

**EXPLORING CROSS-CULTURAL PLANNING LITERACY:
KNOWLEDGE CONSIDERATIONS FOR PLANNING WITH FIRST NATIONS.**

by

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ABSTRACT

Under debate is how 'outside' planners can best work with different cultures to ensure inclusion and participation. It is evident why in general planners need to expand their understanding of different cultures if they are to work with them effectively and appropriately, but not enough empirical research has been undertaken on what planners find they need to know in the specific context of working with First Nations.

On the basis of a literature review and the author's own extensive experience with First Nations, seven areas of knowledge (themes) were identified as likely to be relevant to outside planners working with First Nations. These seven knowledge themes guided interviews with nine planners who were asked which of these kinds of knowledge they found useful when working with First Nations in western and northern Canada, and Alaska, particularly when facilitating participatory planning.

The first six identified themes concern knowledge of First Nations' value and traditional knowledge systems; authority relations; social organization; communication processes; participation processes; and capacity for planning. The seventh theme is knowledge about effective methods that planners can employ to facilitate participatory relationships with First Nations communities and individuals.

The findings from the interviews add to our understanding of what outside planners need to consider when they work with First Nations. The findings are particularly instructive in the theme areas of First Nations' communication and participation processes, and in the area of planner practice. It was also found that while the seven areas of knowledge are relevant to planners at all stages of working with First Nations, they are particularly important when planners and First Nations begin their planning relationship, when planners first enter a community, and when planners are helping communities to develop their planning processes.

Research is now needed on what First Nations' individuals themselves think planners should know if they are to be effective in promoting culturally appropriate, inclusive, and participatory planning in First Nations settings.

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1.0 Chapter 1: Research Context, Purpose and Organization of Thesis

1.1 Research Context

Planning theory and practice are being challenged for their relevance in a society undergoing immense change and pressure through forces of migration, the rise of post-colonial and indigenous peoples and the emergence of other minorities. Combined with “the destabilizing effects of global economic restructuring and integration, these forces are literally changing the faces of cities and regions” (Sandercock 1998a:164). Under debate are issues concerning cultural diversity and whether the dominant planning paradigm¹ is adequately addressing issues of inclusion, different ways of knowing, identity, social justice and citizenship (Friedmann 1998; Sandercock 1998a, 1998b, 1999).

The concern for multicultural planning is not a recent theme, however. Patrick Geddes first recognized issues of cultural diversity and the sensitivity of planning in India during his work from 1914 to 1924. He was critical of the “cultural bias” that engineers from outside India brought with their planning schemes (Geddes 1918 in Goodfriend 1979). Numerous authors have considered the compatibility, bias, transferability and appropriateness of western planning theory, values, models and approaches to inform planning practice that is outside the conventional western value and planning system of rationality. At issue was the degree to which ‘outside’ planners were adequately prepared for different international planning contexts (Useem and Donoghue and Donoghue 1963; Peattie 1968, 1969; Appleyard 1969; Friedmann 1969; Bolan 1969; Smith 1985).

Sandercock (1998a) continues this discussion, claiming the rise of cultural diversity in our society is generating new processes of social-spatial restructuring. A “new politics of multicultural citizenship” is required to enable the “multiple histories” of society traditionally excluded within the modern western planning paradigm, to be included in more culturally appropriate ways. The author argues that *insurgent planners* are needed to work “outside” of the dominant system and groups of society who have controlled and marginalized “voice and space.” Planners require an awareness and capacity to work with smaller, more ethnically diverse cultures if they are to effectively plan for inclusion.

¹ Sandercock defines the dominant planning paradigm as modernist with emphasis on instrumental rationality, comprehensiveness, mastery grounded in positivist science, quantitative analysis, state directive futures and the neutrality of gender and race (1998:27).

To equip the *insurgent planner*, Sandercock (1998a:225-230) proposes a collection of TAMED planning literacies (technical, analytical, multicultural, ecological, design and ethical inquiry) to assist with the "reclaiming of urban and regional space" by indigenous and colonized peoples. Of particular interest is Sandercock's concept of multicultural literacy, described as follows:

It suggests a whole different practice in which communicative skills, openness, empathy, and sensitivity are crucial; in which we respect class, gender, and ethnic differences in ways of knowing, and actively try to learn and practice those ways in order to foster a more democratic and inclusive planning. It involves learning to work with diverse communities, rather than speaking for them. A respect for cultural diversity must inform the politics and techniques of planning practice if we want to achieve social justice in multicultural cities (1998a:228).

However, while her insurgent planner model is a useful framework to consider, a deeper exploration is required to operationalize her multicultural literacy.

Lockhart (1982) recognized the cultural diversity of planning with First Nations and suggests that "outside" planners need to know the various social, economic and political "process dynamics" of the community they work in.² He was concerned about his planning relationship with the community and how to bring about a "viable distribution of solution responsibility." Lockhart argued that to work effectively with First Nations, planners needed to familiarize themselves and gain practice in the community's "process dynamics." However like Sandercock, he did not operationalize what he implied by process dynamics. He suggested that this knowledge was best left for First Nations (insider) to reveal.

This is not to say that the planning literature has neglected the subject of planning with First Nations. There is a rich collection of literature from which to begin exploring what Lockhart (1982) and Sandercock (1998a) did not reveal. Very generally, the planning literature has addressed the value, cultural or knowledge differences between native and non-native society and how these differences implicate: 1) the design and delivery of government based programs and policies (England 1971; Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Simon and Forster and Alcese and Brabec and Ndubisi 1984; Wolfe 1988; Wolfe 1989); 2) the forms and approaches of planning and development with First Nations (Smith 1985; Wolfe and Strachan 1987; Wolfe 1988; Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1989; Gadacz 1991; Ndubisi 1991; St. Denise 1982; Wolfe and Bechard and Cizek and Cole 1992; Boothroyd 1992; Napoleon 1992; Copet 1992; Hoare and Levy and Robinson 1993; Lane 1997; Zaferatos 1998; Rahder 1999; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999);

3) the quality of planning involvement and participation of First Nations people (England 1971; Langin 1988; Duerden and Kuhn and Black 1996; Lane 1997); 4) the nature of planner-community relationships (Lockhart 1982; Boothroyd 1992; Kowalsky and Verhoef and Thurston and Rutherford 1996; Ridley and Mendoza and Kanitz and Angermeier 1994); and 5) the capacity, credibility, role and involvement of outside planners who work with First Nations (Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Simon et al. 1984; Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1989; Copet 1992; McDonald 1993, Ridley et al. 1994; De Mello and Boothroyd and Mathew and Sparrow 1994; Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995; Kowalsky et al. 1996; Zaferatos 1998; Jojola 1998; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999; Aubrey 1999; Kew and Miller 1999; Robertson 1999). However, exploring what practicing planners say they are required to know for them to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations, would contribute to the current literature on planning with First Nations.

Asking planners what they need to know when working with First Nations promotes the documentation of more personalized accounts of practice knowledge and stories of what they do, how they struggle, what works, and how they interfere with planning. This thesis attempts to provide such documentation. It contributes to the planning literature by presenting the micro-perspectives of five women and four men, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, who have worked as planners with First Nations primarily in western and northern Canada, and communities of Alaska. It documents what these planners had to say specifically about such matters as: why value and knowledge systems are important to First Nations; the effects of external authority imposed on First Nations; how they work with traditional and formal types of authority; the significance of clan and family systems of organization for planning and decision-making; what communication issues and obstacles they encounter when working with First Nations; how men and women participate differently during First Nations planning; the planning roles of First Nations men, women and elders; how planners facilitate community capacity; how planners establish planning relationships and gain entry into communities; and how they evaluate planning relationships with First Nations. By becoming knowledgeable about these matters and others, outside planners who work with First Nations might better facilitate the inclusion of people in more culturally appropriate ways.

² Lockhart argued that, "any new development which is not predicated upon a detailed insider's knowledge of the particular social, economic and political process dynamics of the participating community is predestined to failure" (1982:161).

1.2 Research Purpose & Intention

The theoretical challenge is to determine how “outside” planners who are not from the community or culture plan in a particular cultural context and with what effect. The main question guiding this research is: ***what are the knowledges planners need to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations?***

The intention of my research is to undertake an exploratory study to: 1) identify the actors, factors, issues and obstacles that influence a planner's ability to facilitate participatory planning relationships; 2) expose how planners facilitate participatory planning relationships; 3) document planner responses and stories from first-hand personal accounts; and to 4) communicate planner education by proposing knowledge themes to operationalize a planning literacy for community planners who work with First Nations.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters. *Chapter Two* of this thesis presents the research background, approach, process, method and ethical considerations. In *Chapter Three* I outline the conceptual frameworks used for my thesis. The models of John Forester's “progressive planner” and Sandercock's “insurgent planner” are discussed to provide a more general, macro analysis of my findings in chapter five. The second conceptual framework I use to organize and analyze my findings is based on seven knowledge themes explored within the literature, as well as my own experience. These themes include knowledge about First Nations' value and knowledge systems; authority relations; social organization; communication; participation; capacity; and the planner relationship. These themes informed the interview questions I used to guide the interviews of nine planners. *Chapter Four* presents the results of these interviews. In *Chapter Five*, I provide an interpretation and discussion of the findings and their relevance for planning with First Nations. In the last chapter I discuss the limitations of the research findings, as well as the implications for planning theory and practice.

2.0 Chapter Two: Research Background, Approach, Process and Ethical Concerns

2.1 Research Background

This research was strongly motivated by my own planning experience. I view my community planning experience and time spent in graduate studies, including term papers, as ongoing components of my research inquiry. Gradually, I became interested in cross-cultural planning relationships and how this interaction implicates participation within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations. Being an "outsider" (non-Aboriginal), I appreciate the implications of working with First Nations given the cultural and historical circumstances that have shaped cross-cultural relations in our society for several centuries. I wanted to undertake a qualitative study to explore and learn what others experienced when they worked with First Nations, such as what planners did to affect the quality of planning and how planners worked to facilitate participatory planning relationships.

2.2 Research Approach

The thesis research is exploratory and qualitative. As Palys explains, the purpose of exploratory research is "to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or achieve new insights into it, often in order to formulate a more precise research problem or to develop hypotheses" (1992:80). The research is deemed to be exploratory because of the small sample of planners, the method of open-ended interviews and the nature of the research question. The intention was to allow the data to emerge from the planner interviewees, and then to relate the findings to what has been discussed in the relevant literature. As Lather (1986:267 in Creswell 1994:95) states:

Building empirically grounded theory requires a reciprocal relationship between data and theory. Data must be allowed to generate propositions in a dialectical manner that permits use of *a priori* theoretical frameworks, but which keeps a particular framework from becoming the container into which the data must be poured.

Significant to this qualitative research was the need to involve practicing planners and to allow their voices and stories to emerge, in the spirit of Forester's "deliberative practitioner model." As Forester states:

Insightful analysis of planning situations can encourage better practice not by producing abstract lessons but by showing what can be done through a practitioners' vivid, instructive, and even moving accounts of their successes and failures...(1999:7). If we listen closely, not only to the portrayals of fact in planners' stories but to their claims of value and significance, we discover an infrastructure of ethics, an ethical

substructure of practice, a finely woven tapestry of value being woven sentence by sentence, each sentence not simply adding, description by description, to a picture of the world, but adding care by care to a sensitivity to the practical world, to an attentiveness to and a prudent appreciation of that world. We learn from skillful (and perhaps inept) performance as well as from verified (or refuted) propositions (1999:45).

2.3 Research Process

I first explored the planning literature and on that basis, together with my ten years of planning practice with First Nations, proposed seven knowledge themes regarding what planners need to consider when they work with First Nations (see Figure 1). These preliminary themes were used to inform the in-depth planner interviews and analyze my findings. The themes provided a first level grounding by which to explore and develop a cultural planning literacy specific to First Nations. This is what Lockhart (1982) and Sandercock (1998a) left others to elaborate on.

The interview process did not impose the seven preliminary knowledge themes initially. Interviewees were given the opportunity to explore what matters to them on a very general level when they plan with First Nations. I wanted the interviewees to emphasize what was important to them without prompting. Once they were "closing down" or had exhausted a particular thought or theme, I presented the interviewees with questions based on the seven knowledge themes one by one, as much as possible (see appendix A).

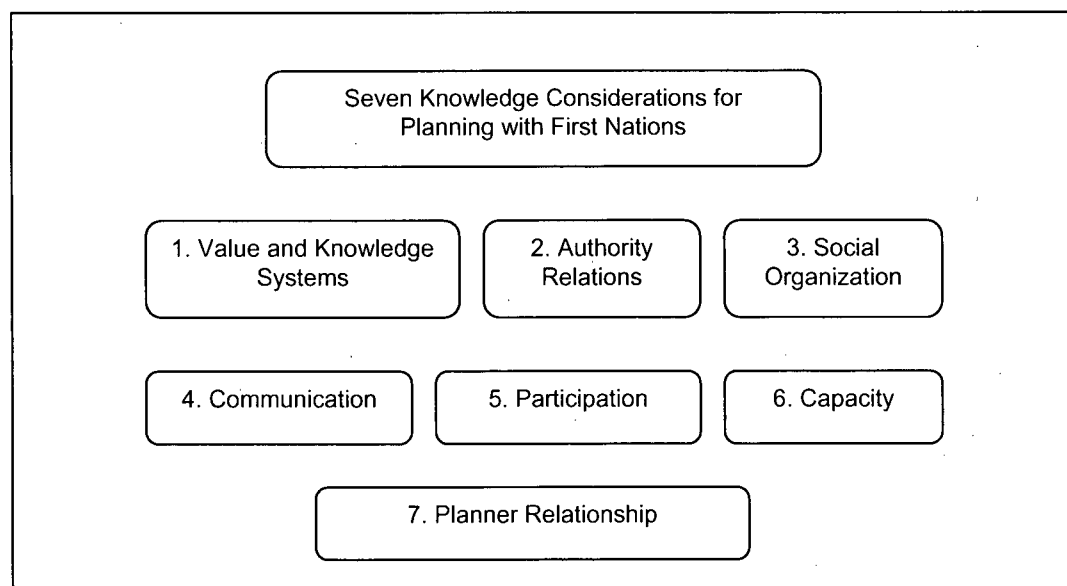


Figure 1: Seven Knowledge Themes for Planning With First Nations.

2.4 Interviews

I approached nine planners to participate in this research and they all agreed and provided their consent. My own voice is provided in chapter five as the tenth planner. Planners were selected on the basis of gender, a range of experience and education, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal identity, their willingness to participate and time availability. I was acquainted with several names of planners who worked with various First Nation communities throughout western and northern Canada, including communities in Alaska (see beginning of chapter 4 for descriptions of the planners I interviewed).

The small number of interviewees enabled a deeper quality of data to emerge. Planners were selected on a "strategic" basis in the sense of purposive sampling (Palys 1992:147). The planners had between 7-25 years of planning experience working with First Nations, with an average of 16 years per person. The nine interviewees consisted of five women, three of whom were of First Nations ancestry, and four men, one of whom was First Nations ancestry. The planners had worked in various relationships with First Nations throughout their experience: 1) directly as an employee with a First Nation, or 2) directly as an employee with a non-native government or non-government organization; 3) in the capacity of a consultant working directly with a First Nation, or 4) in the capacity of a consultant working directly with a non-native government or non-government organization.

All interviews were conducted in person and tape-recorded. The duration of the interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to approximately two hours in length. It was important that participants felt comfortable in a surrounding that was familiar to them, therefore, I met each participant in a setting of their choice. Participants were presented with open-ended questions asking them to explore their own experience and views regarding effective participatory planning relationships with First Nations.

Once the interviews were transcribed, participants were given a copy of their interview to review and correct. This was intended as an opportunity for the interviewees to ask questions, provide feedback and verify what was said. Only one planner suggested slight modifications to their interview transcript. The interview data were then reviewed for initial themes and categories. It was helpful to hear the recorded interview again as I reviewed the transcripts to help refresh the interview experience. The second transcript reading produced the scoping out of initial categories of 'what matters,' 'why it matters,' and 'how planners do things.' Key paragraphs and stories were highlighted in the secondary screening and considered in relation to the seven preliminary knowledge themes.

The third level of analysis consisted of an index card process where key words and phrases were recorded from the second analysis and then clustered within groupings for potential discussion. Pertinent and expressive stories were highlighted to expand the scope of what matters and why, and how planners worked to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships with First Nations. The final stage of the data analysis included returning to the literature to compare the findings of the interviews. A set of planner knowledges was developed as a potential 'cultural planning literacy' for outside planners to consider when they work with First Nations.

2.5 Ethical Concerns

I was concerned about the issue of whether "outside" planners can speak about 'another' culture. To ease this tension, I attempted to: 1) speak about cultural knowledge in a respectful way; 2) have Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal planners talk about their planning experience; and to 3) ensure that the identity of both planners and First Nations remained anonymous. My intention was to balance Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal planning perspectives, and to avoid perpetuating cultural domination. Furthermore, the planners' identities were protected to help them feel more open and willing to share their experience and stories.

The most important fact about the cultural context of this research is that I am non-Aboriginal. I was educated and raised within a white European system of values and learning. This has huge implications for cross-cultural understanding and interpretation. Secondly, I have worked personally with First Nations for the past ten years. I have worked with approximately six First Nations, and numerous First Nation individuals, families, and organizations in various planning, management and training capacities. I have worked in such sectors as housing and capital, tourism, manufacturing, fisheries, including organizational development, and more broadly in community and economic development. I have worked as an employee for three years, and have been hired out under contract by First Nations for the past seven years.

This experience has lead me to believe that Aboriginal peoples deserve a commitment by Canadians to overcome the effects of the prolonged system of domination imposed by Canada on First Nations. Government policy regimes have long silenced Aboriginal participation. However, land claim agreements provide planners with an opportunity to enable effective participatory planning relationships

as a means to generate better social-spatial conditions for Aboriginal peoples. On this basis, I advocate a certain radical planning practice to bring about more equity into the public planning domain. There are issues of power imbalances, capacity, oppression, loss of historical voice and identity, distorted communication and emotional poverty that need to be overcome. If planners can enable the voice of Aboriginal peoples to become manifest during planning processes and relationships, it may be an important step to incorporate cultural diversity in more effective ways.

My experience also established a reference point to understand and discuss what other planners I interviewed said they perceived or experienced. To minimize bias in my analysis, prior to my final research decision and interview process, I reflected on my own planning practice and recorded my own theory and practice about working with First Nations. This is what Kirby and McKenna (1989) refer to as writing out "conceptual baggage," or undertaking "a review of cultural categories" (McCracken 1988). This exercise allowed me to "manufacture critical distance" by developing a critical awareness of my experience to the research topic (McCracken 1988), and it provided an opportunity for me to refine the interview questions. Furthermore, the exercise enriched my analysis and reflection on the research findings.

3.0 Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework and Organizing Structure

This chapter develops the conceptual and analytical frameworks used to analyze the findings in chapter five. Working definitions are first provided for terms used throughout this thesis. Sandercock's *insurgent planner* and Forester's *progressive planner* models are then outlined to provide a macro conceptual framework. A literature review follows, exploring and documenting various themes authors revealed were important to know when planners work with First Nations. The findings from the literature review were used inductively to create a second analytical framework to organize the findings from the nine planner interviews described in chapter four. The combined findings are then analyzed using both frameworks in chapter five.

3.1 Definitions

The primary question guiding this thesis research is to explore ***“what are the knowledges planners need to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations?”***

The term ***knowledge*** is defined in the *Collins English Dictionary* as the compilation of “facts, feelings or experiences known by a person,” through an “awareness, consciousness, or familiarity gained by experience or informed learning” (Hanks 1986:849). The term ***knowledges*** is pluralized to include the seven knowledge themes used within this thesis. The compilation of facts, feelings and experiences contain both theoretical and practical significance in that they are intended to help explain and inform the types of planning interaction considered effective for planning with First Nations.

Knowledges are considered from three different levels throughout this thesis: knowledge about phenomena internal to First Nations, knowledge about phenomena external to First Nations, and knowledge about relations between planners and First Nations. For example, “internal” knowledge might consist of knowing the clan and family breakdown of a First Nation. Knowledge about phenomena external to a First Nation could include knowing how *Indian Act* legislation limits participation and controls planning relationships between native and non-native society. Knowledge about relations between planners and First Nations could be about how planners establish trust or first enter a community.

The term ***planner*** is interpreted as any person who is directly involved in assisting a First Nation community to help organize its resources systematically to bring about community directed change

through action. **Outside** planners implies non-Aboriginal planners, or Aboriginal planners not from the community they work in. The term **facilitate** refers to the actions planners use to get people participating. The term **effective** implies participatory planning action that results in more active and inclusive participation by individuals to affect decision-making. The term **participatory planning** is where:

Each community member can play an appropriate role in the planning process, whether that member is an elder, hereditary chief, elected leader, staff, committee member or without any formal role at all. This encourages planning that leads to equitable actions and decisions, taps valuable local knowledge, and ensures that the planning is truly comprehensive as all concerns will be potentially included in the planning process. As a side benefit, participatory planning develops Band members' skills in planning; such skills are valuable in various managerial and leadership roles within and outside the community (Boothroyd 1986:21).

Finally, the term **relationship** is understood as the association and interaction between individuals and groups within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations.

Other terms such as **operationalize** is used to signify what planners do in practice, what goes on "in the trenches or on the ground" to bring about effective participatory planning relationships. The term **planning literacy** refers to the total knowledge of all seven knowledge themes proposed above. The terms **First Nation, First Nations, Aboriginal, Native, Indian and Native American** are used interchangeably. In most cases the term is applied in the context that it was presented in the literature. In other cases, the term is selected for ease of reading. Generally, the terms refer to indigenous people within Canada, the United States and Australia. However, this generalization does not imply that all indigenous groups within these countries are the same or without their own context and circumstances.

The seven knowledge themes used throughout this thesis are used collectively as a conceptual and analytical tool. The term **knowledge theme** refers to a body of planning knowledge gained through practice and observation. Knowledge within each theme consists of theory and practice knowledge, including knowledge of issues and obstacles, practice stories, and suggestions and strategies to bring about effective participatory relationships with First Nations. The seven knowledge themes pertain to:

1. First Nations' Value and Knowledge Systems

First Nations' value systems refer to individual and collective principles and beliefs used to inform and guide relations, and community decision-making. Values may consist of substantive values, such as respect for elders, or process values, such as consensus decision-making. Traditional Aboriginal knowledge consists of accumulated understanding through direct experience and practice.

2. Authority Relations

Authority relations refer to the external and internal, formal and informal mechanisms of power from which First Nations derive their decision-making power.

3. Social Organization

Social organization implies what First Nations' group structures guide interpersonal relations and decision-making. Forms of social organization include for example, clan and family structures, or the change-orientated versus traditional-subsistence groups of a community.

4. Communication

Communication refers to the factors, processes and methods individuals and planners encounter and use to transmit and exchange values, thoughts, knowledge and information to one another.

5. Participation

Participation refers to the factors, processes and methods individuals and planners encounter and use to involve people during planning.

6. Capacity

Capacity refers to the combined authority and power, including institutional, organizational and human resource base of First Nations to participate in planning and decision-making processes.

7. Planner Relationship

Planner relationship refers to the factors, processes and methods planners encounter and use in establishing their planning relationship with First Nations.

3.2 The Potential Application of Sandercock's Insurgent Planner Model

Sandercock (1998a, 1998b, 1999) argues that the current modern planning paradigm is no longer adequate to navigate our way through the postcolonial and postmodern order. Since the 1970's, the modernist planning paradigm of instrumental rationality, comprehensiveness, mastery grounded in positivist science, quantitative analysis, state directive futures and the neutrality of gender and race has not responded to the "cultural politics of difference," or "dilemmas of difference" facing society today. She questions the rationalist foundation of planning and its theoretical and methodological suitability in view of the diverse cultural contexts planners work in.

The author states that we need to reposition the modernist planning paradigm for four reasons: socio-cultural forces are changing cities in ways outside of the "Chicago model of the rational, orderly, homogenous city;" citizen rebellion against process and outcomes "embodied" in the Chicago model; social theory is challenging the assumptions of the modernist paradigm and its epistemology; and the sense of human loss in cities as a result of an "ideology of progress" (1998a:27-28). Sandercock claims

that we need to reposition planning by recognizing the ethnic and cultural diversity of our planning space in which planners have a "pivotal role" to play. She envisions an ideal "postmodern utopia" based on "dreaming cosmopolis," whereby issues of identity, difference, social justice, and citizenship are addressed in a "new cultural politics of difference."

Sandercock proposes an *insurgent planner* model, one that is "more fluid and responsive to context and to rapid change." The insurgent model is based on: 1) placing more emphasis on practical wisdom, in addition to means-ends rationality (options and alternatives); 2) negotiated, political, and focused planning versus comprehensive, integrated and coordinated action (multi-sectoral and multi-functional plans); 3) an expanded ability to access other ways of knowing based on context (e.g. knowing through: dialogue; experience; gaining local knowledge (concrete and specific); symbolic, verbal or non-verbal evidence; contemplation; and learning by doing), versus knowledge grounded in positive science with an emphasis on quantitative modeling and analysis; 4) to facilitate community empowerment through bottom-up approaches to planning, versus state-directed futures and top-down approaches; and 5) to overcome the exclusion of difference in a multicultural society by redefining concepts of "public interest" and "community" to overcome neutrality (gender and race) (1998a:27-30).

These foundations of her "post modern praxis" form the basis of her five literacies (technical literacy, analytical literacy, multicultural literacy, ecological literacy, design literacy). These literacies are required to equip the "passionate pilgrim planner" to work with cultural diversity in more effective and appropriate ways. This model is a response to the concern of whether marginalized groups, such as indigenous peoples or First Nations, are being "included" in meaningful ways. Sandercock's model provides the important background for "why" planning needs to be more sensitive and inclusive of cultural diversity, and the urgency of planners to "foster a more democratic and inclusive planning."

3.3 The Potential Application of Forester's Progressive Planner Model

Forester (1989) is also concerned about making planning more democratic and overcoming the effects of unequal power relations made possible by "attention shaping." When people are unaware or unconscious of their position in society, or simply the conditions in which they live and interact - through (distorted) communication - democratic action is circumvented. His *progressive planner* model argues for planners to uncover distortions of communicative action so that citizens can encounter the "alterable,

misleading and disabling" claims made possible by socially constructed relations of power. The interactive, social, political, argumentative and practical nature of planning requires that "publicly oriented" planners understand the practical and communicative aspects of their action, and how they respond to the ongoing practical, organizational and political issues they encounter. The interest is in ways "planners can anticipate obstacles and respond practically," to nurture more democratic planning (Forester 1989:7).

Forester argues: "a critical theory of planning helps us to understand what planners do as attention-shaping, communicative action rather than as instrumental action, as means to particular ends" (1989:138). The argumentative nature of planning requires that planners "must routinely argue, practically and politically, about desirable and possible futures." They need to consider the communicative effects of what they do. This is important given the structure of power relations, conflicting interests, and political-economic structures found at three practical scales of interaction: face-to face, organization, and political-economic structures.

As planners become more aware of the inequities made possible by these structures and interests, they can "organize attention" to help reduce communicative distortions such as: uneven power and decision making authority, jargon and language, withholding of information, lack of access to information, controlled agendas; suppressed feelings or unilateral control; when meetings are delayed, funding is denied, or when "citizens cannot participate equally in decisions affecting them" (1989:139). All of these distortions circumvent meaningful participation and decision-making and as a result, could impact effective planning relationships between groups within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations.

Planners can help overcome the domination effects of communicative distortions by what they do and say practically. In assessing the "social and political-economic structures as systematic patterns of practical communicative action" (1989:139), planners can expose and speak about communicative distortions directly to marginalized groups. As Forester states, planners can:

Warn others of problems, *present* information, *suggest* new ideas, *agree* to perform certain tasks or to meet at certain times, *argue* for or against particular efforts, *report* relevant events, *offer* opinions and advise, and *comment* on ideas and proposals for action...such elementary communicative actions are at the heart of the possibility of any ordinary, cooperative working relationships (1989:142-143).

In acting on these types of communicative actions, planners are making practical judgments and suggesting practical strategies to affect the quality of participation and decision-making. As Forester states: planners "must try hard to say what we mean, using the language and whatever frame of reference we share" (1989:143).

To foster the "mutual understanding" of claims made by individuals and groups, and those of planners, Forester borrows from Habermas' theory of communicative action (1984) and explains four "enabling rules that structure our ordinary language." These include comprehensibility (understanding), sincerity (trust), legitimacy (consent) and accuracy (truth). Forester presents these rules as criteria to guide practical communication and states that these criteria could assist planners to facilitate an "ideal speech situation," where planning participants realize a state of mutual understanding.

Forester admits that satisfying these criteria is difficult. However, the effect in failing to satisfy these criteria is that "we face puzzlement, mistrust, anger, and disbelief; mutual understanding, trust and cooperation are all likely to suffer. Moreover, if these pragmatic criteria are not met, our shared experience and our common social and political worlds disintegrate" (1989:144). Perhaps at the very least Forester notes, planners can use these criteria as "diagnostic questions" to "check" the claims they make, as they try to facilitate more democratic planning. The criteria might also be used to "help to formulate questions about the possible influence of planning practice." In particular, Forester states that planners need to pay attention to both "content and context" claims, regarding "what is said, when and in what situation and with whom" (1989:145). Content claims consist of what planners talk about – factual and rhetorical claims; context claims consist of the historical, political and social relations planners confront as they plan. Outside planners who understand how information, communication and power can impact mutual understanding might be able to act in ways that empower First Nations to experience more democratic planning.

The relevance of Sandercock's insurgent planner and Forester's progressive planner models are discussed at the end of chapter five to bring a larger, more general perspective to my analysis. The next section of the chapter documents the findings from the literature review to develop a second analytical framework based on seven knowledge themes.

3.4 Exploring Seven Knowledge Themes Based on the Findings from the Literature

This section reviews the literature in relation to seven proposed knowledge themes. These are:

- 1) First Nations' value and knowledge systems; 2) authority relations; 3) social organization;
- 4) communication; 5) participation; 6) capacity; and 7) the planner relationship.

3.4.1 First Nations' Value and Knowledge Systems

Many authors say that outside planners who work with First Nations need to consider the value system, including world-views and cosmology that function within First Nation communities to guide planning and decision-making (Brody 1981; Simon et al. 1984; Shkilnyk 1985; Wolfe and Strachan 1987; Wolfe 1989; Ndubisi 1991; Napoleon 1992; Copet 1992; Wolfe et al. 1992; Goehring 1993; Sadler and Boothroyd 1994). Many of these authors note that outside planners working with First Nations have often been ineffective because of their inadequate understanding of the inherent conflict in value systems between western society and Aboriginal culture. Numerous frameworks have been identified by Mander (1991), Ndubisi (1991), Nabigon (1992), Wolfe et al. (1992), McKenzie and Morrisette (1992), Goehring (1993), De Mello et al. (1994), Ponting (1997) and Sherry and Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation (1999) to understand and distinguish value and knowledge differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal society.

Ndubisi (1991) for example, studied the value differences and similarities between planners and First Nations, in the case of the New Credit community in Ontario. Drawing from Kluckhohn's (1951) "theory of variations in value orientations," Ndubisi suggested five "recurrent problem areas" that are reflective of value orientations in society. These include: 1) the innate nature of humans; 2) people's relationship to nature; 3) people's conception of time; 4) the modality of human interactions; and 5) people's social relations to one another.

The author's study found "significant differences" between the values of planners and the New Credit community, for example in how people relate to one another (relational series: collateral vs. individualism), and to their environment (man-nature series: harmony-with-nature vs. control-over-nature). The author only elaborated on value differences pertaining to the "time orientation" series, stating that planners preferred the "future orientation" of time, whereas the community preferred "present time" to

"past time." As a result, Ndubisi suggested that while the community was capable of thinking in terms long-term goals, it considered short-term program planning to be more effective.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss or even list all of the values important to First Nations. However, it is worth noting that De Mello et al. (1994:17-18) draw from Napoleon (1992) to offer a sampling of relevant values for community development processes:

- *Spirituality and Culture* and its central and pivotal position in guiding daily life and future direction;
- *Co-operation and Unity* was traditionally essential to successful community living. The metaphor of the "Sacred Circle" is used to describe this bond of vital co-existence;
- *Relationship with the Environment*, which speaks to the intimate mutually supportive and spiritual connection First Nations have with both the animal and plant world and ecological well-being and future of the Earth. This vital point is exquisitely portrayed in the Sacred Tree (1984);
- *Respect and Equality* for all participants and people who might be affected by the planning process. This suggests an inclusive process that encourages, respects and values diversity in planning;
- *Sharing and Generosity* is a cornerstone of the Aboriginal world-view. This ethic ensured survival, good will and mutual aid and support that allowed building of community bonds; and
- *Family* (in the broad, extended sense) viewed as the foundation of connection and means of relating and connecting members of the community.

Acknowledging these types of values does not imply that all First Nations adopt or practice the same set of values. Further, it should not be assumed that all individuals within one First Nation share the same set of values. There is little literature discussing value differences and implications for planning within First Nations cultures. Ndubisi's five types of value orientations and "recurrent problem areas" might well exist within First Nations culture.

One exception is Hanson (1985) who recognized that groups within First Nations respond differently to the acculturation process. Value differences within First Nations are depicted in his concept of "socio-cultural stratification" (1985:24). This stratification consists of three primary groups of people: change-oriented, marginal, and traditional. The socio-cultural orientation, organizational form and personal capabilities are different for each group, and as a result, each "requires a unique set of developmental initiatives...a different set of needs, aspirations, capabilities and socio-cultural orientation in terms of preferred life-style' (1985:8).

Hanson explains that First Nations groups operate along a reality spectrum, from the "impetus towards acculturation/assimilation" to a "sense of continuity with a way of life which fully served their subsistence-oriented ancestors for many countless centuries." An individual's reality is largely based on the differences in the relationship they have with modern industrial society and its institutions. The challenge for the programmer [planner] Hanson notes, "is no longer a conflict between white culture and Indian culture, but rather a number of complex and interacting problems which develop as two contrasting life-styles attempt to occupy the same environment (1985:5). Programmers [planners] who consider where different individuals and groups are in relation to "modern institutionalized life," might be able to help facilitate appropriate programming to specific socio-cultural groups. This might help to overcome some of the conflicts found within First Nations communities, where one group seeks to "impose their "will," value and organizational form on those who represent the other contrasting life-style or reality" (1985:3).

Authors also point out that it is important for outside planners to know why value differences matter. In Wolfe and Strachan's study (1987:114) of the Inuit in the Keewatin Region, Northwest Territories the authors recognized that values helped to: 1) explain differences between cultures (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961); 2) influence perceptions regarding the definition of planning problems and solutions (Etzioni 1968; Faludi 1973); and 3) they "mold the patterns of interaction between development and planning specialists and the client group (Bolan 1969)." Ndubisi recognized similar points in his study of the New Credit First Nation community and added 4) how values "create the potential for misunderstandings on pertinent planning issues and are likely to limit the effective performance of planning" (Ndubisi 1991:53).

Further, Simon et al.'s research study (1984) on design values and perceptions relating to the physical, built environment of the Burwash Native People's Project of Sudbury, Ontario, noted that 5) when outside value systems are imposed on First Nations, they create inappropriate planning processes, participation, and solutions. When this happens "a feeling and sense of loss and identity by community members is experienced, resulting in a breakdown of community structure and personal psyche" (1984:4). Wolfe and Strachan (1987:107-8) elaborate on the significance for outside planners to understand the value systems of the communities they work with:

The value system is itself a key determinant in structuring certain aspects of the broader social context in which development and planning occurs. It is the source of the constellation of ideas and conceptions which guide societal expectations, preferences and choices...it impacts directly on the network of socio-political relationships and the structuring of socio-political institutions ...[and] while the value system defines the assumptions of what is and what ought to be, the distribution of power defines the manner of its applications. The power relationship is in turn a determinant of the degree to which societal structures are consonant or in conflict with the values to which members, individually or in groups, are committed (Etzioni 1968).

First Nations' Traditional Knowledge

Sandercock (1998a) argues that planners who work with different cultures need to expand their understanding and acceptance of different ways and forms of knowing. The author considers the concept, meaning and utilization of knowledge across culture and how planners especially need to gain practice in utilizing and incorporating the particular knowledge base of cultures they work with. This is particularly crucial Sandercock argues, given that most planners have been raised in a system of western education predominantly based on an epistemology of Enlightenment and empiricism. Sandercock (1998a:58) poses many thought provoking questions regarding the validity and legitimacy of knowledge. She is concerned with what models of knowing do planners use, what is excluded when one type of knowing dominates over another, and who decides who the knower is? (1998a:76). All of these concerns could potentially affect quality of inclusion and participation of minority groups such as indigenous peoples who have experienced an "erasure of history," under the modernist planning paradigm (Sandercock 1998a). The implications for planners who work with First Nations, is that they need to consider how First Nations create, transmit and apply their knowledge, and how knowledge affects decision-making.

For the most part, traditional ecological knowledge has been discussed in relation to resource management issues (Johnson 1992; Wolfe et al. 1992; Berkes 1993; Notzke 1994; Sadler and Boothroyd 1994). Within this discussion, a long debate has ensued over the validity and applicability of traditional ecological knowledge (Wolfe et al. 1992; Johannes 1993). However, there has been an increasing awareness regarding the limitations of the western scientific paradigm and the need to reflect on the complimentary nature of both knowledge systems regarding environmental management (Johnson 1992; Johannes 1993; Sadler and Boothroyd 1994). As Boothroyd states: "traditional knowledge can balance

western science, turning it from an inhuman force often hostile to spiritual and social development to a benign force serving ends of healthy human ecology" (Sadler and Boothroyd 1994:3).

Sherry and the Vuntut Gwitchin (1999) highlight knowledge characteristics of both traditional and western knowledge systems, as a way for planners to appreciate differences between two cultural systems (Table 1). Sadler and Boothroyd (1994) suggest the need to consider how knowledge systems differ, the relationship between them and how they may be effectively integrated. Briefly stated, there is much literature arguing that planners need to consider that traditional knowledge is based on a cosmology that places nature in an inter-dependent and interconnected spiritual relationship with humans, that knowledge of the community is grounded in the practical, daily, traditional life of Aboriginal people, that it has been accumulated over time, through several generations of careful observation and experience (Cultural Dene Institute 1994), that it is holistic, intuitive and subjective (Wolfe et al. 1992), and that traditional knowledge is transmitted through an oral tradition of storytelling. These knowledge characteristics are seen as being in contrast to western scientific knowledge, which emphasizes human domination over nature and knowledge, and is considered reductionist, analytical and positivistic. Western scientific knowledge also emphasizes transmission through written language.

The literature suggests that for planners to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships with First Nations, they need to ensure that the traditional knowledge of First Nations communities they work with is incorporated into planning processes. This is not to say that the traditional knowledge of First Nations is seen as the only knowledge base useful for problem definition and solving. As Lockhart (1982) noted, it is the dialectic of knowledge systems between planners and First Nations that is required to bring about a "viable distribution of solution responsibility."

Table 1: Typical Characteristics of Traditional and Western Knowledge Systems		
Knowledge Characteristics	Traditional Knowledge	Western Scientific Knowledge
Interrelationship	Subordinate to Nature	Dominate Over Nature
Transmission of Knowledge	Oral - Direct Experience, Storytelling and Observation	Written
Thinking Mode	Intuitive	Analytical
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative • Holistic - Interconnected • Collective • Subjective & Emotional • Empirical Observation - Trial and Error • Continuous Time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantitative • Reductionist - Break Down Parts • Individual • Objective & Reasoning • Selective Accumulation of Facts • Discrete Time
Data Creation	Slow & Inclusive	Fast & Selective
Prediction	Cyclical	Linear
Explanation	Spiritual / Inexplicable	Mechanistic / Theories & Laws
Classification	Ecological & Inclusive	Genetic & Hierarchical
Main Principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living & Conscious Cosmos • Natural World Infused With Spirit • Moral • Humans in Nature • Part of the Land • Balance & Equity/Kinship & Interdependency Between Beings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inanimate/Animate Distinction • Separation between God & Humans • Neutral, Value Free • Humans over Nature • Control the Land • Hierarchy/ Exploit Nature
<i>Source: Sherry and the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation with slight modifications (1999:38-39).</i>		

3.4.2 Authority Relations

Anyone who has worked with First Nations can readily recite the many literature claims that the recent history of First Nations has been determined predominantly through external jurisdiction and control.³ Alfred (1999) notes how the structure of authority relations and government policies have had profound implications for indigenous identity, existence, spirituality and government. There is widespread agreement that, as Sandercock (1998a) states, indigenous peoples have experienced an "erasure of history, context and culture."

Zaferatos (1998) is clear that planners need to understand the power basis controlling Native American Tribal reserve communities and to know the "character of the obstacles" to advance tribal

³ Over five hundred years of colonial rule have disrupted the lives of many indigenous peoples throughout the world. The fur trade, Christianity, treaty-making, reserve system, enfranchisement, residential schooling, and the 1969 'White Paper' were powerful forces resulting in the "appropriation of voice" for many Aboriginal peoples in Canada (Ponting 1997). The two most potent instruments of assimilation have been the Indian Act and subsequent government policies. These created a system of hegemony based on a "modernizing" and "civilizing" that justified control through assimilation (Carstens 1991). The Department of Indian Affairs determined that it could modernize the reserve system through structural changes at local and national levels and decision-making powers were placed in the hands of "Indian agents".

concerns. To bring about "informed planning action," he says that planners cannot plan "in isolation of the political economy." Many authors report that external authority relations have imposed planning approaches and programs, (Wolfe 1982; Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1988; Wolfe and Strachan 1987; Wolfe 1989; Copet 1992; Zaferatos 1998), altered decision-making control and implementation (Boothroyd 1986; Ndubisi 1991; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999), produced culture bound ways of communication, enabled jurisdictional and program control, created funding dependencies and affected issues of representation (Wolfe 1982; Smith 1985; Shkilnyk 1985; Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe and Strachan 1987; Lane 1997).

First Nations have traditionally used their own political and decision-making systems and structures, based on clan representation, family groupings and inter-tribal relations (Jojola 1998; Alfred 1999; Kew and Miller 1999). These political structures are explained further under **social organization**. However, planners need to understand how the *Indian Act* has radically altered election systems and decision-making structures on a formal basis (Wolfe 1989). As a result, First Nations operate under a combined authority base of two types to carry out community decision-making (Wolfe 1989; Ndubisi 1991; Kew and Miller 1999). Decision-making for the New Credit community was for example, acknowledged by Ndubisi (1991) as consisting of "legal authority derived from the Indian Act and traditional authority based on acknowledged competence on community issues." As he explains:

Legal authority endows the band government with powers to formulate and implement policies regarding the health, safety, and general welfare of the community. In contrast, traditional authority is grounded within the traditions of the community including, their value system, and is exercised through a traditional system of chiefs and elders (1991:61).

The "dispersed forms" or "divided authority" within First Nations has been problematic however (Wolfe 1989; Ndubisi 1991). In the case of the New Credit community, the traditional system of authority was weakened by government intervention (legal authority). The community struggled to comply with government funding conditions while trying to satisfy community demands. Legal authority was viewed as "peripheral to traditional native social structures" and the community was "hesitant to enforce their powers...as circumscribed in the Indian Act (1991:61)." Wolfe elaborates on the challenge for First Nations:

Equally or more critical may be the ability of communities to manage the tensions and apparent contradictions arising between traditional structures and processes and those imposed upon them, which have become necessary to their effective interaction with external agencies, in ways which are symbiotic rather than dysfunctional (1989:71).

