values. The notorious enculturation of First Nations into Western ways of thinking was undertaken through the residential school system (Barman et al, 1986). These policies represented
forms of institutionalized racism that were built into the system through forms of structural and cultural discrimination (Kallen, 1982). The prohibition on practicing their religious beliefs and cultural traditions, such as the potlatch and winter dancing, are among the best known examples. "Other customs were discouraged by the whites for no better reason that they somehow didn't seem proper; for example the disposal of the dead by cremation or in burial houses or caves, and descent of names and property in the maternal line" (Duff, 1964, p. 102). The final result has been a state of social and economic injustice that cannot be denied. "The chief lethal tool of the white man against the Indians was his denial of their right to exist as societies. From that successful denial all other injuries flowed" (Collier, 1945, p. 270).

The dominance of a Western worldview led to a widely shared belief that Indians are the cause of their own misfortune because they have not assimilated themselves into Canadian society" (Dyck, 1991, p. 2). When government studies labeled the conditions prevailing on reserves, the "Indian Problem," they were doing it from the cultural perspective of Euro-Canadians. The utilization of modernization standards - based on Western cultural perspectives that value competition, individual performance and wealth accumulation - to "measure" development and progress on the reserves is another expression of cultural hegemony. This conceptual cultural bias led to the imposition of development and extension programs that have had limited impact on the agricultural sector on reserves. What those programs failed to consider was that changing the present situation on reserves involved more than improving material living conditions and increasing agricultural production levels; it required understanding the underlying cultural code and economic factors that have historically shaped it. First Nations peoples' attitudes towards work, social status, and their understanding of human existence as part of the cycles and processes of nature were not respected for their intrinsic value and, hence, not considered in development planning.
Power Relations Internal to the Reserve

In the area of internal relations of power several factors appear to have negatively influenced the development of agriculture on reserves, and the maintenance of an agricultural extension service controlled by a First Nations organization. One of these factors is the existence on some reserves of a small land owners' oligarchy that, through controlling important portions of agricultural land, has limited the possibilities of expanding current production or hindered the introduction of new agricultural enterprises. "The question ... is whether a rough egalitarianism prevails today in Canadian aboriginal communities ... Several recent studies suggest that it does not. In many cases, socioeconomic classes have developed to replace formerly egalitarian structures in aboriginal communities" (Chiste, 1994, p. 24). Furthermore, the formation of a small bourgeoisie that has controlled the internal distribution of the Band's limited financial resources, as suggested by Satzewich and Wotherspoon (1993), is also regarded as a negative factor affecting the development of agriculture on reserves. One reason agricultural projects received less attention from chiefs and band administrators in the allocation of development funds was the limited capacity of these projects to generate jobs and high returns on investment capital. Indeed, the capacities to create jobs and business opportunities has been regarded as important elements for those in power to maintain and consolidate their positions.

There were also differences emerging from dissimilar cultural traditions and ethnic backgrounds between First Nations.138 The Coastal Nations that traditionally relied on fish were able to secure financial means to acquire a strong presence in the commercial

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138 The UBCIC withdrew from the British Columbia Task Force process in March 1980 and announced its separation from the Provincial Forum. The UBCIC considered the Forum to represent a limited sector of the B.C. First Nations population.
fishing industry. Given the DIAND policy of supporting one industry per region, funding for fishing eventually translated into decreased funding for agricultural extension and development programs. Despite the existence of various DIAND-supported mechanisms (the Regional Forum, the Pacific Symposium, the Aboriginal Economic Council), where regional policies could be discussed, First Nations representatives could not reach agreement on how to allocate economic development funds on a province-wide basis. In the end, the long-standing proposition of distributing economic development funds based on a per capita formula was adopted as part of the devolution process. This decision left financial support for the extension program in the hands of tribal and band councils who had to choose between funding locally-controlled extension services and development programs, or a province-wide institution. The final decision in favor of local advisory services was a determining factor in the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation's ceasing to operate in 1993. When this decision was made, the idea that WIAC should continue to be funded did not receive strong political support from the bands and First Nations governments in the British Columbia interior. In the final analysis, the continuous efforts of the WIAC Board of Directors to make the extension program a "technical" organization, clearly separated from any political involvement, had a negative impact on the life of the program. When organizations become "so apolitical that they are ... almost part of the administration of government ...[and] there is no more clout amongst board members to really push the department or the federal government" (Terry, 1993, p. 7), they tend to lose the support of the people who become skeptical because they perceive these initiatives as being put forward by government. Furthermore, although WIAPA was organized based on a decentralized model with local branches as the channels for expressing local farmers' interests, in practice member participation in the branches was very limited. WIAPA was generally not able to create a sense of ownership among those farmers who were the recipients of its services. Consequently, when the existence of
WIAC was questioned, its membership was unable or unwilling to organize any form of political resistance.

**Issues Related to Development Policies**

A majority of the studies commissioned by DIAND to investigate the origins of the socio-economic conditions existing on reserves have generally been cast, according to Frideres (1988), within a framework of micro-level models that uncritically recommended the adoption of modernization development approaches. The adoption of the recommendations suggested in the DIAND reports (that were legitimized by Western objective and "scientific" standards) as the basis for development plans, without consideration of First Nations cultural perspectives (Clarke, Critcher and Johnson, 1979) and a reading of past history from the perspective of the dominated people (Gismondi, 1988), represented forms of political and cultural domination. Furthermore, because these micro-models were mostly concerned with individual relationships and failed to account for the structural and cultural bases of development, it is not surprising that the only solutions they could envision were those based on the promotion of individual advancement and entrepreneurship (Frideres, 1988). This micro-model of analysis produced policy formulations to deal with rural economic development issues that generally relied on modernization theory and a mix of neoclassical (free market) and Keynesian (government subsidies, grants, tax concessions) approaches to economics. The noticeable influence of Western modernization approaches was evidenced by the absence in federal government development policy approaches and models of concepts advanced by alternative neo-populist, dependency and holistic approaches such those discussed in Chapter Three.

Frideres' (1988) premise (based on what he called macro-analysis) that "the Indian reserve [is] an internal colony that is exploited by the dominant White groups in Canada"
(p. 366) helps to understand why the Department of Indian Affairs, as representative of Euro-Canadian interests, did not support the implementation of a province-wide agricultural extension program for First Nations farmers prior to 1979. Nonetheless, Frideres colonialist model provides only part of the explanation when it identifies dependency as the factor determining the conditions for community life and, more specifically, for agricultural production.139

The historical analysis in this study, following Cardoso and Falleto's (1979) interdependency theory, expanded Frideres' colonialist model when it suggested that social forces internal to First Nations' societies were also important factors determining agricultural development patterns on reserves. Moreover, understanding the current state of agriculture on reserves required not only an analysis of structural factors determining patterns of development (i.e., regulatory government programs and acts), but also of counter-hegemonic actions that social agents (i.e., First Nations organizations and political leaders) undertook to try to eliminate structural barriers. The organization, by a group of farmers, of the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation (WIAC) in 1978 to take over from DIAND the provision of extension and advisory services for First Nations farmers in British Columbia, represented an example of what can be accomplished by the action of social agents. Nonetheless, through the analysis it became evident that agents' capacity to initiate structural changes was limited by the group's own internal relations of power.

