SUCCESS FACTORS IN INTER-COMMUNITY COOPERATION:

A CASE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

For many Indian bands across Canada, community development planning has emerged as an important approach to change. By forging close economic and political links with one another, small bands can accelerate their development through new economies of scale, heightened political influence, more innovative capacities and other advantages of cooperation.

In practical terms, however, the initiation, formalization and consolidation of close inter-band cooperation presents several problems. Native culture lacks traditions in institutionalized inter-community cooperation, internal disharmony in many Indian villages frustrates unity on such important decisions as whether or not to cooperate, and many Indian communities are poor in organizational skills essential to planning and implementing cooperative strategies.

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the factors responsible for apparently successful cooperation in the case of five Indian bands in the Nicola Valley and to assess the applicability of findings to other groups of Indian communities

across the country. A literature review guides the selection of research questions and criteria used in assessing the case.

Fifteen factors for effective inter-community cooperation are isolated from a literature review and grouped into three general categories: those important to the initiation of cooperation, those relating to the delivery of the rewards of cooperation, and those affecting the capability of the cooperative organization.

Six factors for initiation include the presence of a common crisis or threat, inter-community similarity and familiarity, consensus, committed leadership, a propensity to cooperate and preliminary planning. Successful cooperation was also found to be linked to the capture by cooperating communities of four types of rewards, each representing a factor: improved resource acquisition, adaptability to change, efficiency in community resource use and ability to achieve common goals. Finally, ongoing success was found to be reflected in the capability of inter-community cooperative organizations to accomplish five tasks: build community and staff commitment, plan harmonious inter-community relations, manage its environment, exploit common geography and culture, and solve problems.

Case research focusses on five Indian bands in the Nicola Valley of southern British Columbia and is based on forty-one interviews held in the valley. These bands are represented by

the Nicola Valley Indian Administration (NVIA), a centralized bureacracy which coordinates on behalf of the five communities a wide range of administrative services.

Fifteen questions - each corresponding to a success factor derived from the literature - were asked in interviews with people representing a broad spectrum of the native communities. Responses were compiled and analyzed to assess the degree to which inter-band cooperation conformed to expectations from the literature on successful inter-community cooperation. Analysis led to the conclusion that despite deficiencies in preliminary planning, ongoing planning and problem-solving, NVIA is a successful inter-community cooperative enterprise which has delivered many significant benefits to its member communities.

While NVIA's existence suggests a successful initiation process, better planning in the formative years would likely have avoided several problems encountered in later years. Some of the rewards of cooperative effort have been inequitably distributed to member bands and various cooperative programs have been adversely affected by political interference. Perhaps most seriously, NVIA itself was found to be deficient in building broad commitment and designing mutually acceptable solutions to internal difficulties.

Effective planning in the early stages is vital to establishing and, more importantly, ultimately maintaining

inter-community cooperation. Incomplete planning during the formation of NVIA led to lack of clear consensus on the purpose of cooperation, the nature of inter-band power relations, the obligations of each band, and ways of distributing rewards and minimizing risks to participant bands.

NVIA provides evidence that Indian communities can establish close formal relations with each other and thus capture certain important benefits. Problems encountered suggest, however, that bands ought to temper enthusiasm with deliberation when considering formal cooperative relations.

Analysis of the Nicola Valley story confirmed that consensus, early planning, reward delivery, ongoing planning and problem-solving capacity are especially important factors in establishing and maintaining inter-community cooperation. The case makes a key contribution to interorganizational relations theory by highlighting the importance of informal cooperation as a means of preparing Indian bands for more structured cooperation. It also reveals the critical role of persistent and far-sighted leadership in the formalization of inter-band cooperative relations.

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Glossary

1. Aboriginal

Relating to Indian or Inuit life before the coming of non-native people.

2. Band

A legal group defined by the Indian Act. In this sense, a Band is the basic unit of Indian government recognized by the federal government. Each has its own Band Council and legal membership list. Most have reserve land and a trust fund as well.

3. Band Council

The governing body of a Band under the Indian Act. It is composed of one or more Chiefs, and usually several Councillors. Some Bands chose their Councils today under the elective system, and some by custom.

4. Band Council Resolution

A document by which a Band Council records a formal decision or a Band Bylaw.

5. Band Funds

Monies belonging to individual Indian Bands, held and managed by the federal government for each Band. Most are made up of proceeds from the sale, lease or expropriation of reserve lands and the resources on them.

6. Contact

The term used for the time in history when North American native people first met with non-natives from other parts of the world. This meeting could be either face to face, or indirect - that is, through foreign trade goods and influence.

7. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Federal department exercising delegated duties, powers and functions of the Minister responsible for the Indian Act.

8. Ethnology

A type of anthropological study which describes, compares and interprets ways of life of specific groups of people.

9. Indian Act

The federal statute that, since 1876, has embodied most of the federal law concerning Indian people. Before 1876, there were a large number of colonial and local statutes relating to Indians. Parts of these were rewritten, expanded, and incorporated into two new federal acts relating to Indians passed in 1868 and 1869. The first complete 'Indian Act' as such was passed in 1876. New versions were issued in 1880 and 1951. The current Indian Act is that of 1970. It has had only a few minor revisions since that date.

10. Indian Status

A person's legal status as an Indian, and specifically his or her status as defined by the Indian Act.

11. Membership

This term refers specifically to the rights of an Indian person as a member of a band. Membership issues are generally the same as Indian Status issues.

12. Native

Canadians of aboriginal descent. This term can include status or non-status Indians, Inuit and Metis.

13. Off-Reserve

Locations other than on a reserve.

14. Reserve

Land set aside for the use and occupancy of an Indian group or Band. Reserves are defined in the Indian Act and are provided for or mentioned in the Consititution, various treaties, various federal statutes, and various other Crown agreements and executive actions. It is still not entirely clear in law exactly what sort of land an Indian reserve is, or how reserves are established. The current position of the federal government is that all Indian reserves are legally the property of the Crown, and that Indian Bands have significant rights to or interests in them, but not full ownership in the ordinary sense.

15. Tribal Council   A term that has recently come into use in some regions to refer to a grouping of tribal administrations or band councils into a regional political unit. The tribal council may or may not be empowered to represent the Bands externally, or to administer common funds or resources.

Chapter One - Introduction

1. Purpose

The substantive focus of this thesis is the role of cooperation in community development. The Nicola Valley Indian Administration, an organization representing five closely integrated native communities in southern British Columbia, provides the case study. The purpose of the study is to analyze NVIA as a case of apparent successful inter-community cooperation and to assess the applicability of findings to other groups of Indian communities in the country. For the purpose of this study, I define `inter-community cooperation` as `joint action undertaken voluntarily by two or more communities to change specified conditions for their mutual advantage`.

Thesis research concentrates on NVIA's strengths and weaknesses, and on how the case compares to expectations drawn from the literature on interorganizational and inter-community cooperation.

My hope is that thesis findings will enlighten other groups of communities on the benefits of inter-community cooperation and the application of cooperative principles to the community development process. Indian communities in particular should be able to apply the lessons derived from this research to enhance their prospects for meaningful self-government.

2. The Nicola Valley Indian Administration

For over twenty years, inter-community cooperation has been an important element in the community development approach of five Indian bands in the Nicola Valley of southern British Columbia. These bands control twenty-five reserve lands and twelve villages within a fifty-kilometer radius of the City of Merritt. Since 1973, they have been tightly organized into a political and economic confederation represented by the Nicola Valley Indian Administration (NVIA), a tribal council agency which centralizes and coordinates administrative services in policy planning, financial management, housing and infrastructure expansion, education and training, social development, band membership and reserve lands.

What is compelling about NVIA is the manner in which it has facilitated broader and deeper inter-community cooperative activity than is typically the case with other tribal councils in the province. A significant aspect of band development in the valley is the intensity with which its direction and scope is controlled by the Indian people themselves (Kozey 1986).