Furthermore, external authority relations have implicated government policies and programs for First Nations with respect to involvement and participation. For example, Copet (1992) acknowledged that the limited success of government policy and programs in Manitoba was due in part to the strong emphasis on "outside" planners for project specific activities and the level of bureaucracy. These "often entailed insensitivity to cultural qualities of the communities, [resulting] in ineffective and sometimes damaging planning practices," such as those experienced in the Grand Rapids Hydro Project during the 1960's (1992:39).

Other authors such as England (1971) in his case study analysis of the Cape Crocker community of Ontario observed how the *Indian Act* and turnover of federal agents inhibited community involvement. Wolfe (1982) noted how the structure and "external locus of decision-making" limited local involvement in the planning and delivery of services to a remote community in northern Ontario and finally, Shkilnyk's (1985) case study analysis of the forced relocation of an Ojibwa community in 1963 illustrates the implications for government involvement and the lack of participation and control for a community "caught in the void between two cultures" (1985:34).⁴ As important as knowing the history and impacts of authority relations, several authors note that planners need to know that First Nations have been undergoing new relationships and opportunities for participation and decision making control through various comprehensive land claim agreements, devolution of powers and legal decisions for the past fifteen years (Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe and Strachan 1987; Wolfe 1988; Wolfe 1989; Copet 1992; Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995; Sandercock 1998a; Kew and

Miller 1999; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999; Aubrey 1999). Wolfe and Strachan (1987:12) acknowledge the significance of changing authority for the Inuit in the Canadian north Keewatin District:

⁴ Shkilnyk also noted the impacts of government intervention created a change in roles, responsibilities, qualifications, tenure and authority within the First Nation. Sanctions on social behaviour and forms of self-help were replaced by a system of paternalistic controls and administered social assistance that was external to the community. Government was also seen to set into motion a class society, creating a lack of equal access to resources. This created fiefdoms of power and influence becoming exclusive to kinship groups. Latent historic interfamily tensions have intensified the process (1985:101).

Shifting power relationships and emerging new structures, functions and roles, are all intimately connected with how decisions are made, who defines the issues, who structures the decision-making process, and which cultural values prevail:

Kew and Miller (1999), for example, state that new authority structures are changing the nature of the relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal society and altering the political and economic landscape. Jacobs and Mulvihill (1995:7) add that land claims can be viewed as an opportunity to restructure previous relations of the past, leading to a more "viable interdependence between societies" and further, Kliger and Cosgrove (1999:51) view land claims as "a means to maintain and recover traditional culture...[and are] about justice and the acceptance of difference." Finally, Wolfe notes the significance of increased powers as "self-government ensures native Canadians the autonomy, authority and power to take decisions which make sense from a native perspective" (1988:230).

However, as two authors state, shifting powers and control may not in themselves guarantee more effective control and participation (Wolfe 1988; Lane 1997). Also relevant is the planning approach used by the planner (Boothroyd 1986; Wolf 1988), as well as the structural and system supports necessary to develop the capacity of a community to participate (Wolfe 1988; Lane 1997) (see under **participation** and **capacity**). Outside planners who work with First Nations might reflect on Wolfe's question (1988:212):

What then are the opportunities for native communities to gain experience in planning, within existing structures, so that, as future self-governing entities, they will be able to determine, plan for and manage their development effectively?

This is particularly significant since participation and control have been denied to Aboriginal peoples.

If planners can gain an awareness of the conditions and history of authority relations for the community they work in, this knowledge may explain past and current attitudes towards participation and direct what tactics and strategies planners undertake to enable effective participatory relationships. Ndubisi (1991) for example suggests "mixed field controls" as a consequence of the authority conditions noted in the New Credit community. The author suggests creating participatory planning processes to foster community support for local issues and agenda, the "selective" exercising of powers to minimize alienation, and the offering of material incentives as a way to "complement normative compliance." Appropriate "institutional arrangements" such as a non-hierarchical structure are important to facilitate participation.

Zaferatos (1998) suggests a framework for tribal planning that consists of knowing the processes that diminished aboriginal tribal sovereignty, as well as knowing the causes of underdevelopment and the legal basis of a tribe's control. Once planners are aware of these various factors, they need to devise planning methods that can preserve the community's cultural identity by enabling a community to exercise authority over its territorial, social and political affairs. If planning in part considers the historical experiences and external factors, perhaps there is a better opportunity for planning to satisfy "emancipatory objectives".

3.4.3 Social Organization

To enable effective participatory relationships within First Nations, planners require knowledge about the social organization of First Nations. Several authors elaborate on the significant forms of traditional social organization such as kinship, family, clan, tribal and confederation networks and systems (Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Simon et al. 1984; Shkilynk 1985; Wolfe 1989; Lane 1997; Jojola 1998; Kew and Miller 1999; Alfred 1999). These types of social organization helped to explain patterns of participation, including the spatial and territorial relationships, for Aboriginal groups in northern Queensland (Lane 1997), decision making for the Sto:lo Nation in British Columbia (Kew and Miller 1999), social control and leadership for the Ojibway in Ontario (Simon et al. 1984), and the planning "superstructure" for the Pueblo Council in the United States (Jojola 1998).

Planners can appreciate the significance of social organization for example with the Ojibway, where "the extended family is the basic unit of society, upon which all other social conventions are founded" (Simon et al. 1984:74-76). Kinship is significant in terms of relationships and involvement. Traditionally, kinship determined membership in the community, it affected family and community interaction, and it exercised the most effective means of social control and leadership. The social and spatial organization of families was based on the governing roles of kinship ties.

Shkilynk's study of the Ojibway emphasized the importance of human relationships and the family prior to the forced relocation of the Grassy Narrows community in 1963.⁵ The author stressed strong

⁵ Shkilynk stated: The family group, for all practical purposes, was a community unto itself: it was a factory, a school, a hospital, a shrine. The bonds of family were very close because the extended family had the responsibility of providing for the physical survival of its members, educating the young, sheltering the dependent, curing the sick, and transmitting the moral and spiritual values of a culture. In a society with very few public institutions and no formal associations, membership in a family was the individual's primary source of identity and support. The family was the point from which one fixed one's place in the larger universe, visible and invisible (1985:79).

family bonds and how the concept of family was composed of people who worked together. These relationships were bound by responsibility and friendship, including ties to friendship. Within the group, there was continuous cooperation and sharing, and support for mutual aid. The family unit worked and persisted in a society economically, socially, psychologically, and spiritually (1985:90).

Jojola explains how clanships are considered a "basic element" of society for the tribes of America, "serving as the basic social unit for mobilizing their communities" (1998:105). As he states:

To know a clanship is to understand both the spatial and social relationships of many tribal communities. It is the superstructure on which many tribal societies base their most well founded plans. The clan is akin to a neighborhood in planning theory. But it supersedes mere boundaries; people in tribal clans are united in time and space as well.

He discusses the relevance of various political and traditional decision-making structures of tribes and how levels of political association form an overall regional planning model to organize and "govern collective concerns."

Several other authors suggest numerous problems which have persisted around the neglect of planners and planning to understand and incorporate the nature of traditional and contemporary social organization and representation during planning processes (Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Simon et al. 1984; Lane 1997; Jojola 1998). For example, during an environmental planning process for a new World Heritage Area in northern Queensland, management failed "to appreciate the importance of Aboriginal social and territorial organization in understanding patterns of Aboriginal participation" (Lane 1997:309).

In the case of pre-contact of Australian Aboriginal society, Stanner (1965 in Lane 1997) differentiated between "estate" and the "range" of the patrilineal clan group. The estate was seen to be the core territory "possessed" by the clan, and "central to Aboriginal social organization and cultural identity." The range consisted of the land a clan used for survival and economic reasons. Howitt (1993:132 in Lane 1997:312) noted the implications these territorial relationships had for participation, stating that "western notions of delegation and representation in political decision-making systems are inapplicable." The significance of the "localized nature of Aboriginal social and territorial organization, render approaches based on delegated representation inappropriate."

While it is important to understand the social and territorial organization of Aboriginal peoples, two authors state that planners should not assume these traditional systems remain in tact (Stanner 1965 in

Lane 1997; Jojola 1998). These systems evolve into "neo-traditional" political structures over time and as Chief Steven Point of the Sto:lo Nation suggests, structures within the community "must be flexible" (Kew and Miller 1999:57). Further, outside planners should not assume that Aboriginal groups represent a unified or coherent whole. Homogeneity notes Dixon (1990:66 in Lane 1997:312), is a "false doctrine of Aboriginality." The assumption that Aboriginal communities are "geographically bounded and socially cohesive, with democratically elected leaderships which legitimately represents the community," has resulted in ineffective government sponsored community development planning (Wolfe 1993:40 in Lane 1997:312). In the case of the management plan for the New World Heritage Area in northern Queensland, many Aboriginal groups remained marginal to the planning process because it was assumed that one group had a "representational mandate...espousing a pan-Aboriginalist conception of social organization" (Lane 1997:309). In this instance, the dialogue was "monopolized" by one group claiming voice for other groups.

Outside planners also need to be aware of the conflict within First Nations. Wolfe notes that internal conflict is "often organized socially into factions, along kinship lines" and that this implicates the effectiveness of "internal personal communication networks (Wolfe 1989:70). Conflict may also be based on religious schisms (England 1971; Wolfe and Strachan 1987) or value differences between groups within First Nations (Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Hanson 1985). However, planners should recognize that for some First Nations such as the Coast Salish:

Networks allow for short-term bouts of disaffiliation by individual members, communities, bands, or other constituent groups without substantively affecting the long-term social system, disrupting cultural continuity, or dissolving the boundaries of the Coast Salish moral universe (Kew and Miller 1999:58).

Kew and Miller go on to explain that individuals may "disaffiliate themselves" from their governments, may elect not to participate during meetings, may not agree with community decisions on particular matters or they might try to "influence internal political processes." However, this disaffiliation is not permanent. Individuals are re-affiliated back into the community "without penalty."

3.4.4 Communication

Aboriginal peoples have long practiced their own traditional planning and decision-making systems, emphasizing particular forms and styles of communication such as storytelling (Boothroyd 1986;

Wolfe 1989; Jojola 1998; Cooper 1998; Cruickshank 1998). However, centuries of colonial rule have at times eroded language and silenced the voice of Aboriginal peoples with varying consequences and implications. Aboriginal peoples have experienced a "shared forgetfulness" and a "shared memory suggest a more profound approach to examining Native communication" (Cooper 1998:41).

Cooper's (1998) interest in revealing and teaching cultural bias between native and non-native society and how we might overcome it, is useful for planners to incorporate into their planning regime. This is a similar concern of Forester (1989) who points out in his critical theory of communicative planning, how communication and understanding between individuals and groups becomes "distorted," and what the subsequent implications are for planning action and outcomes.

Cooper distinguishes between native and non-native forms of communication. This is critical for outside planners to consider. He explains that language is viewed as having two primary functions: expression and communication (Barfield 1973 in Cooper 1998:17). Expression strives to represent fullness or sincerity while communication aspires towards accuracy. Cooper suggests that ancient native communion is based on the expression function, motivated by "outer feelings, ambience and sacred sensings," whereas, modern industrialized societies are guided by the communication function, "given our information explosion, communication revolution, and fact dispensers - from computers to textbooks to journalists" (1998:17-18). Differences are further emphasized between traditional and modern societies, with native society relying on internal transmission characterized by intuition, silent communication, memorized myth and invisible power storage, versus modern or European society which relies more on externally imposed methods of communication (1998:31).

Outside planners who work with First Nations might consider Cooper's three assumptions for communication biases: 1) that literate cultures are superior; 2) complexity and sophistication are superior; and that 3) communication may be understood only through analysis. However, outside planners need to appreciate that "there are communication values that most tribal people prefer to the lineal mindset they associate with bureaucracy" (1998:13). Peek (1981:41 in Cooper 1998:13) states that people from literate societies have to be conscious of the "limits of literacy," or that "seeing is believing," is not a universally held notion." Planners need to understand that oral societies such as First Nations, have "relied on spoken transactions." These distinctions are significant because they underlie the potential for the incompatibility of communication between planners and First Nations.

To apply Cooper's discussion to a planning context would be to ask what the implications are for outside planners who enter a First Nations community with an "inherited knowledge of imperial communication" forms and methods? How do planners interact with cultures who have not relied on written language to communicate planning issues, values, needs and directions? Only recently have Aboriginal cultures been evolving and blending written and digital forms of communication. Cooper's response is for people to expand their knowledge and acceptance of various communication forms. He states that people from literate societies must "learn to listen more deeply" and change one's mindset away from the superiority of written communication. They need to consider the "sensory bias" between literature and oral culture.

Forester's (1989) planning context adds to Cooper's perspective, explaining much more broadly how communication between individuals becomes "distorted." However, his critical theory of planning is not applied specifically to a First Nations context. As noted earlier in the thesis, Forester is interested in overcoming the unequal power relations made possible by "attention shaping." The context and content of communication is impacted:

By what a planner talks about...when and in what situation and with whom the planner talks...what is said depends on more than the structural, legal-political relations that constitute the institutional and historical settings in which planners and others talk...understanding here depends on our reading of other's intentions, their expressions of self, their personal stance" (1989:145-146).

Since attention shaping has both practical and communicative aspects, planners need to know how communication distortions made possible by language, vocabulary, poor listening, power relations and gender imbalances can affect communication and participation. These build on Cooper's concern of the bias between oral and written forms of communication. However, Forester's model provides insight into the implications these types of biases can have for planning, and what planners can do to overcome potential barriers and enable more democratic planning.

Based on the discussions of Cooper and Forester, outside planners who work with First Nations need to consider the cultural form and structure of communication if they are to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships. Planners require an ability to apply relevant and authentic forms of communication in a "culturally appropriate manner." For example, Cooper considered the communication systems of the Navajo people (Diné) of Arizona and the Shuswap people of British Columbia. He

explored the traditional forms of communication and rules that governed the Shuswap's customary communication.⁶ The author does not state to what extent these communication forms are applicable for the Shuswap today, but it is likely that some of these traditions have evolved. They would also not be equally applicable in every First Nation. Cooper's greatest message is that customary communication can serve to expand the scope of western communication forms and provoke the need for planners to become practiced in the relevant communication forms and rituals of First Nations they work with.

3.4.5 Participation

Several authors acknowledge that planning has been a long tradition for Aboriginal peoples (Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Wolfe 1988; Jojola 1998) and not "a concept imposed on indigenous peoples by Euro-Americans" (Jojola 1998:101). Undoubtedly, First Nations have participated in the managing of their affairs based on their traditional values and customs as much as possible, but not without external constraints and conditions as noted previously. The primary mode of participation for First Nations is consensus decision-making (Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1989; Ndubisi 1991; Jojola 1998; Kew and Miller 1999).⁷ Other modes of participation include storytelling (Simon et al. 1984; Cooper 1998; Cruickshank 1998) listening (Boothroyd 1986, 1992; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999); telegraph moccasin (Wolfe 1989), ceremony and ritual (Jojola 1998; Cooper 1998; Kew and Miller 1999) and dialogue (Ndubisi 1991).

⁶ Examples provided by Cooper illustrate the complexity of communication and are useful to evolve planners' understanding of First Nations' traditional forms of communication: 1) Paint: used as decoration for ritual and symbolic meaning in war and preparation, and honouring casualties; 2) Sign language: inter-tribal communication, value in greetings, negotiation, hunting and warnings; 3) Speech: important for storytelling, advising, discussing, prayer, chant; 4) Silence: practical and spiritual necessity, breaks "punctuated conversation", enables thinking, demonstrates respect, honours "tempos of nature;" 5) Communication networks: horseback runners and fire to transmit messages. 6) Transportation: learning "lands language;" 7) Speaking with Animals: explanatory and predictability qualities of animals; 8) Communion with life: direct communication with natural world and the Divine; and 9) Group Communication: forms to communicate with "Great Spirit" include the pipe ceremony, sweat lodge ceremony, powwow, special dances, potlatch ceremony, drum and language (1998: 115-128).

⁷ Ndubisi captures one meaning of consensual decision-making for the New Credit community: "It is characterized by the life of dialogue, where the capacity to talk out a problem continues until sufficient agreement is reached. Consensual decision-making also is process oriented and entails two-way communication between relevant actors. Formal agreements when made confirm informal arrangements that are well known and understood by all parties. Problems are examined in both a contextual and experiential manner, rather than rationally. Consensual decision-making suggests adopting a planning process that is open, continuous, and flexible, as well as the institutional arrangements that would support the life of the dialogue. As the consensual process demands patience and thoroughness, it is further necessary to extend the time required for deliberations on the phases of planning process, including goal setting and selecting alternatives to action (1991:60).

Storytelling is acknowledged under the previous knowledge theme as a form of communication. It is also apparent from the literature that it is an integral mode of participation for First Nations. The significance of storytelling is expressed by two authors as "fostering understanding through revealed subjective experiences and sources of cultural meaning and values" (Young 1990 in Kliger and Cosgrove 1999:56), and how "paying attention to the spoken word – listening – "gives voice to experience of those people whose views are often overlooked or discounted"" (Slim and Thompson 1993 in Kliger and Cosgrove 1999: 56). Forester (1999) makes a similar point, noting that storytelling is a way to deal with "traumatic histories." Giving stories a voice is a way of "doing justice to their experiences." In this sense, Forester states, "structures of deliberation [storytelling] can encourage or displace processes of acknowledging and working through collective suffering" (Forester 1999:212).⁸ They can become the basis of a "transformative theory of social learning" (1999:130).

Forester acknowledges the challenges of working with stories. He suggests that there are no "all purpose techniques" to tell or listen to stories and notes that not all stories are created equal. He states that stories need a "shared sense of rules" to ensure safety and a sense of structure and process for stories to be told. They also require a "protocol of turn taking." As a result, planners have to set priorities every time they listen, to search for facts that matter, have the ability to judge facts that matter, and to make ethical judgments and "value allocations as they speak."

The majority of literature on participation and planning with First Nations has considered issues and obstacles within the context of co-management relationships, multi-stakeholder processes and resource-based issues (Dale 1992; McDonald 1993; Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995; Lane 1997; Kew and Miller 1999; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999).⁹ Factors affecting community participation include: the capacity and "readiness factor" of a community (Wolfe 1988), the lack of structural and system supports such as authority, control and human resources (Wolfe 1988), limitations of internal personal communication

⁸ However, Forester does note that we have to be careful that deliberative practice does not re-traumatize people. This is significant for First Nation settings and the challenge is to allow people to open to "unspeakable loss." This further points to the need to create safe and supportive deliberative practices to enable voices to speak.

⁹ For example, Dale considered why the Aboriginal Council in Queensland, Australia was unable to fully participate in regional planning processes and the reasons for the lack of participation (1992:12-17). Factors affecting participation included issues around the lack of community control; the incompatibility of "client-donor" perspectives; the emphasis on centralized planning to "maintain bureaucratic accountability" and satisfy policies aims; the need for external actors to maintain control to achieve "success;" how external "advisors" become "enforcers" of non-community development agendas; and the ability of Aboriginal communities to administer government policy.

networks due to factions, religious schisms and value differences (Hanson 1985; Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Wolfe 1989), the planning approach used by the planner (Wolfe 1988; Langin 1988; Boothroyd 1986; Boothroyd 1992; St. Denise 1992), planner qualities and issues of power domination (Wolfe 1988), and the lack of First Nation policy on participation and involvement (England 1971).

What can outside planners do to enable effective participatory planning with First Nations? Authors stressed the need to consider the meaning of participation and the particular approach to planning (England 1971; Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1989; Boothroyd 1992); to look for feedback mechanisms to assess the quality of participation (Ndubisi 1991); employ various practical guidelines and tactics (McDonald 1993; DeMello et al. 1994; Lane 1997; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999; Aubrey 1999); encourage citizen performance in safe rituals of participation (De Mello et al. 1994; Forester 1999); promote "suitable vehicles of involvement" (England 1971); and to consider the planning setting (McDonald 1993; Forester 1999).

Boothroyd makes a critical link between participation and process and how particular forms of planning may be more conducive to enabling both. He suggests that the "process by which the planning consultant undertakes his/her works" implicates the quality of participation and planning. The author situates a typology of planning forms within "the totality of community action and decision-making" (1986:18). His four forms of native community planning consist of: 1) developmental planning; 2) placatory/wish-list planning; 3) autocratic planning; and 4) ritualistic planning. These forms of planning are either directional or peripheral to community action, considered participatory or centralized planning. Boothroyd's developmental planning form is preferred:

Because this form is truly community based (i.e., it is participatory) and is effectively linked to decisions and actions, it promotes in its outcomes and processes the development of the whole community...developmental form of planning contributes most to self-reliance (1986:20).

To follow Boothroyd, if developmental planning is considered participatory, "then we must see skill in managing the planning process as lying at its heart" (1986:21). The net effect of process planning states Boothroyd, is to "make planning directional of action." Involvement fosters commitment and relevance, fusing decision-making and action.

Several other authors describe what planners can do to facilitate participation when they work with First Nations. Ndubisi (1991) draws from Faludi (1973) and suggests for example that planners can

look for various feedback mechanisms such as withdrawal, nonparticipation, nonattendance at planning meetings, disinterest and nonvocalization when they work with First Nations. Observing these types of feedback mechanisms might assist planners to increase participation. He also suggests that planners may want to allow more time and keep "channels of communication open" throughout a planning processes, and to "adapt" the feedback back into process.

More recently, several authors have identified practical guidelines and tactics that could be helpful for planners to consider as they try to facilitate more effective participatory involvement (McDonald 1993; De Mello et al. 1994; Lane 1997; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999; Aubrey 1999). De Mello et al. (1994) for example, suggest the "Medicine Wheel" and the "Circle of Life and Learning" as models to guide learning and education when working with First Nations. The authors outline four themes that may be useful for planners to consider when they work with First Nations: the need to create a mentally engaging process, an emotionally supportive environment, an embracing spiritual dimension, and to provide a physically affirming context. They also offer numerous practical suggestions useful for planners to consider as they facilitate participation:

- 1) Encourage a transformative approach to interaction;
- 2) People need to feel comfortable and safe;
- 3) Create an environment of mutual support;
- 4) Use of traditional foods and feasting to create emotional and cultural connections;
- 5) Prepare for and expect emotional responses;
- 6) Recognize and accommodate the need for traditional healing ceremony;
- 7) Provide humour and spontaneity;
- 8) Embrace a spiritual dimension by offering prayers, drumming, poems and writings to promote kinship and community;
- 9) The importance of the guiding role of the Creator in planning activities;
- 10) Consider the planning forum and venue to host planning sessions;
- 11) Promote positive affirmations with the Talking Stick or Eagle Feather;
- 12) Provide Aboriginal texts to recognize and validate a First Nation perspective; and
- 13) Pay tribute to participants, family, community through traditional feasts.

There has been little discussion in terms of participatory roles or characteristics of participation within First Nations, specifically, differences between women, men and elders, and the implications for outside planners who work with First Nations. Brief exceptions are noted by authors such as Simon et al. (1984) who observed that men and women participated differently during an interview process in an Ojibway community. In this instance, men were seen to be more "easily accessed" than women, and appeared more comfortable during the interview process. In the case of Kere society in Arizona, Allen (1988) says

that women traditionally retained the policymaking power. Finally, Peters noted that among Aboriginal women in urban Canada, women's roles "focus on reestablishing healthy relationships based on culture, kinship and community," and that women "emphasized the importance of regaining, re-creating, or revaluing cultural traditions in a process of 'healing' from the damage of the colonial legacy" (1998:676, 678).

In addition, McDonald states that "community development needs to involve and empower women" and "consultation requires numerous working operatives including...understanding the importance of women in community decision making and development work" (1993:202). He observed that women of the Tangentyre Council around Alice Springs, Australia "mostly play a senior role in determining those environmental problems which require attention." Finally, he says, "it is clearly and sometimes not so clearly inappropriate for a male to be seeking input from women clients" (1993:202).

Stiegelbauer (1996) attests to the important role elders have for the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto:

Elders are important for their symbolic connection to the past, and for their knowledge of traditional ways, teachings, stories and ceremonies. It is very common for respected elders to be called upon to help communities with decisions regarding everything from health issues, to community development, to governmental negotiations regarding land use and self-government. (1996:39).

If planners are to develop participatory planning relationships with elders, they require certain abilities and skills in approaching elders. Stiegelbauer describes a relational approach where elders may encourage people to "seek their help" or people can engage in a ceremony to ask elders for their help. One elder in the study explained the process of approaching an elder with tobacco. As Stiegelbauer states, the "exchange is very important from the Elder's perspective because it signifies the individuals willingness to listen and take the help of the Elder seriously"(1996:51).

3.4.6 Capacity

The capacity of First Nations communities to design, control and manage their affairs is the result of a range of factors such as the limited powers and authority largely imposed under the *Indian Act* (Boothroyd 1984); the range of authority structures within various self-government regimes (Wolfe 1989); the number, availability, skill level and leadership quality of people in a community (Wolfe 1988; Wolfe 1989; Ndubisi 1991); financial resource capacity (Wolfe 1988); the approaches and conditions of planning

programs imposed by government agencies or planners (Wolfe 1989; Boothroyd 1992); the quality of a community's data base (England 1971); and various spatial relationships such as the physical setting, geographic location and size of the community (Wolfe 1982; Shkilnyk 1985; Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1989; Robertson 1999).

Authors within the planning literature reference the need for planners to consider the institutional, organizational, authority and leadership structures of First Nations communities, as well as the resource capacity to overcome capacity issues (England 1971; Smith 1985; Wolfe 1988). Smith (1985) argues that the institutional base should suit socio-cultural conditions of the culture that planners work in (Smith 1985). This is important as England (1971) observed, since capacity issues were attributed to the lack of organizational structure to coordinate and facilitate planning and development within reserves and between reserves, including between communities and non-Indian neighbours and other agencies.

Wolfe (1989) notes how the small size of First Nations communities can foster the sharing of local knowledge, known as "moccasin telegraph." The small size of communities can also make "the all-community meeting a practical reality" (Boothroyd 1984:8 in Wolfe 1989:70). However, Wolfe (1989) does recognize that the small size of communities can hamper the capacity of a community to participate in various planning and programming activities. Drawing from Wickers (1979) "theory of undermanning," Wolfe explains how First Nation individuals can serve in responsible positions, engage in actions difficult for them, and engage in responses that are vitally important to the setting. First Nations individuals are also more likely to act in response to the important actions of others, than do occupants of optimally "manned" settings."

Wolfe talks about the limited human resource base in some First Nations communities, and how political leaders and community staff are expected to "deal with the vast array of issues and needs." Varying degrees of formal education and increased workloads and responsibilities made possible through government devolution processes can also place an additional strain on the local capacity of First Nations. These factors are important for planners to know because they implicate the ability for communities to respond to the time constraints and expectations of "external agendas," notes Wolfe (1989). Leaders often have to balance their time between local issues and the larger demands of land claims. Finally, she states, that planners who work with First Nations should observe that decisions within the community can also take more time because of the emphasis placed on consensual decision-making.

Wolfe states that "present and potential" capacity of First Nation communities is "critical to effective process," as they undertake planning, self-management or self-government (1989:70). She argues that to increase community capacity, involvement and control are needed in order to exercise greater choice and decision-making. She suggests that First Nations need to determine their "readiness factor" if they are to plan and participate more effectively. Effective community capacity, Wolfe (1988) explains, requires internal and external structural and system supports. These are needed within external government agencies, and native organizations undertaking planning activity. She defines these system supports as: the responsibility, right, authority and control to affect coordination and planning; the power to summon cooperation; sufficient and available human and financial resources; flexible and decentralized funding, budgeting and programming; and external professional capacity, including the leadership of the planner.

3.4.7 Planner Relationship

The nature of the planning relationship between outside planners and First Nations has been partially considered by some authors (Lockhart 1982; Boothroyd 1986, 1992; Langin 1988; Wolfe 1989; Kowalsky et al. 1996). Several authors document numerous issues surrounding the capacity, credibility, role and involvement of planners who work with First Nations (Wolfe & Lindley 1983; Simon et al. 1984; Boothroyd 1986, 1992; Wolfe 1988, 1989; Copet 1992; McDonald 1993; Ridley et al. 1994; Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995; Kowalsky et al. 1996; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999; Aubrey 1999; Kew & Miller 1999; Robertson 1999). Authors such as Smith (1985), Boothroyd (1986), Wolfe (1988, 1989) and Ndubisi (1991) for example, suggest that the background, value system, education, preparation, intellectual orientation, cognitive differences in planning, including the style, forms, functions, approaches and methods of planners are important factors that could shape the quality of planning relationships between planners and First Nations. Value differences between planners and First Nations are particularly significant as Ndubisi (1991) notes, because they represent bias planners bring to the planning relationship.

Because of the long history of outside planning dependency endured by First Nations (Copet 1992), one important concern notes Wolfe (1988), is whether planners who work with First Nations are perpetuating domination and control and what the implications are for community involvement and

participation. Ongoing, is the debate of how planners can become more sensitized and practice more culturally relevant planning, or in Boothroyd's (1992) terms, how planners "establish productive relations" when working with First Nations.

Lockhart (1982) considers the structure of the consulting-client relationship and involvement during his work with the North Coast Tribal Council in British Columbia. The scope of work involved identifying "organizational processes" necessary to enable economic opportunities for the community. Lockhart explains that the purpose of the process and research was to "cast the community in the role of the planner," and to have meetings establishing the basis of relations between the client and consultant. Effective relations emphasized developing a process versus delivering a product, whereby the First Nation was involved in continuous learning, maintaining community control through complete participation. The community also had the ability to make ongoing rejection/acceptance decisions throughout the relationship. In Lockhart's experience, terms of reference helped structure an effective insider-outsider relationship, an effective "insider-outsider dialectic," where the inside knowledge of the community and the outside knowledge of the planner are applied to community decision-making. The concern was how to place "outside consultants and the inside clients on an equal footing" and how the knowledge exchange process would "greatly enhance" the "probability of achieving a viable distribution of solution responsibility...in the context of growing trust and mutual appreciation" (1982:167-168).

In addition to the formal instruments used to structure planning relationships, such as terms of reference, planners may want to consider the less formal, more personal aspects of their relationship as acknowledged by Wolfe and Lindley (1983) and Simon et al. (1984:) who state: planners require "patience and willingness to participate in the local activities such as baseball to drinking considerable quantities of tea which are not normally part of the planners role." Other authors such as Wolfe and Lindley (1983),⁴ Langin (1988) and Kowalsky et al. (1996) stress the importance of establishing trust when working with First Nations. These informal aspects of developing relationships and trust require additional exploration to determine their significance in facilitating effective participatory planning relationships between planners and First Nations.

Outside planners who work with First Nations may want to consider the process of entry and acceptance as outlined by Kowalsky et al. (1996). The authors explain a process of entry for researchers and propose a set of culturally sensitive guidelines to "establish a trusting relationship" with First

Nations.¹⁰ They suggest that an effective working relationship with First Nations requires cultural sensitivity upon entry into a community (1996:270). While this is applied in a social health context, the process of entry may be useful for outside planners to consider in establishing planning relationships with First Nations.¹¹ It was noted for example, that the stopping stage is critical because it is where individuals from the community perceive "intentions and activities" of what the researcher is doing. The authors seem to be saying that without the assessment and approval at this stage, the subsequent three stages of entry would not result in "genuine reflections" of individuals from the community. However, if researchers do not move past the first stage, the project terminates. Kowalsky and colleagues describe examples of each stage to provide empirical support.¹²

Finally, numerous authors provide important practical insights, strategies, guidelines and principles useful for planners to consider in establishing effective participatory relationships with First Nations (Langin 1988; Boothroyd 1992; De Mello et al. 1994; Kowalsky et al. 1996; McDonald 1993; Aubrey 1999; Robertson 1999; Murchie 1999). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to include the complex array of suggestions but a few examples are useful to consider:

- 1) Aboriginal people are in charge, know the boundary of roles;
- 2) Be aware of general etiquette expectations;
- 3) Find out what people are experiencing as needs, not just assume;
- 4) Create mutual support and encourage transformative approach to interaction;
- 5) Be willing to let go; be prepared for uncertainty and don't try to control the process;
- 6) The relevance of an outsider takes time and whether communities value the actions of the worker, and not the actions themselves;

¹⁰ The four stages of entry include stopping, waiting, transition and entry: 1) *Stopping*: stopping occurs when one is impeded in entering a community through formal or informal means; 2) *Waiting*: community members assess whether the researcher is worth trusting and worth the investment of their time; 3) *Transition*: it is not until the transition stage that the researcher becomes truly involved in some community activities; and 4) *Entry*: occurs only when trust is established and feelings and reflections are shared openly with the researcher.

¹¹ The research was in response to an invitation from the Dene people to the Arctic Institute of Canada. The study looked at the concerns and beliefs of people in a Northwest Territories community about fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) and fetal alcohol effects (FAE).

¹² They experienced the "stopping" stage when no permission was given to interview community members; the "waiting" stage was experienced over a two week period as the researchers lived on site and began to develop relationships of trust through informal activities such as casual conversations and crafts; permission granted by the chief and council to start the process of entry was viewed as the "transition" stage, as communication and dialogue opened; skill and cultural sensitivity enabled project usefulness but full acceptance was never fully realized. People can shift in and out of different stages and this may occur with different individuals or groups within the community and that the four stages may be experienced in a series of movements back and forth between stages (Ibid:271) Finally, the process of entry is also dependent upon the community developing a relationship with the researcher.

- 7) The need to talk with people at their chosen time;
- 8) Be ready for suspicion and cynicism of the non-native expert;
- 9) Planners need more inter-disciplinary, cross-cultural and community empowerment training;
- 10) Respect the native context from the start.

These types of practical suggestions would likely depend on the relationship planners have with each particular First Nation they work with.

While the above authors offer various insights for outside planners to consider, greater insight is needed to determine how planners establish their relationships. How is the relationship between planners and First Nations structured? How do planners gain entry and acceptance into First Nations communities? What types of issues and conflict do planners confront, and what biases must they overcome, if they are to work more effectively with First Nations? How are effective participatory planning relationships and processes evaluated? The planning literature has not explored such matters and concerns in detail.

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter analyzes insights offered by the literature that can aid in building a specific cultural "planning literacy" for outside planners who work with First Nations. The literature was seen to identify seven themes of knowledge that might constitute such a planning literacy. These themes frame the empirical research reported in the next chapter.

The literature review suggests that more has been written on **value and knowledge systems, authority relations, and social organization** than about **communication, participation, capacity** and the **planner relationship**. In general, the literature is organized into three main categories. The first category consists of several authors who emphasize a direct planning context of working with First Nations. However, it is not clear whether all of these authors are practicing planners who have worked with First Nations on an ongoing basis, over the long term, versus academics who facilitate short term research projects. During the past three to four years, the literature has expanded to include more discussions from practicing planners who are directly engaged in community development work. This documentation tends to be practically useful and is more accessible.

The second category of literature consists of a few authors who speak to more general or macro planning theory and practice. This theory seems relevant to planners who work with First Nations but it is not always grounded empirically in a First Nations context. The third category of literature includes numerous non-planning authors whose knowledge and findings seem useful for outside planners who work with First Nations to consider. Furthermore, the majority of authors seem to be predominantly non-Aboriginal and there are very few Aboriginal authors who are planners.

In addition, the literature generally presents a more macro-perspective of knowledge and issues between native and non-native society, rather than a micro-perspective of what planners do and confront, or what situations arise when outside planners and First Nations work together at the community level. Finally, it is not always clear whether the knowledge and insights documented in the literature are directly relevant to the context of participatory planning relationships, as well.

4.0 Chapter Four: Insights and Stories From Planner Interviewees

This chapter presents the results of interviews with nine planners who have worked primarily with First Nations in western and northern Canada, and communities of Alaska. The interviewees consisted of five women, three of whom were of First Nations ancestry; and four men, one of whom was First Nations ancestry. Interviewees are identified by a fictitious name in this thesis and the identity of specific First Nation communities is not revealed.

4.1 Backgrounds of Interviewed Planners

Following is a brief description of each interviewee's age, ancestry, years of experience, and the number of communities and organizations they have worked with:

Ken

Ken is a 50 year-old non-Aboriginal. He has worked with First Nations since 1977. During his 25 years of planning experience, he has worked with approximately 40 First Nations, tribal councils, and economic development organizations.

Sue

Sue is a 47 year-old non-Aboriginal. She started working with First Nations in 1984. She has ten years of experience and has worked with four First Nation communities since 1992.

Janet

Janet is a 55 year-old Aboriginal. She began working with First Nations in 1978. Janet has approximately 20 years of planning experience and has worked with over 40 First Nations and organizations.

Dave

Dave is a 58 year-old Aboriginal. He started working with First Nations in 1977. He has over 25 years of experience and has worked with over 20 different First Nations and organizations.

Evan

Evan is a 39 year-old non-Aboriginal. Evan started working with First Nations in 1995. He has 7 years of planning experience with 16 First Nations, and approximately 10 additional communities on smaller projects.

Anne

Anne is a 33 year-old non-Aboriginal. Anne started working with First Nations in 1990. She has approximately 10 years of experience and has worked with approximately 47 First Nations on various projects.

Nancy

Nancy is a 48 year-old Aboriginal. Nancy started working with First Nations in 1988. She has over 14 years of planning experience and has worked with a total of 22 First Nations and organizations.

Larry

Larry is a 65 year-old non-Aboriginal. Larry started working with First Nations in 1984. He has approximately 16 years of planning experience and has worked with 10 First Nations and organizations.

Carol

Carol is a 42 year-old Aboriginal. She started working with First Nations in 1987. She has 15 years of planning experience and has worked with approximately 17 First Nations.

4.2 Exploring Seven Knowledge Themes Based on the Findings from Planner Interviews

The findings from the planner interviewees are organized within the seven knowledge themes used in the previous chapter. These include: 1) First Nations' value and knowledge systems; 2) authority relations; 3) social organization; 4) communication; 5) participation; 6) capacity; and 7) planner relationship.

4.2.1 Value and Knowledge Systems

Eight of the interviewed planners emphasized that knowing the traditional values of First Nations is important to enable participatory planning relationships. However, not all interviewees indicated specific values and those who did had different interpretations of what traditional values included or how they implicated participatory planning.

Interviewees acknowledged a broad range of traditional values. Planners talked about the importance and value of land and wildlife to First Nations (Dave, Larry, Nancy), the respect for elders and the emphasis on "long-term preservation" (Carol); that First Nations were "tribal thinking," shared "communal understandings of the world" (Sue) and how they expressed a collective value of "Indians working for the betterment of Indian people" (Ken). First Nations were viewed as having a "what you see is what you get" attitude (Sue) and were "not hung up on possession, nor seemed concerned about titles, positions and the status around them" (Ken). Planners also listed values such as sharing and family values (Carol), religion and spirituality (Evan, Dave, Janet), clan systems (Ken) and culture and language (Dave).

To elaborate, Larry indicated that First Nations have a different relationship to the land and how they weigh particular values during planning decisions. This had been reflected in one First Nation where the most important cultural value was the caribou herd (Carol). Caribou were seen as the "life blood of the culture." The cultural value placed on the caribou herd implicated development choices around oil and gas. People within the community could be pro-development in one region and anti-development in another, depending on how sensitive a region was to the calving grounds of caribou. If oil and gas development was not seen to affect the caribou's calving grounds, then development might be supported within the community. Carol recognized that development decisions were made in a way that would result in the "least amount of harm" since the community placed value on the importance of caribou.

However, this does not imply that everyone within the community supported oil and gas development. Speaking about the same First Nation as Carol, Ken emphasized how values within the community had differed with respect to oil and gas development. This was true for "elders from the same generation, who shared different values of tradition and progress, including different viewpoints on the impacts of development for traditional society." He noted that in some cases the impacts of development on traditional society are weighed against the pressure to improve the conditions of a community.

Janet noted that the "connection to culture and traditions are very different across spectrums." Planners need to know the "cultural and structural considerations," including the spectrum of values in a community. She referred to generic and specific types of knowledge planners require to enable participatory planning relationships. Knowledge specific to a community would be to know the "acculturated or change-oriented" and "traditional or subsistence" people of a community. This is significant since each group represents a different value base and moral view Janet explained, including differences in work ethic and world-views. These value differences were seen to affect planning processes, methods and development choices. Janet expressed the significance of value differences within First Nations:

I think what is really important and I can't stress it enough is there is no longer a situation in our society that says this is First Nation and this is white. What we have is a range of values and moral views that overlaps substantially and what's important is you allow somebody to convey their value system to you rather than making assumptions about well if they've got jeans and a plaid shirt on and if they trap for a living, they are likely to be this or that. It is important to find ways of assessing what that value system is and not just assume that someone who has a First Nation face that they necessarily hold First Nation values.

Effective planner relationships also implies that planners are able to obtain as much information about the cultural and structural considerations of First Nations they work with to ensure representation of all groups during planning (Janet). This would help planners to enable "wholesale community consultation," and allow communities to gain greater "wholesale community support" for planning decisions. Janet emphasized the need for planners to be aware of the structural differences within communities and for them to "be able to make sure that each [group] valued the other." Her concern for the internal balance of First Nations was stressed because of:

The colonization of punitive measures now being employed by their own leaders and by their own professionals. One of the risks of self-government is colonized individuals become the colonizers. They are trained to be colonizers and they are educated in the methods and the means of colonization. You will see this all over the world until it brings power to those colonized and it often takes several generations before the remnants of colonization work its way out of society. As a planner are you prepared to be there, to add your skill base to a group of colonizers that are putting in place what you clearly see to be power and control punitive colonizer regimes of various sorts? Are you truly prepared to be a mercenary or do you have some ethic that at some point will become challenged and you have to stand up for what you believe in?

Janet suggested three methods that she had used to assess or access the cultural and structural considerations of a First Nation. The first method is to develop a relationship with a local sponsor or advisor to gain insight about the community. Planners need to work with someone:

Who is willing to get to know you a little bit and break down some of the barriers that as you can imagine, are in some communities... because they have had so many onslaughts from RCMP, child welfare and social assistance workers who have invaded privacy. In some cases, you have to flush the people out through different methods and force. Planners may have a hard time to break into the traditional community.

However, Janet recognized that getting a "sponsor" to help gain access into the traditional community requires time. The second method to ensure a balance of participation and representation is to undertake a mini workshop on 'dual realities and dual strategies' and to say, "Listen, we need to design a process here that makes sure that we get the voices from all aspects of the community." The third method to assess cultural and structural considerations of the community is by looking at how change-oriented versus subsistence-oriented people are clustered in the physical layout of the community, and by determining "who lives where." In some instances, planners could study the distribution of disparity or benefits within a community to determine for example, "corruption levels and where social problems take place."

One interviewee talked about the value differences in culture, language and beliefs between cultures in reference to a multi-stakeholder land-use process. Dave expressed that disagreement and value differences "have a prominent play in how people participate and become motivated and active in the communities right across the country," because of personality conflicts, prejudices, different positions, different values, lifestyles, beliefs and world views, including disagreement with agenda setting or reaching solutions. He noted that applying academic principles from a European mode of thinking:

Is like trying to put a new value generation of worldviews already groomed onto First Nations peoples from their elders and their ancestors, from their use and occupation of land and resources since time immemorial.