DIAND policies, as discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, generally followed directions similar to those of the United Nations' Working Group on indigenous peoples and Canada's federal regional development agencies, although with a lag of several years. This was also true for other federal programs responsible for aboriginal business

139 For a discussion on different models trying to explain North American tribal "underdevelopment", see Wilkins (1993).
development (SARDA, NEDP and later, CAEDS). Federal policies based on technocratic Western concepts of development as growth, during the 1950s and 1960s, and development as modernization (based on advanced technologies and global markets) since the 1980s, did not provide the basis for a revival and expansion of B.C. First Nations agriculture. The agricultural sector on reserves, primarily formed by small and medium size farms, a majority of them part-time cattle and hay ranches, did not have in place the production and management structures to take advantage of these federal policies. First Nations farming communities needed extension and development programs capable of addressing local community needs, that in many cases meant dealing with non-economic factors beyond agricultural production. Chief Ovide Mercredi, President of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) wrote:

The people I speak to, the ones I meet at the community level in my travels, want hope. Their dreams are shattered. They need an opportunity to get away from welfare, to feel good about themselves so they can contribute to their own development as human beings. When we began to deal with governments, the advice that we received from Elder Peter O'Chiese was that the objective for the Chiefs was to heal the people, to heal a country. (Mercredi and Turpel, 1993, p. 159)

Other First Nations political leaders had also firmly stated that "healing must precede development [because] development without healing will institutionalize dysfunction" (Loyie, 1992, p. 25). The economistic\textsuperscript{140} approach of federal development and extension programs did not provide the basis for an expansion of the B.C. First Nations agricultural sector because it did not deal with problems stemming from the general social and economic conditions prevailing on reserves in a holistic way. On the contrary, the programs normally focused on dealing with specific financial and technical

\textsuperscript{140} The term economistic is used to signify that too much emphasis was placed on structural economic forces "as against the (relatively) independent influence of ideology, class consciousness, and political action seen as a manifestation of human agency" (Bottomore, 1983, p. 144)
barriers confronted by reserve farmers.

Similar to the findings reported by Carter (1990) regarding the development of agriculture on the reserves in the Prairie provinces of Western Canada, First Nations in British Columbia had been farming for more than one hundred years. Contrary to general opinion among civil servants and historians (Carter, 1990) that First Nations were not interested in farming, First Nations in British Columbia had been engaged in agricultural enterprises since the late 1880s. Many of them became successful ranchers, especially in the Nicola Valley, the Okanagan Valley, and the Cariboo-Chilcotin region.

First Nations agriculture flourished in the 1920s and 1930s, until the rapid urbanization in the Fraser Valley and the technological changes in agricultural production forced many First Nations farmers out of business. Since the early 1940s the difficulties in accessing adequate financial resources and technical expertise have discouraged First Nations farmers from restructuring their farms. The various structural barriers they have continuously faced have forced First Nations to compete with Euro-Canadian farmers in conditions of clear economic disadvantage. Analysis of the information indicates that a decisive factor in the evolution of agricultural production on British Columbia reserves has been the limited amount of productive resources (land, water and rangelands) available to First Nations farmers from the time of first contact with Euro-Canadians. British Columbia policy, until the enactment of the Treaty Commission Act in 1993, completely denied First Nations their land title right, and their right to exercise control over the use of their traditional territories. Furthermore, a land ordinance of 1866, by allowing First Nations people to pre-empt land only with the written permission of the governor (Fisher, 1977), put them in a position of disadvantage compared to Euro-Canadian farmers. First Nations peoples were forced to settle on reserves that had, in a majority of cases, little
potential for agricultural production. It was nearly impossible for them to borrow capital from main-stream financial institutions because of regulations in the Indian Act that forbid the use of reserve land as collateral, and the uncertainties regarding the possibility of realizing chattel mortgages pledged as security for a loan. In addition, First Nations farmers did not qualify for loans from most provincial programs aimed at the development of agriculture because of the legal relationship between the province of B.C. and the federal government of Canada.

Although there were many First Nations farmers who embraced Western ideas of development, they faced more difficulties than did their Euro-Canadian counterparts in their efforts to transform their cattle ranches into successful operations. The conditions were even more difficult for those First Nations farmers who tried to remain close to their cultural traditions and decided to engage only marginally in commercial agriculture (i.e., decided to remain within the peasant economy) (Friedman, 1980; Chayanov, 1986; Kitching, 1989). Federal government programs did not support traditional ways of organizing community life.

Ultimately DIAND's attempts to modernize agriculture on reserves through policies of state intervention during the 1960s and early 1970s did not work as expected. DIAND's efforts to "modernize" First Nations agriculture in British Columbia through its extension and development programs met with limited success as indicated by the failure

141 Although the potential agricultural capability of some of the land originally allocated to reserves has changed due to the appearance of new production technologies (irrigation, flood protection, drainage, mechanization), this circumstance does not apply to a majority of the Bands in the south-central and northern regions of the province.

142 "Traditional" is used here to represent a certain worldview. It should not be interpreted as in opposition to, or as being better or worse than modernization perspectives.
of many big agricultural projects (Cowichan Cooperative Farm, Seabird Island Band Feedlot, Chawathil Trout Farm, and others). Despite indications that an important factor explaining the problem faced by most big projects was lack of management and labour skill training, DIAND insisted on providing the bulk of its financial assistance for the construction of major production infrastructure and for operating capital. Commenting on why big projects were not successful, Chief Pasco (1979) wrote: "Many of these projects became large corporate Band farms. In many instances these larger projects were short lived. Lack of training, capital and overall planning made the transition from what was a family farm to a large corporate entity impossible in most cases" (p. 21).

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Six, in the case of the Cowichan Cooperative Vegetable Farm, among the many factors that contributed to its failure (i.e., rigid administrative rules, multiple agency funding, lack of management and worker training), the absence of local community members' participation in the actual planning of the whole project was crucial. On the contrary, where projects had community support their success rate increased substantially (DIAND, ca.1983). The DIAND evaluation of economic development activities in British Columbia indicated that success occurred where "projects ... [were] completely in concert with community objectives, and ... [had] a high degree of community support" (DIAND, ca.1983, p. 137).

The persistence of DIAND in implementing top-down planning methods cannot be explained by saying that the department was simply following standard accepted extension practices. Thirty years earlier the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs had implemented programs based on community participatory approaches that proved to be very successful. Collier (1945), who was Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the United States between 1933 and 1945, wrote about his experience on the implementation of a soil conservation project in Acoma, a New Mexico pueblo:
For one thing, the refusal to use coercion, and instead the procedure of patiently and skillfully endeavors until the Pueblos' own central will took a painful task unto itself, had several specific rewards. Acoma did not develop bitterness and resistance toward social programs, toward technicians and 'theorists,' but on the contrary, developed confidence in them, and enthusiasm... Further, no divorce was created between the old, lasting life, ... and the new life; instead, the old life created the new, and no dichotomy arose at all, no split in community organization, no conflict between fundamentalism and science, and no conflict between world views. The Acoma personality saved itself whole (p. 285, italics in text).

DIAND's approach to development was not an isolated policy. It was the reflection of similar federal development modernization policies that in Canada had not been able to lessen disparities in regional economic development.