The following list presents an overview of NVIA in its present form, identifying eight jointly controlled organizations and indicating their respective mandates and sizes:

a) Area Council - executive body for NVIA, consisting of sixteen band council appointees;

b) NVIA Core – centralized administrative body providing super-
visory and policy planning duties, advisory
services in capital project planning, land regis-
tration, band membership, and band management and
planning (staff of 15);

c) Nicola Valley Indian   – non-profit, incorporated advisory
Development Corporation   body providing venture capital to
public and private business and
administering employment programs
and forest management planning
(staff of six);

d) Valley Business   – incorporated company owned by the five
Computer Services   NVIA member bands, preparing and proces-
sing monthly financial statements for
over 40 cost centers (staff of five);

e) NVIA Social Development – body of advisory staff delivering
social services to the bands' mem-
bership (staff of six);

f) NVIA Education – body of advisory staff administering band
education budgets, post-secondary training
applications and student counselling ser-
vices (staff of four);

g) Nicola Valley Institute – Indian-controlled post-secondary
of Technology   institution offering pre-entry,
certificate, diploma and university
transfer programs (staff of seven);
and

h) Nicola Valley Indian – jointly owned incorporated company
Services Association   owning government building and other
real estate in Merritt area (staff of
three).

Figure 1 illustrates the interrelationships between the

five bands and the numerous cooperative entities organized on

their behalf. Ultimate authority lies with the bands' general

membership, which is depicted at the top of the diagram.

Directly accountable to this membership are the five autonomous

band councils, which are elected bodies providing political

Figure 1 - Nicola Valley Organizational Chart
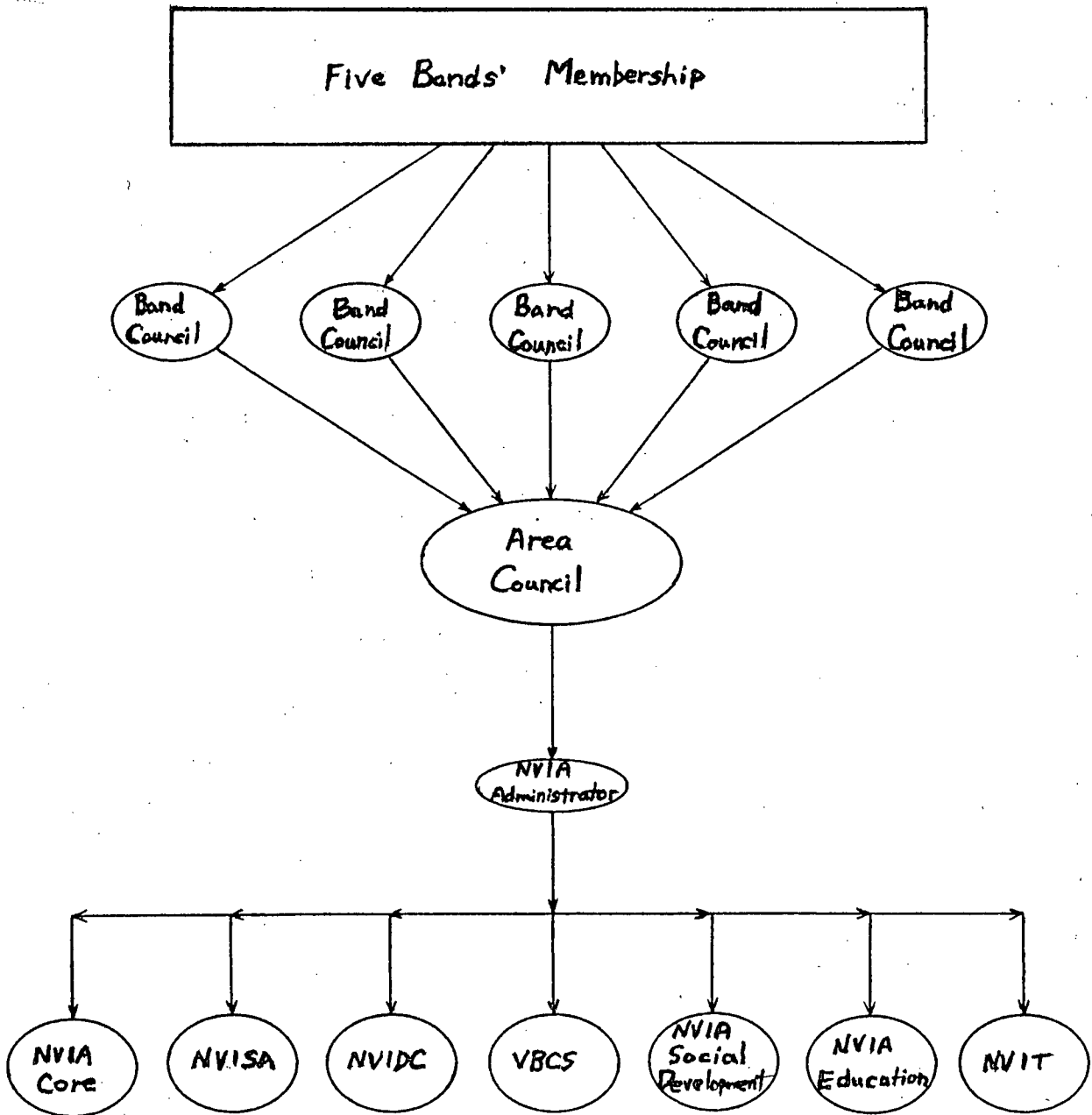
leadership and policy direction at the band level. As NVIA's
executive body, the Area Council comprises appointees from each
elected band council. This representative system ensures that
the Area Council - and through it, NVIA - is accountable to the
general membership of the five bands.

Reporting to the Area Council is the NVIA Administrator,
who oversees the day-to-day operations of the various jointly
controlled agencies listed above. Each agency is supervised by
a manager.

3. The Meaning of Community Development

For over twenty years, the Nicola Valley bands have been
involved in a deliberate community development process. The
goal of cooperative planning has been to enhance from within the
social, cultural and political well-being of band members. This
means building the capacities of individuals to shoulder
increased responsibility for the growth and improvement of their
communities. This section provides background on the goals and
inherent difficulties of the community development approach as
it is applied more generally.

The term 'community development' first came into
international parlance in 1948 (Griffiths 1981). It is a hybrid
of 'community organization' and 'economic development'
(Christenson and Robinson 1980). Most advocates of community

development state that the only way to effect substantial and enduring change in the community is to involve everyone - individual citizens, interest groups, and local leaders - in the process of identifying problems and goals and developing appropriate courses of action.

An important debate in the literature concerns the degree to which community development should be process- or product-oriented. Voth et al. (1980:188) elaborate on this argument among scholars:

> Some place more emphasis on substantive achievement (improvements in economic well-being, services, etc.), and others place more emphasis on process aspects of community development.

To date, the major emphasis in the literature has been on procedural concerns such as developing local problem-solving capacities (Khinduka 1979; Nelson et al. 1960; Kozey 1976).

Borrowing from essential elements in both schools of thought, I define 'community development' as 'a process which increases the capacity of the community to identify, analyze and solve local problems for the purpose of producing positive change in the social, economic and political life of the community'.

4. Indian Community Development

For over one hundred years, native Indian communities across Canada have suffered from unemployment, alcoholism, family breakdown, imprisonment, inadequate housing, low educational achievement and health problems at rates far exceeding the national average (Canada 1983).

Since early in the century, these conditions have helped spawn various national and provincial native groups with mandates to lobby senior governments for increased constitutional, legislative and funding support to Indian organizations and communities (Duff 1964). A more activist strategy arose in the 1960's and gained impetus in recent years with a series of cross-country caravans, demonstrations and sit-ins (Roberts 1979). Both approaches have served to organize dissent, publicize and legitimize the concerns of native people, and instill a measure of racial and cultural pride. But the substantive impact of political organizations and confrontational tactics on the lives of ordinary Indian people and their communities has been limited.

A third approach to change - community development - also gained popularity in the 1960's and began to attract Indian bands in the 1970's. This approach has been guided by a renewed sense of traditional values. As Roberts (1979:100) observes:

> The Indian people can take into account their own cul-
> ture, which is analagous to the older, traditional sense
> of community, and with the confidence that this engenders
> they are better equipped to engage in development at the
> community level ....

Khinduka (1979:363) also elaborates on the nature of community

development's special appeal to native people:

> Community development activities, which create linkages
> between various communities, can, similarly, be helpful
> in improving inter-community relations. By successfully
> completing even relatively inconsequential community
> projects, the participants may develop a sense of compe-
> tence, a new faith in their ability to overcome forces
> of nature. This faith in their capacity may be very
> important for people who live in small, rural areas of
> traditional societies.