Processes of negotiation, arbitration and mediation were seen as ways to resolve disagreement. Dave indicated that consensus decision-making was an important process for this area.

Seven interviewees acknowledged that traditional knowledge was an important feature of participatory planning with First Nations, though its significance and implications for participatory planning varied. Three planners made reference to what traditional knowledge implied. Nancy acknowledged for example:

How traditional knowledge is passed down from their ancestors and that local knowledge is from the people who traditionally inhabit the area. Aboriginal knowledge would be all Indians that inhabit the area, and surrounding area.

Dave also stated how traditional ecological knowledge "involves any phases in the way of life of First Nations from the scientific views of the economy or the environment and its relation to the land, and climate changes." In a different context, Ken emphasized the importance and value of local, "practical knowledge" and how this was different from a planner's "book learning." As he stated:

Planners must not sell a lot of First Nations people short, and while planners may have the book learning in a lot of cases, planners need to acknowledge and respect the practical experience of the community and individuals.

Four planners acknowledged the significance of traditional knowledge and elder participation during planning and decision-making. For example, Anne noted that traditional knowledge had been an important input from elders to guide land claim negotiations and that "to an extent," planners need to know how traditional knowledge is included in the planning process. In one community project, traditional knowledge had been mapped and included in the planning report as a way of protecting a sensitive area.

Elders had identified "environmentally sensitive areas of cultural significance, including outlining areas that are used for berry picking because an engineer might say that this [area] is perfect for a subdivision."

Larry confirmed the significance traditional knowledge and why outside planners who are not from the community must work with local people:

Because they are the people that know what is out there, what's on the land, what you can do, what you can't do, what they want, what you don't want protected; what they think is a safe development, where people lived over the years, where the burial sites are and special camps.

Evan and Dave referred to the significance of traditional knowledge in terms of utilizing knowledge as a means to develop trust in the planning relationship. Evan provided an example where locals had more knowledge about the land and practical construction experience at building their own homes, and because of this, "it's not hard to get close to them on many fronts." Dave indicated that planners could develop trust when they entered a community, through the "courtesy of traditional values in relation to incorporating traditional ecological knowledge" into planning processes.

Finally, two planners talked about issues of knowledge validity (Ken, Carol). Carol gave an example of where the white scientific community had not believed the elder's claim that caribou existed in one area until such time as the ice started to retreat and there was caribou dung everywhere to validate what the elders had been saying all along. Carol mentioned that the elders had continued those kinds of stories until they were proven correct. Ken made a similar point in reference to an archeological discovery and only when archeologists had discovered "physical evidence" did the traditional knowledge of an area become validated and true.

4.2.2 Authority Relations

Interviewed planners stated that it was important for outside planners to know various internal and external aspects of authority to enable effective participatory planning relationships. Ken and Dave for example had indicated that community planning and decision-making are structured under the *Indian Act* and how this authority forced First Nations to rely on outside planners (Dave). Dave suggested that land claim agreements were creating "new institutional bases from which to structure the conditions for participation and for individuals to develop their capacity, but that First Nations are just breaking trail with participatory planning." Both interviewees noted that the reliance on planners was changing because of

land claims and devolution processes and how these new structures of authority were creating new participatory roles, including the number and quality of participatory opportunities for First Nations. New structures of authority were impacting decision-making opportunities for land use, housing and capital.

For example, Ken indicated that more ideas and recommendations for program policy, including rules and regulations for new funding programs had been coming directly from First Nations. Program guidelines for capital and housing were also being shifted to "give First Nations control over their own destiny, to establish their own priorities." However, while he had stated that he did not go into a First Nation community with a pre-established or pre-determined processes, he noted that priorities for housing and capital were assessed in terms of budget, timing and practically. Evan talked about the impact of government policy towards planning and how limited funding had hampered the quality of participation in one First Nation community:

Well perhaps, the reality is money. The fact is that Indian Affairs does not fund community planning. It's stated right in their policy that they do not fund planning. It's stupid. I use the word stupid because they [First Nations] really need it a lot and it will save Indian Affairs money by doing programming. So the reality is that you don't have time [for participatory planning]. Sometimes you try to fit it into the budget but sometimes you rely on several people who know the community well.

Four interviewees considered the internal authority of First Nations and how the mandate for planning came from the chief and council of the community (Larry, Dave, Evan, Carol). Larry noted in his experience that the chief and council were "very clear on getting mandates from the people." He had worked directly with one council where the final authority for decision-making rested with the council. The role of the planner in Larry's view was to involve the community by helping the council get direction from the community. Evan also noted that the authority for planning had rested with the chief and council but added that it also included the administrators (management) of the community. He referred to both executive and legislative bodies within First Nations. Finally, Dave recognized the central authority of the council and stated:

How communities have to recognize chief and council as an elected body and that they have to work with chief and council, and that chief and council has to be accountable to the community.

He indicated that the role of the chief and council was to work with outside government agents as a means to develop participatory relationships.

Three women interviewees referenced issues of power within First Nations, though its significance for effective participatory relationships was not clear to me. Nancy revealed the political nature of First Nations and suggested that planners needed to know that there is "uneven power in the community as well as the knowledge of community interests, the boundaries and alliances made with other groups, and the type of governance structures in place." Janet added that planners need to know "who is in power and the type of electoral system, how long have people been in power, and whether the political process was democratic or not." However, Anne said that power relationships within First Nations "were community specific."

Two women interviewees emphasized the need to understand the informal power within First Nations. Knowing the informal power was significant in terms of planners enabling representation and inclusion during participatory planning. As Janet states:

It's really important to get a handle as quickly as possible, of who's who in the community. It's important to know politically sort of who is who and not only the elected leaders but the informal leaders in the community as well. It's very important to find out which elders are invited into the various processes. It's a really good idea to get some sense of the family structure in the community and sort of who the movers and the shakers are. Not only what I would call the acculturated part of the community, the people who are most educated, usually high in employment rate and often in leadership, both political and administrative positions in the community. It's also important to know who the informal leaders are of the lesser acculturated, more of traditional or subsistence oriented groups as well.

In the second instance, informal power was seen to validate or endorse the role of the planner, as part of the "means" to get people participating. Sue went on to say how she was "concerned with protocol all the time, and how she looks for who has the influence or informal power in the community, and to have them ok you because then the others will be more [talkative]." When asked who might hold that informal power, she stated:

It's somebody who is respected. They don't, it's not necessarily age, but they are hardly ever really young. They would be if I were to draw a profile, be in there forties, minimum. There has got to be some gray hair that is showing up. When they talk, people pay attention in the group. When they do talk which won't be as often as others, people are really silent. Even the kids know...people will say, "If you want to know something about that you should talk too"...if that name turns up two, three, four times in the community, it's letting you know who has informal power. There's somebody who knows. By power I mean respected knowledge...you have to know where the informal power bases are, who has moral authority in the community, and who can create that bond.

Two male interviewees stated that planners needed to know that politics is a "big reality in many First Nations" (Evan). Ken considered politics through the spectrum of right – left ideology and how these shaped planning design and development choices. Planners need to be aware that they may encounter different political ideologies in First Nations communities, and to "know the radicals and their ideas and their perceptions" and if these are "harnessed in an effective way, then it's a great benefit." He suggested that planners have "to be aware of those in the community who want to progress versus those who do not want change, and how these values should be balanced in a central view."

Finally, it was acknowledged that symbols of authority and power "can provoke some degree of friction from the past." Ken shared a story about how authority symbols had affected participatory planning relationships:

I can think of an occasion when I met one of the chiefs or one of the former chiefs the first time when I got up to the [north] and that was several years back. It was mid-summer when he was over at a friends place borrowing some horses. They were going hunting because there was a potlatch being held so they had to harvest a moose. The immediate reaction of this individual when he saw the vehicle was that he noticed we had the decals of Indian Affairs. I sensed right away that there was some degree of friction from the past and what sort of happened was that I was introduced to the individual and just felt that it was time to sit and listen....

So the reference made was that "hey there's those guys in the parkas again" and similarly traveling around with a government vehicle with the decals on the side. We were sort of immediately categorized, as spies or whatever the case may be... I mean I couldn't imagine in this day and age that if somebody pulled into the community with a Mercedes, a three piece suit, leather coat, a big fancy brief case and a lap top computer, and went in there with big high tech stuff...I just can't see that person fitting in very many of the communities around here.

4.4.3 Social Organization

Seven of nine interviewees explained the importance of clan and family structures and relationships and the implications for planning relationships. They focused on the history of family group relations in terms of the impacts on participation, and implied the need for outside planners to know the effects of history and the implications for planning with First Nations. Nancy and Carol explain the importance of clan and family structures:

Clan systems are a way of relating to each other in society. It was decided that somehow groups would form under clans based probably on family traditions. They would abide by certain principles or rules, and how they would have relationships. They would also come together in the traditions over burials or marriages. They have a disciplinary kind of regime...there is a survival instinct which goes back to living in family groups within certain boundary areas and [that people] come together maybe once a year to trade and socialize...[Planners] have

to have intimate knowledge. You have to know the families and the grouping of them and who is aligned with whom marriage-wise (Nancy).

It was important to know that if you belonged to a certain clan, then you were responsible to that entire clan. Knowing the Wolf and Crow loyalties was important because they ensure that bloodlines remained clean and not incestuous, and how if these loyalties were not followed in some cases today, if bad things happen, then blame is attributed to broken loyalty (Carol).

However, interviewees noted that clan loyalties vary in terms of their adherence to customs, and that elders sometimes placed more of an emphasis on clan systems than youth. Planners need to recognize that different clans may have different views, particularly the elders of First Nations.

Evan indicated that it was important to involve clan systems during participatory planning because First Nations govern themselves based on clan systems. In one First Nation, he noted that the community had eliminated the chief and council system imposed under the *Indian Act*. In this sense, planners need to know how clan systems work in the community, whether or not they are active, and that the chief and council system is not the traditional way of governing. Evan shared a planning experience where he had overlooked one family clan:

We have been caught with our pants down in one community. One clan was viewed as kind of the outsiders. I just realize now I felt kind of bad. I said "what do you mean there are four families, everyone told me there are three families." So here a lot of planning had gone on without knowing that. It's not that we didn't...I mean some of those elders in the community we know very well, some of them were in that particular community and a couple of the elders had worked with me clearing line. So when I was surveying up there or looking at a job, some of them were using the chain saw, were running the chain saw for me...nobody ever told me about this fourth family that wasn't allowed to have housing yet.

Three women interviewees talked about how conflict within the community, particularly at the family or linguistic level, affected their ability to enable participatory planning. Nancy for example indicated that people sometimes are divided and end up breaking from their families for reasons of insecurity. She explained that these divisions create insecurity in the community and they can end up "dismantling corporations which have taken years to build." All community participation that goes into community planning can easily be disrupted.

Carol stated that family relations were an important cultural factor to enable participatory planning. Because everyone is related to everyone, planners have to "be very careful of what you say

[and] who you are talking with." She noted the tensions between two linguistic groups in one community and how they had been based on events that happened in the past. As a result, there were going to be:

Issues around not just acceptance for who you are, but that you come with that whole relationship behind you. The young people trying to work together in the community have everything that has ever happened to their families, or between their families, [become] a barrier for them.

Janet added that family feuds were seen to disrupt participation and the implications were that some people don't want to be in the same room with certain people. In this sense, planners need to know that the history of families within a community can impact the ability for the planner to enable participatory planning (Carol). Planners can never know all of the issues, claimed Carol, but planners need to be aware that some people may never be seen to be talking with one another. Finally, Sue indicated that clan relationships are "critical" to know, but "not so much around what the orientation is around family, or around planning, but if there are tensions and old conflicts, [people are] going to participate very differently depending on what the dynamic is."

Tensions and conflict had implicated participation in terms of how people sat together during one of Sue's workshops. She stressed that she allowed participants to organize themselves and how she could never know how to "configure" a room of participants based on the past history of conflict. As Sue stated: "the only thing I can do is always have a structure that has fluidity or choice in it." When asked how she acquired knowledge about family conflict or factions, she stated:

I don't acquire the knowledge. I don't see it as possible for me to acquire the knowledge. What I can do is to be responsive to the indications...to pick up signals...I don't feel that I need to know all of the [family] histories unless we are going to work towards resolving those things.

Janet acknowledged the importance of family structures, as well as the "social distance" between groups. She explained the implications for representation and participation and what was required of planners:

Involve or create a process that makes sure there is involvement from all aspects of the community and that you are not only hearing from one voice...you can have a lot of diversity [in the] social process. You have to ask how many families are being represented for example on health committees? Is it a health committee with fourteen individuals representing two of out eleven families? Obviously if you only did your planning work with that particular group you would really get a focused plan that only met the needs of a particular few. Those individuals will often portray their ability to articulate the needs of the 'other' people in the community and claim that they are representative of their entire community. I think that this has to be definitely

challenged and I find that to ask about the families and representatives of families in the community [provides] a plan structure. You could ask that question on the basis of clans and clan leaders.

Anne recognized a similar issue where she had noted that clan systems were seen to implicate participation because under a clan system you may only hear from a couple of people. In First Nation's culture it is assumed that these people are representing their clan. However, she was concerned with issues of representation and whether all people in a community were being represented. Anne stated she was "not always comfortable" with a committee who had been selected by a chief and council in one First Nation.

In addition to knowing the clan and family structures of a community, Janet indicated that it was important for planners to understand groups within the community in terms of "change-oriented people" and "traditional or subsistence people." Her concern was the conflicting value base of these two cultural groups and how the change-oriented people could dominate over the subsistence-oriented people. Janet shared a story outlining the different social structure of a community:

The reason I bring that up is hopefully in these processes you are going to be with people operating right across that spectrum and you need to understand that not only might you get frustrated with different ways of planning a day, [but there are] different ways of making a commitment, around time, and different ways of turning up to meetings. Also, the change-oriented people tend to get really frustrated with traditional people. I've actually been in a focus group where I had two change-oriented women who worked as First Nations managers for the government and one traditional man that worked in the shop, or whatever. We were focusing on the experience of First Nations people in the work force. It was a focus group for a couple of hours.

These two First Nations women were very very change oriented, very very structured And were looking at their watches wanting to just get as much as I needed on the table. They had meetings to go to and they had things to do. The other guy wanted to tell stories and it was his way of sharing his experience, in working for the federal government. He had worked for the federal government for 20 years and he couldn't just say well you know here is your question here are the five answers...boom boom boom.

I'd ask the question and he'd tell me a story and so as the focus group facilitator what I had to be able to do was to balance that energy between the driveness of the type A personality, you know, "Let's just get over this and get out of there," and the richness of the story in terms of creating and understanding with me as a researcher what that person's experience was. To be able to try and make sure that each valued the other was a very difficult thing, you could see. I'd be listening in focusing on the man telling the story and the women would be drilling holes in the side of my neck, [saying] "What are you doing."

Finally, Larry observed that the history of family knowledge was important because certain families had different types of knowledge about a particular area or subject matter in the community.

Interviewees talked about the importance of knowing the broader history of a community and its effects and implications for participation. Janet stressed that outside planners require an understanding of the social, political and economic history of the community, including the history of migration in and out of a community, and whether there have been any re-located groups or individuals within the community. This knowledge also included "knowing the current trends and issues around land claims and court cases." Nancy also revealed that planners need to understand the local history and to do so by "undertaking a reconnaissance." Learning the history of a community and understanding its effects can explain the quality of participation and planning in First Nation communities. She stressed the historical impacts of contact and how it has:

Created all sorts of negative impacts and problems such the separation from parents and family groups and how the disruption of a way of life caused chronic alcohol dependency and wide spread dysfunction as a whole group. As a planner you will notice many symptoms from anger to silence and resistance...family hatred for one another, dependency on the band, the blaming of others, feelings of mistrust on both sides in land claims and how residential school is the constant "why" they [individuals] do not move beyond problems.

Carol talked about the effects of history and how she hadn't been prepared to deal with all of the alcoholism, drug and substance abuse during one planning relationship. Janet acknowledged the need for outsiders planners to understand the role of alcohol and addictions in the community, and how these effects have created behaviours such as "avoidance, denial and lying" in various First Nations she had worked in. The "effects of residential school were important to know because they explain how fear is holding people back from engagement." Shame was seen to affect participation because people were sensitive of being judged. As a result, Janet indicated that planners have to be able to "relate at their level," and to eliminate any power obstacles between the planner and community because of the long history of external influence and control.

Ken also referred to history in terms of understanding the effects of the "Indian school syndrome" and the length of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal contact. He had noted how people were at different stages of healing and how this had significance for the quality of participation, including the degree of personality conflicts and how they might be managed between planners and First Nation individuals. He

explained that there is a lot of alcohol and substance abuse in communities today and that he had been to meetings that were "broken up because individuals were under the influence of whatever it may be." He also indicated that it would be much easier working with some First Nations who had experienced a shorter history of white contact.

4.2.4 Communication

Interviewees provided various knowledge insights into oral and written features of communication, including various issues and obstacles surrounding communication and ways to enable communication. For example, eight interviewees recognized the significance of storytelling to enable participatory planning, though each valued storytelling differently. Janet indicated that planners need to allow time, space and respect for storytelling because "often the nature of the questions you ask in focus groups and storytelling have to allow for storytelling." This is especially important with elders and more traditional people in relation to participation. Ken recognized the importance of giving elders a chance to speak and express their views, and "that if an elder wishes to speak, we could be making a very big error if we didn't allow them an opportunity."

Carol indicated that it is important to listen to elders and that planners may ask elders for their advice and traditional knowledge. However, planners might feel that their:

Response is totally off topic. But if you spend enough time thinking about what was told to you, you would probably find the application to the question you asked.... But if you just sort of shaft that knowledge and go "that was a waste of two hours," you haven't shown any respect for what was important or how it's told to you in terms of traditional knowledge.

Larry and Carol both acknowledged the ambiguity and challenge of interpreting stories:

I think you have to kind of get used to it before you can pick it up. I mean at first it just sounds like they are telling a story and you don't realize they are making a point but the story has a point usually and so you want to listen carefully to what they are saying and then to try and decide what the point is. You don't just gloss over it if they tell a story that doesn't seem like it fits in a flow. Really it did fit in a flow and you just didn't know it (Larry).

I mean I worked right across from two elders, who used to come in and sit and talk and I would always think, "Well, what's this about?" But you know at some point in time, there would be relevance and that something they have said would twig with what I was doing in the community. It's taking the time to listen...to an elder because in actual fact there is something being told to you then that you might not realize it at the time. It will become clear if you are open enough (Carol).

Sue indicated that the ambiguity of storytelling had not been an issue for her but how she could "certainly see how it would be a source of frustration...for others." As she described:

I did come away confused and I value confusion. Confusion means something is saying I need to look at this again to stabilize the understanding to now it's not so stable. I allow myself the process time to walk myself through to see what, to revisit the assumptions, revisit understanding. So I don't mind the confusion.

She explained further that planners were not under the time pressure to know the meaning of the story and how "people want to see the product and [that] you can't produce the product with a collection of stories. You need to know what stories mean." Sue was asked if she had ever went back to an individual to get an interpretation of a story:

That it depends on who it is. If it were an elder I wouldn't go back. They don't like questions, they don't want to interpret for you, they don't want you to have their interpretation...[I would] with someone who is 'driving the border,' someone who has been in both cultures. There are lots of people, the whole land claims children, I can ask them. But they would usually tell you anyway. Even if they are telling the story they will make up some connection about what we are talking about and you will see it. But with the elders, I'd see it as almost invasive and rude [asking them to interpret the story].

Storytelling was seen to have several purposes and value for planning. For Janet, storytelling was seen as a test, a way of asking the planner;

Are you prepared to hear about our community? "Do they [planners] really want to know who we are before we are prepared to answer that question." I encountered that big time.

Stories also revealed that First Nations sometimes don't know what the planning problem is and that "storytelling was a way to reveal what is on a person's mind, a way to identify what the problem is." They were also viewed as a way "to begin to talk and establish a friendship of communications," as Dave noted.

In another instance, Sue referred to the use of storytelling and how it had been used as a subtle form of criticism. Planners need to be aware of "indirect criticism" since many First Nations "individuals will not directly criticize a planner." Sue, during her experience as a teacher, shared a story about a student evaluation one night in a remote community:

So anyway, we start laughing and talking about this thing and the other, and I have my notes in front of me and I'm not impatient particularly but I'm confused. This is supposed to be parent's night like why isn't he interested in how his son is doing and doesn't he want to know his marks? How the boy is doing? It's not on topic and we are just not going there and I set my papers aside and say [to myself] "Well it's not where

we are going but it's ok," and he starts talking about raising dog teams...that's training young pups isn't it?

There you go. If you're not with the program then you are going to think you are hearing a disconnected story from someone who really probably doesn't care very much about his grandson. Clearly, I mean he's coming into school and he doesn't want to know how. So he starts to tell how he raised a team of dogs. He doesn't tell me what he did wrong, but he did something wrong and the dogs weren't useful and they had to be all shot. So he learned from that but he doesn't tell what the lesson is, which is very instructive too because there's no... you're going have trouble finding criticism here and then he talks about how he raised a second dog team and he took care of things which he hadn't taken care of beforehand. He had just the best team. It saved his life while being off in the bush at -40C. He laughs some more about whatever. And then he left. That was my interview.

So I got home and I was left with that and I can think about it in any way I want and if I'm at a certain point in time, about my own processing about teaching, about relationship and about training, then maybe it's going to catalyze some kind of thinking. I still don't know what his concern was. He had a concern with me, there is no question about it...some concern about my relationship with his son in this class. I don't specifically know what it is and I don't know what his values are except that he values that you have to take care.

This is telling me to be reflective if I would, and maybe think about...you have to be careful when you are training and when you do it in a certain way you might ruin the team. Now, I'm going to put you in a white classroom with a parent coming in that is upset about something. It's going to be very very very different as I'm sure you can imagine what would then happen. They have a document in front of them, to begin with, the paper would go down, the tapping of the desk you know, their expectations of what you should be doing and how you are not doing it correctly, very specifically. It would be most inelegant, and at the end of it there would be a sense of being attacked. When the old grandfather went away he left me with really the goal, to just reflect on how you do this and how you can do it better. That is what I call elegance.

Interviewees raised various issues and obstacles around written communication as well as noting factors that impacted the ability for outside planners to enable effective participatory planning relationships. In particular, several interviewees noted obstacles around written language, including technical jargon and the use of planning documents (Larry, Evan, Ken, Sue, Anne, Carol). For example, Ken acknowledged the reality facing many First Nations today:

There is a fairly large degree that books and writing and planning studies and all this historical information that is referred to is just foreign. No doubt it's changing with computers being available at First Nation offices. They are certainly closing that gap very quickly but in reality, until recent times, their stories were passed on verbally and so recording five, ten or twenty year studies is a foreign concept.

Anne identified several obstacles around the use of written language and technical jargon, including how a number of people in First Nations communities do not speak English. She explains:

When you are in a meeting and you are talking, there's something they want to talk amongst themselves, they start to speak in their own language. It's a different experience. It helps me to realize how they feel when they are in a meeting and everyone else is speaking English.

Anne indicated that planners have to keep the dialogue short enough during presentations so that your planning material can be translated. In some First Nation projects she had been involved with, plans and mappings were translated:

Because you don't want to exclude people by reason of language. The only reason that it's [the plan] been written in English is because it's the language that the government uses. But it has to be both. I think that that's another way that we try to make things accessible.

However, in Carol's experience she had questioned the value of translation in terms of how some people make these:

Motherhood statements about providing language translation [when] the reality is about 95% of the people who speak their language can't read or write it, because it's [Aboriginal language] not a written language.

Sue acknowledged issues of literacy and language and in particular the obstacle of her attachment to written information and the implications for inclusion and participation:

I have to get rid of written stuff. It works for some people and it intimidates others. If they figure they can't read this thing [written piece] that's in front of them, they are not going to be interested in this thing in front of them. They might think they don't have whatever it is to contribute and feel that other people should be talking and not them because they are not really [understanding] what this thing is about.

Larry further acknowledged that as planners:

You've got to be able to explain things in a way that people can understand and try to do it without cutting an issue or something. You have to try to get them to understand that because that goes back to the education level with the older people.

Finally, Evan confirmed that there had been an obstacle around language and the size of planning documents, particularly "a lot of long-winded stuff" which had been attributed to federal government's (INAC) demands stated in their terms of reference for community and physical development plans.

Ken described a situation where a co-worker had been at a workshop and people were asked to break out into smaller groups. One male was asked to be a role player and the man was given a sheet of instructions. When he came back to the main group he hadn't followed the script. It turned out that the man was illiterate. The co-worker described how the man "appeared to be really sharp" and was initially

able to overcome his illiteracy by asking "very forward questions." In this sense, it was assumed he was literate. When the group had realized that he couldn't read, Ken acknowledged that anyone else in his position might have "been scared and run out the door" but rather, the man said something to the effect, "I can't read, this sounds interesting, how can I learn?"

How you present the planning document is an issue, "because oral or visual people who haven't had written information are going to still think in those ways [oral or visual]." Carol emphasized:

Jargon is the big obstacle. Jargon is just an excuse for people who don't understand their information. If you can't explain it in layman's terms you obviously don't know it well. Apart from the need to consider the literacy and education levels of the community and how you've got to do everything at a grade six level. The issue around jargon was portraying yourself as some expert in anything. [Planners should] just be a person, you have some knowledge and they [First Nations] have some knowledge too.

Anne stressed that language had to be clear in planning reports and to use a lot of graphics to document planning decisions and outcomes. In some cases, she had written reports in two formats:

There are certain things that have to be there [included] for INAC [Indian and Northern Affairs Canada]. It's also a document for the community. We've actually had some cases where one report has gone to INAC, and another that the community uses, because sometimes the community survey brings up a lot of sensitive issues that INAC doesn't need to know, nor should they. We will actually include that stuff [sensitive material] in the back or the front [in the plan]. That stuff doesn't go to INAC. Instead of saying, "this can't go in because it's not in the terms of reference," well, of course it can, it just doesn't need to go to INAC.

For Dave, he pointed out that planners could play a role in breaking down communication barriers and to facilitate the best of people's involvement. Throughout his interview, Dave stressed issues of conflict and the need and ability for planners to break through impasses in regard to a land use planning process. He stressed that you "have to be humble, review positions and to be willing to take another approach." People including planners have to discuss and constantly explore ways and means of resolving problems through processes of negotiation, mediation and arbitration. He referred to the term "cooperative negotiations" as a way to get through impasses.

To close, Nancy commented that cross-cultural communication was an issue for participatory planning and that "we have a long way to go" to improve communication between cultures. Anne acknowledged that First Nations have a different way of communicating, including different decision

making structures based on consensus that planners need to know. When asked what motivated Sue to work with First Nations, she expressed that:

The rules are all different for conversation and social intercourse and...where debate is the not the way we talk to each other. Where there are belly laughs, lots of them, and where inclusiveness is not something that is written in a constitution. It's how people are period.

4.2.5 Participation

Four interviewees indicated that it is important to know the decision-making structure of First Nations to enable participatory planning relationships (Dave, Anne, Larry, Nancy). Dave and Anne emphasized that First Nations practiced consensus decision-making and how First Nations decision-making structures were much "flatter." Larry noted that First Nations make decisions differently, more on a community basis and that planners "can expect slower decision-making processes as well as a different value system when making decisions." For Dave, consensus decision-making was an important cultural factor in planning because:

It's a traditional process of decision-making throughout North America, prominent in First Nations communities. It's considered a win-win situation because the majority of decision-makers reach consensus and nobody disagrees.

Anne also stated the significance of knowing the decision-making structure of First Nations:

I think it's important to look at the community...and get some insight into decision-making and the kind of structure in the community. Some small communities are basically consensual with the entire community. With other communities, everything goes to chief and council. And [then] there's kind of everything in between those two. I think it's important to know what the decision-making structure is and to get a sense if chief and council, being the client, are actively interested in finding out what the communities want and how much is lip service.

However, she made a distinction between two decision-making processes: "consensus with all" versus "decisions by chief and council." This was significant noted Anne, because it had implicated the quality of community participation and consultation. She also stated that the:

Ultimate decision maker is not always chief and council and how for example in the north coast communities everything is referred to an elder's council and you may only have one meeting with them to present it to them. They are ultimately the decision makers, although you may never see them.

Five interviewees answered that prayer was an important ceremony to facilitate participatory planning and that traditional prayers were used to open and close planning sessions (Larry, Evan, Ken, Carol, Sue). Larry noted how people may pray in English or their own language and how planners are to respect whatever First Nations want to do. Ken and Carol both indicated that elders had provided prayers but that sometimes the planner would be asked to give a prayer:

Yes, actually it was almost humorous and it happened many years ago. I was doing the closing prayer and I happen to be bilingual so I said the closing prayer in French and I got several looks and after the meeting was over they said "What did you say" and I translated it and they said "Oh why did you do that" and I said "Well, fortunately when there is an opening or closing prayer in your area it is in Cree," and I said, "I don't understand your language. I thought I would do two things: one, I said the closing prayer to respect your spiritual ways and two, let you experience that I don't understand what you say. So are kind of on even footing." So yes, I have been asked and I think it's quite an honour to be asked.

Others viewed feasting and social dinners as important ceremonies to include as a way of establishing relationships (Sue) or to increase participation (Evan, Anne). Two interviewees suggested that social dinners were important enough to budget directly into the planning process (Evan, Anne). Sue acknowledged the significance of ceremony and symbols:

Symbols are more powerful than anything else in creating a sense of community and connection, and reaffirming the power of relationship. Wherever there can be ceremony of any kind can be of tremendous support and it makes any work that I might do many many times more useful and powerful.

Ceremony includes eating together. I always plan on eating together. At some point we are going to eat together, and that's conflict resolution. It's a big part of it. A lot of it is around....we think of conflict resolution as we got the problem it's on the floor and now we are going to come up with mechanisms for dealing with it. The whole thing around ceremony and rules, around how we talk with each other particularly in First Nations communities, is around 'sustaining relationship.' That's what you got to do, keep the bond, the threads thick and strong, so when we come to bumps in the road you can just sort of bounce through. The big work is the pre-emptive strikes if you will, of having that strengthened and the ceremonies and all sense of family wars and unresolved stuff is completely gone when there is ceremony. If it's not in the room, it vanishes miraculously and people are connected.

When I was in one community last spring, it wasn't my work, it wasn't related to me, but at the end of council in the evening we had a big feast and then the dancers came, sort of as an outside group. People got up from their tables because they are the dancers. They go in the foyer very informally and change into some magnificent regalia and they do a blanket dance so they can collect some money for the cultural center. And every clan was called individually to come, the drum is going and they dance together as a clan and they included white man's children, so I had to dance too.

In other words it's completely, absolutely inclusive, with the recognition of your individual obligations to the clan. The power was in the room and you could see the children, and some drunks who came in off the street were in awe. You could see their eyes. They had a sense of connection in the community. These are very disconnected people, people who are lost souls and when they see ceremony there is moisture in their eyes. They cannot stay away. It's the only time they feel they fit in that room. Everybody fits in that room during ceremony, it doesn't matter. So...I don't know how you can arrange that.

Finally, Carol pointed out that ceremony was valued differently in each First Nation and that planners should not assume common acceptance. Planners also have to be careful around the "cultural theft" of customs and ceremonies (Sue) or the "abuse of practice" when "change-oriented people who choose to take on the trappings of culture and tradition as a lifestyle choice (Janet)." As Janet states:

It's important to know what churches are operating and how powerful and influencing they are in a community...often nobody will tell you because in many communities, it's very much underground. Planners should not assume wholesale acceptance of traditional values or ceremony in a community and that it's important to know what ceremony is being practiced.

Participation Roles of Men and Women

Interviewees were asked how men and women participated differently during participatory planning relationships. They identified numerous roles for men and women, including participation characteristics and various factors (issues and obstacles) that were important for outside planners to know.

In terms of participatory roles, Janet indicated that men tended to fill senior level positions in the community and that they rely on women to be the band managers. Women were viewed as "having the power and analysis and their role is to provide advice to men." When asked about the matrilineal society and its importance for participatory planning, Carol commented on the interaction of men and women in her experience:

It's [matrilineal society] not front and centre, even though most First Nation societies are matrilineal. But if you look at today's society and you look at the chiefs sitting around the table, they are mostly men. Coming in without knowing any of that background, you would [assume] women don't play a dominant role. Half the time, the male elders or chiefs don't make the decision until they go and talk to their wife. So even though it is not front and centre for you to see, it's an operational matrilineal society still there at play. That's something I guess to be aware of. You would never get a direct answer if you ask a chief "So do you take advice from your wife before a decision?" Look around, you'll see at general assemblies and stuff, a woman sitting behind her husband and you go, "Oh this is a bit backward, she doesn't play a prominent role." But you'll see before he votes him turning to his wife and asking [her for advice]. Those are things that you just have to be observant about I guess.

Anne agreed that planners need to be aware of the matrilineal impacts on participatory planning, stating "in many of the communities that I work in, the women are very involved in the kind of running the community and the day-to-day activities of the communities, but they are not elected." As she described in one First Nation:

There are over fourteen people on the council and I asked why there were no women. They said it was because they were too busy. They're so involved. Basically the acknowledgment was that there was a lot of power held by the women but they were just so busy with the day-to-day functioning of the community that they didn't have time for politics.

Sue indicated that men tend to take on leadership roles by way of formal power through a chief and council role, and that they tend to go out of the community to do the negotiations, whereas women stay in the community. Men and women were both seen to understand the needs of the community. Women on the other hand were seen to run the organizations of the community, considered the doers and were viewed as having informal power. When asked how men and women differed in their roles for participatory planning, Nancy indicated that:

Men grin and women talk...men usually sit back and do not involve themselves maybe because of the clan system which evolves around women, or because of the sexual abuse from residential school.

She also stated women were seen to "protect children's needs," where "men are the patriarchs." Ken added that women were "better at enforcing rules" and how the role of men and women were changing. He noted that in some communities young males had been employed in secretarial-administrative positions. Women were viewed as knowing more about the financial area, had an equal say in management areas, and it was noted by Ken that women who take on the "tough" jobs such as rent collection, were more successful than men. Like Ken, Dave did not talk directly about the role of men but he indicated that:

Women are quite outspoken. It's a known fact that women are the keepers of tradition, culture and language in the communities. They play a prominent role in the authoritative, governing body of First Nation communities.

Larry described how in one First Nation the general structure of the community was that men were seen to be the councilors and politicians, and women tended to be the administrators. He noted how "men tended to handle the capital projects, where the women tended to lean more towards the social

things, but not totally." He stressed that each community is different in this regard and wondered if women participated more because they are generally more educated. Women know more of the details, how programs are run, and may be more sensitive. Larry thought that men might take a broader view of programs and projects. Finally, Evan indicated that generally men take on the role of the politician and had tended to drop out of school, where women were the ones who went to school. Women were seen to have more education, were much better at understanding money and financial management issues, considered more practical, and the "ones who are doing all of the work."

Participation Characteristics of Men and Women

Interviewees listed several factors that implicated whether and how men and women participated. Carol acknowledged in her experience that "you're not going to get the women really participating a lot...they will be deferring to the men and letting them speak." However, Janet suggested how men and women participate "depends on the information you want," and the quality of participation is impacted by who attends a planning session. She indicated that in general women were seen to be less participatory if men who are present at a meeting, were felt to dominate. Planners should know that:

Women do not speak directly to men they are not related to. Women who want to talk to other men speak through an intermediary...and it is best to have a man interview a man, and vise versa. A man will tell another man something that he would not tell a woman.

Carol made a similar point:

There are different roles for men and women, different questions that you should ask a woman or man in a community, or things that you would ask. It would be ok to ask a man but not ok to ask a woman...if there was something Mary and I were doing that Ed knew shouldn't be done, he would say something to us but I don't know that you would know that if you as a woman, went to a men's meeting.

Janet described that in one First Nation she had worked in, participants were asked whether they wanted a male or female interviewer, and how sometimes people may want a "white" interviewer. This was based on the assumption that an "outsider" was considered neutral. As she states:

You are going to get different people who will not say anything and I would expect there are men who would not say anything in front of men either, that they may say to a male planner in an all male group. I know that's been my experience with women in an all women's group.

Similarly, Carol acknowledged that the gender of the facilitator affected the quality of participation. For example if a woman were facilitating a mixed session, more women would participate and men would be seen to take on a quieter role.

Another distinction observed by Sue that when men and women were involved in a planning session, women tended not to challenge men, but stated that women are listened too when they speak. She indicated that she had to make a point of including women when there is a mixed group of participants but that both men and women tended to participate effectively amongst themselves. For another interviewee, the participation preferences of men and women were identified as follows:

Women tend to prefer to have a dialogue to discuss things rather than a kind of question and answer format that guys tend to be more comfortable with, because it's very concrete...men tend to focus on things that are concrete (the community hall is falling apart or we need more houses) where I think women tend to personalize it more (my house needs a new roof) ...men go from question to solution to explore the problem a bit before they get to the solution....I know this in my personal life, when you are working with a group of women, it can be so process- oriented, you never get anything done. It's the best process in the world but at the end of six months you haven't achieved anything. So that's why I think there is value in the synthesis of both, that you actually get different ways of communicating...(Anne).

Furthermore, it was observed by Anne that men and women enter a planning session differently. Evan referred to "big belt buckle" persons who were males, and how they had brought with them a "raw monkey instinct" when introducing themselves. Evan depicted men as "beating their chest and yelling in your face," and suggested that males react in a different way than women, that they play different roles. He said that he looks for the "biggest belt buckle," as well as how males wear their clothes, as way to predict how males were going to react in a planning session. In one planning session, he had pointed out who had the biggest belt buckle, as a way to get people laughing and to "break down the crowd [ease people talking]." Finally, Anne commented that it had been easier for her to work with women:

I've worked in communities where their power structure is women, the chief and council and everyone in the administration building. I think it's important to be aware of that... Sometimes it's easier for me to work in communities like that because women communicate differently than men and sometimes there is a kind of rapport you establish. I find sometimes when I am in a completely male chief and council, it almost gets to this flirtatious stage where I feel very uncomfortable to work. There's a different kind of dynamic there...

There are communities where there's been few women, maybe one or two, and you just don't know...you can't say, "where are all the women?" because they are at home taking care of the kids. They are not interested because it is not acceptable for them to speak. I think it is also influenced by what the political

structure is. In the communities where women are in power, there are more women participating. That is my perception. I wouldn't say I have any empirical evidence to back it up but you know in a lot of respects, with any women in any kind of planning project, you have to have different opportunities.

Elder Roles

Elders were viewed as having significant roles during planning sessions. At one level, elders were seen to be a significant link to understand and gain access into the community (Nancy, Sue, Janet) because of their knowledge about the community (Nancy). As Nancy stated, planners should:

Hook themselves up with someone who knows the whole community, specifically the justice department because they are usually pretty neutral. Elders know what is happening. They provide knowledge assurance and support for what you are doing in the community...and they give their blessing for planning.

Elders are usually the family heads in the community, provide direction for planning and are included in many dispute and conflict resolution roles. Nancy noted that elders are also "involved in all aspects of governance and that they form part of the committee and rotate participation with the chief and council" (Nancy).

In Carol's experience, she had commented how people in the community will listen to elders in terms of electing the community chief. Elders can also take on a symbolic role, but they may influence their representatives or undertake a monitoring role during planning sessions. As Carol suggested:

Having elders involved in a workshop was seen to be symbolic, if there was not much direct participation from them. But on the other hand you don't know what was done before coming [to the workshop]. You don't know what kind of chains they have put around their family representatives in that meeting. You don't know if they are there to monitor the performance of their family representative and to see if in fact that their instructions are being carried forward. So, I think that it is much more in the symbolic role but I think that it's always important to include them just out of respect for who they are and what they can bring even though it may not be communicated at the time of the meeting.

In Sue's view, the role of the elders was not necessarily to be present during the planning session but that their presence might be requested. She had recognized when elders did start to show up, it usually indicated that something important was being talked about and that this was viewed as a positive indicator.

Participation Characteristics of Elders

Larry indicated in one First Nation community that elders may directly participate through an elder's council or they may sit on the general council. If planners are to obtain direction and comments from elders, in some cases they can ask for their input, they can arrange for their participation, or elders can have their own meetings (Larry, Evan). Larry indicated that elders' participation would depend on what the community was planning. Elders had been consulted on matters relating to traditional values (Larry) and matters relating to traditional knowledge and land (Anne, Dave). It was observed that elders "sometimes make a point through storytelling."

Sue suggested that it was important to go visiting the elders as a way of involving them in planning:

Other people see it as a respectful thing to do. Just go visit and they [elders] will sit and talk about all different kinds of stuff and at some point they'll say: "What are you doing here, how come?" And they will say: "Well you know what, did you hear anything about that planning meeting going on?" And I'll say: "Yea, I'm involved now and I'm just trying to help people talk about some things." And they will say "Oh yea?" And if you want some input then you are going to wait a while, and say something about you know, "It's hard sometimes people feel one way about it and other people feel another way about because those things kind of matter to them I guess." So you are just talking about your reflections and they might say something. It may be of no interest to them at all, zero, in which case they won't say anything but it's ok that you did, but they won't pick it up.

On involving elders, Sue advised:

You don't give them papers and stuff. I learned that the hard way, as someone yelled out "Don't give elders paper ok"...they will sit where they want and they will come and go when they want and they are just listening...and if you want something from them, you want them to speak or you want to seek their advice, you would make that request maybe known through somebody else if you don't know them very well yourself. If you do, there are some people I know will say "Hey you know, if you felt like it, maybe say something to the young people, whatever." Tell them what it is, say something that comes to your mind to tell the young people, say "it's good to see you here," shake hands warmly, say that you are happy to see them.

Carol suggested numerous ways that she had involved elders with the youth of one community. She suggested how youth sponsored an elder's tea once a week, and how craft activities facilitated elder involvement. Starting a meal with a traditional prayer had been another way to involve the elders. These were considered ways to "reinforce respect for elders" and to "reinforce elder knowledge." Their involvement was seen as valuable and planners have to make sure that everyone's contribution is valued. Evan indicated that elders had been valued for their traditional knowledge into bylaw development.

Finally, Carol noted that the demographics of First Nations were changing and that many people becoming elders were "products of residential school." She stated that "very different things are changing rapidly in Indian country in terms of that."

Obstacles & Issues

Attitudes towards participation within the community were viewed as one factor that influenced the quality of participation during planning relationships. Anne identified the issue of complacency within some First Nations and how some chief and councils had felt that they "don't need to talk to anybody else," or they "don't want any consultation." This was also the case for Evan who noted that specific groups within the community might be "excluded from the franchise." In the case of one First Nation, the council and administration had difficulty connecting with its people. Evan acknowledged the implications for the lack of involvement:

Council could come up with the greatest plan in the world right and it could be totally suited to their community, but if the community hasn't taken part in it, or doesn't feel they own it, it's not going to work.

Larry confirmed that councils who had completed plans without the involvement of the community would not obtain the community support necessary to approve and implement the plan. They stressed the importance for planners to "offer people an opportunity to participate and have a say in the planning process... despite knowing that planners could never satisfy everyone in the community."

Anne expressed difficulty in accepting this attitude towards participation. As a way to try and resist these attitudes, she had suggested to the chief and council of one First Nation that they create community newsletters as a way to keep people informed. She believed an obligation existed for the client [chief and council] who had been elected, to consult with individuals of their community. Her strategy had been to make suggestions to chief and council for them to include people, and to reveal the implications for the lack of community participation. She convinced the council that an upcoming election in one community was an opportunity for chief and council to communicate what they had been doing in the community. While this was viewed as a passive form of involvement, Anne believed that it was a way to consult with the community and that it was better than no consultation at all.