In 1972 a new program, Special ARDA (SARDA), was introduced premised on the assumption that the implementation of modern technologies would eventually overcome the perceived lack of rural and agricultural development on First Nations reserves. It can be argued that this first SARDA agreement was conceived within a paternalistic framework because its main objective was not to create the basis for the organization of First Nations' businesses, but rather "provide incentives to existing enterprises to create employment for Native people in rural/slower regions of the province" (SARDA, 1981, p. 11). The program offered financial assistance to non-aboriginal entrepreneurs to start new businesses on or near the reserves so that they could become sources of employment for unemployed First Nations people. SARDA assumed that First Nations would always welcome "modern" business on the reserves because they would provide them with jobs. As stated in the SARDA evaluation report "SARDA was not seen as a program intended to assist Native people to become owners of their own businesses" (SARDA, 1981, p. 11). The possibility that First Nations peoples could start their own enterprises, based on their understanding of the circumstances faced by their communities, was not regarded as an alternative.
Towards the end of the 1970s, First Nations began to slowly gain influence on policy decision-making through their participation on the administrative boards of several government's programs and via the increasing activity of First Nations political organizations. As a result, the second SARDA agreement signed in 1977, was redesigned. Its objective was now to provide direct financial assistance, in the form of grants, to First Nations individuals so that they could start new farms or expand their operations. The program also included a training component that was the vehicle designed to transfer to the reserves new technologies and management skills. As it has been reported in several studies (Collier, 1945; DIAND, ca.1983; Ortiz, R., 1991) whenever First Nations farmers have been able to participate in planning, influence policy decisions regarding program objectives (i.e., SARDA), or take control of the agricultural extension program through the formation of their own institutions (WIAC is a prime example), positive changes have begun to take place in the reserves' agricultural sector.

Only two years after WIAC - under the direction of a board of First Nations farmers - began to operate and deliver its extension and development programs, the UBCIC reported on a number of small and medium size family farms and ranches that were starting to operate.

From the advanced Fountain Ranch operation, we went to Deadman's Creek Indian Band near Kamloops, where individual families are at different stages of developing their agriculture. The Band at one time, in the 1940s was famous for their fruit orchards and vegetable gardens, but then production dropped right off. Now there is a re-growth in agriculture and in land development. There are 12 individual land holdings in ranching and gardening (Cowboys and Croppers, 1979, p. 31).

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143 First Nations representatives on the SARDA Board were instrumental in changing the emphasis of the second agreement from job creation through big band farm enterprises and commercial projects owned by non-First Nations entrepreneurs, to equity building in medium and small ranches and farms.
Although there is general agreement that First Nations participation on Boards administering government development programs has had positive effects on the development of reserves, from a planning perspective it is important to recognize that not all First Nations people have similar ideas about the type of development approach that should be pursued (Brascoupe, 1993; Ferrazi, 1989; Newhouse, 1993; Scotchman, 1993). Some First Nations institutions working in development programs have advocated modernization approaches as "the solution" to reserves' "marginalization" and lack of development. The supporters of modernization efforts argue that increasing agricultural commodity production through new technological packages and management techniques will allow First Nations farmers to become competitive, to join the market economy and to progress. Contrary to the views of modernization advocates, many First Nations leaders and community planners support models that follow a holistic worldview that emphasizes the implementation of balanced ecological agricultural production plans, founded on the rejuvenation of traditional economies (Mercredi & Turpel, 1993; Holmes, 1993).

For many the situation is seen to be resolvable within the existing economic system, so long as those affected are also able to profit from development. Others, however, place the blame squarely on the growth ethic of the modern economy, and on the corporatist state which presently supports it. For this group, structural changes are necessary to reshape both our market economy and the nature of state power. One recent study (Cassidy & Dale, cited in M'Gonigle, 1989-90) characterized the difference between native groups as between those seeking to become 'partners in development' and those seeking to maintain their 'homeland and hinterland.' (M'Gonigle, 1989-90, p.66)

In the past, development programs generally looked at First Nations communities as homogenous social groups with identical problems and similar ideas about managing their resources. Consequently, they did not address the concerns of many groups within the reserve population that had different interests and aspirations.
As discussed in Chapter Three, the "trickle down" effect of modernization has neither materialized on the reserves of British Columbia, nor in the less-industrialized world (Nef & Dwivedi, 1981). At the international level, experiences of the impact of modernization policies have shown that, by the late 1950s, nearly 15 years of international development efforts did not translate into a reduction of the economic and social problems faced by the less-industrialized world.144 Recently, Mullen (1995) discussing matters related to the disparities in wealth between countries indicated145 that "[the] gap between rich and poor on a global scale has actually doubled during the last 30 years ... Poverty has re-emerged as the critical issue on the agenda of international development for the 1990s" (pp. 1-2).

These conclusions are also consistent with several studies that indicate that most First Nations rural communities in Canada (Frideres, 1988; Ponting, 1986; Hagey, Larocque, & McBride, 1989), and many rural communities in less industrialized countries (Altieri, 1986; Kottak, 1990) do not show notable improvements in their social environment after receiving a sustained influx of capital and technologies.

Whilst some significant increases in GNP had indeed taken place, poverty, disease and hunger had either worsened or remained unaltered. The same could be said of the growing gap between the rich and poor nations, not to mention that between the different social strata within nations. In many regions, incremental reformism had failed to create a more equitable socioeconomic order and had proven to be an ineffective antidote to radical change. (Nef & Dwivedi, 1981, pp 55)

144 The statistical services of the United Nations that were collecting data worldwide indicated that, between 1950 and 1963, the Gross Domestic Product in most "developing" countries was declining (Brookfield, 1975).

145 Switzerland reports a GNP per capita of USD 27,500 (1988) in contrast to an average USD 142, for the world's five poorest countries (Mozambique, Ethiopia, Chad, Tanzania and Bangladesh)." (Mullen, 1995, p. 1)
Although it is generally acknowledged that capital investment in social and productive infrastructures and "advanced" management technologies has produced an overall increase in the quality of material life among First Nations communities, it is critical to distinguish between material development and development measured in terms of the levels of employment and other social indicators. In the former case there have been important improvements in terms of health and education indicators and the availability of basic services such as sewage, electricity and running water (Frideres, 1988; Oberle, 1993). In a similar manner, in the agricultural sector the availability of financial resources and extension programs has also brought about increases in physical production through the introduction of new enterprises, the expansion of the acreage under traditional production, and increases in traditionally-defined agricultural productivity measures (i.e., yields per acre and weaning weights).

Nevertheless, investments in social and productive infrastructures and "advanced" technologies have had a lower positive effect on the quality of life of First Nations people when its results are measured in terms of the levels of employment and other social indicators, such as the annual average personal income and the number of recipients of government transfer payments. Furthermore, the relative significance of the absolute increases in value of these socioeconomic indicators in First Nations communities became more explicit when they were compared with those of the average Canadian. A recent DIAND (1995) report indicated that although important progress has been made, for example, in the number of schools operated by First Nations, in the decline in infant mortality rates, and local administration of program delivery

On reserve, the unemployment rate, at over 30 percent, is almost three times the Canadian rate. Social assistance dependency rates (43 percent in 1992) are four times the national rate and have been increasing .... More than one third of the on-reserve population has less the grade nine education (2.5 times the proportion for all Canadians), and less than one-third have
graduated from high school or participated in some form of post-secondary education (compared to 62 percent for Canada as a whole). (1995, p. 9)

The disappointment of First Nations people with the ability of the state legal apparatus to address their concerns and the resulting lack of control over their own destiny has expressed itself internally in a high degree of family violence, drug abuse and suicide (Big Cove Reserve and Davis Inlet), and externally in acts of local resistance such as the Oka crisis and, recently, Gustafson Lake. Both have had a considerable impact on Canadian political life and public opinion (Mercredi & Turpel, 1993). Furthermore, the socioeconomic indicators just discussed do not capture the sense of frustration of First Nations people resulting from the approach taken by the federal and provincial governments to address the fundamental issue of self-determination that is closely connected to the land question. "One thing we do know for sure is that control and manipulation from the outside ... has created an intolerable level of social and economic disorder among us. What we want is self-reliance, self-control, internal growth. We want to start a process of healing" (Erasmus, 1989, p. 5).