5. Inter-Band Cooperation

Much has been written about close cooperative relations

among pre-contact aboriginal groups in the territory now known

as British Columbia. As with other groups of indigenous peoples

around the world, these relations were rooted in the need for

food, sociability, trade and stable political links.

On the coast and inland, inter-tribal cooperative behaviour

was rooted in a need to share resources that were only

spasmodically available in the northwestern part of the

continent (Suttles 1960; Jenness 1960; Hill-Tout 1978; Teit

1967). This was especially the case in the interior, where food

gathering was more difficult than on the coast (Balf 1978).

Unlike the present-day cooperative structures in the Nicola

Valley, however, early manifestations of inter-band cooperation

were not institutional in nature (Duff 1964).

The history of aboriginal peoples in British Columbia since direct contact has been marked by the erection of social barriers between Whites and Indians which have prevented the latter from entering mainstream society. Combined with a deep sense of grievance or 'heritage of bitterness', these barriers have induced some native people and their communities to work together for common goals. Cooperative activity has also been supported by modern transportation and communication technology and the persistence of strong cultural affinities among certain bands (Duff 1964).

The statement that the single Indian band is usually too small a unit to be effective was made over twenty years ago by Duff (1964:105), who adds:

> The adaptation of the Indians to modern Canadian society may be measured in terms of their success in adopting political institutions to govern their local affairs and to gain some measure of control over issues which affect Indians as a whole.

6. Problem Statement

Wherever it is applied, the community development approach encounters typical obstacles. People are frequently unable to formulate their own ideas for community betterment (Batten 1974). Opponents may consider its approach too radical (Alden and Morgan 1974) or oppose its characteristic emphasis on broad

public participation (Littrell 1980). As well, the intractable nature of the very problems that stimulate community development processes may later limit their capacity to effect significant, long-term change (Warren 1969; Warren 1974; Batten 1974; Mulford (1984).

Community development processes may be subverted by opportunistic individuals interested only in personal gain, or they may be stalled by transience (Biddle 1965). The ideals of community development advocates may eventually succumb to unresolved conflict among individuals and groups (Khinduka 1979; Littrell 1980). To these problems is added that of accurately assessing the impact of various types of community development initiatives (Voth 1979).

In addition to the above problems, Indian community developers confront others which are more typical of their own situation. For example, a band's land use and economic development schemes are often fettered by sweeping federal government powers. Plans that have managed to circumvent bureaucratic hurdles are usually constrained by an inadequate land and resource base (Read 1976; Kozey 1976).

Other limiting factors in the native community are the lack of available vocational skills and project management abilities (Read 1978). Many potentially beneficial social and economic development initiatives are difficult to implement in small Indian communities due to limited human and natural resources,

poor division of labour and serious skill deficiencies (Cunningham 1987).

Because band organizational capacities are also in such short supply, locally trained persons often seize employment opportunities outside of their villages. Development planning is also restricted by inconsistent government policies resulting in the funding of fragmented and uncoordinated band programs (Brodhead 1981). Funding programs oriented more to the individual than to the whole community, the federal government has displayed its insensitivity to significant variation in the needs and characteristics of Indian bands (Read 1978).

Inter-community cooperation is a valuable component of commmunity development which may have special relevance to small native Indian bands. Increased access to funding and technical expertise (Thompson and McEwen 1969), more innovative problem-solving (Aiken and Hage 1978), enhanced adaptability to change and uncertainty (Hasenfeld and Tropman 1979; Mulford 1984), improved efficiency (Schermerhorn 1975; Wells 1984), and greater political clout (Sherif 1958) are some of the potential benefits to be captured from building cooperative linkages between communities.

Whatever potential value it may have, close formal cooperation among communities is nonetheless difficult to achieve and maintain. If inter-community cooperation were less problematic, it would likely occur more often. First, physical

proximity does not necessarily guarantee a productive working
relationship among a given set of communities. Caplow
(1964:24), who suggests that cooperation may be more attainable
among a set of organizations than among a set of communities,
stresses this point:

> The community has some but not all the attributes of an
> organization. There is a collective identity - ordina-
> rily the name of the place - but that identity need not
> imply the possibility of collective action.

Opposition to cooperation may stem from those viewing it as
an overly radical approach (Williams 1982), insular attitudes on
the part of local representatives (Alden and Morgan 1974), lack
of resources to implement cooperative systems (Wells 1984) and
fear of diminished autonomy (Mulford 1984). Once these hurdles
are surmounted, organizers face the daunting task of
coordinating critical conditions at appropriate phases in their
attempts to build cooperative relations (Gray 1984).

Sherif's (1958) study of adolescents illustrates how
cooperation is fairly easily attained among a group of
individuals but is often exceedingly problematic among groups.
Mulford (1984) identifies the following barriers to establishing
and maintaining cooperative interorganizational networks:

a) participants fear loss of autonomy;

b) participants may try to dominate the network;

c) the government may try to dominate the network;

d) staff may have opposing ideologies;

e) a powerful external party may try to block a new cooperative initiative; and

f) sources of conflict may divide would-be cooperants.

Cooperation within or among communities is often complicated by the fact that many important local organizations owe allegiance not to their community or region but to larger provincial or national systems (Warren 1969). Even where cooperative arrangements are begun, progress may be hampered by disproportional dependence on a particular community or organization in the cooperative network (Aiken and Hage 1978) or by poor relations and conflicting goals in the network (Sherif 1958).

We are reminded by Warren (1974) that the scope of community development based on interorganizational relations is limited by the existing power structure, and by Morgan (1957) that cooperating communities must cautiously determine how much independence they are prepared to relinquish for the sake of pursuing common objectives.

The development potential in many Indian communities is seriously restricted by their small population - a condition resulting in limited human resources, skills, innovative capacities and political influence (Cunningham 1987). As a point of interest, 166 out of British Columbia's 195 Indian bands have memberships of less than 500 persons; even so, together these small villages comprise fully 54% of the province's status Indian population (Canada 1985).

Community smallness precludes the capture of benefits associated with economies of scale. The average Indian band has too few people to effectively perform the productive, distributive and consumptive functions vital to many kinds of feasible enterprises (Cunningham 1987).

Reduced capacity for innovation also results from community smallness. Limited `critical mass' presents difficulties in brainstorming and sharing experiences and knowledge - activities which, given a larger population, often lead to creative problem-solving at the community level (Cunningham 1987). But even where imaginative ideas for local change are generated, financial drawing power from public funding agencies is often adversely impacted by the political limitations associated with small community size (Cunningham 1987).

A major assumption of this paper is that strengthening inter-band cooperative relations can help to address the many community development constraints accompanying small size. Fortunately, Indian bands possess an historical and cultural -inclination to cooperate - at least informally - with one another.

But putting cooperative theory into action in the context of Indian communities means overcoming several obstacles. Underdeveloped organizational competence may handicap efforts by these communities to create effective inter-band cooperative mechanisms. Building consensus within a band - not always an

easy task - is necessary to undertake major initiatives such as the establishment of close cooperative relations with neighbouring bands. In recent years, Indian people have complained about internal factions in their villages and insufficient input into decisions made at the band or pan-band level (Roberts 1979; Dosman 1972).

Community consensus on cooperation may in turn require abandoning or altering cultural norms governing interaction between band members and band leaders, or reconciling long-standing disputes between families, factions and rival interest groups. Cooperation among bands may be desirable for a number of reasons but is problematic among a set of communities, each of which is wracked by internal disharmony.

Similarly, structuring cooperative political relations among bands may involve setting aside traditional proscriptions against institutionalizing cooperative relations, or working for the first time through the often tortuous process of reaching consensus on problems, needs, priorities and plans. Formally establishing pan-band organizations probably also entails struggling to reassure band members - particularly those in positions of political power - who fear loss of autonomy.

The obstacles to progress associated with a limited human and physical resource base pose a serious threat to future development in native communities. It appears that a productive approach may involve fostering inter-band trust and pooling

human and financial resources. In theory, the cooperative
approach seems to promise at least a partial solution to the
community development dilemma facing small Indian bands. In
order for bands to take full advantage of this alternative,
however, they must first learn how to overcome the many
conceptual, cultural and organizational barriers to close
inter-band collaboration.