In another instance, Anne talked about how there "just seems to be a total lack of interest. It doesn't matter how you present it [the need for planning] because there just isn't any interest. It's "look, we need this for INAC, just get it done." As she explained:

Because they [First Nations] have been planning for so long, people coming in from outside and presenting something there's almost an alienation from the plan. I think that you have to get people actively involved in what they are doing. There are, I'm sad to say, some consultants who don't do any consultation... As far as I am concerned, Indian and Northern Affairs should not be accepting things like that [reports without consultation].

Larry made a similar point, noting that some people in one First Nations community felt they had been surveyed too much and that nothing ever came out of their input, "they haven't seen a lot of concrete results come out of the plan."

Ken indicated that while "everyone has an equal opportunity" to interact, and how "folks equally represent the First Nation group," there had been the odd instance "where you'll notice maybe somebody is trying to gain something for their personal use: but what I think it amounts to is that they are there to sort of represent the community." Ken describes a story:

You have all First Nations represented and there is a group, a mix of male and females. What I sensed is that there is one individual and this happened to be a younger female that sort of in hindsight appeared to be seeking information that they could use for the benefit their First Nation. But the workshop was not intended for them [one First Nation]. It was an information exchange between First Nations and the department, for all to benefit from. But this one individual certainly appeared to be trying to gain sort of inside information so that their First Nation could benefit versus the others.

Three interviewees raised an important issue affecting the quality or integrity of participation in terms of people publicly agreeing, but individually or privately disagreeing, and how First Nations people do not directly criticize (Ken, Janet, Sue). Ken mentioned while everyone in the community has an equal opportunity to speak during planning sessions, how:

Typically you will get an agreement at the table to get something resolved, but on their way home there is a lot of planning and scheming [about] "we did agree to this?" I think that there is a lot more of that out there than what people will admit.

Janet was much more direct about the implications for why First Nations individuals resist public agreement in the following example:

Old dynamics between these people caused people to not want to be forthcoming in a particular setting. So they can resist because they don't want to speak those particular words in front of somebody else. There is a whole sense of what somebody else is thinking when I make a statement that is really really big and what psychologists call sort of an external point of reference. People are constantly looking for external validation because of the background or legacy. And that need for external validation means that people are less likely to take an opposing point of view, less likely to take what can be seen as an opposing point of view. You tend to get sort of milk toast sort of views on things when you know that there's probably more of a substantive opinion.

It's also cultural. Generally that asks for confrontation or looks for conflict and so people tend to publicly agree with somebody they wouldn't necessarily agree with in private. That need for validation and need to fit in is part of the social circle. It is part of the legacy of all these influences...basically if you want radical views you have to go to the individual interview and they have to believe that you will be able to mask their identity and in a small community, it's not only disclosing my name, it is individual disclosure...the whole notion of having to be able to describe views in a way that doesn't in some way implicate the source of those views. The process has to be trusted and it's where only an outsider is trusted. That's a real strong argument for having an outside researcher if you're trying to get at controversial views or opposing views because they won't trust one of their own.

Sue also noted the implications of private and public engagement versus agreement:

What I think is probably a huge issue and to begin to grapple with it is almost frightening. It's people wanting to talk privately about how they feel about others. They are not going to do it in a public format but it's actually what is preventing them from really engaging in the discussion about a decision or a process, or something substantive and they will disagree with somebody...when you speak to them privately...they speak differently. They will say what they feel about others, individuals who have been hurt or have the wrong values, or you know "she's mean," and what does mean, mean? I know it's impacting on how well we are going to be able to as a group, come to conclusions... because they are not going to be able to listen to each other points of view.

What complicates a planner's ability to enable participatory planning is how First Nations individuals don't directly criticize, or confront planners when they disapprove of something during a planning process. Sue stressed that planners "have to be awake about picking up criticisms," and "how people aren't going to stand up and criticize you, they are not going to say anything. They are just going to walk with their feet. They just won't come back the next day."

Two interviewees noted the issue of posing questions to get people to participate (Anne, Larry). Often there would be "no response at all and yet clearly there are people who are interested, noted Anne." She indicated that this issue is complicated because in some communities there is "more of an emphasis on clan representation, so you may only hear from a couple of people but they are each representing their own clan." The assumption is that there had been consultation prior to the workshop.

Nancy indicated that what had prevented people from talking was "being truthful." People resist participating "simply by choosing not to participate and it's having to do with survival." She explained how "if you got chewed up by mosquitoes every time, you're going to do something to try and help yourself. People exist more on needs than wants. You can want forever and its never going to change." She referred to the impacts of history and how "First Nation people were not controlled to sit long enough to be able to understand anything, and how if it was their choice they wouldn't be there [at the planning workshop]."

People also resist participation by not showing up, or not saying anything particularly "if you ask questions at a public meeting you get no answers." Larry expressed four reasons why people don't speak: "because they are not interested; they just don't feel the plan is going anywhere; some people don't like to talk in public [and] and some people don't think they are going to be listened too...they just don't see much point in it." Dave also indicated how people refused to talk because of their "opposition to a given subject or position, or there may be an unwavering solid stubborn position where personalities may be involved." Planners should also "never presume. Nobody ever volunteers information. It's a generation thing and people protect each other" (Nancy).

First Nations people also resist participation because of the mistrust they have for outsiders and government, as well as the mistrust they have for governments within their own community. Evan referred to one First Nation where the council and administration had lacked the ability to "connect" with its own people and how this implicated participation.

In addition, the formal power and role of the chief in one First Nation had influenced whether others participated during a planning workshop. Sue said that she worked at trying to build in speaking equality and how she may purposely ask the chief to refrain from talking, to enable others to speak. She gave an example of how she had asked a chief to 'postpone' his voice, as a means to get others in the group speaking:

It's really important for us in this planning to get an idea of what people think, so I hope that you didn't mind because I know we will be able to talk and that all of your wonderful ideas are going to be [included]. But it's so hard to get everybody together and now that we have them together it's really important [that we allow them to speak]. If I think that the chief has those qualities, then I will prep them and say "You know what, I hope you don't mind, but what I would really like to do with this group is...so I may ask you to help me hear by listening with me, maybe take notes and then we can talk about it afterwards, me and you," in other words, shut up.

As well, the seating arrangement of a workshop and the body language of participants had affected whether others participated. Evan explained in his workshops, that individuals who "sit in their chairs lean back with their hands and arms crossed, having the ability to do that, can thwart your participation. First Nations are a little more sensitive to their bodies of other people and their personal space."

Other obstacles seen to disrupt participatory planning included deaths in the community and the weather. Janet indicated that in one community there were three deaths and an issue developed about whether or when to hold the training session on First Nations culture and teaching protocol sensitivity with native and non-native people. In the end, Janet had decided to cancel the workshop for protocol reasons but the cost of that decision was that she lost the client and "received a nasty letter in the mail." In another community, Janet was driving down for a workshop and a family member was killed in a car accident. Within one hour after consulting with family members the workshop was cancelled. As Janet stated,

There's a whole protocol in terms of recognizing the grieving and mourning and attendance to the family and the mourners is the priority in the community... you can't do your thing, you can't hold a meeting, you can't meet with individuals or anybody in power.

Enabling Participation

Interviewees suggested numerous approaches, methods and techniques to facilitate participation when they work with First Nations. However, Carol suggested planners need to respect that people may not want to say something, or for planners to not encourage people to the "point of alienating them." Interviewees talked about the need to consider the appropriate form of participation to include and involve people. Anne indicated that she did not "get stuck on any one method" but that in a typical planning relationship she undertakes three to four meetings, two to three workshops, two to three newsletters and community surveys. The active "post-it note" system of participation was preferred to the passive "flipchart" system of participation, and the survey method was considered an effective way to get people involved. She stated how delivering surveys had been:

Incredibly time consuming but we found that we often get a lot more insight because we might get over ninety percent of the people to fill out a survey like that. It's a passive form of participation but these are people who we would never hear from at all.

Interviewees indicated that they use a combination of interviews and focus groups, including a thematic analysis (Janet); community meetings, band generals, mail outs, phone contacting and newsletters, and a "table of community programs" method (Evan).¹³ Others offered incentives as a means to encourage participation (Anne, Nancy, Sue, Janet). These had included such things as providing dinners or feasts, prizes for bingo and a draw for a barrel of winter fuel. In Nancy's view, planning sessions had to include "social, a gathering that allows an interchange so we can learn from each other and understand different points of view."

Anne viewed hosting a feast as a form of consultation. It was important enough to be budgeted directly into the planning process, as did Evan. In several of her planning projects, bingo or draw prizes had been offered as a way to encourage involvement. In one First Nation she worked in, this had resulted "in four times more people that had ever come out before." However, she did note once in another community how she had been challenged on the ethics of providing such incentives because they were seen as a method of "bribing people." Incentives were a way to recognize and thank people for their participation and "why shouldn't people get something for participating." Anne states:

There's sort of this idea that people should selflessly give up four hours of their evening to listen to you and I just don't agree with that because people are busy. If you feed people supper well then that is one less thing they have to worry about to...it's not really a tool, it's a technique in a way to try and increase participation and it's been really successful.

She also indicated that public meetings and large group meetings were ineffective forums for participation because "people don't like coming to meetings often and there are only one or two people that have the confidence to stand up and speak." However, traditional consultation of large group meetings "is effective for sharing information, not in terms of getting information back." Effective forms of participation included delivering smaller group meetings and workshops "because people who come to those are self-selective and you are usually only hearing one voice."

Larry added that you could plan at general assemblies, at campsites or areas that support smaller groups and less formal settings. This might allow more diversified participation, "getting away from the

¹³ Evan described this facilitation method of program development starting with programming principles. The substantive planning would involve "portfolio heads" and chief and council to plan an intensive planning process to cross-link all program portfolios in the community, including education and justice. Accomplishments, goals, mission statements were outputs of the process.

formal council meetings, and service type people or interest type meetings." For another interviewee this had included presenting at a bingo game:

Because that is where most people go. My feeling is that you have to be very flexible. If there is a break during bingo and it's the only time you get to talk with the people, if it's a five-minute break, then that is what you do (Anne).

Nancy described a workshop setting where everyone had gathered around in a circle to discuss things. This was "important for intellectual instruction in the community, and to give some foundation. It's also important for people to socialize, to talk about it; then they can come back and discuss it." Two others stressed the importance of starting workshops and ensuring proper workshop closure (Sue, Janet). It was suggested that planning sessions start and end with a prayer and how oral and written forms of evaluation were part of the closure process to ensure participation from the group (Sue).

Planners also have to recognize the value of participation and "to proactively promote inclusion" in the community, spreading it out over time and providing on-site workshops," as Evan suggested. When speaking about elder involvement, he expressed that he "makes sure everyone's contribution is valuable and how individuals:

Just need to feel valuable. It's just a human thing. You need to know your contribution is worthwhile... the same is true in the meeting. Once people realize their contribution is wanted and worthwhile, they are more than happy to give it.

The importance in recognizing people's contribution during workshop closure was also suggested by Sue, and Anne pointed out that the value of people's contribution should be expressed through direct employment (Anne).

Anne indicated that she tries to create many "opportunities to speak," although she stated that on two occasions "direct questioning was not effective and that there is little response to questions." She indicated that creating opportunities to participate did not "involve them [people] standing up in front of a big group." She felt that public meetings were not the "best form of consultation anywhere," but that's certainly still a traditional tool." Others advised not to ask questions and to not interrupt as well, especially with the elders of a community (Janet, Sue, Larry).

Interviewees talked about maintaining unstructured time (Sue), and that it was necessary for planners to consider the timing and pace of planning (Anne). Along with being practical, planners require:

An ability to change courses quickly because of sudden circumstances...when to turn the corner at the appropriate time and to be able to adapt new perspectives...planners need to adapt to the particular context and they can't pre-write everything. They have to have the ability to react and recognize the situation and to be able to change course quickly, if need be...the planner has to know how to facilitate and handle crowds and know when and how to act when they hit an impasse, when you suddenly have to turn left (Ken).

Finally, Larry noted that planners could use examples of other community projects to explain how they might work in the community. This was seen as "a way to involve people, keep their interests" and how this process of education:

Kind of draws in their thinking so they can start to understand what you are talking about and that they start to feel that they are part of it [and that planners] really need to be back and forth [as they explain how development options affect the community]...

Tell them what kind of good or bad effects you are trying to deal with and what you are trying to fix or not fix with your plan, what their roles might be, and if they could see a direct benefit. To the extent you [the planner] are able to do that... you are not always able to do that. Planners can help by showing the impacts [of development] at the community level.

4.2.6 Community Capacity

Four male interviewees made reference to the positive capacity First Nations were gaining to undertake their own planning and yet there were numerous instances where communities lacked the capacity to carry out planning. Capacity was generally considered at an individual level and there were no references made to organizational or institutional capacity.

Planners have to be honest about the local capacity of First Nations. In Carol's view "it's all about learning the rhythms of the community," such as "Indian time" and working with elders in traditional ways. She emphasized a helping role for planners and how they had to be honest in what they were able to help achieve, adding that planners need to explain why they may not be able to satisfy the expectations of the community.

Evan stressed that the size of the community translated into community individuals having to know a great deal and that some people were "forced to be a jack-of-all-trades or a renaissance administrator." He commented that community individuals "actually have to have the same level of expertise as an expert from a city would but in so many more areas." These same people also have different education levels. It was observed that more individuals were gaining formal education and

becoming professionals in their own community. Larry responded to the context of capacity when asked what outside planners needed to know when they worked with First Nations:

I guess outsiders need to recognize what their general background, experience and education has been and the fact that a lot of them, most of them that I have dealt with, haven't lived in the same kind of society non-native people have lived in – in terms of their experience with the land, residential school, with the whole thing, even with alcohol and drug problems. So when you start working with them you pretty well have to start at a little bit different level. I don't say that to mean the people aren't intelligent, it's just that they don't have the same background and experience and they view things and do things differently.

Obstacles and Issues

Three interviewees targeted leadership and staff turnover as significant obstacles to enabling participatory planning relationships (Janet, Anne, Ken). Janet provided an example where she had to rebuild the planning and support team “twice or three times in an eight or nine month process and how when you add a new member you just can't just keep ploughing ahead. You've got to rebuild the team and if you ignore that, big trouble.”

Leadership turnover for Anne implicated participatory planning because leaders can ignore previous planning, or leadership can change plans. Ken observed the problem of leadership change and the “constant turnover of capital [managers].” He noted that during the past year there had been a “wholesale change in project managers” of non-self governing First Nations he worked with. The lack capacity was attributed to the fact that First Nations were negotiating their final land claim agreements and how this focus takes time “away from people doing their regular jobs and it affects the day to day operations in a community.”

The implications for staff turnover had been that communities were not participating in their program allocations and over thirty-five percent of the regional budget had not been allocated. In addition, with “wholesale changes in the leadership, typically one of the downfalls we find is that when a new chief and council are elected, they tend to take an about turn on a study or planning process that has been entered into.” Ken suggested that “one of the key challenges” is for planners to keep this factor in mind, “and give everyone the opportunity to have their say [so] they can contribute.” However, “the plan has to be developed on the basis to allow for change.” Finally, he had observed that when there is a turnover of positions, there “seldom seems to be any training.”

Like Ken, Anne acknowledged that in some First Nations communities there are so many things going on that there simply wasn't the availability of people to participate. When this happens, participatory planning is regulated to simply sending out a couple of newsletters. She talked about how in one instance a community that was involved in a political blockade would not leave it to meet with the consultant. In some cases:

Projects have taken six months to three years and you have to accept that as you go. I mean I just go with the pace of the community I am working with even though it can be maddeningly slow. Ultimately if you push that with the document it isn't going to be as useful. As far as I am concerned if it sits on the shelf and gathers dust. It's not a plan; it's just some papers.

Carol felt that the whole issue of volunteerism was an obstacle to enable participatory planning. She noted how "the intrinsic value of volunteering for volunteering sake was a big thing when I was in school and how it was not a concept at all when I worked in this one community." Her error had been in assuming the value of volunteerism, and the "fact that the wage economy is relatively new and the value of work is based on how much you get paid to do that. So if you are not getting paid it can't be a very important job." The implication for participation was that in assuming there was value "in volunteering for the sake volunteering," as a planner, she couldn't "take and impart that [value] on a community and expect change overnight."

Education and literacy levels were also viewed as obstacles to enable participatory planning relationships (Nancy, Janet, Evan, Ken). Nancy stressed the significance of capacity and participation:

How can they [individuals] ask about something when they do not know enough about a new system, what type of thinking [and how] people were not controlled to sit long enough to be able to understand anything and if it was their choice, they would not be there [participating at the workshop].

Evan mentioned the issue of different levels of education and how sometimes planners can work with a person who has an expansive knowledge base about the issues and programs in the community and how "sometimes you are dealing with people who are not that educated." Evan elaborated on the obstacle of education:

Dealing with all levels of education is a big obstacle because when you think you have satisfied your client and everyone, it feels like the best plan. But when you start uncovering things, maybe it's not such a great plan, you don't own it. It's an obstacle for the consultant and the administration of the community.

Ken commented that individuals had lacked understanding to utilize large binder documents:

There is this whole perception that this [binder] is too big. It's overwhelming and "I could never be able to learn that"...the individual feeling that it is just too overwhelming and they won't be able to do that work at that level, to deal with this big massive document.

Further, that "historical documents that we put together are not being used and we know that for a fact." For example, in one community Ken explained how the First Nation's reporting guide had not been used "because of the types of questions being asked." First Nations have a different relationship to planning documents, Ken noted, stating that "judging by the feedback we get, documents...seem to be treated on the basis that once [utilizing plans] is enough."

Enabling Capacity

Several interviewees viewed capacity building as an important component to enable effective participatory relationships. In most cases, interviewees emphasized individual capacity building by working with an individual or small group more directly throughout the planning process. This relationship implied sharing more direct responsibility in the planning process. Ken commented on how planners need to "develop a product that is useful and that can be applied and used by the community."

Evan discussed how he classified his clients in terms of capacity and how the level of capacity impacted his working relationships. He described two types of clients: "those you have established a relationship with, and those who are new clients." The relationships he had with his clients consisted of three categories of capacity: 1) middle client, 2) overly capable and 3) overworked. He commented that typically it is two or three persons who are educated in the community that get "swamped" and it's not an issue of capacity or capability regarding the planning task. The significance of knowing the capacity of the community before you start planning would be to determine whether a training component would be structured into the planning relationship. Evan indicated that those communities and individuals who were new clients, or less capable, were presented with planning tools in a way that they could adapt the tools themselves.

Planners could also help "appropriate individuals," mainly those individuals who have "hands-on experience" (Ken). Planners can provide training capacity to the community in an effort to help develop and work with change. In Ken's view, planners were seen as giving communities the opportunity to

control and own their destiny. Planners have to recognize the positive planning experiences of First Nations they work with, and to help promote these in the community.

Janet tries to work with a "steering group or committee or reference group that is representative of the major interests in the community." She also indicated that it is necessary to work with one individual in the community, and to act as a team. In her experience, she is "delivering and leaving capacity behind by training an individual in the process." When I asked Janet what she did to allow a community to have control, she commented:

I don't see them as having the control. I see it as a co-creation project. There are times when the community will dominate and there are times when you will sort of take the reigns for some creative time to get the process out of the ditch and back on the road. So to me, I'm not sure that you are taking your full responsibility if you basically hand those reigns over to the community and say I'm in the back of the truck, call me if you need me.

Because to me you need to be in the front seat of the wagon and the horse, you know, that you are on the front seat in the community. You've got the reigns, they've got the reigns. You are not sitting in the back unable to see what is coming down the road. To me it is a passing back and forth of control because you have the responsibility to keep the process on track. They can help design the process but once the contract is in place, is saying "Ok this is the program that we are going to follow."

Then you have to have the responsibility to deliver that process and so there are Times that you choose to dominate the process, sort of take control of it for brief periods in order to make sure that it's on track. It's just like when you teach somebody how to drive. There is a point of which you put your foot over the hump and on the brake or you grab the steering wheel. But it's usually in a situation with no other options.

So what you need, part of the experience that comes with this, is the trust of the community's capacity. A trust that the community is seeing things that you are not seeing, that the community is experiencing the process differently than you are. You need to have really open and active communication and the community also needs to know what your role is. It's really really important to clarify that right from the word go and it's a really good idea to have it documented so that half way down the road you say, "Wait a minute. It's now my responsibility to take the reigns. I'm driving for the next mile" because this is what we have to deliver on, whether it's a report or hauling in the data that needs to be done.

Anne helped to enable communities to have control over their own planning by hiring at least one person in the community and for them to structure their own involvement, however they wish. As she describes:

We had some people who have been incredibly involved. In one community, I came in with a draft survey and we sat down for four hours with this person and redid the whole thing. It [the survey] was so much better than what we had before. So I think that's one way, a constant kind of linkage, and it's someone who is well known in the community. There's one qualification.

They have to be well known in the community. In a number of cases, the person has been taken on as a planner. So I think we had some success there. Other sorts of things we do...in some cases we have set up a steering committee. Basically it would include a few people from staff and certainly from the community, although it is generally the chief and council who pick the people to sit on the committee.

A training component was also important for every project:

I would not want to do a project where we didn't have someone involved throughout [the project]...I have found that where there's a local planner who's really involved in the process, it gives the community a lot more understanding and grounding in the planning process.

She added that people who are involved in the community should be compensated for their work and not be asked to participate on a voluntary basis. She insisted that Indian Affairs should compensate individuals for their involvement.

Viewed from a different perspective, Evan talked about the challenge for one First Nation's administration connecting with its people. In this instance, he helped the individual, chief and council and administration to "work on ways to enable them to get more out of their people." In one example, Evan talked about how he had encouraged the community to become more involved in various planning tasks and how a membership director of one community helped with the population study, the housing officer helped with the housing needs analysis and the capital works manager helped with the capital assessment. In a different instance, one community had completed all of its planning and Evan provided an editing role for the whole project, checking for "completeness."

Dave indicated one way to enable communities to have control over their planning:

Delivery of concepts, ideals and values would have to be cross-communicated and you can do that by paper exchange, brainstorming sessions and by leading questions like "What do you think about this idea? What do you think if we did it this way, your way versus another way?" To prompt discussion, to prompt ideas, to brainstorm, to figure out the best way to blaze a trail, the best way to start a journey... "How are you going to get there? When you are going to get there? How successful it will be?" These are all dependent upon all the planning that goes into place, and how all of the individuals who are involved have to be involved because without that, you can't have a successful journey.

Throughout her interview, Janet referenced the need for there to "be a real balance between the task and process, and there are times when you have to put the task literally aside, and at some point to get back to process." She stressed the issue of ensuring and "creating tracks of good quality process and the

precedence of creating good quality process is building capacity along the way." If people are "pissed off at the process" then someone in the community will "ambush the product and it will end up on the shelf, end up lost, or it will end up somewhere where you don't want it to be." In one community, they had come back and asked for the same report four times because it "always gets lost."

To allow communities to maintain control and develop capacity, Sue had provided choices and options for process. She had to "pay attention to what people say about process: what I want to hear is about is process stuff. It's none of my business about substantive stuff...substance belongs to them, process belongs to me." The significance of her concern for process relates to her role as a planner. She looks for signs that the process is not enabling participation. Sue wanted to know whether people feel uncomfortable, so that "we can have a conversation about process or structure."

Sue encouraged communication and participation among people by "creating safety" and "options to participate." This included how people might form groups, who might work together, including who and how people present their findings in a workshop setting. She also strategically structured the placement of people in a workshop because of varying literacy levels. And further, that she always attached dialogue to paper to facilitate understanding and participation.

A large part of Sue's planning practice was to constantly ask individuals for their verification on what she is interpreting throughout a participatory process. Much of what she is told, or reads, is through awareness and signals, including active listening where she explains what she hears and understands back to the individual or group for confirmation. This helped to ensure peoples' participation. However, in order to get that feedback and know that her process was working, she noted the importance of building comfort in the planning relationship. As long as a personal relationship and trust were established, it was much easier to develop a structure for participation.

Nancy was able to get people to act and develop capacity:

By setting the stage for them by talking about the overall goal, expectation and why they are there and what they can expect at the end of the process. I walk them through the whole process and tell them what we are going to do throughout this course. You give them a brief kind of plan for whatever the duration is of the planning process.

Nancy states that people should have a say in whatever effects people and what their concerns may be. She also emphasized using a participatory approach, and to "provide a structure to involve and encourage people to be a part of the solution or decision." She commented that "ideas must come from the community" and how "steering committee participants are very critical to the planning process." Further, that, "language was an important aspect because people are going into a new system and this means new words and concepts." As Nancy stated: "a decision will come in its own way and in its own time and sometimes very unexpectedly."

Larry acknowledged that the best way to allow a First Nation to exercise control over the planning process was to give communities:

As many options as possible, more than just the normal ones and as much detail as they can handle or they think they need to make their judgments, so they are the ones that are saying what direction it goes.

He suggested two approaches to planning but with different participatory outcomes. One approach is that the planner might go out into the community and find out what individuals are interested in and then put together combinations of possibilities. The second way was to "put together a plan and about what my best judgment was on how to spend money to meet all of the different needs." He would then take the plan back to the community for feedback and approval. Planners can also just put together what the communities want but Larry stressed that "they can't have everything." He referenced the role of the outside planner by stating that:

The main planners that live in the community are the chief and council. They live there and they can see what they think needs done. They need planners "to tell us how can we get from here to there, what steps do I take. Talk to me about how I do this, so I will know what to do." Maybe that's a good part of that. I haven't thought of that but a lot of the planning is not right, not right, always out in one way. But talking to the council enough that they understand the steps in the plan, because they are the ones that are going to put it in place probably or the staff, whoever it is.

And so the best thing you can do if you are doing that is to get them into whatever the steps are, small enough, small enough that they can see achievement. Maybe not day to day but, in three months, or six months or when they can feel things happen, feel a part of it and when things are working and they are getting toward whatever goal it was because they are the planners that live in the community. I think it's very hard for somebody to come in from Vancouver that hasn't been up here all the time and go talk to these people.

4.2.7 Planner Relationship

All interviewees strongly emphasized the importance of trust and how they went about establishing planning relationships with First Nations. They indicated numerous obstacles and practices that affected their ability to establish participatory relationships with First Nations.

Anne emphasized the importance of trust in developing effective participatory planning relationships with First Nations and states that trust is developed over the long-term. She shared an example of when she had worked with one First Nation to complete a performance-monitoring framework. She indicated that "there was a really strong relationship, a really good working relationship and a lot of trust," and how that "ultimately made it really successful." Anne had worked directly with the First Nation for over six years and the company she worked for had worked with the same community for fifteen years. She acknowledged the significance of developing personal relationships to create trust and enable greater participation.

Dave also acknowledged the significance of developing trust and that this was part of the value of participation. He indicated that gaining and establishing the trust of First Nations is an important activity of the planner and how this is accomplished based on developing friendships. Planners who work with First Nations:

Have to portray a degree of respect for the people you are dealing with and convey that to the local people including the chief and council, the people you will be working directly with and the elders who are prominent in the community. You have to explain your mission or your involvement with the community or any development ideals perhaps, goals or objectives in the planning sphere of applying planning principles.

Janet views trust and evaluation integral to building effective participatory relationships, noting that "developing trust at the front end of the process lasts forever." She elaborates on the importance of building trust and how the planner relationship is developed:

Let them [the community] examine you, and it's not only in terms of your credentials, your work and history. You will need to allow them to examine you personally in terms of your character and values. They want to know if you've got kids or not, They want to know whether or not you've got a wife. They want to know who you are as a human being, not just a planner or as a professional and [if you] try and maintain what in the mainstream society would be considered an appropriate professional distance...

In a traditional situation you need to go in more open and give them time. You need to be willing to talk about the weather, the quality of fish, your kids, whatever, before they are willing to go into the subjects that you are there to talk about.

And what they are going to be doing is sort of checking you out in the process and part of that is your degree of patience, your degree of willingness to just sit and be present with them, you're willingness to sit at the table...

There is a degree of trust that cannot be developed if you try and stick all the time to those bunkers of professionalism and that does not mean to say that you are not respectable or accountable, that you are not everything that a professional is. But it's also important that you are warm and that you are human and you are approachable. As much as that support is important on the acculturated side of the community, it's more important on the traditional side of the community...

On the traditional side of the community, who you are as a human being is way more important than the professional skills you bring, because if they figure if you are a good person and you are there for a good reason, you are there with good intent and a good heart, you will do what is best for the community and not over step your skills. You won't say that you can go and climb a mountain if you can't climb a mountain. Because you are a good person and you wouldn't do that. Whereas on the acculturated side because people are more trained and more acculturated into the white way of thinking, they are more willing to engage in what I call an instrumental relationship.

Other interviewees noted the significance of when planners first enter a community. In speaking on the importance of establishing trust, Ken states:

When you first visit a community that is the time from the First Nation perspective, they begin to do an assessment and evaluation of you. If you enter the community wearing a three piece suit and carrying a brief case, and you begin a meeting and stand up and say that you were going to do this and you were going to do that, then you have probably dug yourself about two feet into the ground.

Individuals may also want to know your attitude and sensitivity towards natives said Larry, and they want to know if:

You have all the answers to the problem off the top of your head. Are you going to listen to what they say? How you are going to get the information? What you are going to do and are you going to leave them with the assurance that they are in control of the project? (Larry).

For Sue, developing a "genuine relationship" with First Nations had been significant for participation and how "this is critical to moving the planning problem or addressing the issues." She stressed her planning relationships had to "have some thread to connect us before we can start to talk about things." Permission was also critical:

I cannot come in without the communities permission, like serious permission and I have to sustain that permission on a knife's edge all the time. I am the easiest person to get rid of, like that. In fact, if I have thirty people who think I walk on water and one person says "en [your out]," I'm gone. It is the most vulnerable

place on the planet. It's a knife's edge. I know that with every breath I take, thirty elders have to agree that it's ok.

Throughout the planning relationship, Sue spends time "sustaining the relationship." This is accomplished by connecting with people at informal and personal levels. Establishing an "atmosphere of trust" allows the planner and First Nation to plan together in a "relationship preserving way." She elaborates on the importance of personal relationships and how she develops trust:

I spend a whole lot of time with the people who are going to be there. Establishing a relationship is the single most important task. If that doesn't happen you won't have genuine entry, even if you have been invited. The classic things as to how consultants are hired are of course looked at by First Nations. The most important thing is that they know you: who you are and how you operate, what's important to you in the work that you do. The level of informality and spending time talking about for example someone who you know, how the kids are doing, where somebody is at, or who went up river and got a moose.

I will talk about this for quite awhile actually. You are not focused the same way. It's getting you to the whole fabric of the community as opposed to I am there for this purpose: "I want to meet you, we are only going to talk about the project. That's all that matters. I am going to be very efficient with my time and come away with the three things that are your goals period." It doesn't work like that. It's about my whole entry, what I call "walking down the road," just meeting people on the street. That's how people get a sense of your face, who you are, how you think before you move into what you say your purpose is.

People want to know what you do and who you are...you need to spend the time hanging around. They want to have a sense of who you are before they want to start speaking or participating with you...you are disclosing all the time...they are assessing you...you have to be prepared to be visible in all different types of ways... I never refrain for instance saying that I have three kids, or that I like to build things. These have nothing to do with my qualifications. They want to know what my values are, how I live, how close it is to them. The more that I create distance, the less opportunity you will have for entry and for doing the work.

She also shared a story to emphasize building personal association with an elder while developing a traditional justice system in one First Nation:

An elder I met with twice, I was very careful, I really needed this language from him because I can't begin my work until I get some idea about the language. His people have prepped him, the people who have asked him to do it, and so we had a couple of meetings. They have been good. I've come away with some good stuff and I know that I am just beginning.... the first meeting I went too I just talked about what I wanted. I wanted him to just see my face, to see each other, hear each other talk and I would stay too long. But last Friday he had these instruments on the floor. So I asked him about the instruments and he started talking about how much he loves to fiddle, and he says "Oh that's a sweet sound from that fiddle" I said: "My kid, my son, he really likes playing that fiddle," and he says, "Oh yea?"

So we talk a little bit more and last Friday we had the wildest fiddle session over there and my son was there all night playing fiddle with this elder and he got two others to come up from the village, a guy on a drum and a guitar and anyway the place

was lit up...I phoned to pick him up and his wife answers the phone and she says, "Oh, we're having fun over here". Then I came over and I brought him a moose steak. He says, "Oh, you've been hunting," I said "Yea, and it's a nice one, a young one," and he says, "Oh, I'm going to like that." It's all over now. It has to do with seeing me as a family person, as a musical person, as a hunter, as a caregiver, all of that. More than that...

So how can I say to someone if you are going to go in and do some planning session, I want you to have a kid that plays fiddle.... how do you do this? But I knew. That wasn't strategic. I just love that stuff and my son was just thrilled to have an opportunity to learn from [the elder]. They learned each other's songs and they are having a great time and to me that is the biggest reward and that's it, I've arrived. It's wonderful. I don't even care about the contract. I know that he [the elder] going to be able to talk to me more directly [now].

Other interviewees stressed the personal element of establishing trust with First Nations. Evan suggested that "you got to go in on a personal level all the time," and found ways to personally relate to people, whether they include sharing a similar life experience, being aware of community issues, talking about hockey or hunting (even though he did not hunt). Personally relating to people was seen as a "way of breaking the ice" and connecting with First Nations. Dave shared a story about developing a "friendship of communications:"

I will give you an example of approaching an elder with a cup of tea. I said to this person that I would sure like to sit down with you and come to your house and maybe you can tell me some early day stories about your experience on the river between the Porcupine River to Old Crow and the Yukon River to Dawson City, and some of your early experiences in relation to that because transportation was limited in those days to the river. We begin to talk and establish a friendship of communications and a sharing of ideas and stories that are relevant to planning and [which] may account for animals on the land and maybe you get a view of his childhood and travels with his dog team and living off the land. Living off the land and how important the skills as a hunter and gatherer were, to the skills he learned from his father and mother and people in the immediate family. How they picked berries and how they trapped and how they know the land, which way to travel safely from Fort McPherson to Tombstone, to the Twelve Mile, to Dawson City.

Carol felt that it was important for planners to "make sure you don't set yourself apart" and that by "going in on their level, it really helped to gain trust" when she worked in one community. As planners you have to "understand your place as an outsider" and to not "cross boundaries." In particular planners have to "show respect for the local customs and laws, even if they don't agree with them, and to reinforce respect for elders." Carol emphasized the importance of establishing a personal relationship and gave an example of when she had an open house and invited the whole community in for cookies:

I was introducing myself, talking about my family. I was learning about their families. I was learning about what their hopes were in terms of recreation.

Nancy placed less emphasis on establishing personal relationships as a means to enable participatory relationships but mentioned that planners:

Better undertake a reconnaissance and at least meet the players, have tea with them or an informal barbecue and talk about who and what the client wants. Is it with councilors or the departments? It's really important to talk about the goal of the project.

However, she did indicate that planners have to have an "ability to connect with the community and to develop trust in the community." It was important to "stay neutral" and to use a non-judgmental approach and to identify a role in the community.

Ken viewed the process of relationship building as "a gradual process of knowing." Getting to know people had involved sitting and listening to stories and history. It also involved asking elders questions "on the basis that I am trying to learn from your knowledge and experience." However, he went on to say that "there's a limit to how many questions you can ask, but that if you ask the odd question and let them explain on the basis that they operate under, it's a hell of a good learning process." For Larry, effective participatory planning relationships include:

Some kind of trust relationship with the chief and council. You've got to have a sense of what they want and that you are not working your agenda, you are working their agenda and that you are not just there for dollars. Obviously you are, but you do want to get them to wherever they want to be. You are listening to what they are telling you and you are doing that, and that's probably hard to do when you come in from the outside. You probably won't do it the first time. You can if you spend time. Most of the planners that come in from outside come in for two or three days at a time and they are gone for a month and then back for two or three days. That really doesn't work very well. Of course it's going to cost more to stay but you really have to spend more time if you are coming in from outside. You have to put in enough time to get the contact.

Planner Access & Entry

Interviewees were asked how they first entered a First Nations community and whether they followed a formal process of entry. Several indicated that it was important to have an individual contact in the community (Janet, Carol, Evan, Anne) and two interviewees indicated that they made contact with as many people as possible (Janet, Sue). Janet viewed the purpose of the contact was to act as a personal advisor or sponsor, serving as a vehicle for planners to gain access into the First Nation. Janet mentioned

that planners "need to create some support" because of the difficulty planners may have in accessing the traditional community. Janet elaborates on several points:

You need to have somebody that is willing to get to know you a little bit and to break down some of the barriers that you can imagine in some communities, is an armoured community...

[Sitting] down with someone who will often be someone who will turn up in the process and is willing to be your advisor. What I usually do is sit down with that person and privately and sort of say "Well, tell me about the families, the number of families in the community and who are the heads of these families"...someone] you hope is at hand with their ear to the ground in the community and who will warn you when things start to go sour or are not going well, you know, complaining or political concerns in the community.

You have to work with people who understand the community and you also have to have a willingness to ask people to tell you the truth. That for me is a big risk. It's not only the truth about what's going on in the community but it's the truth about how the community is perceiving me, and that to me is the scariest part. You say "So what are they saying about me? What am I doing that is pissing them off? What am I doing that they find sort of difficult to deal with? Can I change my approach? Can I change my technique to be kind of more acceptable?"

Carol also agreed on the importance of establishing contact:

It's important to try and find one person that's sort of your ear on the community and to build a real good trust relationship with that person as best as you can. It doesn't matter where they are in the power structure of that community. Just someone that is going to know a lot more about the workings of the community.

Evan indicated that he had liked having "one contact person because there is a lot of paper flowing back and forth and it's very important to have complete information." Larry on the other hand, indicated that planners would need to meet with whomever is doing the contract. Planners need to make sure that they understand what the council wants and to determine how they are going to work with the council. Part of the process of entry involves assuring the council "that you were not going to run off and do something independent and that you were going to work under their direction."

It was suggested that planners could determine the level of appropriate contact required and then begin to talk with individuals from the community. Larry said that it was important to have a council person or department head introduce you to the community, "to set up a meeting and introduce you, to say what you were doing there, why you were there and who you are, and to not just wander around."

Other interviewees suggested that establishing a main contact in the community was not an indicator that planners were to limit their contact or procedures for entry. For example, When Carol first

entered one community, she had talked with the chief, councilors, committee members, RCMP, the nurse, and teachers, stating, "I just sort of talked to people I met and made my way around to everybody."

For Sue, she would speak with as many people as possible, including formal and informal leaders, directors, and management. The significance of this first meeting was:

To get a real sense of what people are hoping to know what the problem is they are identifying, what the [planning session] is hoping to address, because it may not. There has to be a dovetail between what I do and what they want.

In Anne's experience, she gains entry into a First Nations community in basically four stages: initial contact, phone conversation, developing rapport and the first meeting. She typically makes first contact with the band manager "but not always." She explained that she starts to develop a relationship over the phone, "to start to develop a good sense of how the relationship is going to develop." This gives her a sense of the rapport and how much work is needed to develop rapport. The initial meeting could be with chief and council. Anne also indicated how planners enter and exit a community is important to consider. For example, it matters when people fly into the community, when they are expected to drive:

Because time is money. Sometimes it's much less expensive to fly than to drive, but there is the perception when you fly [it is more expensive], because everyone drives that [you should]...you set a really poor tone [if you fly]. But if you've suffered the way everybody else suffers with a seven-hour drive, then that actually gives you some credibility. So your physical entry and exit are important. The tone that is set at the first meeting is critical.

Dave referred to how in some cases there is "definitely a set protocol, a set procedure" under various land use agreements. He described five types of protocols as: 1) the process of consultation; 2) the recognition of all stakeholders; 3) to work closely with representatives; 4) to follow speaking protocols and formalities of communication; and 5) to maintain steady communication. Further, he stated how "planners have to develop a hit list in terms of people contacts: who you talk too, where you go, how you convey the message or ideals you wish to introduce into the community and in relation to whatever the subject may be." He also talked about when he goes into a particular linguistic or tribal area, there may be a particular protocol to that region. Entering a community also includes providing information in advance, calling meetings with chief and council, key resource staff or directors. He added:

How people coming into the community can honour elders by giving gifts, maybe some special tea, blueberries, cranberries or something small. To show a sharing of tradition, a respect and recognition of culture and to signify the importance of elder information and involvement in community development and land use planning.

He described an entry protocol in the early days:

I've seen in the early days when once a meeting is called in the community it is usually quite expressive and sometimes overly friendly in inviting new guests into their community. You have a little feast, maybe put up some stew and bannock. I remember one meeting I attended years ago, I was a young radical leader then and we came into the community and we were talking about some political issues and one of the protocols was for one of the elders to get up and make an offer. So she [one elder] came up to the table and she put a package of cigarettes on the table for all the leadership to enjoy. I used to be a smoker then. It wasn't the idea of smoking tobacco then, it was the idea of providing a gift and showing respect. It's like a tradition. It's a gift for people coming to the community. It's a sharing and a showing of respect and that was conveyed by a spiritual offering.

Issues and Obstacles

Interviewees shared numerous issues and obstacles relevant for effective participatory relationships between planners and First Nations. These included issues and factors such as planner alignment, planner history, planner bias and attitudes, planner conflict, and planner credibility. Interviewees also shared insights into how they evaluated effective participatory relationships.

Planner Alignment

Carol suggests that if "outsiders tend to congregate" with other outsiders, it could affect the planning relationship with the community. She said for example that in one community she had worked, how teachers, nurses, doctors, and RCMP officers tended to socialize together to feel welcomed. In doing so, said Carol, "you are immediately removing yourself from the rest of the community." She pointed out that "whom you are seen with can ultimately be a barrier." Planners should not risk being aligned with any one individual, and be viewed more "as everybody's friend, nobody's special friend." Janet explains the implications for planner alignment:

The risk of having someone work close with you is that you seem to be aligned with that particular part of the community and so if this individual is part of the elite of the community and you're seen to be listening always to that advice, then people can see that you have been aligned with that party and not necessarily interested in other aspects of the community. It's helpful if you've got an advisor on this side and you can recruit a couple of elders on the other side, so you can seem to be seen sort of touching base. It's really important in the formal process.

Also important is who you have coffee with, who you have supper with, where you stay in the community, and where there is a hotel. If you are always staying with people who are seen to be sort of the elite...you never stay in somebody's [house] who has a foot in both worlds. You're seen to be part of that family, not this family and the same thing with relationships. Generally it's been that you go, "Great

I'm getting into this community, somebody is taking me fishing" and the question is "Who is taking me fishing, why are they taking you fishing and what's the message that is being delivered to the community by them seeing you go out in a boat with that person?"

Planner History

Five interviewees had made reference to various aspects relating to planner history that could affect the ability for them to enable participatory planning relationships (Janet, Carol, Nancy, Larry, Evan). Janet suggested that the history of consultants in a community "can create a huge obstacle." In some cases, communities:

Have seen processes that were open and willing and honourable at the front end turn into disaster at the back end... Sometimes you are not only living down your own history, you are living down the history of every other consultant that has been there in the last ten years.