It must be recognized, however, that modernization has had positive effects on the well-being of the agricultural sector in many less-industrialized countries and First Nations communities in Canada. The Green Revolution dramatically increased yields through the introduction of hybrids, especially in corn, rice and other cereals. Mechanization has also lessened the burden of physical work done by farm workers. New irrigation technologies have increased average alfalfa yields, and new drugs have increased calf-weaning weights. However, many of these accomplishments have not occurred without problems because of the lack of consultation and participation of the people who were to receive the benefits of these programs. Top-down extension methods have promoted the substitution of modern farming methods for "traditional" farm methods (i.e., those that are congruous with local conditions), introducing fertilizers, pesticides, and tilling systems to support increasing
yields of cash crops for the national and export market. These new technologies have generated in many cases imbalances between expanded production and local conditions that have resulted in many cases of environmental degradation, and in serious disruption of traditional systems of agricultural production (Watabe & Ando, 1992; Humphries, 1993).

The main conclusion drawn from the analysis is that the slow rate of agricultural development on reserves is the result of the interaction of a series of factors. Chief among them is the state of political domination that allowed the government of Canada, through a number of legal statutes, to create conditions that have seriously limited First Nations' access to productive and financial resources. Furthermore, through policies directed at cultural assimilation and integration the government of Canada, representing Euro-Canadian interests, has imposed modernization development policies with limited consultation with First Nations. Also important are the existence on some reserves of small landowners' oligarchies that have limited local people's access to productive resources; a degree of resistance to adopt "modernization" production technologies that conflicted with First Nations traditional values, and disruptions brought about in the life of many communities by the introduction of Western ideas, institutions and technologies.

**Issues Related to Extension**

In British Columbia, prior to 1957, DIAND services to First Nations farmers consisted exclusively of a limited number of loans through the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF). Agricultural training, except for that provided to youngsters
attending residential schools, was also non-existent. Later, during the 1960s and 1970s, after DIAND hired a full-time regional agrologist, for the first time ongoing (albeit limited) extension services began to be provided to reserves in the central interior of the province. These services consisted, in their initial phases, of assessing the agricultural potential of the reserves and identifying the factors hindering their development. These tasks were undertaken by DIAND agrologists, who were Euro-Canadian trained professionals, whose role was to guide First Nations people through the transition from traditional production systems to modern agriculture. DIAND extension and development activities received mixed reviews from First Nations farmers as a result of the general underlying paternalistic character of the program (Hawthorn et al. 1958). DIAND activities were supplemented by the work of other experts, external to the reserve system, who made recommendations on the type of extension and advisory activities necessary to revitalize agricultural production on First Nations reserves in British Columbia (Hawthorn et al, 1958; AIC & DIAND, 1968a; DIAND, 1972). Furthermore, Western agricultural knowledge was also privileged when Euro-Canadian project managers were hired, not only as administrators of projects, but more importantly, to be the trainers of First Nations people on notions of responsibility, punctuality, competitiveness, and "the unpleasant necessity to work" (Hawthorn et al, 1958, p. 84). The profound differences in modes of thought between First Nations farmers and Euro-Canadian experts were not considered important for the design and development of extension activities. First Nations knowledge was discounted as primitive and generally disregarded.

The colonized could never have been seen and portrayed by the colonizers as cultivated, capable, intelligent persons worthy of their liberty, or, for example, as the producers of a language that, because it is a language, advances and changes and grows historico-socially. On the contrary, the colonized will have to be barbarous, uncultured, 'nonhistorical' persons - until the arrival of the colonizers, who 'bring' them history. They speak dialects, not languages, fated never to express 'scientific truth' or 'the
From the perspective of the underlying objectives of all these government extension programs, the most important single conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis is that they tried to impose on First Nations communities a world view that was fundamentally different from theirs, ontologically, epistemologically and metaphorically. Uncritically, extension and development programs were structured around Western concepts of development that conceived humans as separated from the natural world, privileged instrumental rationality, and advocated growth and wealth accumulation as the foundation for social institutions.

Prior to 1979, the sole provider of agricultural extension services for First Nations farmers was the Department of Indian Affairs. DIAND, as one of the administrative instruments of the Canadian state, imposed programs on First Nations communities that had generally been designed either without or with very limited consultation with the people to be "served." DIAND programs conceptualized agricultural extension as the transfer of new technologies for the purpose of modernizing the reserve system. The general assumption was that increased output and profits would eventually lead to a better quality of life on the reserves. The DIAND program, by equating technology transfer with extension, excluded the possibility of making extension work an integral component of community education and development. As pointed out by Bunting (1986), this type of approach generally "carries a top-down, centralized, authoritarian air, an assumption that the scientist commands a prefabricated technology which the producer must somehow be persuaded to adopt" (p. 40). This kind of program also prevented the inclusion in the extension plan of local ideas and cultural values relevant to First Nations farmers.

"[From] a North American viewpoint, a number of scholars have pointed out that indigenous culture and values, the alleged factors in perpetual tribal underdevelopment,
rather than inhibiting economic development are actually essential in order for
development to be meaningful and sustained" (Wilkins, 1993, p. 396; Alves, 1993)

From a Freirian perspective on education, the DIAND interpretation of extension
as an instrument to promote agricultural modernization falls within the top-down idea of
"projecting" the Western ideology of development onto the reserves. The goals of
DIAND's extension program were not congruent with First Nations' peoples world views
that hold the concepts of cooperation, sharing and conservation as fundamental "within the
context of the larger social ecology, in which all life forms are respected and protected
from harm" (Shapcott,1989, p. 79). The First Nations world views on development can
be anchored in what was referred to earlier as Holism. First Nations interpretation of the
Holistic world view represents a break with the traditional Western belief about the
domination of nature by humans for the purpose of increasing their material well-being.
First Nations Holism, as discussed in Chapter Three, conceptualizes human existence as
part of an ecological equilibrium that can only exist through the harmonious balance
between humans and the living and non-living components of the natural world. This
cosmovision can help the standard Western dominant perception to "expand its horizons to
embrace this larger perspective, a composite of many related parts which must work
together in a balanced, sustainable way" (Shapcott,1989, p. 79).

The analyses of the extension services provided by the BCMAF, DIAND and
WIAC support the conclusion that there is a link between development perspectives and
approaches, and extension education programs and practices. DIAND and other federal
agencies' development policies that, ultimately, determined the type and quantity of
extension and advisory services received by First Nations farmers must be understood in
the context of the political structures of Canada and the ideological agenda of those in
positions of power. The study shows that the federal government, since the time of first
contact between Euro-Canadian immigrants and First Nations peoples, has followed
policies aimed at making First Nations disappear as distinct ethnic groups within the modern Canadian state. DIAND extension programs, as well as SARDA, NEDP and lately, Aboriginal Business Programs, have been used as instruments of federal policies of assimilation (until 1951), of transformism and citizenship (in the 1950s and 1970s) and of incorporation of First Nations peoples into Canadian society through the dictates of market forces (since the 1980s).

Extension programs have also fulfilled another very important role in the process leading to the consolidation of the economic base for Euro-Canadian immigrants. After First Nations peoples were prevented from pre-empting land in their own traditional territories (through the Land Ordinance Act and similar statutes), and were confined to life on reserves, it could be argued that the provision of limited extension and financial services to assist them to settle on the reserves and become farmers, helped to deflect the issue of First Nations right to land title and resource use (i.e., the Land Question). It seems reasonable to think that once a significant number of First Nations people had became prosperous farmers, they would have lost their interest in pursuing the land question. At that point in time, it could be assumed, their process of incorporation into Canadian society would have been complete. Those less economically "successful" would be assimilated into the lower social class in Canadian society.