This study therefore identifies for interested communities
the most important elements in the process of implementing
inter-community cooperative planning and provides empirical
insight into strategies for overcoming difficulties in this
process.

7. Methods

Based on a survey of empirical and theoretical literature
on interorganizational and inter-community cooperation, this
thesis identifies the elements of successful inter-band
cooperation in the Nicola Valley. Conducted in 1986 and 1987,
on-site research consisted of forty-one structured interviews
with thirty-six individuals, including four chief councillors,
four band councillors, NVIA and band staffs, and band members.
The selection of interview questions was guided by the
literature review.

This case study compares the Nicola Valley experience to my

expectations for successful inter-community cooperation derived
from the literature and assesses the implications of these
findings for cooperative community development policy and
practice.

The process of selecting interviewees involved a deliberate
attempt to strike a balance between those in political power,
senior and junior staff, and the general membership. Some
respondents were elected politicians and also employees of NVIA
or the bands.

Politicians and staff operating at both NVIA and band
levels were interviewed. Among the general membership, I spoke
to a range of age and interest groups, including those involved
in the formation of NVIA, elders, youth, business people,
ranchers and unemployed people. The rationale for this broad
approach was to obtain a reasonably accurate representation of
prevailing knowledge and views throughout the local native
community (Appendix 1).

The interview format was designed around the fifteen
factors for effective inter-community cooperation derived from
the literature and identified in Chapter Two. Designed to
provide information and opinions, the survey comprised carefully
worded and consistently applied questions (Appendix 2). All
thirty-six interviewees were approached, except on questions
dealing with the initiation of cooperation; for this section,
just nine persons were interviewed. In the interest of

confidentiality, no statements of fact or opinion have been ascribed to any particular individuals or bands.

It is important to distinguish between two types of questions used in the survey: first, those intended to obtain objective, factual information, such as the scale of new housing construction; and second, those intended to obtain opinions, such as views on NVIA's effectiveness. It is primarily on the latter type of question that I have based my comparison of the Nicola Valley with the success factors generated from the literature. However, factual comments bearing upon community development success are weighted as heavily as opinions. Where respondents failed to bring up obvious and relevant facts in their answers, I have provided this information myself.

Chapter Two - Factors For Effective Inter-Community Cooperation

1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to identify from theoretical and case study literature the determinants of fruitful inter-community cooperation. Specifically, my aim is to determine what community development writers identify as the most important conditions for cooperative arrangements involving sovereign community governments to be effectively initiated and implemented. Factors will thus emerge as the basis of a model for organizing or analyzing inter-community cooperative initiatives.

2. Factors For Effective Cooperation

A review of the literature on interorganizational relations reveals a range of factors which, to various degrees in various situations, determine whether the goals associated with cooperation are ultimately realized. These factors are grouped into three broad categories: those necessary for the initiation of cooperation, those related to the delivery of rewards to the participants in cooperation, and those affecting the capability of the cooperative organization itself.

a) Factors Important to the Initiation of Cooperation

Writers identify a number of conditions which must be satisfied in order for interorganizational cooperation to be properly initiated. Varied perspectives are reflected in different emphases placed on six factors: crisis or threat, mutual similiarity and familiarity, consensus, leadership, organizational propensity to cooperate, and preplanning.

i) Crisis or Threat

Groups often cooperate in the absence of a negative stimulus. However, crises or threats often act as catalysts in bringing groups together. In a review of interorganizational literature, Gray (1984) concludes that crises increase the chances for initiating inter-group cooperation. Oft-cited stimulants of collaborative activity are threats of negative sanctions for failure to work together (Aldrich 1976; Henderson and Thomas 1981) or disaster (Biddle 1965). It is unlikely, however, that a cooperation-based community development process can be sustained by a single crisis or threat. In the words of Biddle (1965:274):

> Often community development will begin as a result of a
> disaster or of some other emotion-stirring event .... if
> disaster-born initiative is the only motivation, the
> process will be short-lived and addressed to a single
> accomplishment. Our experience with many contrasting
> populations leads us to believe that the frustrations and
> the hopes for betterment accumulated from crises of the
> past are a sounder basis for progress.

Crucial turning points, such as a government decision to

withdraw support to a group of organizations, a takeover by a
rival group, or a tragedy induced by long-term deprivation,
often compel groups to cooperate (Biddle 1965). In the case of
southern Alberta, a persistent worsening trend in the rural
economy ignited close cooperation among ten small towns (Bodmer
1980). Similar concerns motivated three municipalities in
Vancouver's North Shore (Kellas 1987; Coriolis Consulting
Corporation and Nemtin Consultants 1987). Commonly, the crisis
which provokes cooperation is the last in a series of incidents
impacting negatively on the affected groups.

   ii) Mutual Similarity and Familiarity

Scholars debate the links between interorganizational
similarity and cooperative interaction. Some claim that alike
groups are more likely to cooperate with each other and view
such comparative properties as function, structure, amount and
availability of resources, size, compatability of philosophies
and degree of professionalism as opportunities for initiating
cooperation (Mulford 1984).

Others stress comparative properties such as values (Gray
1984), geographical proximity (Schermerhorn 1975; Gray 1984),
enemies (Sherif 1958), organizational target (Akinbode and Clark
1976; Henderson and Thomas 1981), or relative weakness (Mulford
1984; Johnson and Tropman 1979). Kropotkin (1955) finds that
solidarity in a confederation of forty-six Siberian tribes was

strengthened by a common cultural background.

On the other side of this debate are scholars claiming that similar groups are more prone to compete with each other and that the original stimulus for cooperative behaviour is more likely to be found among groups with different goals and complementary resources (Evan 1965; Aiken and Hage 1978).

It is likely that local circumstances dictate whether groups cooperate with their peers or with other types of groups. That is, alike groups collaborate if they anticipate benefits from pooling supplementary resources to achieve common goals, and otherwise unrelated groups come together if they anticipate benefits from pooling complementary resources to achieve coincidental goals (Rondonelli 1975).

To launch successful cooperative programs, potential cooperators should hold some degree of mutual familiarity. Cooperation is more effectively initiated when relations among groups are structured in favour of frequent and long-lasting liaisons, especially when those groups share common geographical, cultural and institutional characteristics (Axelrod 1984; Mulford 1984).

iii) Consensus

To initiate strong cooperative relations, potential collaborators should formally acknowledge to each other that they recognize common problems, programs, clienteles, functions

and goals. Cooperation is also more likely to be initiated if
it engages precisely that set of organizations affected by the
problem or issue which joint action is supposedly addressing
(Akinbode and Clark 1976; Gray 1984).

Rondonelli's (1975) study of regional development policy
making by several Pennsylvania communities indicates that the
foundation for consensus is a minimal amount of either symbiotic
interdependence based on complementary differentiation or
commensal interdependence based on interaction among groups
performing similar or supplementary functions.

Consensus may occur either within a community in which a
set of linked groups function or within a region containing a
group of communities. However, geographical parameters may not
be the critical factor in consensus-building; for example, a
group of widely dispersed communities may cooperate due to
shared cultural or political values. In the more spatially
confined environment of Jamestown, New York, two rivalling
subcommunities - labour and management - responded to economic
decline by recognizing a shared concern - the local economy -
and cooperated in its interest by establishing a joint committee
to attract local business (Williams 1982).

Vancouver's North Shore initiative cited above arose out of
inter-community consensus based on shared recognition of common
economic opportunities and constraints (Kellas 1987; Coriolis
Consulting Corporation and Nemtin Consultants 1987).

iv) <u>Leadership</u>

Lack of organizational leadership inhibits the onset of interorganizational cooperation. The initial decision to participate in cooperative enterprise is invariably left to leaders with the vision to recognize that the potential benefits of cooperation exceed its anticipated costs (Gray 1984).

In their study of collaboration among American government agencies, Akinbode and Clark (1976:112) suggest two other leadership attributes: charisma and a sense of local control.

> '... most of the cooperative efforts were facilitated by dynamic and democratic leadership, while competition and conflicts were attributed to changes in leadership style and centralized administrative practice.