Carol explained in one community she had worked in that people "had this really bad view of consultants or outsiders who come in and take from their community and don't leave them with anything."

Nancy talked about how it was important for planners to know the "truth" of the community, yet questioned how planners could ever know it because they have not lived in the community. She states:

Planners better live there [in the community] and know that it's humiliating. Humiliating in the standards you set for your yourself... because we have evolved differently and separating us from the land and our children affected generations because they had no coping mechanisms to identify with anyone... and a lot of us had to try and hang on to our traditions."

Larry also indicated that it would be difficult for planners to enable participatory planning relationships if they didn't know the community or they had not lived in the community. Evan said that it would be difficult to bring anyone into a First Nation who was not a planner because "tricks and techniques" are needed and that a "professional planner would catch on o.k., but it would be extremely difficult to have an engineer wrap their head around this."

Planner Conflict

Evan and Carol indicated that planners have to be "a little careful not to tread in the wrong areas." They did not elaborate specifically on what a wrong area implied but Evan referred to having to wait for a situation to "blow over." As he explains:

They are fairly stable so we have to be from a business sense, a little careful not to tread in the wrong areas. I mean we have the contractual realities, you know the plan has to be done and there are times I mean maybe you shouldn't be...you know we are intentionally going to have to wait a bit and hope that something will just blow over or that the person giving us our directions which can be the chief or the capital works manager or whatever, but that person does kind of open up and let other people in. Because I know sometimes people are simply cut out and it's not for a nefarious or any mean reason right. It's just that they are not talking to that group right now and that group could well be without franchising in the planning.

Four female interviewees and one male talked about how they had experienced situations of where individuals in the community had targeted the planner or "ambushed" the planning process in some way. Janet provided one example where one person who wanted her contract had waited a year and a half into the planning process before hijacking the planning process. She mentioned that the "only agenda at play was to make the micro-contractor look bad and do what they could to blow the contract out of the water." She indicated that she had tried to resolve the conflict but the person "was powerful enough and had enough supporters and was able to take out two or three others who were sort of supporting the process and we just basically had no hope." She explained two options she had, to either keep making changes to the document, or to abandon the process: "I knew that we had gone past already a place that was sensible legally or morally and I wasn't prepared to have my name on that document because we crossed a real line." Janet mentioned the problem of when planning becomes a "cooked process:"

You know it's a cooked process and basically you come down to the crunch where the process is clearly hijacked by several individuals. If you have no support from the political leaders in terms of calling that, at some point, I've only had to do that once, you bow your way out [terminate the contract]. You get out as soon as you can because you know it's going to end up in a political crisis.

In this sense, Janet indicates that planners:

Have to be responsive to community interests, by the community interests driving it and they can drive you past your bottom line....You really need to understand what your bottom line is and how far you are prepared to go before you say this may well be in the community's interest but as a professional, as a moral and ethical individual, I can't be associated with that kind of situation.

She acknowledged that planners have to think about themselves and to recognize that "planners screw up, and in the case of native planners, there is less leeway for screwing up."

Planners can get drawn into the politics also, "which can actually sabotage what you are actually trying to do" (Anne). Anne made reference to one struggle with an individual during one project who had challenged why she was hired and believed the community could undertake its own planning. This was a common theme. She had responded by stating: "all I have been hired to do is to pull it all together for you," and in saying this, how "it takes the pressure off." She noted that her clients had tested her on a couple of occasions but said in general "that they will make a lot of strong worded statements to see how you react and as soon as you respond, they start laughing and say, "I was only joking." Anne offers a story:

Sometimes people will come [to a meeting] and they have one issue that has literally nothing to do with what you are talking about. They will dominate the entire meeting and while I am fairly skilled at trying to redirect that sort of energy, sometimes it's not possible. I don't think they are really trying to negate the planning process. It's just that this is typically in communities where there are not a lot of opportunities to have your voice heard and they think "Ah ha, I've got the chief and council here, I'm just going to hammer away at my point..."

Maybe one or two cases in one hundred surveys where people have just been really destructive about it and they just decided that the whole thing is a big joke and you know I don't care because it's their choice. What I find the most disheartening is sometimes, for example, when we are doing a presentation for the final document and someone will stand up and say, "Blah, blah, blah. Well, I'll say, "Did you fill in a survey?" "No." "Did you come to any of the meetings?" "No." And I sort of feel like saying, "Well, it's unfortunate that you didn't have a chance...because then we would have known sooner."

In this instance, Anne had consulted with the chief and council and asked: "what do you want to do?" She states:

If it's just one person who does this all the time, they will basically say, "just ignore him." But sometimes people will bring up a really good point that no one thought of and that will mean we go back and incorporate that [into the planning report]. So presenting the final, it's not the final until we've completed that last process.

I think that most people who don't participate just don't show up and it's their way of not obstructing it I guess. I actually like it when the really negative people come because they usually have a lot of good things to say if you can kind of get past that initial snarliness. I think that they have a valuable perspective. It's just that the way they communicate is sometimes difficult.

Sue also indicated that planners are "vulnerable to attack" when they work with First Nations.

Planners have "to be of really strong mind" when issues of conflict arise around the planner's involvement in the community. She describes a story about whether conflict had been directed towards her personally:

It's really important to decide. The hard part is knowing when you are going to call it. We are always hopeful that it is just a bump in the road and we can wait and wait, and it will pass and this person just got something that triggered them and you can be curious and say, "Gee, I wonder what that's about" but not to take it on personally. I'd like to think that it's really important to be of strong mind. You have to be able to just "be" with it. However, if it's chronic to the point where there's disturbances in addition to yourself, even if it's just yourself, but it's chronic, somehow it has to come to a conclusion. Otherwise it's going to impact on your capacity to do the job. So it's finding that place, then trying to be clear on whether it is an issue, interpersonal, or is it an issue around how we made the decision to select the facilitator. You could just represent an ongoing, unresolved issue amongst the people around the hiring of consultants. If it has nothing to do with you, then it becomes an unresolved issue that's impacting the capacity for us to do our work now.

Carol talked about a situation once when she had been criticized for not including some information from an individual in one community. She had made several attempts to contact and get information from an individual but she did not receive it on time before the report was closed. She explained how she had been accused with "I wasn't contacted stuff" and how the report lacked certain community information. She felt that their reaction was in some instances, expressed as a need for individuals "to cover up their inadequacies" rather than the "planners' inadequacies." Her point was for planners to "not destroy yourself with your own analysis of what you are doing, what you are doing right and what you are doing wrong and realize that you are not perfect and to not take the responsibility for the other side." In Carol's opinion, planners in some cases have to take a stand:

You've got to have your own core values that are unshakeable and as a planner, you have to have confidence in yourself and your own abilities. Not in the sense that you are belligerent or overbearing when you come to a community. Don't let yourself get drawn [into thinking] you have done something terribly wrong if nobody shows up to a meeting or something like that. There might be, and that's fair to, but usually that's not the case. Usually it's something [else] and people are going to be rough and hard on you and that's to be baptism by fire coming I think.

Personality conflicts between individuals and the interviewed planners were viewed as an obstacle to build participatory relationships. Ken acknowledged that "in some cases, individuals can become sort of the biggest obstacles" in his experience. He shared a story of when he helped facilitate a presentation in one community and a First Nations individual came in and challenged him, stating "you highly paid bureaucrats should give all this money to us so we can hire our own [planners]. He challenged this person's "theory about I wouldn't be here" and let the person answer the questions himself. In the

end what had been planned as a one hour planning session, turned into a four-hour session. Ken went on to say:

There are some individuals who tend to be able to sway or lead or pull a planning group apart and that is one of the biggest things that can happen. A local someone is respected by some group can sort of pull away from the planner or consultant. That is one of the things that occasionally happens, so being aware of the colorful five percent out there.

Planner Bias and Attitude

Six interviewees made reference to planner biases and how they affect their ability to enable effective participatory planning relationships. Anne said that her education allowed her to:

Look at those biases and to be honest...as long as you acknowledge the fact that you have biases and your insights are going to be limited by your experiences, I think that that's ok.

Dave talked about trying to maintain neutrality and that planners have to leave their biases aside. He expressed the possibility that he could be biased or prejudiced because of the government bureaucrat who has all of these biases, procedures and set policies and how "he's not accommodating the other parties interests." He expressed how biases and prejudices had resulted in human rights violations and emphasized that biases and prejudices are "quite common" because of land claim agreements.

Carol indicated that you probably wouldn't get participation from a community if you went into a community with "preconceived ideas about what would work with that community." The lack of flexibility was viewed as an obstacle to enable participatory planning relationships and it was "more incumbent on you [the planner] to be flexible than to expect them [the community] to demonstrate that type of flexibility." Carol went on to say that "planners have to know their place" and to not be disrespectful or judgmental.

Sue admitted that "it's my own way of doing things that's the obstacle." Later in the interview, she mentioned the learning bias of print and how she had asked people to "learn from produced written manuals." She acknowledged how First Nations people "have never engaged when they learn," and that this was attributed to "print and shame around literacy." Sue elaborates on the implications of her bias during one experience:

People congratulated me for the training I did in one community. A college course and it was not particularly designed for First Nation's use. There were a couple of male individuals who were at a lower education level than others. They were laborers for a government office. These two were First Nations, not a hybrid, or

anything, the real thing. They are sitting in classroom and what people were most impressed with was the degree to which they were engaged.

The big piece was them and me talking, [it] was the very first thing. It came in the morning about 10:00 am. "This is how I train," and I lay out everything that I am going to do. I have all the days laid out, what we are going to do. It has a flow, it is linked, about how we are going to distribute the time, the whole thing. It's all organized, my books and everything are laid out...we are going to take breaks, lunch at this time.... Then these two guys, they felt safe with me, and this is what I was congratulated for. They felt safe enough for one of them to say to me...he starts to tell me that he went to residential school and how everything was structured. He felt ordered around and that he had no freedom in that structure. He said that even a year ago, "I never would have said that"...that he was able to say "I don't want structure."

I was trying to ask if this [workshop structure] was ok and to get endorsement and I was trying to be genuine, because I am and he said, "You don't have it, I don't like the structure." So here is analytical me who doesn't know how to take the next step without knowing where she is going and having laid out all of my manuals. He was saying, "I don't like structure, accommodate me." What am I going to do now? So I summarize when all else fails. I summarize to make sure that I am understanding him.

So he thinks because we have all these papers and times laid out that it seems really structured, restrictive, to the point where you are getting uncomfortable. It reminds you of other occasions when you haven't had very much control over things. In fact how you learned things because residential school was about how you learned things. So we are getting these triggers all over the place and what are we going to do is not the question.

Then I decided to disclose and I said that something that is really important to me in training...I need to feel that I have really worked hard for the people, that I have thought things through, providing them with something that they didn't have before; that they are able to choose, whether they are to be a part of something or not. That's part of the reason why I lay things out. "My intent is not to limit you, my intent is to give you more movement in terms of choice and understanding of what I think is important and I own it. It's what I think is important given the mandate that I have."

And then I went on to say that "competence is really important to me in doing my job" and how "stunned I was right now." I really wanted to accommodate him and that I wasn't sure how. I admitted that I didn't know what to do to the whole group. And I said that "I am also concerned that other people don't experience structure this way, in fact they get scared when there isn't structure and they think that we are wasting our time." I went on to say that the stuff you bring up is important and right on and I want to thank you for that but I don't know what to do.

So I open it to the floor. Big silence. There were no responses so I said: "This is what I am thinking at the moment, and I'm wondering if this is going to be ok with you." I'm going to make up his name as Alfred... "I'm thinking that what I like to do is to try on this stuff that I have laid out, understanding that at any point in time, for you or for anybody, who feels that they are not getting what they need or they're

restricted by it and they don't feel that they have a right to choose... "I want you to know that you have the right to choose and to participate in an activity. I'd like to try this stuff on and I'm going to ask you to trust me. I have thought things through and that I care about your learning and I think that this is going to get us maybe to what you are hoping to understand. I am going to be asking you this every day for feedback."

I went on to say that "I was absolutely thrilled that we had this level of openness already because it means that I would be getting feedback and we would be able to move things around to accommodate you"...and I wanted to ask them if they were prepared to go ahead without objection, with those principles, those understandings and they said, "yes," and we rocked and rolled.

Evan said that he struggled with wanting:

To do things in a certain way. Sometimes I would extend that into a plan. I'm pretty cognizant that I do that...we try to be personally aware of our weaknesses...my habit of trying to impose or set things up in a structure that suits me, or that I think is right. So I often try to question that: "Is this their way or my way?"

The other aspect which really compounds that problem, is that there are often decision vacuums. This isn't just in community planning but in other projects and if there is a decision vacuum, an engineer is brainwashed to rush in and make a decision. It's how engineers are trained and they are often paid to do that. This often gets them into trouble with First Nations.

If someone is not going to make a decision an engineer will do it for you, right. They have to be really careful, particularly with First Nations because sometimes they take a little longer [to make decisions]. It's not that they are dumb. They actually have political things they have to deal with so you always have to remember these guys are politicians. They are doing some of these things to get votes and it's not bad, it's a reality. So you have to be careful that we don't rush to do things [and whether] a) I do that personally and b) I know I've been brainwashed to do that. So, that's probably the biggest thing I bring.

Larry expressed his observation:

I don't know. I'm sure I have my opinions on the way it should go. It isn't the way it always happens. I try to keep that out if I can, well, the best I'm able. I'll tell them, like I've always told the council when they ask me if I thought this was the best way to go and sometimes they haven't agreed with me...I always tell them what I think, what my opinion is, but in the long run, it's their decision.

And Evan acknowledged his:

Well, obviously I'm not from the community, I'm white. To get over that, I'd just tell them. I'd start by saying "I'm white and not from your community," and I don't even pretend to be native or from the community so let's get that over with, and two, I don't work for Indian Affairs. Now that breaks the ice you know for eighty percent of the people. There is twenty percent that don't trust you. They just have to be...it just takes them a while to warm up to you, usually by the time we are in the workshop setting and we've gone through the process of proposal writing, winning the contract or helping them get the money to do the study.

Finally, Anne noted the danger of complacency and planners who have developed long-term working relationships with communities. She observed that some planners believe:

That "we" don't need to ask and we know this is what they [community] want...or you are talking from the position that "don't bug us [planners] with this, we know what we need. I'm not comfortable with that [attitude] because it may be fine today, it may be fine tomorrow but at a certain point in time you are going to make a decision that isn't going to be fine...

I think the benefit of a long-term relationship far outweighs the risks but I think there is always the danger of that kind of complacency. And I don't mean the band manager and chief: "We" don't need to talk to anybody else. I think it's easy to fall into that because it's again time...It's complicated but as I say I think it's the benefit of a long-term relationship. The trust and communication far outweigh the kind of negative, the downside.

Planner Credibility

Janet noted planner obstacles such as the personal and professional development of the planner, the lack of patience, the willingness to listen, and the inability to understand the true reality. There is also the fear in letting go of the process and allowing time for the community to "take the reigns." It's having the trust that you will know that it's time to intervene." Finally, she states planners must not do anything that contributes to the "legacy of dependency." Janet speaks about the sensitivity and issue around planner credibility:

When you are in a community and are seen to be working with a community, you're being sponsored by the people who invited you into that community. So, no longer is it just your credibility that you have on the line, it's their credibility as well; so your credibility is affected by their credibility and their credibility is affected by your credibility.

Finally, Carol noted that an effective relationship also implied not setting yourself apart with a huge wage differential or not living in a fancy community home. These relate to issues of symbols and power differences.

Evaluating Participatory Relationships and Outcomes

Interviewees were asked how they evaluated effective participatory relationships. They identified several indicators they used to evaluate planning outcomes:

Carol:

- Community follows through with the plan.
- The community realizes tangible results.
- The document doesn't sit on a shelf.
- Planning results in a process that brings people together.
- Planning establishes a way of working together and to continue on.
- Planning relationships and interaction might not be what you expected.
- You helped the community to understand what is required of them to implement their dreams and desires.
- You acknowledged their dreams and desires and helped them on a path to get there.

Anne:

- Community goes on to actively implement the plan.
- Whether plans [e.g. land use] were being monitored (used).
- When people in the community take on some kind of involvement, when planning takes on some kind of status.
- When you get asked to do follow up work.
- How you keep in touch by phone.
- The connection with people on human and personal levels.
- When First Nations respect the planner's opinion.
- Maintaining long-term relationships with communities.

Janet:

- When community accepts plan ownership.
- Community is promoting the planning document.
- Plan is actually being used for something.
- Sense that relationships are solid at the end of the relationship— better at the end rather than at the beginning of the relationship.
- Feeling that the planner's credibility and role are strengthened rather than weakened.
- That you are actually sad to say good-bye, rather than saying, "My god, I'm out of here."
- Whether relationships survived the process.
- Process results in a planning document that was expected by the community.
- When the planning product is inspected, understood and used by the community.

Evan:

- If we went through the table of community program process and everybody was involved.
- If heads were nodding and everyone was laughing and joking and whether they said thanks at the end.
- By how much people are talking.
- If someone was saying something and someone wanted to butt in you know that is good.
- If people were getting excited.
- There has to be enough people to make it a good community plan.
- If it were over a 1000 person community, there better be 10 people (portfolio heads), if two or three persons show up, its not enough.
- A community that is using their plan.

Larry:

- If I get good direction from the community.
- Depends on the level of dissension or the lack of clear consensus.
- Enough community input to feel comfortable and move ahead.
- Knowing if things were really kind of on the edge.
- By reading the body language of planning participants.

Nancy:

- Do they understand what I am talking about?
- Do participants show through action and response that they understand?
- Test understanding through games related to tasks.
- Whether you achieved the goal you started with.
- By setting milestones and achievements over a time frame that can be measured.

Ken:

- Whether at the end of the meeting, they put their hat and coat on and walk out the door.
- If people don't want to go home and if they stand and talk and ask you more questions.
- Maybe when they quiz you on what you think about this or that.
- That you know if you succeeded or failed.
- Recognition through a gift or invitation.

Dave:

- Enabling involvement and generating opportunities for people to have a say.
- Being able to plan for different time frames such as now, tomorrow and the future.
- The success of a relationship by the smiles on people's faces.
- Measured by the comfortableness of the closing.
- If they feel like they made progress, that decisions were made on each agenda item.
- That you accomplished the ends of the planning purpose.

Sue:

- Planner acknowledgement by the community.
- Recognition through receiving gifts.
- Planning work had been integrated and communities were actually doing it.

4.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter documents and describes various insights, factors and stories from the nine practicing planners who have worked with First Nations primarily throughout western and northern Canada, and communities of Alaska. The interviewed planners contributed most significantly to the knowledge themes of **communication**, **participation**, and knowledge about the **planner relationship**. In general, contributions were made in terms of identifying key actors, factors, issues and obstacles that influence a planner's ability to facilitate effective participatory relationships, including approaches, methods, strategies and tactics planners utilize to build more effective planning relationships with First Nations. The results of this chapter are interpreted and analyzed in the next chapter.

5.0 Chapter Five: Analysis and Conclusions of Findings

This chapter compares the interviewee's perspectives with those of the author's discussed in chapter three. Emphasis is placed on identifying interviewee perspectives that diverge, extend or enrich those of the authors. Occasionally, I include insights and observations from my own planning experience to expand the discussion. For each knowledge theme, conclusions are drawn about areas of agreement and disagreement, and the implications for planning practice. Diagrams are provided at the end of each knowledge theme discussion to help conceptualize my research findings.

5.1 First Nations' Value and Knowledge Systems

Value Systems

Perspectives on "value and knowledge systems" were by far the most abstract and difficult to explore. Most interviewees agreed that having an understanding of the traditional values of First Nations they worked with was important to facilitate participatory planning relationships. Some interviewees had difficulty conceptualizing the meaning of values and different interviewees emphasized different types of values (e.g. substantive versus process). Not all interviewees explicated how values affect planning.

Interviewees identified several values applicable to Ndubisi's (1991) five categories¹⁴ and De Mello et al.'s list (1994). These included tribal, communal or family values related to how people structure decision-making and work together, including values of consensus; the importance placed on the long-term preservation of land and wildlife; the respect for elders; the significance of language and culture; the "what you see is what you get" attitude, and the "lack of concern for titles, positions, possessions and status."

While value differences between planners and First Nation members, or between First Nations and non-native society have been well documented in the literature, much less attention has been paid in the literature to value differences within First Nations, particularly their relevance to planning.

¹⁴ Ndubisi's (1991) five categories include: 1) innate nature of humans; 2) people's relationship to nature; 3) people's conception of time; 4) the modality of human actions; and 5) people's social relations to one another. However, these value categories represented "recurrent problem areas."

Two interviewees pointed out that planners need to know that value differences exist within First Nations. For example, Ken observed in one community that there were value differences within the same generation over oil and gas development, and in another instance, he acknowledged that within the community, there are ideological differences of individuals. Similarly, Janet indicated that there were value differences within communities she had worked, in terms of differences between change-oriented versus traditional-subsistence groups and how each group represents a different value base and moral point of view. She elaborates:

I think what is really important and I can't stress it enough is there is no longer a situation in our society that says this is First Nation and this is white. What we have is a range of values and moral views that overlaps substantially and what's important is you allow somebody to convey their value system to you rather than making assumptions about well if they've got jeans and a plaid shirt on and if they trap for a living, they are likely to be this or that. It is important to find ways of assessing what that value system is and not just assume that someone who has a First Nation face that they necessarily hold First Nation values.

As Janet suggests, planners who realize they are ignorant of the socio-cultural structure of the community could choose to develop a relationship with a local sponsor or advisor to gain insight into the value system of the community. They could also undertake a workshop to identify all community groups and their value systems; or they could study the community's physical and social layout to identify the socio-economic groups of the community. In Janet's view, identifying these groups may help to ensure that their values are included, as much as possible, into planning and decision-making processes. Janet indicated that planners have to be sensitive to the possibility that some groups within the community might dominate over others, and she seemed to suggest that if groups are fairly represented, one system of values would not prevail unfairly over another, in the case of more acculturated groups versus traditional-subsistence groups.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

Given the range of values suggested by the interviewees, including the range of values depicted in the literature, it is not possible to determine a particular set of values relevant to each First Nation. However, planners might distinguish substantive values (e.g. preserve caribou) from process values (e.g. consensus decision-making) to ensure that First Nation values and traditions are facilitated throughout the planning relationship.

Stated in general terms, value differences within First Nations reflect the tension over questions of modernization and the possibilities for alleviating poverty, while maintaining and nurturing traditional systems and culture. The examples provided by the interviewees support Hanson's (1985) concept of socio-cultural stratification but more insight would be helpful to understand the effects of value differences within First Nations.

The existence of value differences within First Nations means that planners must determine how they relate to the value base of First Nations they work with. The literature did not consider the role of the outside planner with respect to value differences within the community. Knowing the value differences within First Nations can keep planners honest about ensuring effective inclusion and participation when they work with First Nations. Whether planners take the pain to address value differences directly or not, they will inevitably face those differences in planning situations.

Authors cited in the literature review indicate the implications of value differences between planners and First Nation individuals. Value differences were seen to explain differences between cultures; they influence problem definition and solution, mold interaction between planners and First Nations, create the potential for misunderstanding and they could limit the effectiveness of planning. But would these same effects apply to value differences within First Nations?

Figure 2 summarizes what planners need to know regarding the knowledge theme of **value systems** when they work with First Nations. In addition to knowing that values differences exist in three realms (First Nations values, planner values and values external to First Nations), planners need to consider planning-relevant value issues such as differences in process and substantive values, and levels of agreement and conflict of these values between groups within First Nations communities. Planners might confront such challenges as how to identify and relate to the value base of communities they work in, and how they ensure that values are facilitated into planning and decision-making processes.

Planners need to recognize the planning implications of value systems. These include the need to identify the socio-cultural groups of communities they work in to ensure their representation, to structure participation in ways that access a community's value base and to work with First Nations to identify an appropriate role for planners to help utilize the community's value base.

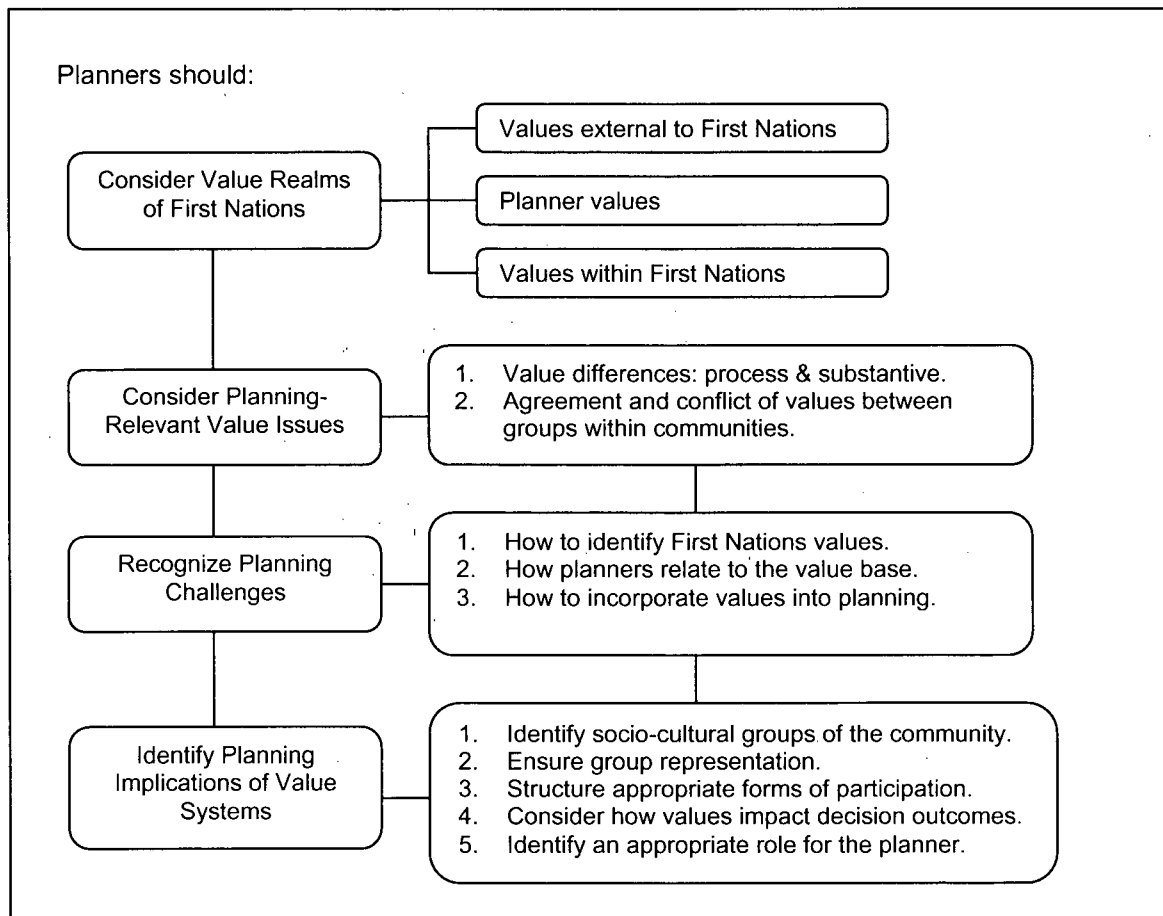


Figure 2: Knowledge About Value Systems for Planning with First Nations.

Knowledge Systems

In terms of "knowledge systems," the interviewed planners indicated that traditional knowledge is an important factor in enabling participatory planning relationships, though its significance and application varied in their minds. Interviewees provided a range of responses to support some of the knowledge characteristics depicted by Sherry and the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation (1999) (see Table 1). For example, Nancy noted that traditional knowledge is passed down from previous generations, and several interviewees seemed to acknowledge the significance of storytelling as a way to transmit knowledge. Dave stated that traditional ecological knowledge "involves any phases of the way of life of First Nations," and noted the emphasis placed on land. Finally, Ken noted the difference of First Nations' knowledge from the knowledge held by most outside planners:

Planners must not sell a lot of First Nations people short, and while planners may have the book learning in a lot of cases, planners need to acknowledge and respect the practical experience of the community and individuals.

Interviewees expanded the understanding regarding the functions of traditional knowledge. For example, Dave noted the need to incorporate traditional knowledge into decision-making during land use planning processes. Anne and Carol indicated that utilizing traditional knowledge was a way to involve elders during land claim negotiations and Dave and Evan indicated the significance of utilizing traditional knowledge to develop good planner-community relationships and trust. Larry confirmed the significance of traditional knowledge and why outside planners who are not from the community must work with local people:

Because they are the people that know what is out there, what's on the land, what you can do, what you can't do, what they want, what you don't want protected, what they think is a safe development, where people lived over the years, where the burial sites are, and special camps.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

These insights suggest that traditional knowledge has both a substantive role in planning (e.g. knowledge for land claims) and a process role (e.g. as a means to involve elders and develop planner-community trust). This understanding might enable planners to integrate knowledge more effectively, in ways that "affirm culture rather than negate native cultural identity" (Lockhart 1982). While it is important to acknowledge and utilize the traditional knowledge systems of First Nations, two planners observed that the outside scientific community challenged the traditional knowledge of two First Nations. This raises numerous questions pertaining to what is valid knowledge, who should decide which knowledge is used during decision-making and how is knowledge shared?

More research will not help to answer such fundamental philosophical questions. The answer will come from one's own perspective on participation rights in planning, if one believes that. First Nations must have the first opportunity to apply their own knowledge in defining and solving planning problems. This is critical to validate community knowledge, increase capacity and empower people. The issue is when and how planners offer and integrate their knowledge during processes, not whose knowledge is valid.

This means if planners are to enable First Nation communities to access their own value and knowledge base, they must devise appropriate participation and communication structures and methods.

As Janet commented, planners have to allow the community to "convey their value system to you rather than making assumptions." At the very least, planners might suggest to First Nations they work with, why and how the value and knowledge base of a community matters and impacts community decision-making and planning outcomes.

5.2 Authority Relations

Much of the literature says that planners working with First Nations require an understanding of the history and structure of external authority, and its impacts on planning and participation for First Nations. In particular, how instruments such as the *Indian Act* and government programming have affected First Nations' individual and collective quality of life. For example, external authority has regulated and altered participation, imposed planning approaches and programs, produced culture bound ways of communication, created funding dependencies and raised issues of representation (Wolfe 1982; Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1988; Wolfe and Strachan 1987; Carstens 1991; Ndubisi 1991; Lane 1997; Zaferatos 1998; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999).

Dave, Ken and Evan confirm that outside planners need to know that community planning and decision-making have been controlled and structured under the *Indian Act*, including government policy and programming. However, Ken and Dave observed that some First Nations are experiencing new structures of authority, noting that land claim agreements are creating "new institutional bases from which to structure the conditions for participation and for individuals to develop their capacity." These observations support what authors said about various land claim agreements, devolution processes and legal decisions and how they are producing new relationships and opportunities for First Nations to participate in the direct control and management of their own affairs (Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe and Strachan 1987; Wolfe 1988; Wolfe 1989; Copet 1992; Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995; Sandercock 1998a; Kew and Miller 1999; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999; Aubrey 1999).¹⁵

New authority structures and devolution processes were seen to be impacting decision-making opportunities for land use, capital and housing. Ken explained, for example, that the First Nations he

¹⁵ It should be pointed out that not all First Nations have signed a comprehensive land claim agreement, nor are all First Nations entitled to a land claim or treaty negotiation. Some First Nations across Canada have signed treaties decades ago, while others continue to negotiate and assert their rights and claims in legal processes. As a result, not all First Nations will equally satisfy their emancipatory objectives. In reality, there will likely be First Nations who will never escape the control of the *Indian Act*, or may never overcome the historical dependency on the type of planner Dave referred to.

works with are gaining greater opportunities in "establishing priorities" and gaining "control over their own destiny." However, in Ken's example, gaining control does not imply that First Nations have final decision-making authority. In this instance, final authority for decision-making was determined by the program manager and regulated by three factors: budget, timing and practicality. In this example, it becomes important for outside planners to have the capacity to identify the external authority structure of First Nations they work with and to appreciate its effects on participation and control.

While the emphasis in the literature is placed on the regulation of control more in terms of larger issues such as programming and participation, interviewees noted the implications for effective participatory relationships and how these impact the role of the planner. For example, Dave noted that the external authority structure imposed on First Nations has historically created a dependency on outside planners in the past. He seemed to indicate that with the new authority structures made possible under land claim agreements, First Nations would no longer be dependent on outside planners. I would argue differently. In my experience, those First Nations who are self-governing, the obligations under land claims agreements are in many ways increasing the dependency on outside planners, at least initially in planning for the transition to self-government. Similarly, it is likely that outside planning dependency will continue during the implementation of community self-government for a period of time.

In addition to the external view of authority relations noted by interviewees, they added knowledge about the internal, more micro-aspects of authority relations. In general, interviewees referred to the chief and council, the elder's council, and clan and family systems as the main political and decision-making structures of First Nations that planners have to be aware of. These findings support the findings of other authors (Wolfe 1989; Jojola 1998; Kew and Miller 1999). Two interviewees confirmed the need for outside planners to distinguish between two types of authority: legal authority (*Indian Act*) and traditional authority, as Wolfe (1989) and Ndubisi (1991) described, particularly because of the conflict between these forms of authority and the debilitating effects of legal authority. As Evan noted, some First Nations adhere to governing structures under the *Indian Act*, while others are trying to revive and maintain more traditional clan and family systems of governance and decision-making.

Four interviewees noted that outside planners need to know where the authority for planning originates when they work with First Nations. The authority for planning was generally seen to exist with the chief and council, though Evan said that in one community he worked with, informal authority rested

with the administration. Larry noted in another community that while the chief and council were clear on getting mandates from the people, it maintained the final decision-making authority. In my experience, how the chief and council exercises its planning authority varies. During a housing project I once worked on, the chief and council used its authority to authorize the planning process and define my relationship. However, it was the larger community that had final decision-making authority in terms of approving the housing plan.

Three women pointed to the need for planners to understand issues of power. These included: uneven power, differing interests, and the boundaries and alliances of different groups within the community. Janet said that it is necessary to know who is in power, how long they have been in power, how democratic political processes are, as well as the formal and informal leadership of the community. In my experience, such knowledge can help to reveal the state of relations within the community or the conditions under which a planner must work. This knowledge in turn may help outside planners to structure their role and involvement in developing effective participatory relationships with First Nations they work with.

Janet said that knowing the formal and informal leaders of the community such as elders, as well as leaders from the acculturated and traditional-subsistence segments of the community is an important knowledge consideration. As she states:

It's really important to get a handle as quickly as possible, of who's who in the community. It's important to know politically sort of who is who and not only the elected leaders but the informal leaders in the community as well. It's very important to find out which elders are invited into the various processes. It's a really good idea to get some sense of the family structure in the community and sort of who the movers and the shakers are. Not only what I would call the acculturated part of the community, the people who are most educated, usually high in employment rate, and often in leadership or both political and administrative positions in the community...it's also important to know who the informal leaders are of the lesser acculturated, more traditional or subsistence oriented groups as well.

This seems to be important from the point of ensuring inclusion and representation during planning processes, much in the same way noted previously under the theme of **value and knowledge systems**. Informal power was noted by Sue to play an important role in endorsing the involvement of planners. This was seen to be one factor that influenced the ability for outside planners to facilitate effective participatory relationships because it could determine whether individuals from the community participated in planning activities.

Other interviewees noted that outside planners have to be sensitive to First Nations politics, ideological differences within the community and how symbols of power such as government vehicles or clothing might affect the quality of interaction between planners and First Nations. For example, Ken considered politics through the spectrum of right-left ideology and how they shaped planning design and development choices in terms of progress, versus those who wanted to maintain a more traditional lifestyle. He indicated these values should be balanced in a "central view." While it would be important for planners to facilitate processes to allow a range of ideological perspectives to emerge, I would argue that it is not up to the planner to ensure that the spectrum of development values are balanced. Rather, planners might help explain the implications for ideological values and development choices as a way to inform community decision-making.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

Outside planners who work with First Nations need to understand how various external authority structures imposed on First Nations have regulated and affected First Nation's ability to participate and control their quality of life. Comprehensive land claim agreements have the potential to radically empower First Nations and begin the long process of dismantling and overcoming the forces and effects of history and control on participation. However, not all First Nations are equally undergoing new structural relationships. Nor are shifting powers in themselves a guarantee for more effective planning relationships.

At a minimum, outside planners need to consider the current and future status of jurisdiction in communities they work. Planners need to know that First Nations operate along a spectrum of external authority relations, from "bands" who are regulated under the *Indian Act* to First Nations who are fully self-governing. Identifying the "state" of external jurisdiction and control, including the degree to which legal and traditional systems of authority operate in each given First Nation is important because it determines who plans, when planning occurs, what the process is for deciding, what is being decided, and who has the final say.

One distinction for the role of outside planners who work with self-governing First Nations is that communities would have direct say in who they hire and how they structure the relationship with planners. Most importantly, the external power and program constraints that have plagued First Nations would start to be dismantled. Combined, these effects might not change what planners do (e.g. facilitate process, or

undertake land-use plans, organizational development, community economic development strategies, etc.), but rather, change more who planners work with, and how First Nations structure the involvement of the outside planner.

While new structures of authority may be changing the conditions of First Nation's capacity to participate, planners need to ask themselves what their role is in relation to the type of authority structure that operates in a given community. Whether and how planners work with First Nations to utilize appropriate political and decision-making systems is an important consideration given the history of conditions and constraints imposed on First Nations. Knowledge about First Nations' traditional political structures and systems, for example, can help outside planners to structure participation and decision-making in ways that foster participation and involvement (see under **participation**), as well as revive First Nations' traditions that have been silenced by decades of external control. The consistency and adherence to traditional political systems and structures such as clan, family, tribal or confederation (regional and national) levels would likely have varying degrees of relevance depending on the planning issue and community.

Figure 3 summarizes what outside planners need to consider in terms of authority relations when they work with First Nations. Planners can help facilitate effective participatory planning relationships by understanding what First Nations stand to gain in terms of participation and capacity within the context of authority relations. They might practice planning in ways that challenge external authority structures. This is crucial given the history of external relations noted above. Planners also need to consider such planning-relevant issues such as the conflict between two types of authority, changing authority structures, formal and informal leadership, issues of power and differing interests and where the authority for planning originates. Planners may confront numerous challenges such as how they determine which form of authority operates, who has the final say for planning decisions, what the process is for deciding and in general how planners structure participation given these realities. Finally, outside planners need to consider the planning implications of the First Nations' authority structures they work with.

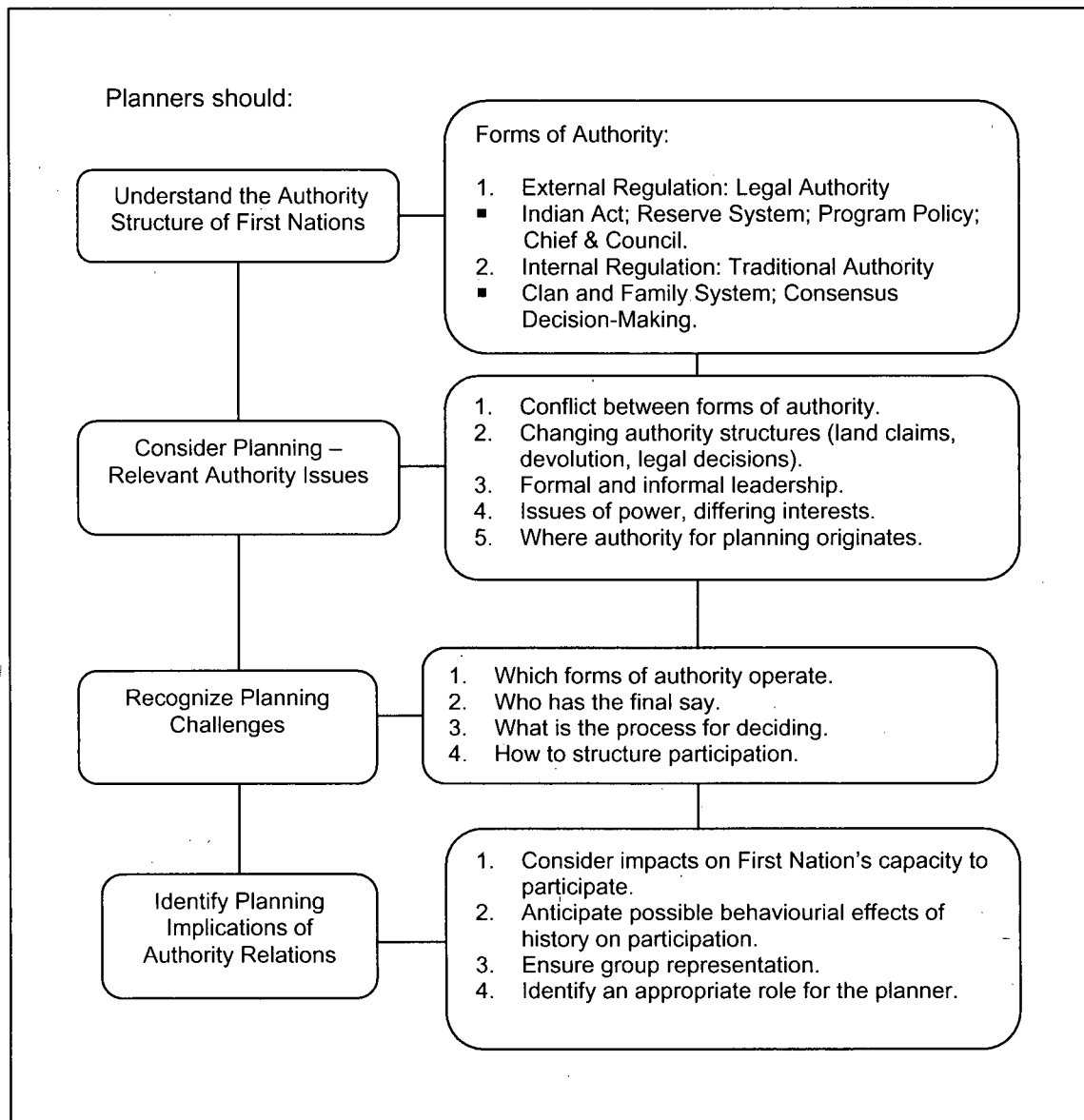


Figure 3: Knowledge About Authority Relations for Planning with First Nations.

5.3 Social Organization

Interviewees' comments supported the view of several authors (Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Simon et al. 1984; Shkilnyk 1985; Wolfe 1989; Lane 1997; Jojola 1998; Kew and Miller 1999) that planners need to know various forms of social organization of First Nations they work with. This includes individual, family, group, clan, tribal, and confederation levels. The interviewees acknowledged primarily individual, family and clan levels of organization and in general seemed to support Jojola's claim that the clanship in Native American society is the "superstructure on which many tribal societies base their most well-founded plans" (1998:105).

However, Carol noted that outside planners should consider the relevant forms of social organization for the particular First Nation they work with, since the loyalty to clan or family systems and customs varies among First Nations. It was noted by one interviewee, and confirmed by authors, that traditional clan systems of First Nations have been replaced by the chief and council system imposed under the *Indian Act*. However, this is not to say that traditional forms of social organization remain static. As noted by Kew and Miller (1999:56), the social and political traditions of the Sto:lo First Nation evolve into "neo-traditional" structures over time. Furthermore, in several communities I have worked with, First Nations are returning to traditional systems of social and political organization.