The modes of incorporation are of great social significance, and incidentally in our kind of society have considerably economic significance. The educational institutions [and extension programs we could add] are usually main agencies of the transmission of an effective dominant culture, and this is now a major economic as well as cultural activity; indeed it is both in the same moment. (Williams, 1973, p. 9)

The events stemming from the 1969 federal government Statement on Indian Affairs (White Paper), demonstrated, however, that the above assumption was wrong. First Nations peoples in British Columbia had not abandoned their struggle to regain title
and control over the land in their traditional territories, and to govern their own affairs. A significant result of this process was the creation of a First Nation agricultural institution, the Western Indian Agricultural Corporation, that assumed the administration of the B.C. Indian agricultural program in 1978. It was not until WIAC began to operate that the experience and knowledge of First Nations people began to be given consideration, especially through the activities of its field extension workers who were entirely, in the first two years of operation, First Nations persons with close contacts with the different communities in which they worked.

From an educational perspective the success of WIAC as a First Nations extension program (confirmed through the findings of four external evaluations), can be credited to its understanding of the needs and culture of the farming community. WIAC's success speaks of the importance of developing extension activities with curricula, instructional materials, and teaching activities that reflect the interests of and are relevant to the different producer groups and local communities (Freire, 1973). By contrast, the limited impact of DIAND's and other federal programs (over and above their protection of Euro-Canadian economic interests) can also be understood in light of Freire's reflection, and the results of an analysis of several educational programs that accompanied massive "financial aid" development efforts undertaken by industrialized countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Paulston (1977) concluded that such programs did not produce the desired effects because those involved in planning the projects had consistently ignored and failed to "operationalize contextual variables such as competing ideologies, power, vested interest, and the like" (pp. 383-384).

Another element that helps understand the relatively minor impact of DIAND's development and extension programs on the agricultural activities on reserves is DIAND's reliance on federal policies that increasingly favored an urban industrial approach. DIAND and other federal programs (SARDA and later CAEDS) consistently moved away
from programs that supported agriculture as a "rural way of life" in favor of those that privileged Western economic values. "One of the themes pervading ... models of Extension is the value of rural or agricultural life. In cases ... in which the national ethos glorifies the industrialized city to the disparagement of the countryside, Extension has little impact" (Boone, 1989, p.6).

As discussed earlier, DIAND extension activities and SARDA and other government advisory services were based upon an ideological framework that since the 1950s has steadily been moving away from agriculture as a foundation for development towards industrialization and advanced technologies (Savoie, 1992). The important point here is that, although this tendency reflects in many experts' opinions, an unavoidable tendency of modern post-industrial times, for the majority of small and medium-size, part-time First Nations farmers, advanced technologies did not provide an answer to their immediate problems and expectations.

Another important conclusion that was derived from this analysis referred to the role of institutions fully owned by First Nations people in promoting agricultural development. The study showed that their creation did not necessarily guarantee the design and implementation of extension and development programs inspired by what Grand Chief George Manuel called the Fourth World (or First Nations) perspective. WIAC, for example, had undoubtedly a greater understanding and sensibility regarding issues and circumstances prevailing in First Nations communities than did government agencies.


148 Many First Nations scholars and political leaders would question the absolute validity of such statements. Similarly, those who advocate eco-anarchist and eco-socialist perspectives of development would also strongly disagree with the inevitability of industrialization and technologies to support continuous growth.
Nonetheless, WIAC agricultural extension activities were mainly inspired by Western ideas of modernization and economic growth. As indicated in Chapter Seven, although WIAC followed a rural developmental approach that looked at the reserves as integral wholes, and included in its agricultural extension programs youth activities, traditional food preparation, and other cultural activities, its main emphasis continued to be the transfer of production technologies and management expertise to First Nations farmers. WIAC did not include in its extension program educational activities planned around concepts of holistic agriculture, neither did it consider the idea of community participation when developing these activities. Western trained agrologists, First Nations fieldworkers and members of the Board of Directors, acting on what can be considered a non-reflective manner, tended to reproduce those values, meanings and practices that were culturally dominant. Paradoxically, despite being a fully-controlled First Nations agricultural extension institution, WIAC was more successful in transmitting Western ideas of development than in fulfilling the role of creator of spaces for those First Nations people who wanted to pursue an approach to agriculture congruent with their own worldviews. This situation became accentuated after WIAC's extension services began to be dismantled following the formation of the Western Indian Lending Association (WILA) in 1989.\footnote{In a recent study on the educational needs of farmers in B.C. it is indicated that the "Western Indian Agricultural Corporation, although it is a First Nations extension service, was not mentioned as an important source of new information or advice. The group [of First Nations farmers] was fully aware of the existence of WIAC but indicated that lately they had not received consistent services (Palacios, Barichello and Kennedy, 1992, p. 135).}

The time of WIAC's initial disintegration coincides with the B.C. government's decision to implement policies that moved away from those of induced development favored by the liberal welfare state to those of non-intervention where the market is the sole arbiter of who remains in business. A tendency to move away from state-induced development policies, coupled with the British Columbia government plans...
to restrain fiscal expenditures and to reduce the deficit, hindered WIAC's possibilities of receiving financial support from the provincial government. Furthermore, since personnel reductions meant that those extension agents that remained in the BCMAF had to concentrate their efforts in the most profitable sectors of the agricultural industry, the likelihood that First Nations farmers would be provided with special support services within BCMA were remote at best (Henry, 1993). By the late 1980s, the neo-conservative economic agenda in the Canadian agricultural sector was being consolidated through the implementation of development policies inspired by the concept of an agricultural "industry" based on advanced technologies. The implementation of this updated version of modernization, with its emphasis on the incorporation of the agricultural sector into the global economy, required the BCMA's extension program to adopt an approach where the role of the field agent changed from agriculturalist to marketing and management expert.150

From a First Nations perspective, the dismantling of WIAC extension services leaves the future of extension programs on reserves under the ideological influence of the dominant neo-conservative agenda propounded by BCMA extension. This "non-inclusive" ideology based on extension practices that favor targeting "winners" who had the financial and technical ability, and the natural conditions to produce special products, makes the BCMA extension program not well-suited to the needs of the less-capitalized agricultural sector on reserves.

150 Another important factor that has contributed to the tendency to downsize induced development and extension programs, and replace them with services provided by the private sector, has been the change in the nature of research and development. The results of research and development that until the 1970s were generally considered a public good, generated by public research stations, have now become commodified (Buttel, 1991). The increasing industrialization of agricultural production processes that requires advanced technologies has become an incentive for big industrial companies (especially those in the field of bio-technologies) because new inputs for agricultural production can now be more easily patented. The market opportunities created by the commodification of new agricultural technologies has become an incentive for private companies eager to sell a "product" to create their own advisory services.
Given these conditions and the evidence provided by different studies (Paulston, 1977; Ortiz, R., 1991; Freire, 1994) on the importance of generating extension programs where technical information on production technologies and management (administration and finances) are placed within the context of the cultural perspectives and specific needs of different farmers groups, the dismantling of the First Nations extension program will likely have a negative impact on the future of First Nations agriculture in British Columbia.

Recently, the recommendations of a study on future training and strategies for First Nations farmers in Canada (IACAA, 1994), and the final product of a lengthy administrative process leading to the organization of a First Nations Farmers Management Training Program (NVIT, 1995) makes the need to reestablish a First Nations extension program (province-wide or locally controlled) very evident.