The decision to cooperate requires vision and imagination - qualities generally ascribed to effective leaders. In the case of Jamestown, New York, the joint committee was organized not by the two principle antagonists but by the mayor of the larger community (Williams 1982).

Sometimes cooperative leadership is provided not by those in formal positions of authority but by those whose concerns may bear only partial resemblance to the ultimate form and mandate of the joint initiative. For example, cooperation on Vancouver's North Shore originated with professionals and laymen concerned with the issue of unemployed youth (Kellas 1987; Coriolis Consulting Corporation and Nemtin Consultants 1987).

v) <u>Organizational Propensity to Cooperate</u>

The likelihood of an organization entering into cooperative
relations with other groups has been shown to be partly
dependent on whether it views itself as a closed or open system
with respect to its environment (Mulford 1984; Hasenfeld and
Tropman 1979). Schermerhorn (1975:850) writes:

> To the extent organizational boundaries are open or per-
> meable vis-a-vis the external environment, interorgani-
> zational cooperation becomes more likely as an element
> in an organization's behavioral repertoire.

From their research on sixteen welfare agencies in a large
American city, Akinbode and Clark (1976) note that
organizational openness - or more frequent and intense
interaction with the environment - is congruent with an
appreciation of interdependence with other organizations.

To commence an effective cooperative process, potential
participants require more than an open attitude; a minimum
degree of intra-group competence is also essential (Akinbode and
Clark 1976). That is, the extent and manner by which a group
initiates cooperative relations with its neighbours depends
partly on its own internal attributes, such as cooperative norms
and structures (Schermerhorn 1975) or purpose, operations and
competence (Stogdill 1962).

Groups should therefore possess latent resources to explore
ways of initiating and building cooperation. Organizational
boundary-spanning and environment-scanning capacities are

extremely important to this process (Schermerhorn 1975). Gans
(1962) points to the lack of interorganizational abilities among
various subcommunities living and working in a Boston inner-city
neighbourhood as a key factor in the neighbourhood's failure to
prevent its own demolition by city developers.

vi) Preliminary Planning

By ensuring that potential cooperators fully understand and
agree on the goals of joint effort, the roles of each
participant, ways of reducing risks and the distribution of
cooperation's rewards, proper planning in the early stages
increases the liklihood that they will be induced to cooperate.
Potential cooperators need reassurance that measures will be put
in place to correct the possible unequal distribution of
rewards. This can be done by altering the participants' input
to more closely match anticipated rewards or by making the
reward distribution system as equitable as possible.
Cooperation is also more likely when mechanisms are set up to
mitigate the increased risks accompanying cooperation (Low 1979;
Nelson et al. 1960).

Careful planning during the formal initiation of
cooperation can establish penalties restraining potential
violators of cooperative agreements, distribute appropriate
rewards to cooperants, and reduce risks to a manageable level
(Low 1979). Early planning offers to groups apprehensive about

cooperation some additional incentives to enter into formal

collaborative arrangements.

Akinbode and Clark (1976:100) expand on the need to protect

a measure of each organization's autonomy when organizing

cooperative undertakings:

> Partial interdependence among organizations is another
> necessary condition for interorganizational cooperation
> to flourish. The interdependence should be partial to
> the extent that no one organization controls all the
> input and output of another agency within the system.

b) Factors Related to Reward Delivery

Not surprisingly, writings on interorganizational

cooperation indicate that groups cooperate out of self-interest.

Where the factors noted above have interacted to initiate a

cooperative arrangement, each new member group tries to ensure

that its own interests are being furthered by the capture of

certain types of rewards. If its ongoing monitoring process

reveals a failure to capture these rewards, the group is likely

to disengage itself from continued cooperative involvement.

To be viable in the long term, therefore, a cooperative

undertaking should be perceived by each of its groups as meeting

needs identified by certain group-determined criteria.

Organizations assess the net worth of their joint ventures by

engaging in formal measurement procedures or by more

subjectively relying on general opinion. This literature survey

reveals that a given group evaluates its cooperative

participation according to how well it enhances its own resource
acquisition, adaptability, efficiency, and goal achievement.

i) Resource Acquisition

A group is motivated to work with other groups only when it
believes that the benefits of doing so exceed the costs (Gray
1984; Van de Ven and Walker 1984; Perrucci and Pilisuk 1970).
Its main concern is to further its own mandate, which is always
dependent on the availability of resources such as money,
information, special skills, clients, labour or access to
certain markets. Organizations confronted with resource
shortages will thus look to the cooperative body to `deliver the
goods'. Levine and White (1969:120) explain:

> Theoretically, ... were all the essential elements in
> infinite supply there would be little need for organi-
> zational interaction and for subscription to co-opera-
> tion as an ideal.

In their analysis of sixteen social welfare and health
agencies in a large American city, Aiken and Hage (1978)
describe how groups were able to access essential additional
resources by engaging in joint programs. The North Shore's
Economic Development Advisory Committee exemplifies how
communities can cooperate in attracting more markets and
providing new employment opportunities (Kellas 1987; Coriolis
Consulting Corporation and Nemtin Consultants 1987).

ii) Adaptability

Community development literature refers to the turbulent
and uncertain environment within which post-industrial
communities and community groups must function. Technology
advances, laws change, public policy is subject to political
expediency, economic opportunities fluctuate and plans are
continually redrawn. These currents of change are so prevalent
and pervasive that institutions increasingly perceive themselves
as being unable to adapt (Schon 1971). Greater adaptability
depends on reducing organizational uncertainty caused by rapid
change. This is possible through the promotion of exchange
relations among groups (Cook 1977) and organizational staff
(Aiken and Hage 1968). In part, cooperative networks are thus
evaluated by their member organizations according to the degree
of increased adaptability to change which they provide.

From their research, Emery and Trist (1973:178) conclude
that only by forsaking traditional `closed-system thinking' in
favour of an adaptive, more open approach can groups
realistically hope to effectively solve their problems:

> Growing up ... is the conversion of dependence into
> inter-dependence. Capacity for inter-dependence will
> carry an ever higher premium in the post-industrial soci-
> ety, given that higher levels of complexity and uncer-
> tainty can only be met by the greater adaptive resources
> brought into being by self-regulatory collaborative
> endeavour.

Centrally assisted local cooperation enabled nine villages
in the Codroy Valley of Newfoundland to adapt effectively by

turning an uncertain economic future into a promising one
(Wismer and Pell 1981).

iii) Efficiency

Writers such as Mulford (1984) and Hall et al. (1977)
comment on the value of coordination among cooperating
organizations and communities in streamlining the community
development process. If groups are overprotective of their
mandate and clientele, the outcome is often wasteful duplication
of community resources.

Schermerhorn's (1975) study of social service agencies
identifies efficiency benefits to coordination, which was
identified by Hall et al. (1977) as a key dimension of
cooperation. These include increased resource utilization,
improved community capacities and reduced duplication of
services. In complex situations, a coordinative mechanism may
be required to facilitate organizational interaction (Hasenfeld
and Tropman, 1979). However, Nelson et al. (1960) caution
against over-reliance on formal coordinative institutions and
urge organizations to cooperate informally as much as possible.

Morgan (1957) envisions community federations, whereby
towns or cities share recreational, medical, educational and
fire-fighting facilities. The above-mentioned case study in
rural Alberta illustrate communities efficiently sharing
complementary resources such as recreation facilities,
government programs and professional-technical services (Bodmer

1980).

iv) Goal Achievement

The need for communities and organizations to collaborate in the pursuit of common goals is especially acute when they are confronted by a common, powerful adversary. Sills (1975) draws this conclusion after comparing the success of groups which cooperated in countering external threats with that of groups acting alone. The failure of Boston's West End residents to cooperate on plans to thwart a development plan led to the destruction of their community (Gans 1962).

Cooperation also helps organizations or communities attain superordinate goals (Sherif 1958; Miller 1958). Sherif (1958) defines 'superordinate goals' as those which can only be solved by joint effort. These kinds of goals are also termed 'indivisible problems' by Gray (1984) and Aldrich (1976), or 'meta-problems' by Emery and Trist (1973). From the organization's standpoint, the degree to which these types of goals can be realized through joint effort will determine the usefulness and long-term survival of the cooperative arrangement.