Janet and Evan further stressed the need for planners to know whether all family groups, clans and socio-economic groups (change-oriented versus traditional-subsistence individuals) are being represented during planning processes and relationships. Janet explains the implications for representation and participation and what is required of planners:

Involve or create a process that makes sure there is involvement from all aspects of the community and that you are not only hearing from one voice...you can have a lot of diversity [in the] social process. You have to ask how many families are being represented for example on health committees? Is it a health committee with fourteen individuals representing two of out eleven families? Obviously if you only did your planning work with that particular group you would really get a focused plan that only met the needs of a particular few. Those individuals will often portray their ability to articulate the needs of the 'other' people in the community and claim that they are representative of their entire community. I think that this has to be definitely challenged and I find that to ask about the families and representatives of families in the community [provides] a plan structure. You could ask that question on the basis of clans and clan leaders.

As noted in Evan's example, he might have prevented the exclusion of one family group had he inquired into the family breakdown of the community. This is discussed in greater depth under the knowledge theme of **participation**. Based on my experience, planners in particular need to identify whether the traditional clan or family systems of decision-making are active, whether they operate formally or informally, and how many families are in a given community.

Three interviewees identified the need to consider the roles and functions of various forms of social organization, if they are to enable effective participatory relationships. Interviewees said that First Nations use clan and family systems to govern themselves and that they define "a way of relating to each other in society." Nancy helps to explain the importance of clan and family structures:

Clan systems are a way of relating to each other in society. It was decided that somehow

groups would form under clans based probably on family traditions. They would abide by certain principles or rules, and how they would have relationships. They would also come together in the traditions over burials or marriages. They have a disciplinary kind of regime...there is a survival instinct which goes back to living in family groups within certain boundary areas and [that people] come together maybe once a year to trade and socialize...[Planners] have to have intimate knowledge. You have to know the families and the grouping of them and who is aligned with whom marriage-wise.

In addition, it was noted that they shape the "principles and rules that govern responsibilities and relationships of people to one another, as well as define responsibilities to the clan." These functions generally seemed to acknowledge what other authors reported (Simon et al. 1984; Lane 1997; Jojola 1998; Kew & Miller 1999).

Four women interviewees stressed the importance of knowing that the long history of family relations in First Nation communities has produced various issues of conflict. Interviewees recognized that conflict within First Nation communities could be over religious schisms and value differences, as noted in the literature (England 1971; Wolfe and Lindley 1983; Hanson 1985; Wolfe and Strachan 1987), but Carol and Nancy added that conflict could be over breaking clan loyalties or family breakups. In addition, conflict might be a result over a matter that happened a very long time ago. Carol stated that family relations were an important cultural factor to enable participatory planning, and because everyone is related to everyone, planners have to "be very careful of what you say [and] who you are talking with." She noted the tensions between two linguistic groups in one community and how they had been based on events that happened in the past. As a result, there were going to be:

Issues around not just acceptance for who you are, but that you come with that whole relationship behind you. The young people trying to work together in the community have everything that has ever happened to their families or between their families [become] a barrier for them.

Finally, Nancy talked about the importance of knowing the broader history of a community and its effects and implications for participation. Two women interviewees observed various behavioural effects of history such as "avoidance, denial and lying," or "anger, silence, resistance" in their experience. It was recognized that fear was holding people back from engaging and that shame made people sensitive to judgment. To experience these types emotions or situations during a planning session or relationship can be distressing and confusing in my experience. There have been several instances during my planning practice where workshops and processes have been disrupted, delayed or in one instance cancelled

because of levels of emotion and conflict. As Ken noted, it is important for planners to acknowledge that individuals and communities are at different stages of healing, and how this may impact experiences of participation.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

Outside planners who work with First Nations need to inquire into the social-political organization of the particular community when they first enter a community, since the consistency and adherence to traditional forms of organization may vary. Traditional forms of social organization appear to vary mainly because of the effects of history. Additional research would be helpful to know why traditional systems vary in First Nations because it might inform planners of how they can assist First Nations to revive and work with their traditional customs and practices.

In addition to identifying the relevant forms of social organization for the particular First Nation outside planners work with, planners require an understanding of the roles and functions of social organization. This understanding includes identifying the number of clans or family groups, and the state of relations between groups. However, knowledge of a First Nation's traditional social structure does not equate to the ability for planners to work with traditional structures. For example, while the speaking protocol of a community may be based on family representation, how does a planner know whether the designated family spokesperson is in fact representing the entire family? What happens if there are factions within the main family grouping? As noted previously, planners may never know how 'representative' the designated speaker may be. The challenge here seems to be for planners to learn the operating dynamics of First Nations' traditional family systems.

The main planning-relevant issues outside planners should consider under social organization include: that the forms of social organization vary within communities; issues pertaining to the long history of family relations and conflict; and how these may implicate representation and inclusion of various groups during planning sessions. Given the long history of relations and living together as a single cultural unit, including the federal reserve system of containment and decades of inappropriate external policy and programming, planners should expect conflict situations when they work with First Nations. In fact for the Sto:lo Nation, conflicts are viewed as "routine political actions...allowing for changing configurations of public opinion" (Kew and Miller 1999:58).

The challenge for outside planners is accepting that they may not be able to identify all of the conflict. As one interviewee stated, she could never know, or acquire all of the history of conflict in a given community and further, is it the planner's role to do so? This is a significant question. Perhaps the answer might be considered in terms of whether the conflict had process or substantive implications. It would matter for example, whether conflict was over a process decision to develop a mining operation, versus conflict of a personal nature between two individuals that prevented their dialogue and involvement.

Based on my experience, one of the advantages of developing long-term planning relationships is that a planner can get to know the conflicts, issues and relations of a community simply over time. For planners who enter a community for a limited duration, this would not be possible. I have also found particularly in one community that I have worked in that people are very open and willing to talk about conflicts and issues in the community. The issue for me is less about identifying conflict, as it is having the capacity to manage or resolve conflict. For those communities where planners are unable to identify the conflict, they could try to be "responsive to the indications" of conflict, as one interviewee noted.

Finally, outside planners who work with First Nation individuals might experience various behavioural effects of history as they try to facilitate effective participatory relationships. As a result, planners require an emotional strength and skill set to work with unexpected situations at times. Planners also need to create safe and protective environments and to show patience and understanding for individuals who are still working through their pain and conflict. As one interviewee noted, it is important that planners recognize that individuals and communities are at different stages of healing.

All of these observations are important because of the implications they have on a planner's ability to facilitate effective participatory relationships. Issues relating to the social organization of First Nations may impact whether, why and how people participate during planning processes. In consideration of the history of family relations and conflict, planners need to consider how they structure appropriate forms of participation to manage the tensions and conflict of a community, if they are to facilitate effective planning relationships within First Nations. Figure 4 summarizes the main knowledge components of social organization for planners to know when they work with First Nations.

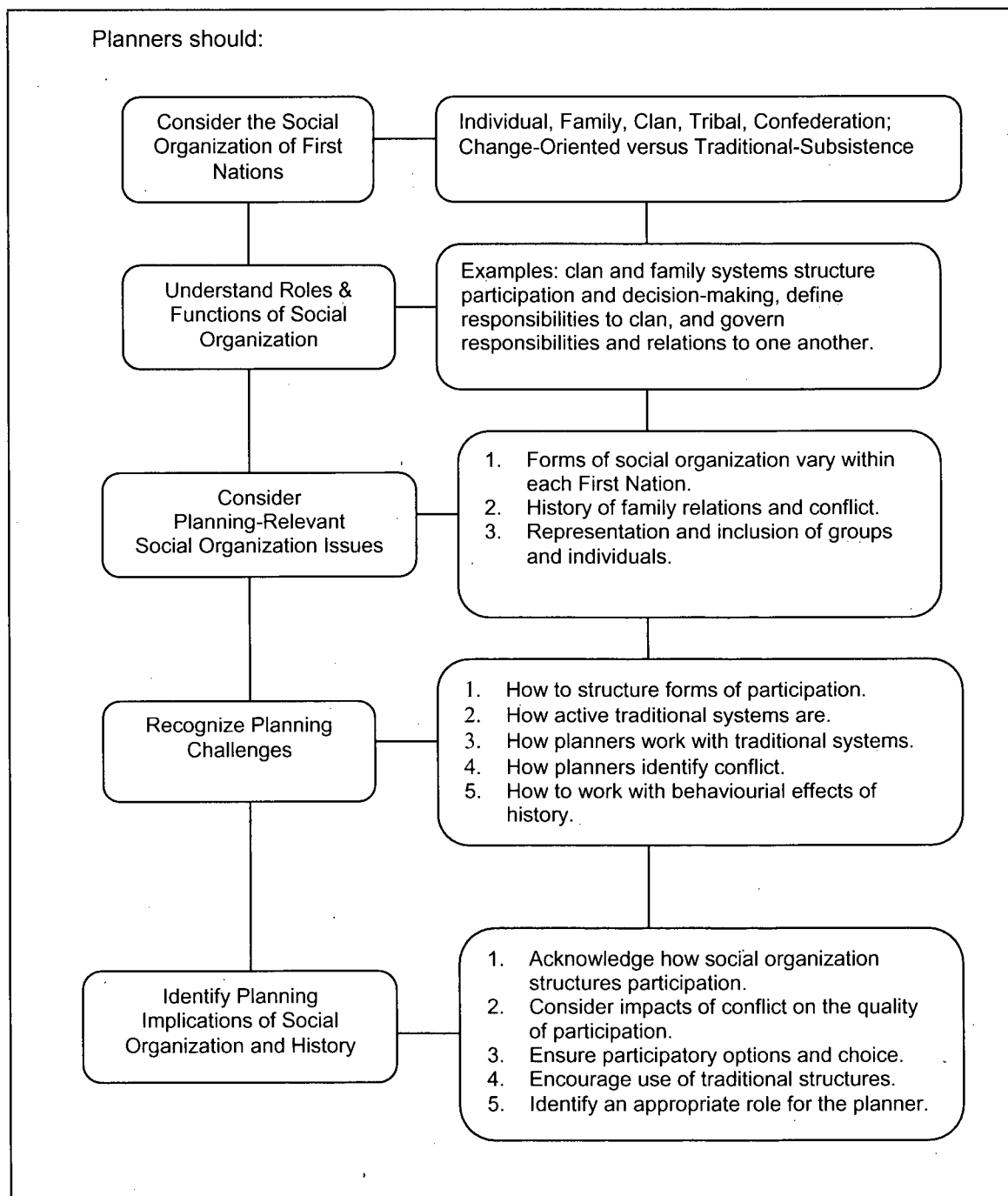


Figure 4: Knowledge About Social Organization for Planning with First Nations.

5.4 Communication

Eight interviews confirmed the significance of storytelling and three noted the importance of listening, as acknowledged by various authors (Boothroyd 1986, 1992; Langin 1988; Sandercock 1998a; Cruickshank 1998; Cooper 1998; Aubrey 1999; Forester 1986, 1999). Interviewees also indicated that

First Nations they worked with communicate through silence, laughter and body language, confirming the traditions noted in the literature.

Interviewees expanded knowledge and understanding on the functions of storytelling and listening in a First Nations context. Four interviewees in combination noted that storytelling was viewed as a method for involving elders, a way to obtain knowledge and insight about a community or individual, and a "subtle form of criticism." For Janet, storytelling was seen as a way to test, a way of asking the planner:

"Are you prepared to hear about our community? Do they [the planners] really want to know who we are before we are prepared to answer that question?"

Evan indicated that storytelling is useful to help reveal the planning problem of the community and Dave considers storytelling important to begin a "friendship of communications." These functions confirm the significance of storytelling as a vehicle to transmit certain types of knowledge for planning. Furthermore, three female interviewees suggested that listening is a way to build planner credibility as they gain entry into a community, a means to establish relations with First Nations, a way to enable a community to gain control over its own planning, and necessary to understand the meaning and value of stories.

Several interviewees acknowledged the difficulty and challenge of working with stories, as well as ways planners can work more effectively with them. Larry comments on his experience with storytelling:

I think you have to kind of get used to it before you can pick it up. I mean at first it just sounds like they are telling a story and you don't realize they are making a point but the story has a point usually and so you want to listen carefully to what they are saying and then to try and decide what the point is. You don't just gloss over it if they tell a story that doesn't seem like it fits in a flow. Really it did fit in a flow and you just didn't know it.

The issue from my experience is not so much that planners may not understand stories at times, that it is to be expected, but more how planners react to stories at the time they are told. When I first began to work with First Nations, I was both fascinated and distressed when elders would so eloquently share their stories of time, place, values and custom. My anxiety was over what to do in the moment just after a story is told, particularly when the meaning was not immediate. I have come to believe that it may not always be appropriate or necessary to interpret a story in the immediate moment. However, I agree with Sue's point about how "confusion" is a way for planners "to revisit the assumptions, revisit understanding" when they work with First Nations.

What may be more critical perhaps is for planners to first acknowledge and thank elders or individuals for sharing a story, as a way to encourage, respect and validate the traditional use of storytelling. Further, I sometimes use stories as a way to establish comfort and connection with the elders of a community, as a way to help consider planning problems and solutions, or to teach a particular concept or idea. I try to create stories based on themes of resource harvesting, social gathering, and communal values of sharing and caring.

Janet added that one way for planners to facilitate stories was to "allow time, space and respect" for stories. Stories can result simply by "what gets asked." Other interviewees indicated that posing direct questions or soliciting participation through storytelling was not always possible. Furthermore, it is not always clear when storytelling takes place during a planning process. It was advised by Ken that planners need to allow elders to speak when they choose, and by Janet, that planners should not interrupt elders when they are speaking.

These insights begin to acknowledge the practical realities of communication biases noted by Cooper (1998). Sue, Larry and Carol all expressed the ambiguity, confusion and difficulty of interpreting stories. Janet, Ken and Carol acknowledged how they encourage or inhibit the telling of stories, and Sue noted the difficulty of incorporating stories into planning documents. These are critical factors that affect the ability for outside planners to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships. However, it should be noted that not all First Nations people convey knowledge and understanding entirely by stories.

Several interviewees noted other communication issues and obstacles, elaborating on what communication biases and distortions they experienced in a First Nation's planning context. These observations build on the discussions of Forester (1989) and Cooper (1998). Interviewees observed that they block communication and understanding through the use of English language, the emphasis or reliance on written communication, including technical jargon and the use of text in planning documents.

Carol comments on the use of jargon:

Jargon is the big obstacle. Jargon is just an excuse for people who don't understand their information. If you can't explain it in layman's terms you obviously don't know it well. Apart from the need to consider the literacy and education levels of the community and how you've got to do everything at a grade six level. The issue around jargon was portraying yourself as some expert in anything. [Planners should] just be a person, you have some knowledge and they [First Nations] have some knowledge too;

and Ken acknowledges the reality facing many First Nations today:

There is a fairly large degree that books and writing and planning studies and all this historical information that is referred to is just foreign. No doubt it's changing with computers being available at First Nation offices. They are certainly closing that gap very quickly but in reality, until recent times, their stories were passed on verbally and so recording five, ten or twenty year studies is a foreign concept.

Outside planners must always be thinking, what can I do to break down communication barriers, or how can I enhance the quality of communication? As Dave noted, planners "could play a role to help break down the communication barriers and to get the best of people's involvement." It is important that planners not intimidate or exclude people by imposing their communication biases on the community, as Carol states, "because oral or visual people who haven't had written information are going to still think in those ways." In Sue's example of depending on written material, she acknowledged that some First Nation individuals might feel inferior because "they don't have whatever it is to contribute." This supports the need, as Anne states, for planners to keep dialogues short enough during presentations so that planning material can be translated, if needed. In addition, she suggests the need to keep language simple in reports and to use a lot of graphics to document planning decisions and outcomes.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

Outside planners who work with First Nations need to acknowledge communication differences between cultures and to expand their knowledge and use of different forms of communication given the oral tradition of First Nations. Based on the findings from the interviewees, planners need to understand the multiple roles and functions of storytelling, including listening, if they are to help facilitate effective participatory relationships. It is evident that storytelling has both substantive (e.g. knowledge about where caribou migrate, or where the best berry picking is) and process (e.g. a way to include people, transmit knowledge) roles.

Planners also need to identify and acknowledge various planning-relevant communication issues and obstacles, including the implications for the lack of effective communication. Communication biases such as jargon, technical language, large planning documents and the emphasis on written language are perhaps important to distinguish in terms of whether they can be controlled. I mean in the sense that if planners had an awareness of these types obstacles, they should be able to act in more appropriate ways and to omit these from their practice. Planners may not be able to control the literacy, education or

language levels in First Nations communities but they can choose to use more diagrams, speak more slowly, keep dialogues short and limit jargon, to improve the quality of communication and understanding. While this sounds like a simple task, in practice, it is much more challenging. As Larry explains:

You've got to be able to explain things in a way that people can understand and try to do it without cutting an issue or something. You have to try to get them to understand that because that goes back to the education level with the older people.

Planners also need to consider the implications of ineffective communication for planning relationships. Planners who are unaware of the power imbalances made possible by the lack of appropriate forms of communication would easily inhibit effective participatory relationships between cultures. Interviewees did not elaborate on the implications of their observations, but two interviewees noted that a lack of communication and understanding would implicate decision-making outcomes. As a result, knowledge transmission and participation would be affected. These types of obstacles reveal potential issues of power and control over knowledge and decision-making in ways suggested by Forester (1989).

Planners need to utilize appropriate forms of communication in ways that promote knowledge transmission and understanding between cultures. This is not to suggest that First Nations rely exclusively on oral traditions of communication. In reality, there will be a mix of both written and oral communication forms and the emphasis would likely depend on the particular First Nation and who the planning audience is. The challenge for planners is to know when and what forms of communication are most appropriate.

Planners may also face various challenges surrounding communication such as gaining experience and capacity to utilize culturally appropriate forms of communication such as storytelling and silence, recognizing when planners are obstructing communication and how planners might determine the education and literacy levels of individuals they work with. As Nancy states, "society has a long way to go to improve communication" between cultures. So what can planners do to help facilitate effective

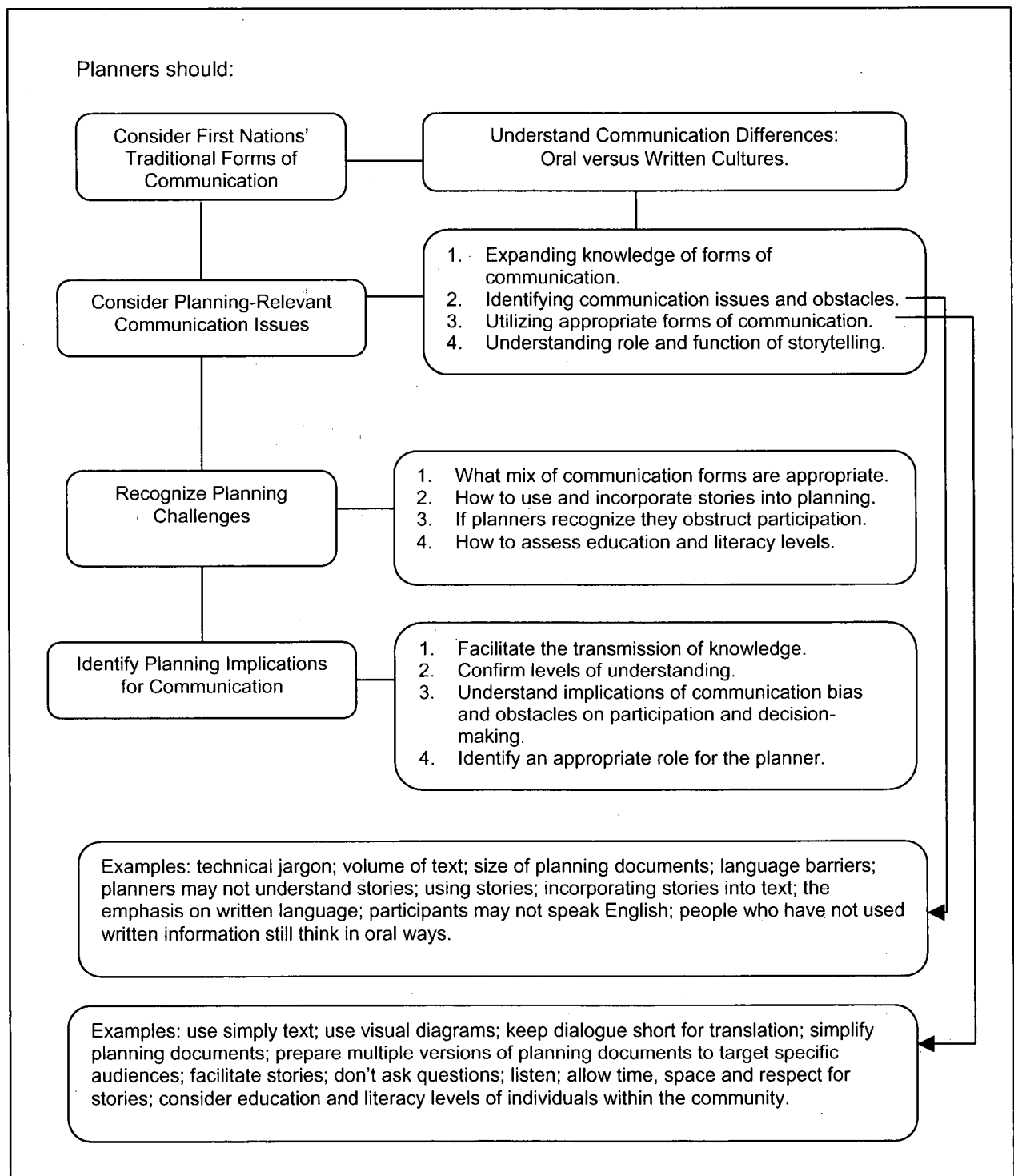


Figure 5: Knowledge About Communication for Planning with First Nations.

communication when they work with First Nations? Figure 5 above conceptualizes the knowledge components of communication that are relevant for planners who work with First Nations.

5.5 Participation

Several interviewees confirmed the significance of knowing the traditional forms of First Nations' participation such as consensus decision-making, ceremony and symbols, storytelling, listening and silence (*see as communication*) noted by various authors (Boothroyd 1986; Wolfe 1989; Ndubisi 1991; Jojola 1998; Simon et al., 1984; Cooper 1998; Cruickshank 1998; Kew & Miller 1999).

While several interviewees listed various traditions of participation, they shared greater insight into the practical aspects of working with them. For example, Anne acknowledged how consensus decision-making is a much "flatter" system of participation, implying broad-based community involvement and a non-hierarchical system of decision-making. Larry confirmed that decisions are made more on a community basis and that planners "can expect slower decision-making processes." As a result, Nancy indicated that planners need to allow enough time for decision-making processes to proceed and that decisions will evolve on their own time when planning with First Nations. This is a significant point since planners are often under time pressures to reach decisions during planning sessions. Evan had admitted how engineers who work with First Nations are trained to make decisions and that they are inclined to "fill decision vacuums," because First Nations are sometimes slow in reaching decisions.

Four interviewees stated that ceremony was important to enable effective participatory relationships but noted different forms and uses. Ceremony was emphasized in terms of using traditional prayer as way to open and close a planning session. First Nation individuals might pray in their traditional language or in English, and Larry suggests that planners should respect whatever First Nations want to do. In some cases planners might be asked to give a prayer or they could volunteer a prayer, as in Ken's example.

Planners need to consider how the role of ceremony is valued differently in each First Nation, as Carol noted, stating that planners should not "assume common acceptance." She observed that a mixture of both western and traditional practices can openly or secretly operate in First Nations communities, and that religious schisms may be a source of conflict. This suggests that planners should not impose a ceremonial structure on First Nations and to allow the ceremonial protocol of the community to emerge.

Interviewees indicated that the significance of using prayer during planning processes is viewed as a way to include elders and to bring proper opening and closure to planning sessions. In First Nations I

have worked in, having an elder begin a planning session with an opening prayer is an important traditional protocol for spiritual, leadership and political reasons. Prayers are used to acknowledge and respect peoples' contribution, often represent a process of seeking and acknowledging spiritual guidance, and they play a significant role in solidifying the relationship and bonding of participants.

Sue emphasized a much larger perspective on the value of ceremony and symbols. As described in her story of traditional dancers, symbols were a way of "creating a sense of community and connection, reaffirming the power of relationship." Interviewees also recognized the importance of utilizing ceremony in terms of including traditional feasts and eating together during planning sessions. As Sue explains:

Symbols are more powerful than anything else in creating a sense of community and connection, and reaffirming the power of relationship. Wherever there can be ceremony of any kind can be of tremendous support and it makes any work that I might do many many times more useful and powerful.

Ceremony includes eating together. I always plan on eating together. At some point we are going to eat together, and that's conflict resolution. It's a big part of it. A lot of it is around...we think of conflict resolution as we got the problem it's on the floor and now we are going to come up with mechanisms for dealing with it. The whole thing around ceremony and rules, around how we talk with each other particularly in First Nations communities, is around sustaining relationship.

For two others, providing dinners was viewed as a way to involve people and increase participation levels.

Participatory Roles

Interviewees added important insights into the participatory roles of men and women, including characteristics and factors that affect the quality of participation between women and men. Tables 2 and 3 following, summarize what the interviewees said regarding participation roles and characteristics. In general, planners were able to reveal more about the role and participation characteristics of women. Perhaps planners had more experience working with women, or that the involvement of men was not well understood.

In very general terms, interviewees noted that men were engaged more in political positions, occupying more formal power, whereas women occupied less formal power and were engaged more in management activities. Women also appeared to be more involved in a broader range of community affairs, including such roles as the "keepers of language, culture and tradition" and the "protector of children's needs." Peters also notes that women "emphasized the importance of regaining, re-creating, or

revaluing cultural traditions in a process of 'healing' from the damage of the colonial legacy" (1998:678).

Nancy suggests that what may account for the different roles between men and women in the community is the matrilineal emphasis of society, and how clan systems evolve around women. Carol talks about

how male elders consult with their wives before they make decisions, and explains her understanding of

First Nation's matrilineal society:

It's [matrilineal society] not front and centre, even though most First Nation societies are matrilineal. But if you look at today's society and you look at the chiefs sitting around the table, they are mostly men. Coming in without knowing any of that background, you would [assume] women don't play a dominant role. Half the time, the male elders or chiefs don't make the decision until they go and talk to their wife. So even though it is not front and centre for you to see, it's an operational matrilineal society still there at play. That's something I guess to be aware of. You would never get a direct answer if you ask a chief "So do you take advice from your wife before a decision?" Look around, you'll see at general assemblies and stuff, a woman sitting behind her husband and you go, "Oh this is a bit backward, she doesn't play a prominent role." But you'll see before he votes him turning to his wife and asking [her for advice]. Those are things that you just have to be observant about I guess.

Perhaps more significant is how interviewees revealed certain characteristics of participation. For example, how men take a broader view, that men react differently than women, "how men grin, sit back and don't involve themselves;" that men prefer a question and answer format, speak about things that are concrete, and are seen to be more action-oriented.

Interviewees noted that women, on the other hand, are seen to participate more because of education levels, are considered more sensitive, are seen to have an equal say in management and are thought to be more aggressive. As well, women are seen to participate less, defer decisions to men and tend not to challenge men. It was noted that women are listened to when they speak, are considered more outspoken, prefer a dialogue format, are process-oriented, and speak on a more personalized level. In some First Nations, it was noted that it may not be accepted for women to speak.

Table 2: Participatory Roles and Characteristics of First Nations Women Identified by Interviewees

Participatory Roles - Women	Participatory Characteristics - Women
Act as administrators Occupy Band manager positions Enforcers of rules Better at enforcing rules Keepers of tradition, language and culture Have an equal say in management roles Provide a prominent role in the authoritative, governing body of First Nations Provide advice to men Run day to day activities Busy with the day to day functioning of community Better at rent collection Prepare day to day organization Considered the doers Women are the matriarchs Protect children's needs Perceived as not playing a dominant role Understand community needs	Participate more because of education levels Are considered more sensitive Are the indirect decision-makers Are more aggressive Women are seen to participate less Defer decisions to men Tend not to challenge men Are more outspoken Talk more Prefer dialogue format Speak at a more personalized level Considered more process-oriented Viewed as having power and analysis Women are generally un-elected Seen to have a lot of power Have informal power

Table 3: Participatory Roles and Characteristics of First Nations Men Identified by Interviewees

Participatory Roles - Men	Participatory Characteristics - Men
Act as councilors Fill senior level positions Men are the patriarchs Play leadership roles Occupy formal power Men go outside of the community Act as negotiators Young males occupy secretarial/administrative roles Understand community needs	Take a broader view They don't do the work Men react differently than women Men are action-oriented Speak about things that are concrete Elders consult with wives before decision-making Prefer question and answer format Men grin, sit back and don't involve themselves Men have lower education levels

Anne talks about the participation preferences of men and women in her experience, and that:

Women tend to prefer to have a dialogue to discuss things rather than a kind of question and answer format that guys tend to be more comfortable with, because it's very concrete...men tend to focus on things that are concrete (the community hall is falling apart or we need more houses) where I think women tend to personalize it more (my house needs a new roof) ...men go from question to solution to explore the problem a bit before they get to the solution....I know this in my personal life, when you are working with a group of women, it can be so process- oriented, you never get anything done. It's the best process in the world but at the end of six months you haven't achieved anything. So that's why I think there is value in the synthesis of both, that you actually get different ways of communicating...

In addition to understanding the role and characteristics of participation, interviewees provided insight into the factors that influence the quality of participation between women and men. The quality of participation is influenced by the following: whether women and men participate in the same session, by

the type of information required; how dominant men are in mixed sessions; whether men and women know each other; the political and power structure of the community; and by the age structure of women participants. The quality of participation was also seen to be affected by which gender interviews a man or a women, as well as the gender of the facilitator.

Interviewees varied on the participatory roles and characteristics of elders as depicted in Table 4. It was noted that elders play a diverse and complex range of political, leadership, symbolic and ceremonial roles, including formal and informal roles. As noted under women and men's

Table 4: Participatory Roles and Characteristics of First Nations Elders Identified by Interviewees

Participatory Roles - Elders	Participatory Characteristics - Elders
Provide knowledge about the community Provide leadership roles – Elder's council Provide traditional knowledge – for land use, bylaw, land claim negotiations Provide assurance and support for planners Act as teachers of traditions Monitor family performance Act as family heads Involved in formal and informal activities Provide direction for planning activities Difficult to be clear on the role of the elders Play important roles behind the scenes Elder's role may be to not be present Elders are used in conflict and mediation roles Provide advising role during chief elections May provide formal governance role Provide symbolic role Provide ceremonial role – prayer Elders may facilitate understanding/access into community	May place controls on family representatives May participate simply by not being present Generally participate and communicate through storytelling Elders may or may not attend planning sessions May participate formally through an elder's council

roles, elder's roles vary within First Nations. Furthermore as one interviewee noted, it is difficult to be clear on the role of elders because "they often play important roles behind the scenes." Carol had acknowledged that while elders may attend a planning session, their involvement appears to be more symbolic because they do not directly participate. However, what planners are unable to know is whether elders were involved behind the scenes, prior to the planning session. Carol explained that elders may request that family representatives carry out certain instructions, and that elders may attend planning sessions to monitor whether their instructions are being carried out.

It is evident from the findings that planners who work with First Nations have to be conscious of how to respect and work with elders. It was noted by three women interviewees that elders are viewed as a significant link to understand and gain access into the community, and they can offer assurance or

support for the planner's involvement in the community. In some cases, elders' involvement may be requested by the planner directly or indirectly, or arranged by the chief and council. They may decide to come on their own or planners may go and visit elders as a way of involving them. Finally, several interviewees noted that elders participate and communicate through storytelling.

The significance of knowing the various roles and characteristics of participation for men, women and elders, including factors that affect participation between men and women, can inform planners on how to structure participation in more appropriate ways. For example, if women are more effective at practical management functions, perhaps women may play a greater role during the implementation stages of planning. In addition, elders who help planners gain access into the community would play a more significant role during the preplanning stage, and elders who play more formal leadership roles through an elder's council might have a more significant role during the approval stages of planning.

Understanding the diverse roles of men, women and elders can also inform outside planners to expect qualitative differences in participation. It would matter for example whether planners work with an all male council versus an all women council, or whether they work with a mix of men and women. If women are considered more personal and outspoken, this might result in a different knowledge base from which to base decisions upon. The mix of participants might also affect how planners involve men and women. For example, Anne notes that men prefer a question and answer format, whereas women prefer a dialogue format.

Lastly, knowing the factors that affect the quality of participation between men and women would allow planners to intervene and ensure an equality of voice. For example, if women tend not to challenge men in public, perhaps planners could challenge men indirectly, on behalf of women. Also, if women are listened to more, perhaps planners need to validate the male voice, to elevate the speaking equality and contribution of men.

Issues and Obstacles

In addition to the above knowledge considerations, interviewees identified various factors relevant for planners attempting to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships. Factors seen to affect the quality and integrity of participation include: 1) First Nation's attitudes towards participation; 2) individuals publicly agreeing versus privately disagreeing; 3) the lack of direct criticism by individuals; and

4) how First Nation individuals resist participation. These internal factors build on the issues and obstacles noted by other authors (Dale 1992; McDonald 1993; Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995; Lane 1997; Kew and Miller 1999; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999).

The first factor for planners to be aware of is the attitude of individuals towards participation. Attitudes were identified by several interviewees in terms of the complacency of the chief and council to involve the larger community during one planning process in Anne's example; when one family was knowingly excluded from the planning process in Evan's example; and whether two of eleven families could represent the health needs of the whole community, in Janet's example. Attitudes were also reflected in terms of the apathy and cynicism individuals had towards participation. These examples have important implications for the quality and integrity of participation.

Anne observed that planners have to realize that in some cases a chief and council may feel that they "don't want" or "don't need" to involve people. In small communities she had worked in, she noted that while decision-making was based on the value of "consensus with all," in some cases, decisions are made by the chief and council, without the full participation and consultation of the larger community. It was not known whether the chief and council itself had reached consensus, but her concern was over whether the chief and council "were actively" including people and what the obligation was for them to do so.

The second and third factors affecting the quality and integrity of participation are issues of public agreement versus private disagreement, and the lack of direct criticism. The quality and integrity of participation may be compromised in terms of whether people actually reach agreement at the table to resolve something. In one instance, Ken questioned whether agreement had actually been reached as people departed the formal process and talked privately. It was uncertain whether the context of agreement (or disagreement) was between him and the community, or between individuals within the community.

Janet raised a similar concern noting that the group setting for participation could jeopardize the quality and integrity of participation. Individuals may not want to be as forthcoming due to "old dynamics" between certain individuals or take opposing points of view because they seek validation within the group. Because people tend to avoid confrontation or conflict for cultural reasons, individuals "tend to publicly agree with somebody they wouldn't necessary agree with in private." Three interviewees acknowledged

further that First Nations people do not openly criticize, and one noted the fact that people want to talk privately about how they feel about others in the community.

These observations all have important implications for effective participatory relationships. In particular, they affect the quality of knowledge and information used for decision-making, and as Sue noted, they prevent people from engaging and whether groups reach "conclusive decisions." They could also result in planning outcomes that are not desired, implying possibly that certain individuals or groups may dominate the planning process. As a result, planners have to consider how they structure appropriate forms and methods of participation to facilitate effective planning relationships.

One of the more prevalent suggestions from Anne and Janet was that large group formats are not always a suitable participatory structure for First Nations. This is relevant given the history of family relations and conflict, including issues of public agreement and private disagreement, and the behavioural effects of history noted earlier. Janet suggests that if planners want "radical views" they should use a personal interview method to talk with people and to ensure that they "mask people's identity," if people are to speak about "controversial or opposing views."

Lastly, Sue indicates that planners also have to learn to pick up signals of conflict and disapproval and realize that people may "walk with their feet," or not show up if they disapprove of something. Planners could learn to identify additional feedback mechanisms such as withdrawal, nonparticipation, nonattendance, disinterest and non-vocalization noted by Ndubisi (1991). These types of feedback mechanisms are only useful to a certain extent because they do not reveal "why" people are not participating.

The fourth and final factor affecting the quality and integrity of participation are the ways in which First Nations individuals resist participation. Interviewees suggested the following factors:

- People may not participate because of the presence of particular individuals in the room.
- People may choose not to participate for survival reasons and past history.
- You may only hear from a few people because of the clan system – there may be designated people who speak on behalf of the family.
- First Nations people are not controlled long enough to understand.
- Being truthful prevents people from talking.
- People resist participation by not showing up to a workshop or by not saying anything.
- People refuse to talk because of their opposition to a subject or position.
- The mistrust individuals have within and outside of the community.

The list can go on. However, in recognizing these types of issues and obstacles, outside planners require the capacity and flexibility to manage these types of issues if they are to encourage more meaningful participatory relationships.

Enabling Participation

Interviewees were asked what they did (approaches, methods, strategies, techniques) to facilitate effective participatory relationships. Suggestions were identified in the same way as other authors have (England 1971; McDonald 1993; De Mello et al. 1994; Lane 1997; Kliger and Cosgrove 1999; Aubrey 1999, Forester 1989, 1999). Table 4 summarizes several of the interviewees' responses. Symbols are used to cluster the responses instead of concise headings since the themes were not entirely clear. Several of the responses have been identified previously within specific knowledge themes throughout the thesis.

Interviewees provided a diverse range of responses and suggestions for outside planners to consider when they work with First Nations. In general, women interviewees provided more suggestions and insights than male interviewees. Women placed a greater emphasis on developing process to facilitate effective planning relationships than men, including the need to ensure options and choices for individual participation. The male interviewees were more specific in terms of suggesting strategies and techniques they used during planning workshops.

Interviewees emphasized the importance of process in terms of generating participation, supporting Boothroyd's (1986) observations. Janet explains the importance of process in planning with First Nations:

The only thing that is going to work to deliver a good quality project or product is some sort of organic process where you design it and redesign it and if you forget something then you go back and pick up and move it forward...it's almost got to be a spiral process and you'll go two steps forward, and two steps back, pick up the pieces and two steps forward, back, pick up the pieces. It's because each of those rounds in the community will help to build trust and will allow them to bring more people to hear about the fact that you are willing to listen to everybody, that you aren't in somebody's pocket and it isn't a cooked process and that it is real and there is trust in it.

Table 5: Planning Methods, Strategies and Techniques to Facilitate Effective Participatory Planning Identified by Interviewees.		J a n e t	S u e	A n n e	N a n c y	C a r o l	L a r r y	E v a n	K e n	D a v e
•	Take the appropriate time to plan		■						■	
•	Community sets agenda									■
•	Create safe speaking environments and options to participate		■			■	■			
•	Explain planning process/help people understand requirements				■	■	■			
•	Structure processes with fluidity of choice		■							
•	Create processes to involve all groups	■				■				
•	Create quality and organic processes	■								
•	Pay attention to what people say about process		■							
•	Watch for signs and body language that process is working		■				■			
•	Facilitate planning process versus doing planning					■				
•	Be flexible, maintain unstructured time		■			■				
•	Ensure proper workshop opening and closure									■
•	Provide substantive options to discuss						■			
•	Verify what people say		■							
•	Ask participants for feedback and confirmation		■							
•	Resolve conflict and break through impasses									■
•	Ensure representation of groups by doing homework	■								
•	Be responsive to community interests	■								
•	Ensure community groups value one another	■								
•	Explain mission and involvement of planner				■					■
•	Having the ability to react and change courses quickly									■
•	Different First Nations will require different participatory approaches			■						
•	Consider planning methods appropriate to acculturation levels	■								
•	Diversify planning methods	■		■						
	Individual interviews	■								
	Small groups workshops	■	■	■			■	■		
	Large group meetings			■	■			■		
	Workshops			■						
	Newsletters			■	■			■		
	Community surveys			■			■			
	Phone contact			■				■		
	Mail outs							■		
•	Consider the planning setting		■				■	■		
•	Informal settings are more effective than formal settings		■				■			
•	Structure workshops in circle format				■					

◦	Emphasize visual forms of communication						■			
◦	Spread workshops out over time							■		
◦	Create practical planning tools/strategies							■	■	
◦	Use humour wisely							■		
◦	Utilize community maps to include people							■		
◦	Portray respect to traditional customs									■
◦	Introduce people									■
•	Include participation incentives (food, prizes)		■	■				■		
•	Allow people to socialize		■	■	■					
•	Promote and prompt participation, discussion and inclusion							■	■	■
•	Recognize contributions of individual participation		■					■	■	
•	Recognize and promote planning accomplishments				■					
•	Provide opportunities to speak			■	■					
•	Use traditional activities to involve people				■					■
•	Ask questions based on learning from First Nations								■	
•	Directly hire individuals to assist with planning			■						
•	Focus on people with hands-on experience								■	
◦	Be comfortable with silence	■								
◦	Don't interrupt elders	■				■			■	
◦	Asking direct questions may not be effective for participation		■							
◦	Practice active listening		■			■				
◦	Practice tolerance				■					
◦	Verify what people say		■							
•	Undertake a thematic analysis	■								
•	Undertake five-day search conference		■							
•	Use an active post-it note system versus passive flip chart system			■					■	
•	Undertake two levels of analysis	■								
•	Undertake dual realities, dual methods workshop	■								
•	Undertake table of community programs							■		

Interviewees noted that based on their experience, planners should facilitate choices of participation and ensure comfortable and safe environments so participants from the community will speak openly. They also said that planners need to operate with an attitude of flexibility, to use unstructured time, and to allow communities to make decisions on their own time. As Ken explains, planners require:

An ability to change courses quickly because of sudden circumstances...when to turn the corner at the appropriate time and to be able to adapt new perspectives...planners need to adapt to the particular context and they can't pre-write everything. They have to have the ability to react and recognize the situation and to be able to change course quickly, if need be...the planner has to know how to facilitate and handle crowds and know when and how to act when they hit an impasse, when you suddenly have to turn left.

They also suggest a diverse range of planning methods such as interviews, small and large group meetings and workshops, including newsletters, surveys, phone contact and mail-outs. Some planners I interviewed, specified types of custom workshop processes or methods they use. The degree and quality of participation was not determined within each of the various approaches, methods, strategies or techniques offered by the interviewees, although it is obvious that some forms of participation are more active or inclusive than others.

For example, Anne said that in her facilitation experience, the flip-chart-system was viewed as a more passive form of participation than the post-it note system. I assume what she implied is that in the flip chart-system, the planner captures participants' comments by listing them on flip chart sheets generally at the front of a room. Whereas, in a post-it note system, participants actually become involved in writing their own comments on individual post-it notes (or index cards), may be involved in the physical sorting of them, and actually make decisions in naming categories. There are many variations to this example, but the point is that planners could structure a higher quality of participation simply by the participation methods they choose. The quality of participation would be influenced by the facilitation skills of planners. Granted, as Carol points out, planners have to respect that some First Nation individuals may simply not want to participate.

Interviewees identified the need as well for planners to encourage and promote participation in the community. It was suggested for example that incentives could be provided as ways to acknowledge the contribution of people. Evan notes that First Nation individuals:

Just need to feel valuable. It's just a human thing. You need to know your contribution is worthwhile...the same is true in the meeting. Once people realize their contribution is wanted and worthwhile, they are more than happy to give it.