The First Nations Farmers Management Training Program (FNFMTP) is a prime example of how the state, using the administrative power emanating from its control of the allocation of public funding, has imposed on First Nations its own agenda on the nature of future agricultural development. In 1992, WIAC submitted to the Canada/B.C. Farm Business Management Program (FBMP) a proposal to organize a two-year program that would include as important components the historical development of First Nations agriculture in British Columbia, aboriginal perspectives on development and relations of power resulting from the interaction of First Nations farmers with the governments of Canada and British Columbia. The curriculum in the program proposal was based on the premise that First Nations farmers needed to acquire knowledge of their histories as a central element in the reconstruction of their personal and collective sense of pride as a people. Furthermore, analysis of First Nations' perspectives on resource use was also regarded an integral part of a process leading to breaking colonial patterns of economic, political and cultural dependency. From the perspective of decolonization the historical
and cultural components of the curriculum were an essential part of the program. Members of the Canada/B.C. Farm Business Management Program committee, however, had very different ideas regarding the objectives of their program. Operating within the directions of federal policies aimed at incorporating First Nations peoples into mainstream Canadian society they approved funding, after two years of negotiations, for a short course for fourteen community trainers and a series of workshops in six rural communities. The curriculum was changed to include almost exclusively information on financial and marketing aspects of farming. The program curriculum goals stated: "the primary sponsor [Canada/B.C. FMBP] need is met by maintaining a financial management focus and, as much as possible, developing related skills" (NVIT, 1994, p. 2). The original cultural and historical aspects of the curriculum were not included, and the program goals were stated as follows: "to teach ranchers and farmers the basics of successful financial management" (NVIT, 1994, p. 3, emphasis in text). The curriculum of the short course and the workshops was based exclusively on so-called "technical" aspects of management, and was nested within a market-oriented technocratic modernization perspective.

A comment similar to the "technocratization" of WIAC's application to the Canada/B.C. Farm Business Management Program can be made with respect to the reports prepared for the Industrial Adjustment Committee in Aboriginal Agriculture (IACAA). In fact, there is a significant discrepancy between the recommendations included in the preliminary report (Phase I) and those in the final report on future aboriginal agriculture training needs. The preliminary report (IACAA, 1992) stated in one of its recommendations that

[in] order to be effective in Aboriginal agriculture, training programs should not only be based on the industry, but on Aboriginal culture as well. Individuals who are confident about themselves and who have a strong
cultural identity are more successful both on the reserve and off the reserve. (p. 50)

The final report, however, did not consider this recommendation. It once again concentrated on basic skill training. "The topics for training courses required by aboriginal farmers ... must begin at a basic level. Rather than farm business management, aboriginal farmers require bookkeeping and record keeping ... Aboriginal youth want training that leads directly to employment" (IACAA, 1994, p. ii).

These two cases are concrete examples of how federal and provincial civil servants, subscribing to technocratic modernization ways of thinking, and to government policies of social and economic integration, continue to ignore the importance of culture in the development of curriculum and educational activities related to agricultural training programs for First Nations farmers. The only acknowledgment of the importance of culture in the delivery of training referred to attendance at educational events and the kind of trainers farmers said they prefer. "[Aboriginal] farmers want to attend courses with other aboriginal farmers and receive instruction from someone that they know and trust - preferably aboriginal trainers" (p. i).

Another illustration of political and cultural domination and the imposition on First Nations agriculture of market-oriented modernization concepts can be found in the process leading to the creation of a First Nations agricultural lending company in British Columbia. The Native Economic Development Program requested as a pre-condition for the approval of a capital grant to start Western Indian Lending Association that the operation of WILA were kept completely separated from the extension activities of WIAC. Whereas NEDP was mostly concerned with internal WILA financial aspects (i.e., that revenue generated from the interest of the agricultural loan portfolio was utilized to support the WIAC extension program), WIAC conceived the loan program fundamentally as an instrument for agricultural development. For WIAC, the creation of WILA was
directed at correcting the problem of lack of financial support for farmers and ranchers in areas where they could not access mainstream financial institutions and obtain capital to start up or expand their farms. NEDP policy, contrary to WIAC's concept of integrated community development, was guided by a market-oriented modernization perspective that from the outset was mostly concerned with loans as a "product" in the financial market (Waslander, 1991). As stated earlier, the imposition on WIAPA of the NEDP policy of separating WILA from WIAC, coupled with the termination of DIAND funding for WIAC, meant the end of the First Nations agricultural extension services in British Columbia in the fiscal year 1993/94.151

Looking from the Past into the Future

This section presents comments resulting from the analysis of the interaction between different levels of governments, First Nations farmers living in communities of diverse cultural traditions and individual personalities at all levels. These commentaries are offered as suggestions to be considered in planning future agricultural extension programs for First Nations governments. From this very complex set of relationships the themes that emerged are presented as they relate to the three constructs that guided the research: hegemony, development, and education.

On Issues of Class and Political Power

The political dominance enjoyed by Euro-Canadians belonging to the upper socio-economic classes in Canada since the time of first contact with First Nations peoples has

151 In a letter sent to WIAC by the Aboriginal Council of B.C. it was said: "The funding allocation for the Western Indian Agriculture Committee in fiscal year 1991/92 will be $300,000.00 ... [Furthermore] we would like the Western Indian Agriculture Committee ... to plan to be self sufficient by April 1994. Core funding from DIAND Economic Development's A-BASE may come to an end in fiscal 1994/95" (Eneas, 1991, p.1).
allowed them to utilize the administrative apparatus of the state (at the provincial and federal levels) to colonize First Nations and gain control of their lands and resources. Through this analysis, two issues emerge as important for the future implementation of agricultural development programs: First, the urgency to move beyond declarations on the need to "consult" with First Nations about their future, to a more expeditious process leading to a definite settlement of the land question and second, the transfer to First Nations governments the total administration and policy decision-making for aboriginal development programs that until now have been under the legal responsibility of DIAND and Industry Canada.

Settlement of the land question and the right to self-determination represent essential steps in breaking colonial patterns of economic, political and cultural dependency that have slowed down agricultural development on reserves. As indicated, First Nations' right to self-government is a fundamental pre-condition for future implementation of agricultural development programs. Within this context, a negotiated settlement of the land question can be the vehicle for providing a resource base (land, water and grazing) and the financial means for the expansion and consolidation of First Nations agriculture.

**On Issues of Development**

Although all First Nation peoples stated in the interviews and writings that respect for Nature must be the fundamental principle guiding resource use practices, there were differences among farmers and community leaders regarding how agricultural resources on reserves should be utilized. The existence of these differences implies that future development programs should consider the provision of funding and technical assistance to enterprises that include traditional First Nations holistic practices. This should be considered in planning agricultural development programs, especially since this study has revealed that today's development and extension programs for First Nations farmers are
biased towards the implementation of market-oriented modernization models to the detriment of traditional ways of thinking.

The imposition of a Western modernization worldview on the type of development policies that had been implemented with little or no consultation with First Nations have resulted in ongoing tensions that have negatively affected program outcomes. The negative impacts of the imposition of Western modernization over First Nations holistic perspectives on development indicate that there is a need to create channels of communication and permanent participatory mechanisms where ideas and points of view on the future development of First Nations communities can be discussed, and recommendations advanced to the different governments for decisions can be made. Farmers' committees at the community (band) and regional (tribal council) levels can be such a mechanism, providing an opportunity to discuss and visualize the impact that different ideological positions can have on the future of First Nations communities, allowing through an open, rational discussion (Habermas, 1968/1971; 1988/1992a) the accommodation of the diverse interests of farmers and communities.