From their study of British medical, correctional and educational organizations, Emery and Trist (1973) conclude that communities increasingly recognize the interrelatedness of difficult problems and will settle for nothing less than a comprehensive approach involving everyone with a stake in

resolving them. In the North Shore and Jamestown examples cited above, the operative superordinate goal engaging joint effort is a healthy local economy (Kellas 1987; Coriolis Consulting Corporation and Nemtin Consultants 1987; Williams 1982).

c) Factors Affecting the Capability of the Cooperative Organization

The literature on interorganizational relations indicates that ultimate success in cooperation is closely tied to the attributes of the cooperative organization itself and the people behind that organization. Theorists argue that in order for the organization to gain credibility in the eyes of its constituents and establish its own identity and sense of purpose, it must conform to certain self-imposed standards of effectiveness and efficiency. Imbuing the organization with collective purpose and momentum, this process is facilitated by an ability to build commitment, plan and promote harmonious relations, monitor and manipulate environmental change, exploit common geographical and cultural attributes, and deal effectively with problems and threats.

i) Building Commitment

While acknowledging that the interests and activities of cooperating parties cannot always coincide, writers insist that joint enterprise is sustained by a minimum level of commitment to cooperation. A cooperative 'chain' is only as strong as its

weakest link. The joint agreement must generate a minimum level of commitment by enlisting participants who appreciate the importance of building a sense of purpose and honouring formal agreements (Gray 1984; Stogdill 1962). Closely associated with commitment is emotional zeal, which Goodenough (1968) cites as a key factor in implementing cooperative community development plans. Another vital ingredient in building commitment based on interdependence is inter-group trust (Emery and Trist 1973).

The significance of commitment to overall success is illustrated by the North Shore Economic Development Advisory Committee, one of whose member municipalities compromised the success of a proposed regional study by refusing to participate (Kellas 1987).

ii) Planning

In any given region, the requirements for maintaining cooperation may not be present, or their deficiency may seriously impede cooperative processes. This point is amply demonstrated in Alden and Morgan's (1974) analysis of futile attempts to bring together jealous and insular local authorities in Wales and explains the need to proactively work for cooperation (Mulford 1984; Hasenfeld and Tropman 1979).

Planning has been shown to be essential to the long-term viability of any collaborative undertaking. It is thus important not only in initiating cooperation, but in maintaining

and consolidating it as well. Hasenfeld and Tropman (1979) and Mulford (1984) hold that planners or those fulfilling a planning function must be able to diagnose certain issues as interorganizational in nature, develop and implement appropriate interorganizational responses to them and proactively encourage positive inter-group relations on an ongoing basis.

Some writers envision planners from different communities integrating their efforts, contending that the application of interorganizational relations (IOR) theory to community development problems should shift its orientation away from single organizations and toward whole communities (Ryan 1984; Wells 1984; Emery and Trist 1973). Boundary-spanning capacities are thus important in both initiating and maintaining cooperative arrangements.

Gray's (1984) process model of creating and sustaining interorganizational domains identifies the need to consciously satisfy certain conditions at each of three sequential phases: problem-setting, direction-setting and structuring. In the problem-setting phase, consensus is reached on joint problems and the groups having a stake in resolving them. The direction-setting phase introduces a sense of common values and purpose, and maintains an appropriate power balance among participants. Williams (1982) describes `search conferencing' - a valuable direction-setting technique involving participants in a three-day process of defining shared goals. Successfully

working through these stages and activities requires a planning capability.

In the structuring phase, stakeholders realize a need to manage their interactions more systematically. Planning abilities are thus required to develop joint recognition of a high degree of interdependence, redirect resources, closely monitor stakeholder activities and reallocate power within the network of groups (Gray 1984).

iii) Environmental Management

In many instances, organizations cooperate in response to external pressures or support (Gray 1984; Schermerhorn 1975). It is therefore important that they keep abreast of government policy changes, market trends and other exogenous influences. If it is sufficiently attuned to its environment, a cooperative organization significantly improves its chances of creatively manipulating events in order to ensure that its own internal agreeements are effectively carried out (Gray 1984). A boundary-spanning perspective is thus an important attribute not only of organizations contemplating cooperation in the initiation phase, but of the interorganizational network itself.

Cooperating organizations and communities will not always feel obliged to solicit the support of institutions outside their own sphere of influence. Solicited or not, however, external support may prove crucial to the long-term viability of

the cooperative plan. For example, limited government
interference is cited as a vital factor in the success of inter-
community cooperative planning in rural Alberta (Bodmer 1980).
Successful environmental management thus entails lobbying
capabilities.

iv) Common Geography and Culture

An interesting debate centers on geography's significance
in cooperation. Some writers deny an automatic correlation
between physical proximity and collaborative arrangements
(Caplow 1964; Alden and Morgan 1974). However, geographic
proximity can be an important factor in maintaining, as well as
initiating, healthy cooperative relations among groups (Bodmer
1980; Wismer and Pell 1981; Kellas 1987; Coriolis Consulting
Corporation and Nemtin Consultants 1987). It avoids the high
cost of meetings among geographically dispersed partners and
enhances the liklihood of a high degree of continuing
interdependence (Schermerhorn 1975; Gray 1984).

Common culture can strengthen and maintain co-action among
communities. Strong sentiments of ethnic unity helped hold
together a confederation of Siberian tribes over a long period
of time (Kropotkin 1955). Other dimensions of cultural
similarity, such as rural lifestyle (Axelrod 1984; Khinduka
1979) or disadvantaged economic conditions (Johnson and Tropman
1979) can be equally effective stimulants to ongoing

cooperation.

In cases involving two opposing `cultures' such as labour and management in Jamestown, New York, the intent of cooperation was to harness the dynamics of conflict in the interest of the broader community (Williams 1982). On the other hand, the Alberta and Newfoundland examples show how poverty among rural villages can provide a strong foundation for productive and durable inter-community cooperation (Bodmer 1980; Wismer and Pell 1981).

v) Problem-Solving Capacity

In Chapter One, the following barriers to establishing interorganizational cooperation were identified: domination by a participant or the government, fear of diminished autonomy, intervention by an external party, ideological differences and sources of conflict among potential participants. These obstacles may emerge at different stages in the process of building cooperative relations - some at more than one stage (Mulford 1984).

Once cooperative processes begin to become consolidated, other problems may arise. Henderson and Thomas (1981) note cooperative representatives compromising time commitments to their own groups, or latent divisions emerging in newly federated structures which threaten to weaken the network's position relative to the rest of society.

Cooperative agencies should be capable of dealing effectively with these problems. Rondonelli (1975) values the peacemaking role of the coordinative planner, who reconciles serious inter-group differences, continually searches for compromises and bases for exchange, and counters threats to inter-community stability. Alldred (1976) suggests that planners can turn potentially divisive conflict into 'creative dissidence'. Planners and others can more effectively deal with obstacles to inter-community cooperation by consciously applying interorganizational cooperative theory to community development problems (Wells 1984; Alden and Morgan 1974; Mulford 1984).

Community citizens need to understand that fruitful inter-community cooperation, like community development itself, hinges on successfully working through a planning process consisting of a number of sequential stages. A minimal planning capability is therefore required to assist communities through each stage and to counter anticipated threats to inter-community harmony.

3. Summary

Inter-community cooperation is a potentially valuable approach to community development. Its successful implementation depends on the interaction of fifteen key factors derived from the literature. These factors can be organized into a planning process for initiating, implementing and maintaining productive

inter-community cooperation.

Grouped into three broad categories, the factors relate to each other as part of a process. That is, establishing successful inter-community cooperation involves working through a sequence of goals and related tasks. Deliberate planning in the formative stages of cooperation capitalizes on certain key community characteristics and qualities essential to initiating joint effort, and lays the groundwork for each community to capture an acceptable measure of rewards. This process implies a close relationship between the first two categories of factors - those relating to initiation and reward delivery.