In some cases this includes emphasizing a more social and cultural component to include having community feasts and considering less formal locations for planning activities. In some cases, I have facilitated workshop outdoors, along the riverbank on traditional territory. These natural settings are much

more conducive in my experience in creating comfortable speaking environments. In addition to the social or ceremonial benefit, some interviewees valued dinners and prizes as incentives to participation. Anne explains:

There's sort of this idea that people should selflessly give up four hours of their evening to listen to you and I just don't agree with that because people are busy. If you feed people supper well then that is one less thing they have to worry about too. It's not really a tool, it's a technique in a way to try and increase participation and it's been really successful.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

Planners who work with First Nations need to know and understand the traditional forms of participation they use, such as consensus decision-making, ceremony and symbols, storytelling, and listening. They also need to know about the roles and participation characteristics of men, women and elders. However, defining common participatory roles and characteristics of men, women and elders was not possible from the interviewees' examples. Roles and characteristics of participation would be specific to the particular First Nations planners work with, and the implications for these various roles and characteristics might depend on the context of what is being planned. The findings do suggest that there are qualitative differences in how men, women and elders participate during a given planning relationship, and that the participation roles of men, women and elders appear to be more relevant at different stages of planning. More insight would be helpful to identify the relevant roles of men, women and elders during specific stages of planning and factors that account for differences.

This type of planner knowledge is useful and necessary for planners to structure the forms and methods of participation they use when working with First Nations. Planners should ensure that participation processes, group size, participation methods, the location of the participatory setting, and how they get people participating, are inclusive of all individuals and families in a given community. In particular, they need to consider how they structure participation given the history of family relations within communities. The insights and comments from the interviewees suggest that planners may encounter interpersonal conflict at individual and family levels when they work with First Nations. As a result, planners need to consider the forms and methods of participation they use to ensure that individuals are participating throughout the planning relationship. Allowing participants to form their own

small groups during a group workshop was viewed as one way to structure participation given the family conflict in some communities.

The difficulty planners face in attempting to facilitate effective participatory relationships are matters pertaining to what is an acceptable level or quality of participation, who can represent or speak for whom, what the participation process is to make decisions and who decides this and how, and in particular, consensus by whom and how many? Planners should consider that First Nations might differ on their definition and interpretation of consensus decision-making. What may be a relevant definition of consensus for the New Credit community, as Ndubisi (1991) defines, may not be for another First Nation. Planners should inquire into the decision-making protocol of the First Nation they work with, and to clarify decision rules prior to beginning a planning relationship. They might also think about whether and how consensus decision-making is used at different levels of decision contexts. Consensus by the council versus consensus by the community may matter depending on what is being decided or planned for.

Planners may confront numerous planning-relevant issues pertaining to First Nations' participation. These include factors in terms of whether and how individuals resist participation such as individual attitudes towards participation, individuals agreeing publicly versus privately disagreeing, or the fact that First Nation individuals do not openly criticize. All of these factors implicate how planners might structure participation.

Planners should also be sensitive to active and passive forms of participation they use when working with First Nations. For example, an individual who completes an interview or survey could be considered a passive form of participation in the sense that information is not shared or exchanged in an interactive environment, within the larger community. The method might also be passive since it is a one-way flow of information. However, the interview method could be considered an active form of participation if that same individual would not otherwise speak openly in a larger participatory setting. Small or large group meetings where information is presented is much less active than a small or large group workshop where individuals are more engaged in discussion and decision-making. Furthermore, the large number of individuals who attend a workshop or large meeting does not imply active or equal participation by all individuals.

Planners should acknowledge that they might not be able to control individual attitudes towards participation. Granted, planners may have success at influencing or motivating attitudes such as in

Anne's example where she was able to convince council at a minimum to send out newsletters, as a way to 'include' people. If planners are unsuccessful at influencing individual attitudes towards participation, they could explain the implications of limited involvement for community planning. As Evan and Larry note, the lack of participation and involvement during a planning process might implicate whether plans are approved at a later stage of planning.

In challenging the council's attitude towards participation, Anne raises another issue regarding the role of the planner and what his or her obligation is to ensure wider community participation. Despite the intentions or participation values of planners, they may not be able to access all individuals from a given community, or facilitate their participation. And further, First Nations simply may not want to exercise their participatory rights, especially in ways that are expected or evident by the planner. Planners who work with First Nations need to reflect on their own participation and process values to help promote active inclusion, and realize that some individuals within First Nations may not share the same set of values.

It is not possible to identify a common list of participatory approaches or methods based on the findings of this research, nor should outside planners assume that approaches and methods of participation work the same in every community. Interviewees did not reveal the process they used to determine the type or mix of participatory approaches or methods but it is evident that planners require an ability to draw from a comprehensive range of participatory approaches and methods to actively involve people. Planners might consider using different forms of participation at different stages of planning. For example, a survey may be useful to gather initial base information from which to guide discussion and decision-making at a larger scale of participation such as a large workshop format.

Planners face numerous challenges such as what is an appropriate mix of participation approaches and methods to use in a given community, how planners diversify these approaches and methods, who determines the participation mix, and what the decision process is for doing so. The challenge would be in knowing which mix of participation approaches and methods is most appropriate, and when. Furthermore, outside planners in discussion with First Nations, need to consider the implications for the forms of participation they utilize, and the desired level of interaction they wish to achieve. In particular, how the quality of participation and interaction implicates the quality of knowledge and information for decision-making in terms of preventing conclusive decisions, possibly resulting in

undesirable planning outcomes. This is especially relevant given that First Nations have been denied direct participation and “meaningful involvement” for reasons noted under **authority relations**. To summarize the discussion, Figure 6 identifies what outside planners should consider under the knowledge theme of participation when working with First Nations.

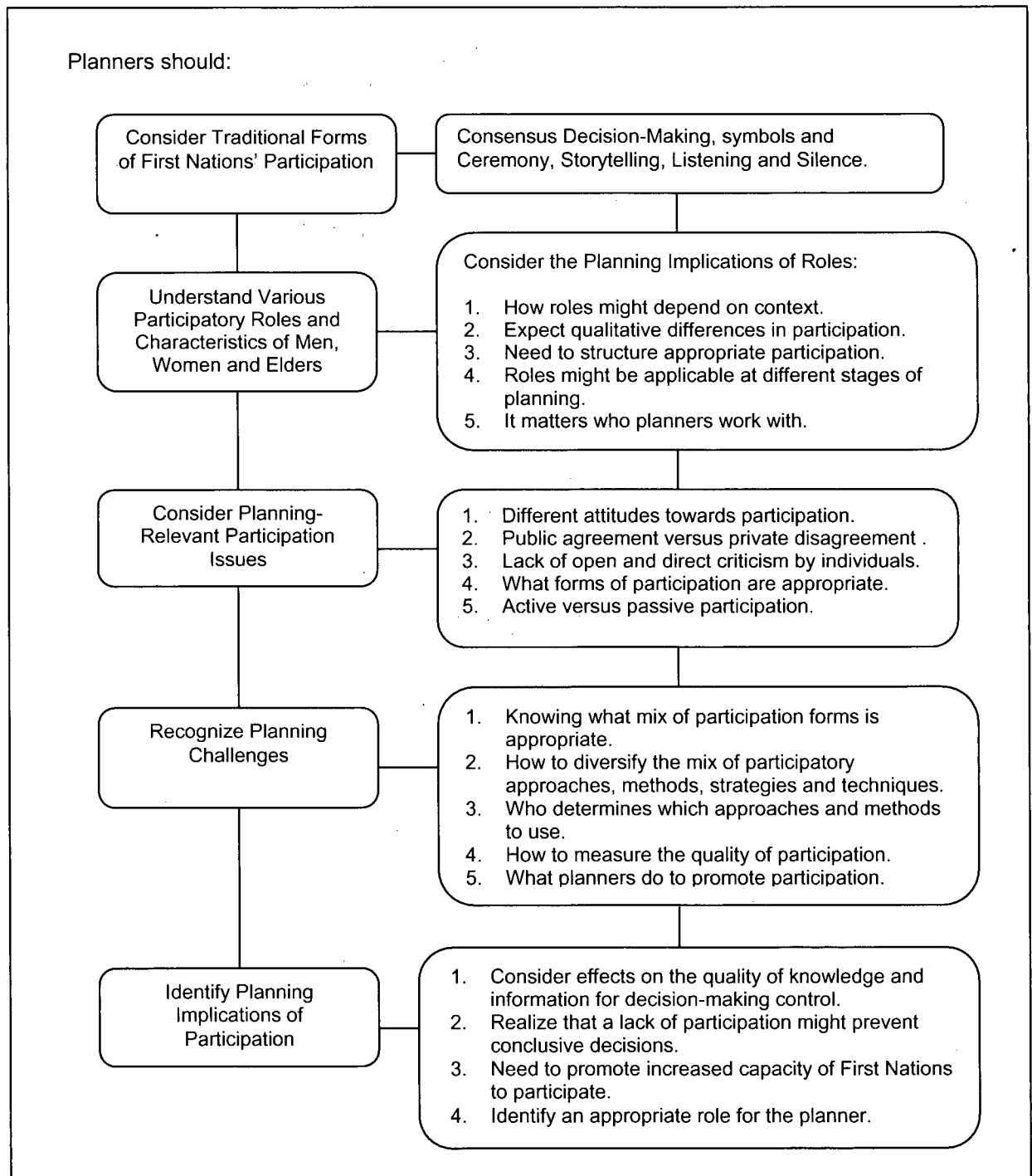


Figure 6: Knowledge About Participation for Planning with First Nations.

5.6 Capacity

In general, the planners I interviewed indicated the need to know the institutional capacity of First Nations they work with. The social and political forms of First Nations' traditional institutions include: clan and family systems, chief and council, management and administrative bodies, including elder's councils, and the use of planning committees. Interviewees did not identify a complete institutional base for one particular First Nation.

Four male interviewees referenced the positive capacity First Nations are gaining to undertake their own planning. This includes increases in individual and institutional capacity. Evan observed that First Nations individuals he worked with are gaining more formal education and "becoming professionals in their own community," and interviewees noted that some First Nations are increasing capacity through gains made by comprehensive land claim agreements.

Interviewees noted various obstacles and issues of capacity mainly at an individual level. Three interviewees experienced Wolfe's (1989) claims regarding Wicker's (1979) "theory of undermanning." They noted that the demands of land claim negotiations limit the ability of individuals to participate, and that the small size of First Nations communities requires that individuals have to know a great deal. Evan spoke about the "renaissance administrator," and how individuals from communities he worked with, had to be skilled in so many areas, to be "a jack-of-all-trades." Interviewees also noted that some First Nations simply might not have the availability of people to participate given the volume of planning requirements. These comments generally acknowledge Wolfe's (1989) observations.

Four of the planners I interviewed said that the education and literacy levels of individuals within communities affected their ability to facilitate effective participatory relationships. Three interviewees pointed out that they work with a spectrum of individual capacities. In my experience, planners have to be sensitive to these conditions and have an ability to work with multiple skill, knowledge, literacy, and health levels of individuals. As Janet indicates, planners will work with a range of people along a socio-cultural spectrum, referred to as change-oriented or acculturated people, and the traditional, more subsistence-oriented people of a community:

The reason I bring that up is hopefully in these processes you are going to be with people operating right across that spectrum and you need to understand that not only might you get frustrated with different ways of planning a day, [but there

are] different ways of making a commitment, around time, and different ways of turning up to meetings.

Also, the change-oriented people tend to get really frustrated with traditional people. I've actually been in a focus group where I had two change-oriented women who worked as First Nations managers for the government and one traditional man that worked in the shop, or whatever. We were focusing on the experience of First Nations people in the work force. It was a focus group for a couple of hours.

These two First Nations women were very very change oriented, very very structured and were looking at their watches wanting to just get as much as I needed on the table. They had meetings to go to and they had things to do. The other guy wanted to tell stories and it was his way of sharing his experience, in working for the federal government. He had worked for the federal government for 20 years and he couldn't just say well you know here is your question here are the five answers...boom boom boom.

Anne and Evan indicated that the lack of financial capacity implicates participation. In one example, Anne noted the lack of available funding to compensate First Nation individuals who volunteered their time had affected the quality of participation. In Evan's example, limited funding forced him to limit participation by relying on a smaller group of people to speak on behalf of the larger community. Furthermore, Ken acknowledged that leadership and management turnover affects a First Nation's capacity to participate. The limitations of local leadership were noted by Wolfe (1988) to affect the ability of First Nations to respond to participation demands.

Enabling Capacity

Evan explained that he classifies the capacity of First Nations he works with in terms of three categories of capacity: middle client, overly capable, and overworked. These categories were not clearly distinguished but the significance in assessing capacity is that planners can structure their involvement and define the training component to be incorporated into the planning relationship. This is an important distinction that builds on the need to assess the "readiness factor" of First Nations communities identified by Wolfe (1988).

When assessing the capacity of First Nations, Carol stressed, planners need to be honest when they do so. This is important in my experience, because of the urgency First Nations have in improving their quality of life. In some communities I have worked in, the desire to alleviate conditions can overshadow the current capacity of some communities to carry out their planning and development needs. This is not to say that planners control what communities can or cannot do, but in assessing the

capacity of First Nations to achieve some desired state of change, directly and openly with First Nations, perhaps communities can more successfully realize smaller accomplishments incrementally over time. First Nation individuals are very sensitive in making decisions that may result in "failure." I worked on several projects such as housing and tourism where because smaller targets were realized successfully, it generated increased confidence for two communities to commit to increased responsibilities and targets in subsequent planning and action phases.

Interviewees also identified the need for planners to facilitate capacity or to "leave capacity behind." Several interviewees identified how they structure capacity development directly into the working relationship. It was not clear to me whether capacity building was something interviewees volunteered or whether it was formally structured into the planning relationship. They responded by saying that planners have to provide choices and options for First Nations to participate and as Anne states, it is important to allow "them [First Nation individuals] to structure their own involvement." Others such as Janet stated the importance of "ensuring good quality process and the precedence of creating good quality process, is building capacity along the way." Anne supports Janet's idea:

I would not want to do a project where we didn't have someone involved throughout [the project]...I have found that where there's a local planner who's really involved in the process, it gives the community a lot more understanding and grounding in the planning process.

In Janet's experience, she explains that planners and First Nations share capacity and control at times throughout their relationship:

I don't see them as having the control. I see it as a co-creation project. There are times when the community will dominate and there are times when you will sort of take the reigns for some creative time to get the process out of the ditch and back on the road. So to me, I'm not sure that you are taking your full responsibility if you basically hand those reigns over to the community and say I'm in the back of the truck, call me if you need me.

In summary, interviewees said they facilitate individual and community capacity when they work with First Nations in the following ways:

- Working with local planning committees.
- Working with individuals.
- Allowing people to structure their own involvement.
- Having someone more directly involved in every planning project.
- Balancing task and process.
- Creating individual opportunities to gain experience in planning.
- Increasing planning tasks and responsibilities.

- Co-managing the planning process and involvement.
- Incorporating training components directly into the working relationship.
- Providing choices and options for community process.
- Creating safety and options to participate.
- Constantly asking individuals to verify what planners interpret.
- Walking the community through the whole process.
- Providing a participatory approach to involve people.
- Encouraging people to be part of the solution or decision.
- Giving communities as many options as possible.
- Communities deciding the direction it goes.
- Acknowledging that the main planners are the chief and councils.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

Community and individual capacity is an important knowledge consideration if outside planners are to facilitate effective planning relationships with First Nations. Findings from the literature and planner interviews in combination suggest four types of capacity that planners might consider when they work with First Nations. These include: 1) authority and power; 2) institutional; 3) organizational; and 4) and human resource. The responses by interviewees and authors suggest the need for planners to first identify the traditional base of institutions that function in a given community. As Carol notes, "It's all about learning the rhythms of the community" and to learn how to work with them, even though the quality of these traditional institutions varies.

As noted under the knowledge theme of **authority relations**, interviewees pointed out the need to understand how external authority has regulated and affected the capacity of First Nations to participate. Planners need to consider the status of external jurisdiction under which a First Nation operates, and to work in ways that promote the capacity some First Nations are gaining through land claims. Working with the traditional structures of First Nations would help planners to facilitate more culturally appropriate planning, in ways that "revitalize and strengthen what is an indigenous capacity to plan for their own communities (Jojola 1998:117).

It is important that planners determine whether and why First Nations lack capacity because it could impact how planners structure working relationships. A person who has the capacity (combined ability, experience, technical skill or education to understand and be involved) to plan but is unable to participate because s/he is overworked or over-committed, is a much different situation than an individual who lacks capacity for technical reasons to participate in completing a planning task, as Evan seemed to indicate. The difficulty may be in distinguishing whether and why First Nations lack capacity, however.

Assessing the capacity of the community would assist planners to not only be more effective in facilitating more culturally appropriate planning outcomes, but it would also help to empower individuals to directly participate in planning activities.

Planners who incorrectly understate the capacity of a community could be viewed as removing capacity from First Nations they work with. If planners are unable to fully assess the capacity of First Nations they work with, they could at least explain the implications for understating or overstating capacity with the community. This is important since the quality of capacity impacts how participation is structured, who participates, when planning takes place, how timelines are projected, what is effectively accomplished and possibly why processes or projects become disrupted or fail to meet the expectations of the community. Furthermore, planners could easily remove capacity from individuals or the community by ignoring traditional values, knowledge and decision-making systems of the community, as well as literacy and education levels. As stated previously, the jargon planners use, the emphasis on written language, or where planning takes place can, all implicate understanding, participation and involvement.

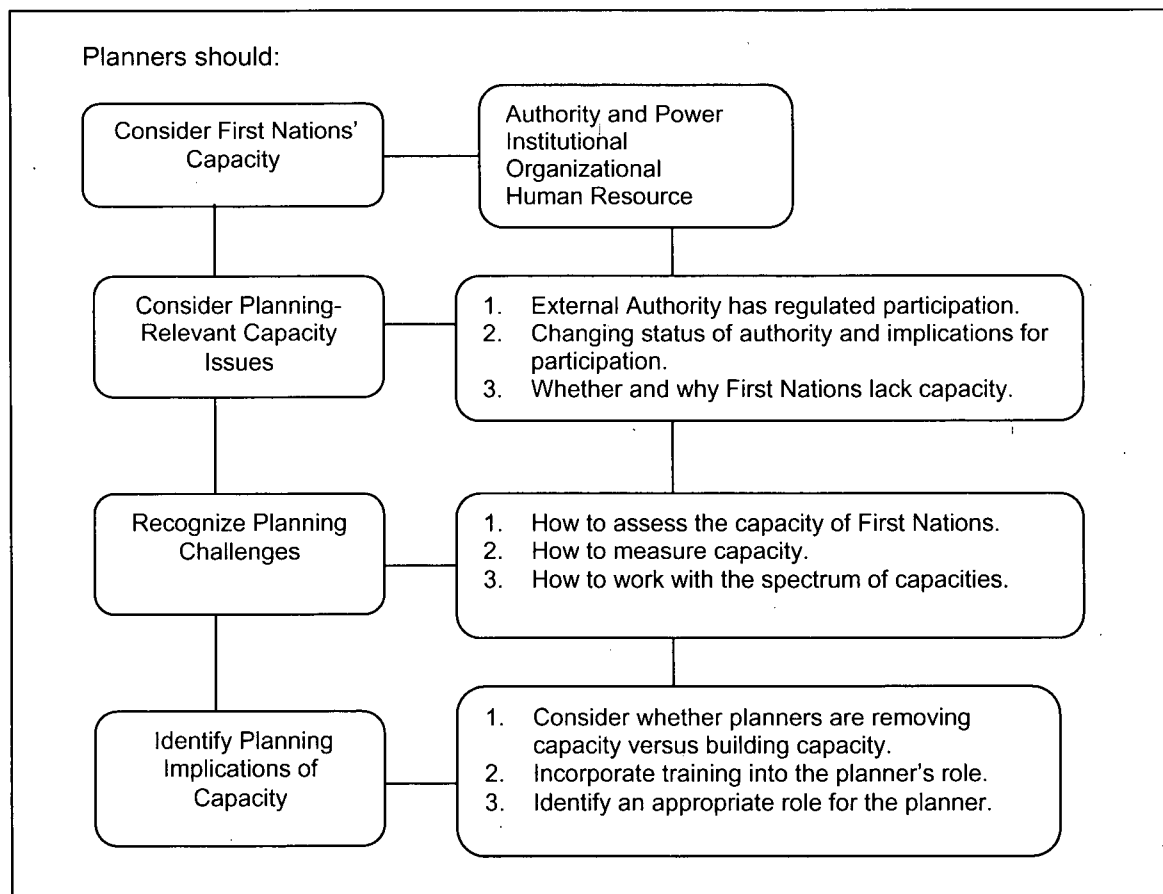


Figure 7: Knowledge About Capacity for Planning with First Nations.

To summarize in Figure 7, outside planners who work with First Nations need to consider the various types of capacity and various planning-relevant capacity issues. Planners might confront various challenges such as assessing the capacity of First Nations, and how to work with the spectrum of capacities in communities they work. Ideally, all planning relationships with outside planners would create capacity, as opposed to removing it from the community. First Nations and planners could structure specific capacity building tasks directly in the planning contract or terms of reference. This might help to identify an appropriate role for planners who work with First Nations.

5.7 Planner Relationship

All of the interviewees contributed significantly to this knowledge theme and it was by far the most interesting to explore. Interviewees contributed primarily to four knowledge areas: 1) how planners establish and structure planning relationships with First Nations; 2) how planners access and gain entry into the community; 3) what obstacles and issues they experienced working with First Nations; and 4) what indicators planners use to evaluate participatory planning relationship with First Nations.

Three interviewees acknowledged that "terms of reference" or the "contract" were used to formally structure the planning relationship. Combined, the interviewees indicated that terms of reference and contract documents serve several functions. They help to:

- 1) Clarify the planner's understanding of what the council wants;
- 2) Identify the goal of the planning exercise;
- 3) Clarify what is expected of the planner;
- 4) Define the role of the planner;
- 5) Determine how the planner is going to work with the council;
- 6) Ensure planners complete the required work in case of discrepancies or disputes;
- 7) Act as a tool to fall back on if the planner's role requires negotiation; and
- 8) Guide the planning relationship as a principles document.

These more formal instruments were secondary to the emphasis interviewees placed on establishing relationships of trust, and the importance of informal levels of personal association. Their insights and knowledge indicate that developing trust and personal association are essential if planners expect to gain the acceptance of First Nation individuals they work with.

Sue, Dave, Janet, Anne and Evan all stressed the importance of building "strong relationships," or "genuine relationships," and the need for planners to gain and establish an "atmosphere of trust" with First Nations they work with. In Janet's opinion, "developing trust at the front end of the process" was important

for planners to consider because it "lasts forever." For Sue, part of the process of establishing trust was gaining permission:

I cannot come in without the communities permission, like serious permission and I have to sustain that permission on a knife's edge all the time. I am the easiest person to get rid of, like that. In fact, if I have thirty people who think I walk on water and one person says "en [your out]," I'm gone. It is the most vulnerable place on the planet. It's a knife's edge. I know that with every breath I take, thirty elders have to agree that it's ok.

Several interviewees provided insights and stories concerning the importance of establishing personal levels of association when they worked with First Nations. Janet emphasizes the importance of building trust with more traditional-subsistence individuals:

On the traditional side of the community, who you are as a human being is way more important than the professional skills you bring, because if they figure you are a good person and you are there for a good reason, you are there with good intent and a good heart, you will do what is best for the community and not over step your skills. You won't say that you can go and climb a mountain if you can't climb a mountain. Because you are a good person and you wouldn't do that.

Much of the process of establishing trust seemed to be associated with a personal element, as described in Sue's story of connecting with an elder through an evening of fiddling while developing a traditional justice system, and Dave's story of establishing a "friendship of communications," where he provided an elder with a cup of tea. Others established some level of personal association through an informal barbecue, sharing cookies and inviting people to an open house; and through a "gradual process of knowing," including sitting and listening to stories. The significance of these types of interactions is perhaps captured by Janet who explains that individuals from the community:

Want to know who you are as a human being, not just a planner or as a professional and [if you] try and maintain what in the mainstream society would be considered an appropriate professional distance.

Sue revealed how she developed relationships of personal association by spending time with people and speaking on a more informal level. In her view, "establishing a relationship is the single most important task. If that doesn't happen you won't have genuine entry, even if you have been invited." Sue did not elaborate on the implications for the lack of genuine entry but one might assume that it would affect the ability for planners to facilitate interaction and participation.

The emphasis on personal association is not surprising given the history and long association of external control and outsider involvement noted earlier. Outside planners should initially expect to

encounter feelings of mistrust. These examples of personal association signify the importance for outside planners to "not set themselves apart" from First Nations, as Carol stated. This begins to address the need for planners to be highly sensitive to issues of power and control given the historical association of outsider involvement and power imbalances. This observation may be particularly sensitive with the traditional-subsistence individuals of the community, as Janet previously described.

The significance of establishing trust, Janet states, is that "they want to have a sense of who you are before they want to start speaking or participating with you." An evaluation process might establish the "sense" of who planners are when they first enter First Nation communities. As Janet states:

Let them [the community] examine you, and it's not only in terms of your credentials, your work and history. You will need to allow them to examine you personally in terms of your character and values. They want to know if you've got kids or not. They want to know whether or not you've got a wife.

Ken, Janet, Sue all stressed that outsiders are evaluated and monitored when they first enter the community. This evaluation or assessment process could reflect the second stage of Kowalsky et al.'s (1996) four-stage entry process, where community individuals determine if the researcher [planner] is "worth trusting." Not all interviewees revealed what was being evaluated, but for Larry, he observed that First Nations want to know for example, if planners:

Have all the answers to the problem off the top of your head. Are you going to listen to what they say? How you are going to get the information? What you are going to do and are you going to leave them with the assurance that they are in control of the project?

Other interviewees seemed to suggest that the planner's attitude, style and approach were possible criteria used by First Nations to evaluate planners.

Interviewees also considered how they gain physical entry into the community. As part of the process of gaining entry and access into a community, four interviewees suggested establishing direct contact with one individual. However, they varied on the role and function of the contact. Establishing contact was helpful to: 1) create support and sponsorship as a way to gain access and break down barriers of entry; 2) establish a trust relationship for planners to access information about what was going on in the community; and 3) to help planners maintain the paper flow between the planner and community. Other interviewees were less structured and indicated that they try to speak with as many

people as possible. Finally, Larry and Dave suggested the need to determine the appropriate level of contact, and the need to create a "hit list" of whom you need to contact.

Interviewees varied in terms of whether they followed a formal process of entry and whom they talked with when they first enter a First Nation community. Dave describes a story about traditional entry:

I've seen in the early days when once a meeting is called in the community it is usually quite expressive and sometimes overly friendly in inviting new guests into their community. You have a little feast, maybe put up some stew and bannock. I remember one meeting I attended years ago, I was a young radical leader then and we came into the community and we were talking about some political issues and one of the protocols was for one of the elders to get up and make an offer. So she [one elder] came up to the table and she put a package of cigarettes on the table for all the leadership to enjoy. I used to be a smoker then. It wasn't the idea of smoking tobacco then, it was the idea of providing a gift and showing respect. It's like a tradition. It's a gift for people coming to the community. It's a sharing and a showing of respect and that was conveyed by a spiritual offering.

Evan and Anne indicated a series of steps they generally follow, and Dave indicated that he follows a strict protocol within a multi-stakeholder land use process. Others responded generally that they talk with the chief, whomever administered the contract, the council, councilors, band manager, project manager of the contract, informal leaders, directors, management, non-Aboriginal people such as nurses, RCMP, teachers, and "as many people as possible." These variations suggest that there is no set entry protocol for the planners I interviewed.

Issues and Obstacles

Several interviewees expanded various issues and obstacles such as planner alignment, planner history, planner bias and attitude, including planner conflict and credibility. For example, Carol and Sue suggested that planners need to be aware of whether and who they are seen to be aligned with in the community. Carol referred to "external alignment" in terms of being seen to associate with RCMP and nurses in one community she had worked; whereas Janet referred to 'internal alignment' based on two major groupings within the community, in terms of family clans and change-oriented versus traditional-subsistence groups. Both interviewees stressed the importance of maintaining neutrality but it is not clear to me how planner alignment affects participatory planning relationships. Given the history of family relations and conflict, and the political of nature of First Nations, perhaps the alignment, perceived or real, is about an individual or group gaining some advantage over another group. Janet elaborates on the sensitivity of planner alignment:

Also important is who you have coffee with, who you have supper with, where you stay in the community, and where there is a hotel. If you are always staying with people who are seen to be sort of the elite...you never stay in somebody's [house] who has a foot in both worlds. You're seen to be part of that family, not this family and the same thing with relationships. Generally it's been that you go, "Great I'm getting into this community, somebody is taking me fishing" and the question is, "Who is taking me fishing, why are they taking you fishing and what's the message that is being delivered to the community by them seeing you go out in a boat with that person?"

Planners might consider how they may ostracize people simply by who they are "seen" to be aligned with and in doing so, Janet states: "you are immediately removing yourself from the rest of the community."

Two interviewees stated that outside planners who work with First Nations might confront issues relating to the 'planner history' of a community. As Janet suggests, "sometimes you are not only living down your own history, you are living down the history of every other consultant who has been there in the last ten years." The planner history of the community may help to explain why planners are evaluated and "constantly being assessed" when they first enter the community. This would explain why the process of establishing trust, and gaining entry and acceptance are critical if outside planners are to facilitate effective participatory relationships.

Five interviewees had also acknowledged issues of planner conflict in terms of planners not overstepping cultural boundaries, and how planners or the planning process could become targeted or "ambushed." Planner conflict was attributed in several instances to: a community member wanting the planner's contract, over why the planner was hired, a personality conflict between the planner and an individual, and over a planner's teaching method. Finally, Ken pointed out that symbols of authority such as departmental vehicles or clothing "can provoke some degree of friction from the past." Symbols of authority noted by others also extend beyond material items and include being 'white,' the wage differential that consultants make, where planners come from, and how planners relate and socialize with people.

These conflicts pose all sorts of implications for the quality of participation and involvement across cultures. They affect issues of trust, understanding, power and control noted by Forester (1989). In general, they represent the complex nature and struggle outside planners experience when they work with First Nations. Based on the findings, planners might experience four types of conflict. These include: 1) substantive; 2) process; 3) planner; and 4) interpersonal conflict. This typology is based on Anne's

example when one individual challenged the final plan review and wanted changes; when Sue was challenged by one individual over her method of teaching; with Ken's acknowledgement of a personality conflict; and over the interpersonal conflict between families as noted under ***social organization***.

The significance of knowing the various types of conflict is whether planners can control, manage or overcome the conflict. Sue recognized the importance of needing to know whether the conflict is directed towards her personally, or whether it is over an interpersonal issue within the community. This would be important to distinguish in terms of how to handle conflict situations. Regardless of knowing what the conflict is over (especially internal conflict) outside planners may not be able to manage or overcome conflict, let alone identify it, as Janet experienced. In one instance she described a process where one individual had targeted the process and "hijacked" it. The level of conflict reached a point to where Janet decided to cancel her contract. Janet indicates that planners:

Have to be responsive to community interests, by the community interests driving it and they can drive you past your bottom line.... You really need to understand what your bottom line is and how far you are prepared to go before you say this may well be in the community's interest but as a professional, as a moral and ethical individual, I can't be associated with that kind of situation.

In Sue's experience, the difficulty is in identifying conflict and what planners do about it:

It's really important to decide. The hard part knows when you are going to call it [conflict]. We are always hopeful that it is just a bump in the road and we can wait and wait, and it will pass and this person just got something that triggered them and you can be curious and say, "Gee I wonder what that's about" but not to take it on personally. I'd like to think that it's really important to be of strong mind. You have to be able to just "be" with it. However, if its chronic to the point where there are disturbances in addition to you, even if it's just yourself, but it's chronic, somehow it has to come to a conclusion. Otherwise it's going to impact on your capacity to do the job.

In another instance, Sue described the story of working with two First Nations men who challenged the structure of her approach. She openly admitted the conflict situation to the group, as a way for participants to co-manage and solve the conflict.

It is important to note that while the interviewees acknowledged several conflict issues between the planner and community, there may be situations when planners may have to take a stance as Carol admits, where:

You've got to have your own core values that are unshakeable and as a planner, you have to have confidence in yourself and your own abilities. Not in the sense that you are belligerent or overbearing when you come to a community. Don't let yourself get drawn [into thinking] you have done something terribly wrong if

nobody shows up to a meeting or something like that. There might be, and that's fair to, but usually that's not the case. Usually it's something [else] and people are going to be rough and hard on you and that's to be baptism by fire coming I think.

I have encountered numerous instances in my own experience that have challenged my self-confidence, including the meaning and purpose of my involvement at times. I agree with Sue that working with First Nations can feel like "the most vulnerable place on the planet," at times. It is very easy for planners to want to take on the responsibility for everything that does not go 'according to plan,' but there will be situations, as Carol notes, where "you've got to have your own core values that are unshakeable." This is not to say that planners do not care, share understanding or experience empathy. But planners who work over a prolonged period with First Nations must ensure that they maintain safe boundaries of personal health and to not assume the complete burden for unexpected events and situations that arise when they work with First Nations.

Another important knowledge consideration for outside planners to consider is what biases they bring to the planning relationship. Interviewees varied in how forthcoming they were in admitting specific biases but two interviewees recognized the fact that they were non-native and from outside of the community. Dave admitted that he "could be biased or prejudiced" against government bureaucrats because of "their bias, procedures or set policies towards First Nations." Sue, Evan and Larry all acknowledged biases in terms of wanting to do things their own way or having their own opinion about the way things should go. These included asking people to learn in a certain way during a training example, the habit of one planner wanting to set things up in a structure that suited him, and the threat of one planner wanting to fill decision vacuums. As Evan states, he struggles with wanting:

To do things in a certain way. Sometimes I would extend that into a plan. I'm pretty cognizant that I do that...we try to be personally aware of our weaknesses... my habit of trying to impose or set things up in a structure that suits me, or that I think is right. So I often try to question that: "Is this their way or my way?"

The fact that planners were able to acknowledge and suggest various biases is an important realization. More important is the need for planners to be honest about their biases. Anne recognized how her education had allowed her to "look at biases and to be honest" in acknowledging them. It was not clear whether this implied self-acknowledgement or public acknowledgement. However, Evan indicated that he tries to overcome his non-native bias by openly admitting to the community:

Well, obviously I'm not from the community, I'm white. To get over that, I'd just tell them. I'd start by saying "I'm white and not from your community," and I don't even pretend to be native or from the community so let's get that over with, and two, I don't work for Indian Affairs. Now that breaks the ice you know for eighty percent of the people. There is twenty percent that don't trust you. They just have to be...it just takes them a while to warm up to you, usually by the time we are in the workshop setting and we've gone through the process of proposal writing, winning the contract or helping them get the money to do the study.

Confronting his non-native bias he viewed was a way to "break the ice" and to start the process of building trust.

Another knowledge consideration for planners to reflect on is how biases implicate participatory relationships. Anne suggested that she brings a "different perspective, different baggage" to the planning relationship and how "your insights are going to be limited by your experiences." The potential implications for planner biases raise critical issues surrounding power and control. They could affect everything from the way problems and solutions are defined, to matters affecting the quality of participation, the level of involvement, empowerment, trust and mutual understanding. They also raise numerous issues pertaining to planning ethics.

Evaluating Effective Participatory Relationships

As a way to bring closure to the interview, interviewees were asked how they measured effective participatory relationships. They identified four types of indicators that relate to: 1) plan output; 2) quality of participation; 3) increased capacity; and 4) planner involvement.

Under plan output, interviewees recognized success not just in terms of producing a planning document, but that the planning process delivered what was expected (the goals of planning), and that the plan was inspected and understood by the community. Success also implied that the plan was actually being implemented, that the plan received "status" in the community, and whether it was promoted and monitored. Plans that identified clear direction, set out goals over different time frames, created goals that could be measured, and those that provided a plan structure, were considered positive indicators.

Effective participatory planning relationships and outcomes were also evaluated by the level and

quality of participation and engagement. Interviewees did not identify specific scales of measurement,¹⁶ except to say that one described success in terms of whether he felt he received "good direction," or there was "enough community input to feel comfortable to move ahead." Several interviewees identified the success of planning relationships in terms of the smiles on people's faces, the level of comfort at the closing of the workshop, the degree of dissension or consensus, and whether people were laughing and joking.

The third set of indicators relate to building individual capacity. An effective participatory planning relationship was evaluated based on the fact that planners helped people to understand, assisted people on their way, and helped people to acknowledge their "dreams and desires." Further, one interviewee evaluated capacity more in terms of testing the understanding of people through their actions and responses.

Finally, the fourth set of indicators identifies matters relating to the planner's performance and relationship. These are evaluated in terms of the length of the relationship and whether the relationship was ongoing and long-term, whether planners were asked to come back and do follow up work, and if First Nations respected the opinion of the planner. Interviewees also stated that planners were evaluated in terms of whether the relationship survived, if there was a sense that the relationship was stronger at the end of the relationship than at the beginning, and whether the planner's credibility had been strengthened at the conclusion of the relationship. Success was sometimes measured through acknowledgement and recognition in the way of gifts.

This was a significant question to end my interviews because it allowed interviewees to reflect and start the process of closure. It also allowed them to reflect on the hour and a half of talking about what they do, what matters, what they struggle with, and more. Interestingly, interviewees did not mention any indicators reflecting the first three more substantive knowledge themes of First Nations' **values and knowledge systems, authority relations and social organization.**

¹⁶ One planner had commented that in a community of 1,000 people, he had suggested that at least 10 people had to be present (the portfolio heads) for him to go ahead. Quantifying participation in terms of individual turnout is very difficult in my experience. The average population of the First Nation communities I have worked has ranged from approximately 175 to 1100 members, with the average being 250-350 individuals. Rarely have my planning workshops included more than 30-40 people at any one given time.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

The findings from the interviewees expanded the knowledge and understanding on the use of formal instruments to structure planning relationships between planners and First Nations such as terms of reference and contract documents. Interviewees added how these instruments are relevant throughout all stages of the planning relationship. These types of documents might help to overcome the concern of two authors that First Nations need to increase their ability and capacity to manage the role of the outside planner (Boothroyd 1986; Boothroyd 1992; Wolfe 1989).

Additional research would be helpful to consider the process of preparing these documents, including the role of First Nations in preparing them, the degree to which these documents are used and monitored, how they regulate the role of the planner, the advantages and disadvantages of using them, including how they implicate the planner-community relationship. Furthermore, while these types of documents might be a valuable tool for First Nations to structure and manage the planner's relationship, it would be valuable to know the criteria or policy First Nations use to hire and evaluate outside planners (England 1971; Wolfe 1989) throughout all stages of the planner-community relationship.

Interviewees revealed several important insights concerning matters of trust and personal association. Outside planners who work with First Nations not only need to consider how they gain access and entry into the community, but that they are being assessed and evaluated when they first enter a community. Factors might include issues relating to the power of the planner, the attitude and sensitivity of the planner, including their approach to planning, as well as the level of trust and whether planners reveal aspects of their personal life with individuals to establish an association. Based on the findings from the interviewees, planners need to acknowledge that their professional capacity may have more significance once their personal capacity has established the necessary comfort level or trust.

Outside planners who become more aware of the various issues and obstacles they confront when working with First Nations might enable them to work in more culturally appropriate ways. These issues and obstacles include how planners establish and maintain trust, perceived planner alignment, the history of community planners, the types of conflict planners encounter, including the biases they bring to the relationship, and issues pertaining to credibility. Further, outside planners not only have to recognize the biases they bring to cross-cultural planning contexts but how they might overcome them. The fact that one interviewee publicly acknowledged his bias to the community does not guarantee that planners can

avoid "filling decision vacuums," as he noted. Furthermore, it is fair to say that planners could never overcome their biases completely, all they can do is to strive to reduce them.

The challenges noted under this knowledge theme include whether planners can identify, control and overcome conflict, how they maintain trust and credibility, and how relationships are evaluated. Given the external history of First Nations, and particularly the cultural differences of non-native planners, outside planners have to challenge their effectiveness. As Janet states, she constantly challenges herself by asking: "What am I doing that is pissing them off? What am I doing that they find sort of difficult to deal with. Can I change my approach? Can I change my technique to be kind of more acceptable?"

An effective outside planner might approach the community at the start of their relationship to openly discuss the community's history of planners, citing what worked well and how the planning relationship might have been improved. The mutual learning and understanding gained from this exchange would increase the capacity of First Nations to manage subsequent planning relationships, as well as enhance the quality of cross-cultural planning interaction and outcomes. Planners might have the best of intentions when they work with First Nations but inevitably they will be resisted, challenged and tested throughout their planning relationship at times.

To summarize the discussion about knowledge regarding the *planner relationship*, Figure 8 highlights the important contributions offered by the planners I interviewed.

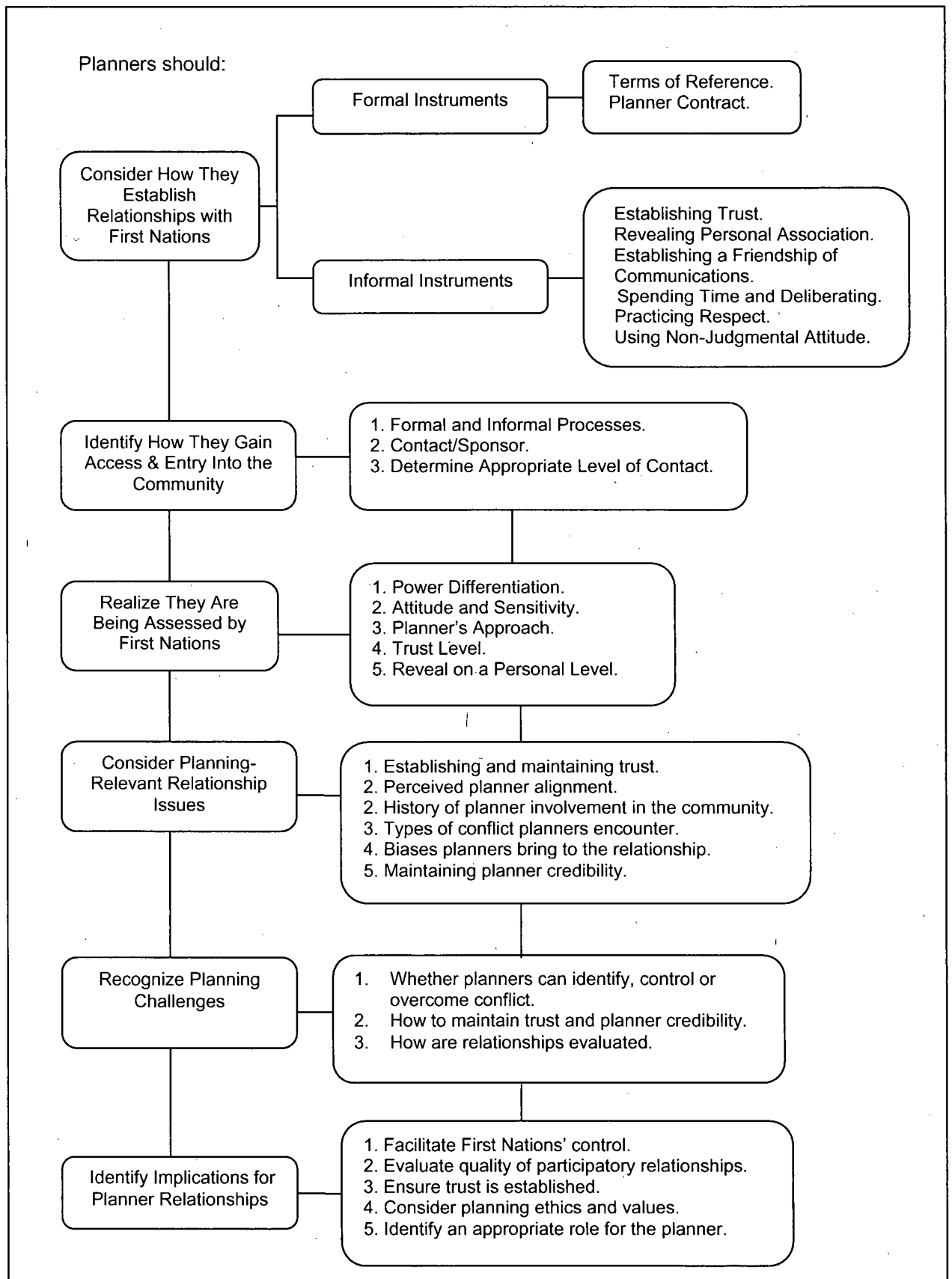


Figure 8: Knowledge About the Planner Relationship for Planning with First Nations.