On issues of Extension and Cultural Domination

There is a need to design and deliver agricultural extension programs that can facilitate and encourage First Nations farmers' participation in a debate on how future agricultural development programs in aboriginal communities should be organized. The design and delivery of such agricultural extension programs could also provide the foundation for the formulation of an extension program based on First Nations ways of thinking about development (Freire, 1981; Jacobsen, 1989). Through active participation

152 The process initiated by the government of B.C. Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE) and the First Nations Advisory Council on Land Use (FNACLU) represent positive steps in this direction.
in a debate about the nature of development, First Nations farmers in different communities can have direct input into framing the content and context of learning in agricultural extension programs that are to be built respecting a plurality of ideas and points of view. Local participation has been a very important missing element in the first B.C. Indian Agricultural Program. Farmers' ongoing participation in the activities of the program should be an important factor in the determination of the type of activities that should be organized, and also in the maintenance of a balance between the interests of those who favor modernization and growth and those who adhere to traditional ways of community life. The active participation of local farmers in the activities of the program branches would create a healthy level of grass-roots control over the program administration. This could act as guarantor of the maintenance of an equilibrium between modernization, tradition, and democracy (Huber, Rueschemeyer, & Stephens, 1993).

The ability demonstrated by WIAC's extension field staff to reach farmers on the reserves, and the general success of the program credited to its "insider" approach to extension, indicates that there is a need to train First Nations people to act as field extension personnel in any future agricultural extension program. There is also a need to expand current educational programs at the post-secondary level - where the curriculum is defined by First Nations educators - to prepare First Nations peoples to work in future self-government institutions as experts in regional and community planning, and other areas of government administration. Analysis of the data has also demonstrated the importance of incorporating into courses and other extension activities curricula the study of First Nations cultural values and traditions, especially with respect to the utilization of natural resources. Extension activities should try to balance the transmission of

153 The creation in September of 1995 of the Institute of Indigenous Government in Vancouver, B.C., under the auspices of the UBCIC, is a recent step in that direction.
information on production technologies with the social and cultural aspects of agricultural production. There is a need to educate an increasing number of First Nations individuals to become entrepreneurs, professionals, technicians, administrators, and community and political leaders. Such programs will require expanding current formal and non-formal educational programs to enable individuals to work with farmers who want to follow different approaches to development: modernization technologies, holistic traditional approaches or a combination of both.

The complexity of the relationships between the parties involved in agricultural and rural development, derived from the myriad of groups (private organizations and government agencies) that participate, their very diverse and sometimes conflicting interests and the interrelations in resource use is a signal for agricultural extension planners that future programs should not be based on individual production sectors. Future programs will likely have to consider integrated approaches that are in consonance with current trends in government plans (CORE) and First Nations holistic views on development. From a First Nations perspective resource use must include not only technical aspects of production but also non-economic uses. The Chilcotin Tribal Council in its statement of interest to the CORE process established:

The land is the basis of all our being, so its uses have to reflect and support all our needs: social, cultural, psychological, physical and spiritual as well as economic. All needs and hence all uses must be respected and none can be sacrificed for others .... Finally, we must protect some lands and resources to maintain such things as bio-diversity; fish, wild-life and plant populations; aesthetic landscapes, etc. (CORE, 1994, p. 34)

**Limitations of the Study and Areas of Further Research**

The findings of the study should be read within the conditions existing on First Nations reserves in British Columbia. Although its purpose was to understand the specific
conditions that led to the current state of First Nations agriculture in the province, some of the conclusions arrived at, similar to those of other studies, indicate that they have a degree of generalizability. An example would be the unanimous agreement among First Nations political leaders about the importance of settling the land question as a necessary condition for breaking neo-colonialist political, economic and cultural dependency. There was also agreement among political leaders and farmers that First Nations control of their own development programs and organizations is a fundamental component of the process towards self-government and self-determination.

From a methodological perspective, although the initial macro-sociological approach to the historical research allowed the connection of "narrative presentation of events ... to claims of theoretical explanation" (Habermas, 1992c, p. 237), it did not allow a full exploration of internal (to the reserve system) issues of class and ethnicity. These factors appeared throughout the analysis as potentially important elements explaining the conditions prevailing on reserves. Another important aspect that was not initially included but surfaced in informal conversations with First Nations people refers to the study of the influence of family (kinship) relations in the management of band politics and economic development decision-making. These are areas where future studies are needed to better our understanding of the role of class and kinship in the design and implementation of development programs on reserve.

Furthermore, the role of women in First Nations agriculture appeared only marginally in research sources, likely as the result of their lack of participation in the preparation of development plans and programs. Women's contributions to agricultural activities and their involvement in the conduct of community affairs in traditional societies need to be fully explored.

Another important area of future research relates to the development of a system aimed at the preservation of First Nations traditional knowledge on resource use practices
and local ecosystems (Notzke, 1994). This knowledge could serve to design future agricultural extension programs with an important ecological component.

Reflecting on the implications of two sciences, it is clear that a bicultural research model or scientific infrastructure recognizing both Indian science and Western science needs to emerge ... Traditional Native science must be articulated in contemporary terms to permit scholarly exchange, growth and to empower Native people in the scientific arena. (Colorado, 1988, p. 49)

Concluding Remarks

This study identifies through a deductive macro-sociological analysis, economic, political and cultural elements that help in understanding the historical circumstances leading to the current situation prevailing in the agricultural sector on First Nations reserves in south-central British Columbia. The findings of this study show that interaction between First Nations and Euro-Canadian farmers has been since the time of the gold rush in the 1850s one of confrontation. The colonial and later federal and provincial governments' interest in taking control of First Nations traditional territories followed an initial policy of direct assimilation (1857-1951). When that policy failed, a new policy of transformism (1951-1969) was implemented (i.e., bands were granted some administrative autonomy but not self-government). After the White Paper (1969-1982) the government of Canada accelerated the implementation of the policy of transformism directed at converting First Nations people into citizens of Canada. Based on liberal ideas of individual rights and "equality," the federal government tried to repeal the Indian Act without previously recognizing First Nations' inherit rights. More recently (1983-1995), the federal and provincial governments have followed a policy of incorporation that has used the market system to encourage those First Nations peoples who have managed to become successful entrepreneurs to become part of Canada's business class. Meanwhile, First Nations people who do not subscribe to the neo-liberal ideology of the market system
remain on the margins of society or have become incorporated into the lower social and economic classes.

The categorization of the evolution of the relationships between Euro-Canadians and First Nations in three distinct periods described as assimilation, transformism, and incorporation is a valid description from the perspective of Western modernization thought. From a First Nations perspective, however, the period of assimilation can be described as a period of political resistance that after the failed attempt at total assimilation proposed in the Government of Canada Statement on Indian Policy of 1969 (White Paper) became a period of struggle leading to the restatement of First Nations inherit rights to self-determination and self-government based on the recognition of aboriginal rights to the land and resources, and their unique cultural identities.

The study of the dynamics of these relationships and its characterization in periods named by opposite dialectical categories of assimilation/resistance, and transformism and incorporation/self-determination, brings into the forefront the three more important conclusions of this study: first, the development of agriculture on reserves requires a negotiated settlement of the land question in British Columbia; second, the ability to design institutional mechanisms and extension programs that reflect First Nations' cultural traditions, values and worldviews involves the recognition of their right to self-government; and third, the education of an increasing number of First Nations individuals to become entrepreneurs, professionals, technicians, administrators, and community and political leaders demands an expansion of current formal and non-formal educational programs.