Cooperative momentum generated by the capture of rewards is sustained only by a conscious effort to build and maintain commitment to cooperation, an ability to design cooperative solutions to common problems and a willingness to overcome obstacles associated with internal conflict, dissatisfaction with power relationships and fears of lost autonomy. In this way, the capabilities and qualities of the cooperative organization itself - factors comprising the third category - determine whether the goals identified in the initiation of cooperation are realized effectively over time. The fifteen factors therefore do not stand on their own but relate to each other both causally and sequentially. They are listed below in terms of the three major categories.

a) To initiate cooperative processes, communities usually:

    i)   respond to a crisis or external threat;

    ii)   hold some degree of mutual similarity and familiarity;

    iii) achieve consensus on common problems and the communities affected by them;

    iv)   have leaders with vision and imagination;

    v)   demonstrate, through their openness, functions, operations and competence, a propensity to cooperate with other communities; and

    vi)   engage in deliberate preliminary planning to ensure that potential participants understand the purpose of cooperation, the roles they will play in it, the relationship between input and reward, and ways of minimizing risk.

b) To gain credibility, an inter-community cooperative organization usually delivers certain rewards to its members, including increased:

    i)   access to resources such as money, information, and technical-professional skills;

    ii)   adaptability to rapid change in government policy, economic conditions and other external influences;

    iii) efficiency in the use of social and educational services, community facilities and special skills; and

    iv)   abilities in achieving common development goals.

c) To maintain its own momentum and sense of purpose, an inter-community cooperative organization usually:

    i)   ensures a high level of commitment among its staff and member communities by instilling a sense of mission and obligation to honour formal agreements based on inter-community trust and emotional zeal;

    ii)   has a planning capability to proactively promote
positive inter-community relations, find inter-commu-
nity approaches to common issues, satisfy necessary
conditions at specified phases of building coopera-
tion;

    iii) monitors and manages change in its external environ-
ment in order to ensure that its own internal
arrangements are implemented;

    iv) involves participants who share common geographical,
cultural and economic circumstances; and

    v)   is capable of dealing with threats to its existence
related to internal conflict and overextended communi-
ty representatives by reaching compromise and appyling
interorganizational relations theory to community
development problems.

Some of the above factors are repeated in the process. For

example, boundary-spanning capacities are critical in both the

initiation of cooperation and in the ongoing effectiveness of

the cooperative organization itself. The same applies with

planning and a common geography-culture.

As noted briefly above, some factors are not crucial to

successful inter-community cooperation in every instance. For

example, the presence of a crisis or threat is not always

essential to the initiation of cooperation, although in some

cases it is more important than any other factor. Second,

common geographical or cultural features are not always

required, but if present they facilitate the initiation and

maintenance of joint endeavour and are positively correlated

with deeper and broader forms of cooperation.

Attention now turns to cooperative community development

among the five Indian bands of the Nicola Valley and the degree

to which it conforms to the above conditions of success.

Chapter Three - Inter-Band Cooperation in The Nicola Valley

1. Introduction

This chapter offers insight into cooperative community development among the five Indian bands of the Nicola Valley. It compares the case study against the determinants for inter-community cooperative success identified from the literature in the last chapter. Data utilized for this assessment were gathered through personal interviews conducted in the Nicola Valley over a two-day period in February of 1986 and a twelve-day period in May of 1987.

Background information on the valley's location, geography, history, demography and economy is introduced. Most of the chapter examines the Nicola Valley case in terms of the three categories of success factors established at the end of Chapter Two: initiation, reward delivery and capabilities of the cooperative body.

2. Background Information

This section briefly outlines the geography, history, demography and economy of the Nicola Valley.

a) Location and Geography

The Nicola Valley is located in the center of the Thompson Plateau of British Columbia's southern interior (Figure 2).

Figure 2 - Relative Location of the Nicola Valley
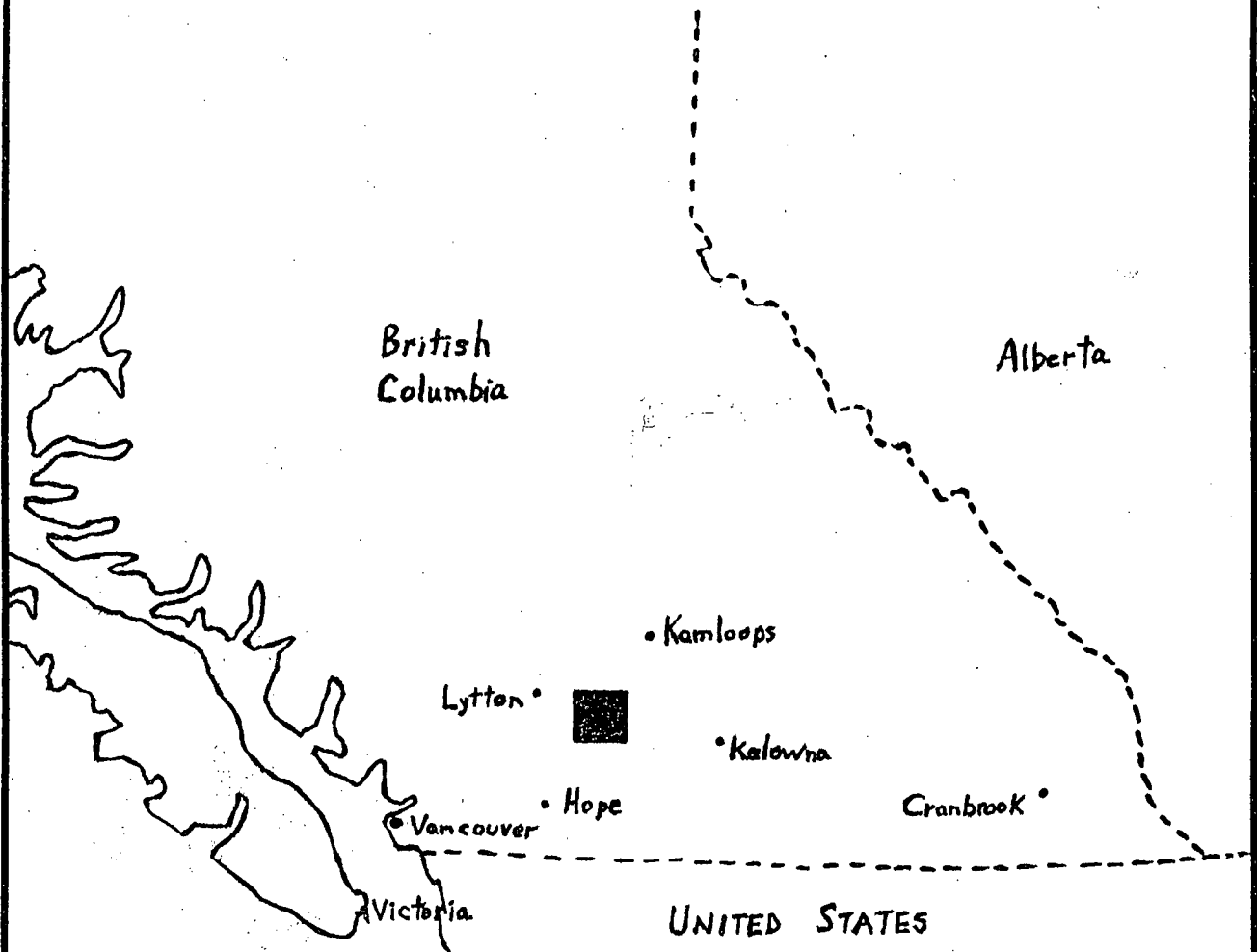
Merritt, the geographical and commercial heart of the valley, is situated two hundred sixty kilometers northeast of Vancouver and ninety-three kilometers south of Kamloops. Surrounding this city of 6,500 are twenty-five Indian reserves controlled by the five case study bands. Reserves controlled by four of the bands straddle or are adjacent to the Nicola River; those belonging to the Coldwater Band are located in the valley of the Coldwater River, the Nicola River's chief tributary.

The lower Nicola Valley features fairly steep terrain and affords limited pasture land, but most of the valley is a broad flood plain bounded by rolling hills. Grasslands predominate in extensive areas near the river and lower hills, while pine and Douglas Fir dot the upper slopes of the valley. The climate is continental and semi-arid (Shewchuk 1981).

b) Ethnology and History

The earliest aboriginals of the Nicola Valley were Athapascan-speaking peoples who were absorbed in the early 19th Century by the Nicola-Thompson and the Upper Okanagan, two sub-branches of the Interior Salish (Teit 1967). The Interior Salish are composed of four major language groupings: the Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagan and Thompson. The Upper Nicola Band is one of four bands in the Upper Okanagan subgroup, which is one of three linguistic branches of the Okanagan. The other four case study bands belong to the Nicola-Thompson subgroup of

the Upper Thompson, which is one of two branches of the Thompson (Duff 1964).