5.8 The Relevance of Forester's Progressive Planner Model for Planning With First Nations.

While Forester's (1989) research is based on his experience in an environmental review office (metropolitan city planning department), and on the communicative action of planners during land use conflicts and strategies for health planning, his exhortations are often generally prescribed in planning schools. Accordingly, it is useful to appraise his model in light of the findings from my research on what planners say planners need to know when working within the specific context of First Nations.

In general, the research findings suggest that Forester's progressive planner model is applicable in some way to all seven knowledge themes identified in this thesis. However, his practical levels of communicative action defined as "face-to-face" (matters pertaining to the interpersonal level of individuals and planners), "organization" (matters pertaining to First Nation's culture and community) and "political-economic structure" (matters pertaining to the external authority of First Nations) varied under each of the seven knowledge themes. Interviewees provided numerous examples of communicative actions both in terms of communicative distortions and corrective actions they used throughout their planning practice with First Nations. Forester's practical criteria of comprehensibility (understanding), sincerity (trust), legitimacy (consent), and accuracy (truth) necessary to achieve states of 'mutual understanding' were not equally applicable under each knowledge theme, given what planners said and the fact that the four practical criteria were not explicitly imposed.

Knowledge about First Nations' **value and knowledge systems** reflects Forester's "face to face" and "organization" levels of communicative action. My research findings suggest the need for planners to recognize that value differences exist within First Nations, and for planners to identify their role in relating to these value differences. Several interviewees referred to the importance of identifying the socio-cultural organization of First Nations they work in to ensure that the value base of some individuals or groups were not intentionally or un-intentionally excluded during planning processes. The exclusion of people and their respective values could reduce or impinge negatively on the criteria of accuracy (truth) since important information on issues and needs (based on values) might be excluded from decision-making.

Given what interviewees said, planners should not assume that a few individuals or families can speak on behalf of others. The lack of active participation by all families or socio-cultural groups would in Forester's model be seen to reveal issues of legitimacy (consent) in terms of whether some individuals can and do represent the issues or values of all groups within First Nations. The concern emphasized by

one interviewee is that one set of cultural values might prevail over another, and how this could subsequently affect planning decisions and outcomes.

To help correct the communicative distortions made possible by the partial representation of groups within First Nation communities, one interviewee suggested that planners who are ignorant of the socio-cultural structure of First Nations they work with could undertake various corrective actions. These include working with a sponsor to gain access and information about the community, having a "dual realities-dual strategies" workshop to bring attention to the value differences of groups within the community, or to study the social and physical layout of the community as a way to identify the socio-cultural/economic groups of the community. These actions might assist planners to facilitate the representation and inclusion of groups during planning sessions, and expose the value base of the community. At the very least, planners can explicitly ask individuals they work with to identify the family groups of their community and whether individuals or groups within the community have the legitimacy (consent) of others to make decisions on their behalf. Planners could also explain why inclusion is important in terms of achieving increased accuracy (truth).

The history of external authority imposed on First Nations identified under **authority relations** is representative of Forester's communicative levels of "political-economic structure" and "organization." Authors and interviewees acknowledge that the external authority imposed on First Nations has affected their ability to participate and control their quality of life. The prolonged history of outsider involvement affects all four criteria, and it is unlikely that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal society could ever realize a pure state of mutual understanding. However, in understanding the planning effects of history, planners would be better able to facilitate processes of participation, enhancing the quality of the four criteria. This would improve the prospects for expanding mutual understanding between planners and First Nations.

Interviewees did not reveal how they overcame the communicative distortions contained at this practical level. Outside planners could "bring attention" to the communicative distortions of planning practice caused by the *Indian Act* and Reserve system of policy. Or, planners might help to educate non-Aboriginal people about the effects of history on First Nations' participation, including First Nations' planning traditions and values systems. These actions might encourage more dialogue to improve cross-cultural relations.

Interviewees also talked briefly about matters pertaining to internal authority, such as identifying where the authority for planning originates. They seemed to differ in terms of who or what body of people had the final decision-making authority for planning decisions. It was noted that not all chief and councils are trusted by their memberships, and that planners might encounter uneven power, differing interests and various boundaries and alliances of different groups within communities they work. Interviewees acknowledged the need for planners to identify the power structure of First Nations they work with in terms of who is in power, how long individuals have been in power, and to identify whether communities operate under democratic processes. These factors seem to suggest the potential for internal communicative distortions pertaining to levels of sincerity (trust) and legitimacy (consent). Planners who are sensitive to these types of distortions would have to structure their participatory roles accordingly.

Authors and interviewees stressed the significance of knowing the **social organization** of First Nations they work with. This seemed to be relevant at the communicative action levels of "face-to-face" and "organization," in terms of understanding the roles, functions and relations of clan and family systems. In addition to issues of representation, interviewees noted the conflict between some individuals and family groups. Given the history of family relations in some communities, conflict affected whether some individuals participated during planning sessions. The implications for the conflict and the possible lack of participation could result in the withholding and exclusion of information for community decision-making. This would affect the criteria of accuracy (truth).

To help correct these types of communicative distortions, interviewees indicated that they have to structure participation in ways that do not inhibit people from participating in planning processes. In addition, interviewees said they allowed participants to self-select and form their own groups, provided individuals with choices to participate, and facilitated a diverse range of participatory methods and techniques to accommodate the participation preferences and needs of individuals.

Forester's model seems to be most applicable to matters pertaining to **communication**, primarily at the "face-to-face" communicative action level between planners and First Nation individuals. Interviewees noted the need to be sensitive to the oral traditions of First Nations and the varying levels of education and literacy among individuals. In particular, they talked about the difficulty of interpreting stories and utilizing traditional knowledge for decision-making, as well as various issues and obstacles

surrounding their use of jargon, technical language, large planning documents and reliance on written material.

These types of communicative distortions have important implications for mutual understanding between planners and First Nations. At a fundamental level, they affect whether individuals actively participate in making decisions. Reduced levels of participation would result in community information and knowledge being excluded from decision-making, therefore affecting established levels of comprehensibility (understanding) and accuracy (truth). The actions of planners would also affect levels of sincerity (trust) in the community, as well as the legitimacy (consent) of planner's involvement.

To prevent these types of communicative distortions and to facilitate mutual understanding when working with First Nations, interviewees indicated that they use a variety of oral, visual and written forms and methods of participation to ensure communication with First Nation individuals. It was noted that planners could verify cross-cultural understanding by facilitating opportunities for individuals to provide feedback and reflection, including asking questions, to determine whether everyone understood what was being communicated during planning sessions.

The knowledge theme of **participation** seemed relevant at "face-to-face" and "organization" levels of communicative action. Interviewees noted the importance of utilizing traditional forms of participation such as consensus decision-making, ceremony, storytelling and listening. They also experienced various participation roles and characteristics of men, women and elders. Based on what interviewees said about men and women, it matters whether planners work with men or women and how planners structure participation to include them. For example, women might not participate if men who participate, are seen to dominate. Planners in this case might have to intervene if they are to ensure the equality of participation by men and women.

Interviewees identified numerous communicative distortions that affect the quality of participation among individuals within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations. They noted such communicative distortions as individual attitudes towards participation, individuals agreeing publicly versus privately disagreeing, the lack of direct criticism by individuals, and that some individuals will resist and avoid participation all together. These types of communicative distortions have significant implications for levels of accuracy (truth) in terms of misinformation (if people are not revealing the truth)

and the lack of information (people not participating). Mutual understanding in these instances would be hampered.

Interviewees did not indicate how they overcome all of these communicative distortions but in the example cited where the council had the attitude they didn't need to involve the community, the planner interviewed tried to correct the communicative distortion by convincing the council on the importance of participation and the need to consult with the community. Through the intervention of the planner, the council elected to send out a community newsletter at the end of their discussion. While this was viewed as a passive form of participation in the planner's view, she believed it was better than the council remaining silent about what they were doing. It is difficult to evaluate the effects of this additional information on Forester's criteria, since it would likely be influenced by the type of information contained in the newsletter, the purpose and intent of the information, the degree of decision-making control and sharing, and the quality of political relations between the council and community.

Interviewees indicated that some forms and methods of participation they utilized with First Nations are more active than others, and that all forms and methods of participation are not equally appropriate. For example, asking individuals to discuss a sensitive issue in a large group format might not result in everyone's participation. It was advised that planners should undertake a personal interview if they wanted to solicit greater involvement on sensitive issues. In this example, planners can help to ensure Forester's criteria of accuracy (truth) and legitimacy (consent) are satisfied by custom designing the mix of participation forms based on the particular First Nation they work with.

The knowledge theme of **capacity** seemed relevant at the communicative action levels of "face-to-face" and "organization." Interviewees acknowledged various factors, issues and obstacles that could implicate levels of mutual understanding. Interviewees noted various communicative distortions encountered such as the different education and literacy levels of people they worked with, the lack of financial capacity, and the effects of leadership and management turnover in some First Nations. Individual and community capacity could implicate how participation is structured, who participates, when planning takes place, how timelines are projected, what is effectively accomplished, and possibly why processes or projects fail to meet the expectations of the community. These implications could affect the quality of comprehensibility (understanding), sincerity (trust), legitimacy (consent), and accuracy (truth) within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations.

To prevent these types of communicative distortions, one interviewee said he assessed the capacity of First Nations he works with as a way to structure more appropriate involvement, including the training component to be incorporated into the planning relationship. Assessing the capacity of First Nations could be considered a "preventative" communicative action. Other practical communicative strategies interviewees said they include in their practice were to provide individuals with choices over process design, increase planning responsibilities and job tasks, co-manage the planning process, and to facilitate both training and mentoring roles with First Nation individuals.

Finally, the last knowledge theme of *planner relationship* reflects Forester's communicative level of "face-to-face" relations. The effects of history on First Nations planning involvement explains the emphasis interviewees placed on developing relationships of trust and personal association with First Nations. It also helps to explain the fact that planners I interviewed said they are being evaluated when they enter First Nation communities. Trust and personal association are viewed as important first steps towards developing the professional association between planners and communities. Interviewees noted that developing personal association was a way for them to gain the trust and acceptance of the First Nations they work with. They did not explicitly state the implications for not gaining trust or acceptance, but one implication seems to be that planners would not be able to facilitate the necessary participation to gather information and knowledge for community decision-making. The ability to establish sincerity (trust) appears to be a determining factor in the ability for planners to establish their legitimacy (consent) within communities they work.

Interviewees commented on several obstacles and issues relating to planner alignment, planner history, bias and attitudes, including planner conflict and credibility. These included such matters as: the internal and external alignment of planners; the community's history of 'other' planners; personality conflicts with planners; the wage differential of planners; as well as how planners want to do things their own way and the tendency for planners to want to fill decision vacuums. These represent various degrees of communicative distortions that could affect everything from the way problems and solutions are defined and decided, to the quality of information used for decision-making. They also influence the quality of participation and involvement between planners and First Nations.

The difficulty in "correcting" these types of communicative distortions is in part a factor of whether planners and First Nations are aware of whether planners are doing things their own way, rather than

facilitating processes for First Nations to do things their own way; or whether planners are filling decision vacuums, versus facilitating processes for First Nations to make their own decisions. The planners I interviewed did not explicitly talk about power but based on their insights and stories, what planners say and do can enable or remove power from First Nations.

Given the long history of outsider involvement, planners should be sensitive of the need for First Nations to establish levels of sincerity (trust) with outsiders, if they are to facilitate the meaningful involvement of First Nations. The lack of trust between planners and First Nations might prevent some individuals from communicating their history, values, knowledge and information, or interacting with planners. Planners who establish levels of sincerity (trust) with First Nations would likely facilitate the other three criteria and achieve a deeper level of mutual understanding.

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

The findings of this research add further empirical grounding to Forester's progressive planner model in a First Nation's planning context. It is not possible to determine whether the planners I interviewed achieved "ideal speech situations" or how well they encountered states of "mutual understanding" with First Nations they worked with. The difficulty of Forester's pragmatic criteria is, in part, how to measure whether and when comprehensibility (understanding), sincerity (trust), legitimacy (consent), and accuracy (truth) are fully realized. He does not reveal a process or a scale of measurement to do so. Furthermore, it would matter "who" evaluates whether the criteria for ideal speech situations or states of mutual understanding have been satisfied.

It seems unlikely that Forester's criteria could ever be completely satisfied but planners who work with First Nations could engage in a continuous process of striving to affect the four conditions for mutual understanding. Practically speaking, planners are not in the position to overcome all of the communicative distortions, at all three practical levels, all the time. The ability to overcome communicative distortions would likely depend on the planner's awareness of the distortions, the nature of the distortion, the capacity and willingness of planners to judge and facilitate practical strategies to overcome them, as well as the timing of what planners do.

An important consideration for outside planners might be to distinguish communicative distortions they create (or non-Aboriginal individuals who interact with First Nations) versus those created by First

Nations individuals. It might be easier for planners to control and reduce their own communicative distortions, than those of others. Furthermore, as outside planners develop their capacity to identify communicative distortions, they might prevent communicative distortions rather than having to respond to them.

Forester's communicative theory of planning is useful to explain and guide the planning practice of outside planners who work with First Nations. The usefulness is defined in terms of what communicative factors planners should be sensitive too, why these factors are important, and how planners can act to overcome them in ways that make planning more inclusive and democratic. Planners who have acquired an understanding of the seven knowledge themes identified in this thesis might assist them to facilitate more culturally appropriate planning, and in doing so, facilitate greater mutual understanding between individuals within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations. Ultimately planners who promote participation and inclusion would have more influence in reaching states of mutual understanding than planners who do not. However, not all planners would share the same participatory planning values or ethics, or obligation to strive for mutual understanding when working with First Nations.

5.9 The Relevance of Sandercock's Insurgent Planner Model for Planning With First Nations

While Sandercock's (1998a) research is situated primarily in an urban context,¹⁷ the findings of my research suggest that components of her insurgent planner model are useful in exploring planning interaction with First Nations. Fundamental to her model is the prescription that planners recognize and accommodate cultural difference. Explicit in her model is the need for planners to have a "heightened awareness of the ways in which planning operates to control and to marginalize" (1998:228). Sandercock questions the rationalist foundation of planning and its theoretical and methodological suitability in view of the diverse cultural contexts planners work in.

The significance of Sandercock's concept of multicultural literacy¹⁸ is the general recognition that culture matters to planning and that outside planners need to consider the context in which they plan. The

¹⁷ Sandercock cites examples in such cities as Boston, New York, Los Angeles, Frankfurt, Port Alegre, Brazil, Istanbul, Jerusalem, including the community of the Wik People of Cape York Peninsula, northern Australia.

¹⁸ This is one of five literacies Sandercock suggests are required for insurgent planners to facilitate a new planning paradigm of identity, difference, social justice and citizenship. The other four literacies include: technical, analytical, multicultural, ecological.

nine planners I interviewed begin to operationalize Sandercock's multicultural literacy with respect to planning with First Nations. Interviewees provided a comprehensive window into the micro-aspects of planning practice with First Nations, identifying what is important to know about First Nation's planning culture, as well as process knowledge about what planners do to facilitate participatory planning relationships within First Nations. This cultural planning literacy is important in Sandercock's view, because indigenous groups have traditionally been marginalized by the dominant western planning paradigm.

The interviewees' accounts of practice provide an empirical base to expand Sandercock's concept of multicultural literacy. For example, interviewees indicated that outside planners have to consider both substantive and process values of First Nations they work with, as well as the political and social decision-making structures and customs of First Nations when they plan. Several interviewees talked about the use of traditional knowledge, the roles and functions of storytelling and listening, including numerous issues and obstacles such as utilizing traditional knowledge, interpreting the meaning of stories, overcoming the obstacles of miscommunication or the lack of communication. These findings in particular support two of Sandercock's five prescriptions for insurgent planners. She identifies the need for planners to place more emphasis on the practical wisdom of cultures and for planners to work with different ways of knowing. These are important considerations to facilitate the inclusion of minority cultural groups.

Interviewees identified several factors that support Sandercock's claim that planners need to be aware of how planning controls and marginalizes people. Interviewees observed the effects of external authority imposed on First Nations, various communication and participation obstacles such as planner jargon and the emphasis placed on written language; certain attitudes towards participation; the exclusion of groups from the planning process, planner conflict, and so on. Given the planning history of First Nations, planners need to be sensitive to the fact that their actions may be perpetuating the control and marginalization of First Nations.

Finally, Sandercock points out that planners need to be sensitive of the cultural context in which they plan, but as interviewees elaborated, planners need to recognize that First Nations are not a uniform collective group with one single voice. Planners have to recognize the diversity within and between First

Nations, the multiple voices and perspectives within cultures, just as much as the voices and perspectives across cultures (native and non-native society).

Conclusions and Implications for Planning Practice

What is most evident from the research findings is that outside planners require a sense of how and why First Nations have been excluded from society through decades of external authority and control. Sandercock's *insurgent planner* model might encourage planners to assist First Nations with their emancipatory objectives in recognizing the historical injustices of the past, and to serve First Nations in ways without perpetuating similar injustices. For those First Nations who are in the process of reviving their traditional structures, customs and practices, or those who want to, outside planners can try to ensure that community traditions are acknowledged and facilitated into planning processes. These traditions include clan and family decision-making systems of organization, elder's roles, consensus decision-making, storytelling, social feasting and ceremony, and so on.

Planners who engage in Sandercock's insurgent planning practice will not be able to overcome the structures of external authority imposed on First Nations. However, for those planners who work with First Nations involved in a comprehensive land claim, there may be an opportunity in Sandercock's words, to help facilitate a "rewriting of history." Regardless, planners who understand the history and planning traditions of First Nations might help facilitate greater inclusion of First Nation individuals by bringing attention to the sources of First Nations' disempowerment, and by validating their culture throughout the planning relationship. As indigenous people reclaim land, authority, voice and traditions made possible by land claims, Sandercock notes that planners may be confronted with:

Values incommensurable with modernist planning and the modernization project which it serves, a planning which privileges 'development' and which exchange value usually triumphs over use value. If the voices and desires of indigenous peoples are to be respected, acknowledged, and honoured, the foundations of the modernist planning paradigm itself must be abandoned and replaced (1998:18).

My research findings help to support Sandercock's claim that planners need to become practiced in different planning contexts. Gaining knowledge and insight about what matters when planners try to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships perhaps can help to modify the ineffectiveness of any one planning paradigm. Planners should acknowledge that what may be an accepted planning paradigm in one context, may not be completely applicable in another.

Identifying and documenting *what* matters when planning in a particular cultural setting can inform the theoretical basis by which planners undertake planning practice with First Nations. The quality of interaction between planners and First Nations has implications for how First Nations participate to affect their own change. In this sense, the thesis aims to explore a cultural planning literacy specific to First Nations; to overcome in Sandercock's (1998a) words, "the erasure of history" or in Lockhart's (1982) view, to "affirm rather than negate culture."

6.0 Chapter Six: Research Reflections, Limitations, Implications and Considerations

6.1 Research Question

In exploring the question, “***what are the knowledges planners need to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations,***”

I was able to identify both substantive knowledge (what are First Nations like) and process knowledge (how planners work effectively with First Nations). Exploring ***what*** matters when outside planners work with First Nations revealed a diverse range of insights and knowledge. However, it would have been more insightful at times for planners to elaborate on ***why*** something matters. Asking ***what*** matters when planners work with First Nations seemed to generate more descriptive knowledge, whereas exploring ***why*** something matters, generated more explanatory knowledge. For example, knowing that value differences matter within First Nations is one level of knowledge; knowing that value differences are important because they impact development choices is a higher level of knowledge; and knowing how to overcome the conflict between value differences would further generate a more complete knowledge base of First Nation’s planning action.

Furthermore, ***what*** and ***why*** planners need to know when they work with First Nations seems to have more theoretical significance, whereas knowledge about ***how*** planners do things provides more practical or instructional significance. All three types of knowledge are important but they implicate how data is applied and analyzed. In some cases interviewees had volunteered all three types of knowledge but exploring explicitly the ***why***, of what planners said, might have revealed greater insight into the implications for ***what*** matters when outside planners work with First Nations.

6.2 Research Approach

Utilizing a qualitative research approach seemed appropriate for the nature of the research question. I wanted to explore and document what other planners experienced in a particular cultural context. Accessing planners’ stories and micro-accounts of practice was essential in revealing the richness and nature of working with First Nations. Having said this, exploring seven knowledge themes was too great an undertaking for this research exercise. Each of the seven knowledge themes could have been a thesis topic. Managing the volume of data was time consuming, complicated and difficult, and it

inevitably required that I be selective. I attempted to highlight the more prevalent themes. My interview questions could have been narrowed to reduce the scope and range of planners' responses.

6.3 Interview Method

One challenge in utilizing a qualitative research approach is to obtain knowledge and insight pertinent to the research question. I elected to use open-ended interviews but the ability and skill of interviewees to open and respond to questions varied. In general, the planners I interviewed had difficulty starting their interview but once they reached a certain comfort level they were able to speak more freely. Planners became more focused as the interview progressed but they varied in their ability to articulate their experience. Planners seemed appreciative of the opportunity to share their knowledge and insights into planning with First Nations.

It was difficult to adhere to the interview guide of questions systematically. This was a result of the emphasis interviewees placed on certain themes more than others, the fact that interviewees could respond to certain themes more easily than others, and that they were not equally forthcoming with all seven knowledge themes. In some cases, time did not permit a full exploration of the interview questions. The difficulty of adhering to the interview guide of questions may also have been a function of my own research abilities.

An additional challenge in undertaking this research was determining the degree of agreement among the interviewed planners. In some cases interviewees were very specific and able to provide a particular example. At other times, insights were provided more generally without reference to a specific First Nation. Asking planners for a detailed empirical example in every instance simply was not practical because of time considerations. I did my best to reserve my request for examples. Furthermore, sometimes it was not clear whether interviewees were hypothesizing a claim or providing an empirical observation based on their experience.

I learned that there is a qualitative difference in how planners articulate their stories when asked to provide examples. Stories presented in four to seven words do not contain the same richness, emotional content, descriptive or explanatory value, as do stories containing several sentences or paragraphs. I could have been more persistent at requesting more detailed examples of stories because they added quality and richness to the findings, although telling stories did not come as easily to every

interviewee. This could be due to the fact that interviewees may not remember a story at the time of the interview, may feel that a story is not worthwhile or necessary, or possibly that disclosing a story would negatively implicate them in some way. Furthermore, it requires practice and patience to solicit stories from planners in ways that are informative and practically useful.

It would have been useful to supplement this research with a follow-up survey or questionnaire as a way to triangulate the research findings. These instruments would have enhanced the findings in terms of systematically testing a much more defined set of hypotheses. However, I would not recommend these instruments replace the qualitative approach and use of open-ended interviews utilized in this study.

6.4 Sample Selection

The number of planners used in this exploratory study seemed appropriate. I wanted to explore the diversity of a small range of planners at a more in-depth level. However, with the small number of planners it was not possible to generalize findings with "external validity." The diversity of the sample base was reflected in the mix of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, male and female planners, as well as in the variety of their backgrounds, experience, levels of formal training and different working contexts. This diversity was reflected in the range of insights and perspectives. In general, the women interviewees were more informative and comprehensive in their answers and they were generally more revealing and direct. Men were slower at responding to questions, had greater difficulty answering questions, took less time to answer, but their responses were generally more concise.

I was aware throughout the interviews that some planners attempted to engage me during their interview. In some cases, planners looked for approval or reassurance in terms "have you experienced this," or "what would you have done?" I wondered if planners thought I was evaluating their insights or observations. I found it challenging to resist engaging planners in a dialogue. The interview experience was too passive from the perspective of myself as a community planner, but as a researcher, I believed it was important that my voice not bias what the interviewees said.

6.5 Planning Relevance and Implications

The results of this exploratory research contribute to the literature on planning with First Nations in several ways. The findings resulted in a deeper, more comprehensive understanding in terms of organizing knowledge under the seven themes. The results emphasized more of what matters when

planners work with First Nations from a micro-perspective, revealing what it is like to work with First Nations. The perspectives from Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal planners build on numerous authors who come from a non-planning perspective. Exploring a similar question from a First Nation's perspective would enhance the findings of this research. This would be particularly important in terms of knowledge about the *planner relationship* because it is First Nations who allow outsiders to 'enter' their culture.

It would be valuable to explore the criteria First Nations use to hire outside planners, how they evaluate planners, and the factors that influence a community's decision to utilize the same planner over the long term. An understanding of why First Nations change planners might also assist planners to practice more culturally sensitive planning. Furthermore, what are the appropriate mechanisms used to manage the relationship between planners and First Nations? Insight into these areas of planning could be contrasted to the responses from planners themselves. Comparing community and planner perspectives would contribute a deeper level of knowledge and understanding.

The usefulness of this research to planners who work with First Nations may depend on the length of their experience, levels of formal education, the background and value base of planners, as well as the particular First Nations they work with. For planners who have never worked with First Nations, the findings and literature review under each of the seven knowledge themes would be an informative place from which to begin learning about general planning challenges in a First Nation's planning context. When I think back to the time when I first started to work with First Nation communities, I think that having access to this type of information would have been helpful in culturally navigating my way inside a First Nation. In hindsight, this knowledge would have assisted me to overcome my uncertainty at times, reduce my biases, shatter some of my assumptions and help enhance the effectiveness of my involvement with First Nations.

I am uncertain how useful these seven knowledge themes are for someone who has had prolonged experience working with First Nations. The interviewees generally all had extensive experience working with First Nations, yet they emphasized different knowledge themes, issues and obstacles, participation methods and techniques. The range of insights made it apparent that planners varied in their interpretation of what constitutes an effective participatory planning relationship. The implication for this range of insights is that it matters whom First Nations hire to help them with their planning needs.

In addition to knowing whether and how these seven knowledge themes are useful to facilitate effective participatory planning relationships, it is important to consider **when** these knowledges are most relevant. The research findings suggest that the seven knowledge themes are relevant for all stages of planning, but are most relevant when planners and First Nations begin their planning relationship, when planners first enter the community, and when planners help First Nations to develop their planning processes.

While these seven knowledge themes are worthy of consideration independently, additional theoretical and practical value would be gained in understanding the complex interaction and inter-relationships of these seven themes. As the writing process of this thesis evolved, it became apparent how inter-connected these themes were. For example, it became apparent that planners could only expect to know the value and knowledge base (**value and knowledge systems**) of a community by knowing how people communicate (**communication**) and participate (**participation**). If planners don't allow stories to be told (**communication**) or create comfortable participatory settings (**participation**) and establish trust (**planner relationship**) when they work with elders for example, then planners might not access the values or knowledge base (**value and knowledge systems**) important to guide decision-making (**participation**). Further, if certain family groups (**social organization**) are sitting at the table and there is a history of deep conflict between two families (**authority relations**), people may not communicate (**communication**) and participate in a group setting (**participation**). Planners would therefore have to structure appropriate participatory forms to ensure that groups are represented (**social organization**) and that their voices are heard (**communication**).

As interviewees revealed through their responses, the seven knowledge themes would not be equally significant to every First Nation. In addition, having an understanding of these types of knowledges could never prepare planners to fully anticipate the complex interaction of factors that operate during a given planning relationship. To a large degree, the quality of participatory planning relationships may be a reflection of First Nations' rights to participation and what the purpose of participation is. Planners need to be conscious of what First Nations stand to gain in exercising their rights to participate, and to share this understanding with First Nations. The role of culture can be a positive vehicle for planners to evaluate their role in facilitating effective participatory relationships, in ways that are empowering and transformative.

The heart of the challenge in working with First Nations might be in how planners acquire the planning literacy of another culture. Friedmann (1998:31) asks a provoking question:

How shall planners from one cultural background learn the valued social practices of other groups that are unlike their own in the multicultural setting...?

He talks about an "organic connection" between the planner and community:

Where outside planners would have managed to "cross over" as a result of a prolonged learning process through community activism. Ultimately, the question of an organic connection concerns emphatic knowledge, cultural affinity and an ability to communicate effectively, all of which can be learned...

The importance of "prolonged learning" and "shared experience" might make it possible for outside planners to learn to work with First Nations in more culturally appropriate ways.

6.6 Closing Reflection

One of the reasons why I organized various planning knowledges into seven themes was on the hopeful assumption that I might be able to help others access a specific body of knowledge more readily. This was a naïve assumption. In its present form, the thesis findings are not very accessible to practicing planners. The greatest effect of these findings might have been on me personally. I certainly valued hearing about the experience of other planners. This research process has allowed me to reflect on and refine my own planning practice, and my hope is that others will do the same.

However, I feel that my research experience was too passive. I wanted to interact and engage with the interviewees personally and to facilitate a group discussion on the various knowledge themes. It might have been more interesting as well to undertake participatory action research with a group of planners, promoting a more pure form of inductive or organic research.

The primary intention of my thesis was to undertake research that would ultimately benefit First Nations. This was also a naïve assumption. I have no way of confirming or substantiating whether what a small group of planners viewed important is in fact important to know when working with First Nations, since First Nations themselves were not consulted on the research question. This limitation of my research is exacerbated by the fact that most of the literature regarding First Nations' planning has been authored by non-Aboriginals.

As First Nations people throughout Canada and the world are undergoing new processes of social-spatial restructuring, planners require a capacity to work with First Nations in culturally appropriate

ways. Furthermore, as First Nations continue to request 'outside' planning assistance, outside planners have an obligation to understand First Nations culture: for example, that the traditional values of groups within First Nations may differ; how knowledge is transmitted through storytelling; that certain forms of participation may not be appropriate given the history of family conflict; and how the history of external authority relations has impacted attitudes towards participation.

I wanted to provide an opportunity for a small group of practicing planners to speak about their experience, to reveal more personalized accounts of practice knowledge and stories of what planners do, how they struggle, what works and how they interfere with participatory planning. Rarely do practicing planners get an opportunity to share their insights and stories. As I started this research, capturing the micro-perspectives of men and women who work with First Nations was viewed as one way to operationalize Sandercock's multicultural planning literacy within a specific cultural context. They were also seen as a way to explore Lockhart's claim that planners need to familiarize themselves with, and gain practice in, a community's "process dynamics." The proposed seven knowledge themes might at the very least provoke planners into reflecting on their experience and to facilitate more discussion about how planners who are not of First Nation's ancestry, or from the community they work with, can become more effective in their planning practice.

6.7 Planner Considerations

The insights and knowledge gained from this research undertaking are summarized under the seven knowledge themes of First Nations' value and knowledge systems; authority relations; social organization; communication; participation; capacity; and knowledge about the planner relationship. These themes are intended to capture a compilation of facts, feelings and experiences, as well as theoretical and practical significance in helping to inform effective planning interaction with First Nations.

Given the exploratory nature of this research, the small sample size of planners, and the varying empirical evidence, planners might reflect on the following findings more as considerations and possibilities for enhancing effective participatory relationships with First Nations, than as recipes:

First Nations' Value and Knowledge Systems

1. Planners require the capacity to assess and access the spectrum of values within the particular First Nation they work with. They also need to know how value differences within First Nations implicate decision-making, participation, planning approaches and methods. Planners should distinguish substantive values (e.g. preserve caribou, develop land) and process values (e.g. consensus decision-making, storytelling).
2. Given that value differences and conflict exist within First Nations, planners must determine their role in identifying the value base of the community. This includes how planners incorporate values into decision-making, and process roles they use to identify the values of the community. Planners might encounter situations where one set of cultural values prevails over another.
3. Planners should consider which groups within the community are being represented at planning sessions they lead. In particular, the balance between traditional-subsistence individuals versus more change-oriented individuals. Identifying the socio-cultural structure of the First Nation doing the planning can help planners facilitate an awareness of value differences within and among groups (e.g. clans, families). This knowledge is relevant for planners to design and structure appropriate participation methods in ways that ensure that all groups communicate their values.
4. Planners need to recognize, value, access and have the capacity to utilize the traditional knowledge base of First Nations in ways that empower and validate First Nations people. Individuals should have the first opportunity to apply their knowledge in defining and solving problems.
5. The issue is when and how planners offer and integrate their knowledge during planning processes, not which knowledge is valid. Understanding differences and similarities between types of knowledge may allow planners and First Nations to integrate knowledge in more complimentary ways.
6. The utilization of First Nations' traditional knowledge involves substantive roles (e.g. knowledge used in land claim negotiations) and process roles (e.g. as a means to involve elders and develop community-planner trust). The significance of traditional knowledge is to ground decision-making in the community's heritage and identity.

Authority Relations

1. Planners need to understand the history of authority within and over First Nations because these relations have regulated and altered participation, self-control, planning approaches and programs. External authority relations determine who plans, when planning takes place, what is planned and how. Planners need to be conscious of these effects and work in ways that challenge external power structures.
2. Planners should be sensitive to the traditional forms of political organization and decision-making structures of First Nations they work with (e.g. clans, family groups, tribal, inter-tribal organization, and confederations). Traditional forms of authority operate along side and often under the domination of legal authority, as defined by the Indian Act. Planners should be aware of the degree to which both forms of authority operate and conflict, and how they implicate participation and decision-making.
3. The external authority structures for some First Nations are being transformed because of various land claim agreements, devolution processes and legal decisions. First Nations are gaining jurisdiction to structure more favourable conditions for participation and opportunities to develop collective and individual capacity. Planners have an opportunity to help facilitate the emancipatory objectives of First Nations.
4. Planners may encounter the behavioural effects of First Nations' history, including perhaps avoidance, denial, lying, anger, silence, resistance, fear and shame. These effects impact participation and involvement during planning processes and possibly relations with outside planners.

Planners need to appreciate that people are at different stages of healing and recognize that planning sessions are potential vehicles for healing to take place.

5. It is important to know where the authority for planning originates and who has final decision-making authority within First Nations. The exercised planning authority does not necessarily imply full participation by the community.
6. Planners need to be sensitive to the unevenness of power, differing interests, the holders of power, how long individuals have been in power and whether First Nations' political systems are democratic or not. Such knowledge may help to reveal the conditions under which planners work to facilitate effective participatory relationships with First Nations.
7. Symbols of external authority such as government vehicles, departmental decals and clothing may create friction from the past and potentially affect the interaction between planners and First Nations individuals.

Social Organization

1. It is important for planners to identify the forms of social organization (e.g. individual, family, clan, tribal, confederation, matrilineal, change-oriented versus traditional subsistence people) in communities they work. Not all forms of traditional organization are equally prevalent in every community.
2. Clan and family systems serve important functions relevant to ensure effective planning relationships. For example, they govern decision-making, structure interpersonal relations, and shape principles and rules to govern responsibilities and relationships of people to one another. They may also affect social control and leadership, and influence patterns of participation and territorial association.
3. Planners need to utilize the traditional clan and family structures of First Nations they work in. This includes identifying the number of clans or family groups and the state of relations between groups, if possible. Planners can never know or acquire all of the history of conflict in a given community but they might consider signals of conflict when facilitating participatory processes.
4. Planners should ensure that all relevant cultural groups of the community they work in are represented during planning processes they lead. The conflict within First Nations requires that planners structure participation processes, methods and techniques in ways that provide individuals with choices and options to participate.

Communication

1. Planners need to be sensitive to the communication differences between cultures. This requires that planners expand their knowledge and understanding of different forms of communication given the oral tradition of First Nations.
2. Appropriate forms of communication need to be identified for the particular First Nation planners work with. Forms of communication should be considered in regard to the cultural traditions of First Nations, including the education and literacy levels of individuals in the community. It is likely that planners will utilize several types of oral, visual and written forms of communication such as storytelling, listening, dialogue, diagrams, sketches, maps, photographs, written handouts, multiple report formats, if they are to ensure community involvement and participation in planning processes.
3. Storytelling serves several important functions in First Nations communities. Storytelling has a substantive function (e.g. where the best berry picking is, where caribou migrate) and a process function (e.g. a way to include elders, transmit knowledge). Planners can expect practical difficulties of interpreting stories, incorporating their meaning into decision-making, and possibly the placement of stories into planning documents.

4. Planners should ensure that they do not exclude people or inhibit mutual understanding by imposing communication biases on First Nations individuals. Communication obstacles such as the use of English, vocabulary, technical jargon, and written text can implicate cross-cultural knowledge transmission, participation, decision-making and understanding.

Participation

1. Planners need to understand how First Nations have historically been excluded from direct participation, control and management of their affairs, and the subsequent effects on planning.
2. Clan and family systems have traditionally governed participatory relationships within First Nations.
3. Consensus decision-making is the principal means by which people structure and participate in making decisions. However, consensus decision-making does not necessarily imply full involvement by the larger community. Who determines consensus, by how many, and whether consensus is reached can implicate the quality of participation.
4. First Nations also participate through ceremonies such as storytelling, silence, prayer, dancing, social gatherings and feasts. Planners should acknowledge these traditional forms and utilize them during the planning relationship whenever possible.
5. Women, men and elders all assume a diverse range of participatory roles. These roles may have a different emphasis throughout stages of the planning relationship (e.g. when planners enter the community, preplanning, plan approval, implementation and evaluation). An understanding of these roles allows planners to structure appropriate forms and methods of participation to ensure individual involvement.
6. It is important for planners to consider the factors that influence the quality of participation between men and women. The quality of participation may be affected by whether men and women participate in the same planning session, by the type of information required, whether men and women know each other, or how dominant men are during a planning session.
7. Planners will confront numerous issues and obstacles as they try to facilitate participation within the community. These include individual attitudes towards participation (e.g. don't need to participate), how people resist participation (e.g. don't show up, opposition to topic), public agreement versus private disagreement (e.g. agree publicly to avoid conflict and confrontation), the lack of full representation (e.g. family groups excluded from participating; or someone speaks on a person's behalf) and how First Nations people might not directly confront or criticize the planner.
8. A diverse range of participatory approaches, methods and techniques is required for planners to respond to these types of issues and obstacles. Certain types of participatory approaches, methods and techniques may be more appropriate than others (small groups, personal interview, informal settings versus large groups and formal settings), depending on the particular First Nations planners work in. Planners should distinguish these types in terms of how active or passive they are in involving people.

Capacity

1. Planners need to consider the overall capacity of First Nations they work with, from the perspectives of: authority and power, institutional base, organizational capacity and human resource capacity. The quality of community capacity can impact how participation is structured, who participates, when planning takes place, how timelines are projected, what is effectively accomplished and possibly why processes or projects become disrupted or fail to meet the expectations of the community. Working with the traditional structures of First Nations would help to facilitate more culturally appropriate planning.

2. Planners and First Nations need to assess the capacity of communities to effectively participate at the beginning of their planning relationship. This might create more effective planning outcomes. Determining a community's capacity could identify the training component to be included as part of the planner's role.
3. Various issues and obstacles (leadership and staff turnover, small size of community, lack of availability of people, other community priority and obligations, issues of volunteerism, education and literacy) surrounding capacity can affect the quality of participatory planning relationships and planning outcomes.
4. Planners need to consider how they leave capacity behind as one component of an effective participatory planning relationship. Building capacity includes sharing responsibility and co-managing planning tasks with individuals or committees, creating effective processes for participation, ensuring safety and options to participate, and utilizing the traditional structures and systems of First Nations.

Planner Relationship

1. Planners require a comprehensive understanding of the seven knowledge themes identified above to facilitate effective planning relationships within First Nations, and between planners and First Nations.
2. Formal instruments such as terms of reference or contract documents help to structure the planning relationship between planners and First Nations. These can assist to clarify a planner's understanding of what First Nations require, what is expected of the planner, as well as identify the planner's role in working with First Nations. They also help to ensure that planners complete their required work and they can serve as a negotiation tool should disputes arise.
3. More important is how planners establish trust relationships, and how they gain entry into, and acceptance by First Nations they work with. The level of personal association is an important factor in establishing trust, and accessing the participation and involvement of individuals.
4. Planners may follow formal or informal processes of entry into a First Nations community. Having an individual contact or sponsor may help planners to gain access and acceptance into the community.
5. Planners need to be aware that they are being evaluated when they first enter the community. The evaluation could be based on issues such as power differentiation, the attitude and sensitivity of planners, their planning approach, the level of trust, and whether planners reveal on a personal level with First Nations.
6. Planners need to be sensitive to such matters as who they are perceived to be internally and externally aligned with given the internal and external history of First Nations. It may be viewed that one group is receiving an unfair advantage over another group.
7. Because First Nations have a long history of 'outsider' involvement, planners might consider discussing the history and experience of other planners who have worked in the community, and how planning relationships could be improved. Planners have to live down the history of other planners who have worked in the community, and possibly their own.
8. Planners will inevitably face various types of conflict such as substantive, process, planner and interpersonal. The challenge in facilitating participatory relationships is whether planners can identify, control, manage or overcome conflicts.
9. Outside planners should be sensitive to biases they bring when working with First Nations. For example, how planners want to do things their own way, how they impose their own opinions, or the threat of planners making decisions on behalf of First Nations. Planners need to consider the implications biases have for decision-making control and planning outcomes, and how they can minimize them.

10. Planners might consider how they evaluate effective participatory relationships with First Nations. Planners in collaboration with First Nations could consider setting criteria at the beginning of their relationship to evaluate the effectiveness of cross-cultural planning interaction. Planners might evaluate planning relationships in terms of the quality of the plan output, the quality of participation, whether the capacity of First Nations has been increased, as well as attributes that evaluate the planner's role.

Appendix A: Sample Interview Guide

1. How is it you started working with First Nations?
2. Please share your planning interests, training and education.
3. How is your planning relationship with the community determined?
4. What do outside planners need to know when they work with First Nations communities? What matters when you plan in a cross-cultural setting (e.g. values, knowledge, authority relations, clan systems, storytelling, consensus, ceremony)?
5. What are the traditional planning systems of First Nations? Can you provide examples or stories? How do you work with these traditional practices?
6. How do you gain entry into the First Nation community?
7. How do you allow a First Nation to exercise control over its planning?
8. What are some of the issues or obstacles around communication and participation (trust, language, capacity)?
9. How do you as a planner block communication and participation?
10. How do First Nations resist participation?
11. How do men and women participate differently? How do elders participate in during planning processes?
12. What strategies or techniques do you use to enable effective participatory planning relationships?
13. How do you evaluate effective participatory planning relationships? What are the success indicators you use?
14. What biases do you bring to planning relationship with First Nations?
15. What motivates you to work with First Nations?
16. What are the implications of 'outside' planners who work in First Nation settings?

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