There are two other streams of Western thought related to the First Nations, within what Ortiz, R. D., (1984) calls Indian Advocacy, that did not emerge in this research. They are the Marxist integrationist approach of the 1950s and 1960s prevalent in Latin America that made no distinctions among ethnic groups, "but rather [saw] them within a unitary national framework as 'peasants' (campesinos)" (Ortiz, R. D., 1984, p. 79), and the one advocated by Collier of "ethnic particularism and cultural rights, not national integration" (Ortiz, R. D., 1984, p. 80).
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Western Indian Agricultural Corporation. (1985a, August). *Alternatives for WIAC future funding*. Kamloops: Author. (WIAC Files)

Western Indian Agricultural Corporation. (1985b, November). *Farm development study for Similkameen Indian Bands*. Kamloops: Author. (WIAC Files)


Appendix A: Farmer's Interview Schedule

- Could you tell me about significant events that over the last fifty years, in your opinion, have had a significant impact on the economic development of First Nations in B.C.?

- Could you tell me about your interpretation of the relationship between land claims, self-government and agricultural development?

- Where does the money for economic development initiatives come from?

- What is the mechanism currently used to allocate the available economic development funds?

- If you were in a situation where you had to choose between a commercial development and an agricultural activity, which factors would you consider in the decision?

- Can you describe what is (was), from your perspective, a First Nations relationship to nature?

- What are the main factors, in your opinion, that farmers consider when deciding what and how to produce?

- What is the role that the Band and/or the Tribal Council plays in deciding issues related to resource management and use?

- In 1979 WIAC was created to deliver the B.C. Native Agricultural Program. Has WIAC accomplished the goals that were originally expressed?

- What is the role that WILA is playing in the promotion of First Nations agricultural development in B.C.?

- Can you tell me about your experience with government (federal and provincial) economic development programs?

- Can you tell me about First Nations economic development programs?

- How do bands decide on the use of communal resources such as water, grazing land, forestry?

- What are, in your opinion, the central features of First Nations policy decision making?

- What are, in your view, the problems or benefits of engaging in agricultural activities?

- What are the most effective ways of providing technical information to farmers?

- Who decides on the kind of training the farmers receive, both with respect to curriculum development and teaching approaches?

- Do women participate in agricultural activities and training?

- Over the years, how have the relationships been with non-aboriginal farmers regarding resource utilization?
- Can you describe the role First Nations farmers and/or political leaders play in the allocation of economic development funds?

- What should be the fundamental concerns in a First Nations policy statement regarding natural resource utilization?

- Are there, in your view, any factors that have hindered First Nations agricultural development?

- How would you characterize a First Nations' view of development?

- Who are the WIAC Board members and who do they represent?

- Can you comment on the issue of centralized programs versus locally controlled institutions?

- Anything you would like to add or comment on?
Appendix B: List of Names of Interviewees.

(1) Farmers and/or First Nations political, educational and community leaders

Fred Holmes, Chief Upper Nicola Band: rancher
Check MacNeil, Band Manager, Seabird Island (Cattle ranch, hazelnut orchard and a vegetable farm).
Saul Terry, President UBCIC
Gordon Antoine, first WIAC Manager, Chief Coldwater band.
Paul Scotchman, farmer and President of WIAPA

(2) Agricultural and Economic advisors.

Jose Molina, WIAC Manager

(3) Federal and Provincial Civil Servants.

Brush Ash, former DIA Regional Agrologist
Robert James, Manager of Natural Resources, DIA
Arnold Armitage, former Head of the Indian Business Loan Fund, Indian and Northern Affairs.
Grant Henry, Native Affairs British Columbia
Lionel Munaweera, former Head Economic Development, Indian Affairs, B.C. Region.

Three persons who were interviewed requested not to be identified.
Appendix C: Sources of Primary Information

a) NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Farming General File (208/15-1) and RG 10 File 901/15-1.

Volume # 1  From February 1953 to December 1960
Box 3857

Volume # 2  From February 1961 to September 1962
Box 3857

Agriculture/Farming General File (901/15-1).

RG 10  File 901/15-1  Part or Volume 1-3
Parc 32018  From Oct 1962 to March 1967

RG 10  File 901/15-1  Part or Volume 4
from March 1968 to May 1969

Volume # 5
Parc 821, from 6/69 to 12/71
Was destroyed

Volume # 6
Box 305255, from January 1972 to September 1973

RG 10 File 901/15-1, Volume # 7
Parc 3619  From 10/73 to 3/74

RG 10 File 901/15-1, Volume # 8
Parc 3619  From 4/74 to 6/75

Volume # 9
Box 305255, from June 1975 to April 1978

Volume # 10
Box 305255 from April 1978 to April 1979

Volume # 11
Box 305255, from May 1979 to August 1980

Economic Development/Agricultural General File (E 5405-1).

Volume # 1  From October 1980 to May 1983

Volume # 2  From June 1983 to January 1985

Volume # 3  From August 1985 to December 1986
Volume # 4  From January 1986 to November 1988

Economic Development/Agricultural General File (E 5405-1) ENCLOSURES

Volume # 1

WIAC File (E 4505-2505)

Volume # 1  From September 1980 to January 1982
Volume # 2  From February 1982 to May 1983
Volume # 3  From June 1983 to December 1983
Volume # 4  From January 1984 to September 1984
Volume # 5  From October 1984 to July 1985
Volume # 6  From August 1985 to March 1986
Volume # 7  From April 1986 to June 1986
Volume # 8  From July 1986 to June 1987
Volume # 9  From July 1987 to November 1987
Volume # 10  From December 1987 to February 1988
Volume # 11  From March 1988 to August 1988
Volume # 12  From September 1988 to May 1989
Volume # 13  From May 1989 to November 1991
Volume # 14  From March 1992 to August 1992

WIAC File (E 4505-2505) ENCLOSURES

Volume # 1  From April 1984 to October 1985
Volume # 2  From November 1985 to July 1987

RG10  File 974/25-16
Adult Education Vol 2, South Island District
from January 1970 to October 1980

RG10  File 976/19-7 Pending
Ashcroft Potato project, 1974
RG10 File 976/19-7-1042 - Volume II
Shulus Cattle

RG10 File 976/19-7-0108 - Volume I
Spahomin Cattle
1971-1972

RG10 File 976/19-7-0108 - Volume II
Spahomin Cattle
1973-1974

RG10 File 976/19-7-0108 - Volume III
Spahomin Cattle
1974

RG10 File 976/19-7-0108 - Volume IV
Spahomin Cattle
1975

RG10 File 982/19-7-0944
Lower Similkameen Band Farm Project, IEDF.
1972

RG10 File 988/15-7-2
Agriculture - Fruit farming and Holy growing in B.C.
July 1966

RG10 File 988/15-10
Band Farms
from Oct 1968 to November 9, 1971

RG10 File 988/15-10-20-801
Agriculture (Band farms) Tsartlip
From April 68 to May 69

RG10 File 988/19-8-3
Cowichan Farm Co-op
From April 68 to November, 1973

RG10 File 988/24-9
4-H Clubs
from October 1963 to August 1964

RG10 File 989/15-1 Volume I
Farming General
from July 1958 to Aug 1966

RG10 File 989/15-1 Volume II
Farming General
from April 1967 to April 1972

RG10 File 989/15-1-134
Agricultural Consultants from April 1973 to January 1974

**RG10 File 989/15-8 (76/009-11)**
Livestock from April 1951 to January 1968

**RG10 File 989/15-8 Volume 1**
Farming Livestock General from Jan 61 to Sept 64

**RG10 File 989/15-8 Volume 2**
Farming Livestock General from Dec 64 to Jan 65

**RG10 File 989/45-5**
Statistics Annual Report- general from June 51 to November 78

b) WIAC FILES

c) UNION OF B.C. INDIAN CHIEFS DOCUMENTS

d) ALEJANDRO PALACIOS PERSONAL FILES