Human presence in the valley dates back 5,000 years or more (Fox and Lean 1985). A semi-nomadic lifestyle was practiced by the valley's pre-contact peoples, whose social unit was the 'band' - an uneasy alliance of families or kin groups related by blood and marriage (Jenness 1960). Each band was a village community governed by an hereditary chief who enlisted the support of an elder's council. Trade, sociability, food gathering, hunting and war-making were the basis for intertribal cooperation (Hill-Tout 1978; Balf 1978).

Increased intertribal commerce resulted from the fur trade, changing native life in the Nicola Valley from 1813 to 1858. During this period, the Indians' settlements became more permanent and their traditional independence, dignity and lifestyle began to break down (Wyatt 1972; Woollams 1979). The White influence intensified after 1858 with the influx of packers on their way to the gold fields, the arrival of the first permanent settlers, a major smallpox epidemic and the relegation of the Indians to new reserve lands (Fox and Lean 1985; Balf 1978; Woollams 1979).

The late 19th Century witnessed the erosion of traditional hunting and fishing rights in the valley, the introduction of farming and ranching to the native people and the construction of new roads bringing in more settlers. A new rail link

stimulated further economic growth after 1916, particularly in coal mining (Shewchuk 1981).

c) Demography and Reserve Lands

The Nicola Valley's native population declined drastically to a low of 250 in 1927 but has since climbed to total over 2,800 people (Fox and Lean 1985). The valley is now home to about 12,000 people. Lower Nicola and Collettville are bedroom communities near Merritt, while the remainder of the rural population reside on area ranches, rural residential areas, lakefront lots at Nicola Lake and Indian reserves (Shewchuk 1981).

With twelve settlements on twenty-five reserves (Figure 3), the five bands have a total membership of 1,499 (Canada 1986). The reserves are also home to an additional 350 people who are either members of other bands or non-status Indians. Another 1,000 Indians live in the valley off-reserve. Thus about 3,000 people, or one-quarter of the total valley population, claim native descent (Weir 1985). Due to Bill C-31 - federal legislation ending discriminatory laws which removed the status of Indian women and others - potential membership in the five bands is 2,300, an increase of 53% over present numbers.

Table I on the following page presents demographic and reserve land data for the five bands of the Nicola Valley (Canada 1986; Canada 1985).
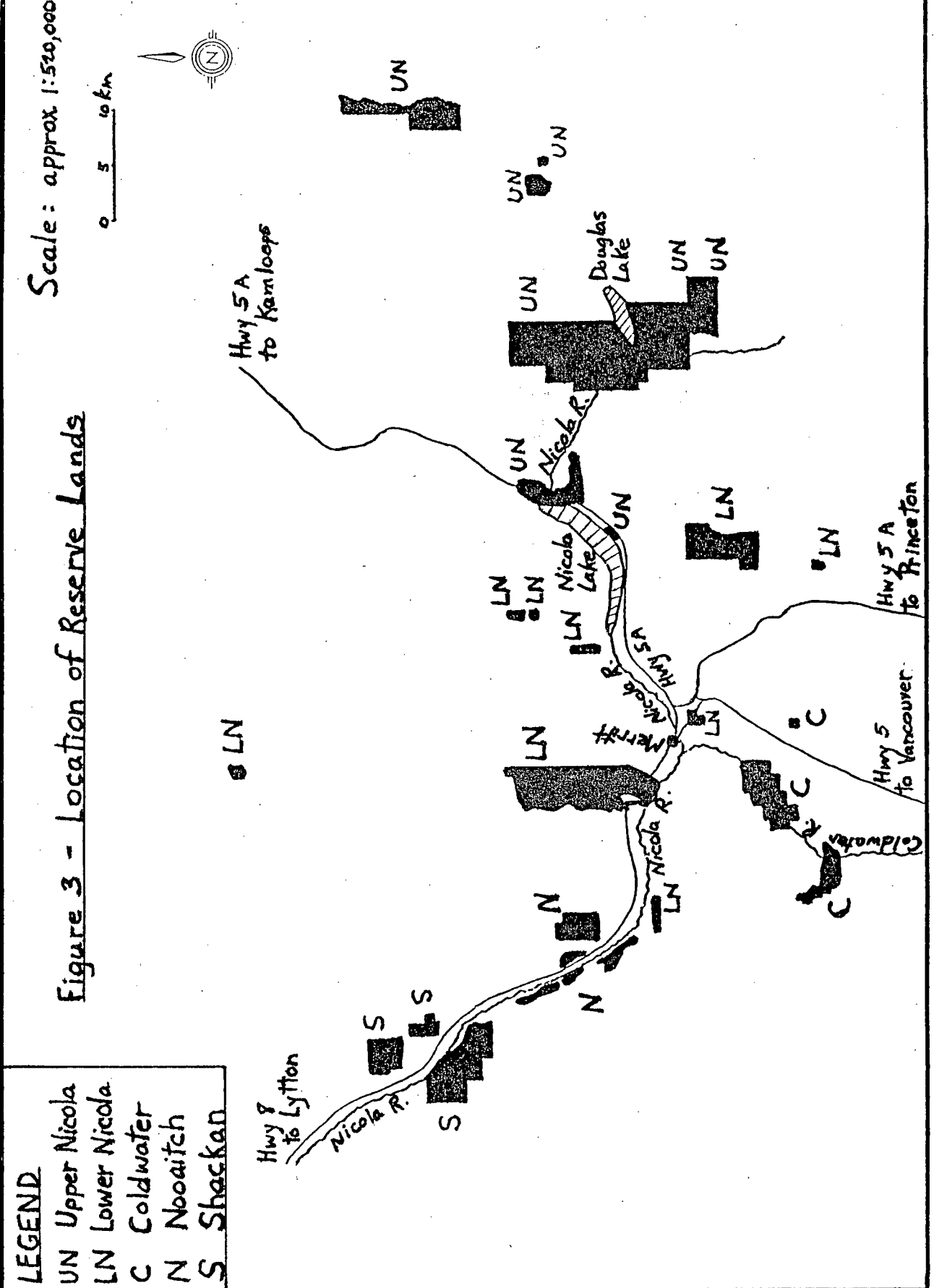
Figure 3 - Location of Reserve Lands

Scale: approx 1:520,000

LEGEND
UN Upper Nicola
LN Lower Nicola
C   Coldwater
N   Nooaitch
S   Shackan

Table I - NVIA Member Bands: 1986 Membership, Number of Reserves and Area of Reserves

BAND	MEMBERSHIP	NO. OF RESERVES	TOTAL AREA (HA.)
Coldwater	359	3	2498.9
Lower Nicola	438	9	7096.3
Nooaitch	112	2	1693.4
Shackan	93	3	3873.7
Upper Nicola	497	8	12503.1
TOTAL	1499	25	27665.4

d) Economy

Agriculture, a stabilizing factor in the valley economy, consists of a few large ranches and smaller farm units. Of 107 farms in the valley in 1979, 57 were on Indian reserve lands. However, less than one-third of all valley farms had annual sales exceeding $5,000 (Fox and Lean 1985; Cambrit Consulting 1985).

Coal mining waned after World War Two and was replaced by copper mining in the nearby Highland Valley, where three mines employ 700 workers. Logging activity and sawmilling make the forest industry the most important employer and income generator in the valley (Shewchuk 1981; Cleasby 1958).

Drawing on excellent scenery, climate and sport fishing, the local tourist industry has contributed to steady economic growth in the valley. When completed, the Coquihalla Highway is expected to stimulate tourism, light manufacturing and the trucking-distribution business (Weir 1985).

To date, native people have participated minimally in the

mining and tourism industries, but many work in the forestry

sector as labourers, equipment operators, and logging-

silviculture contractors (Merritt and District Chamber of

Commerce 1985).

3. Results: Comparison to Factors for Cooperation Found in
   Literature

Analysis of the Nicola Valley divided into three parts,

each addressing a broad category of factors found in the

literature and relating to inter-community cooperation. The

three categories are initiation, reward delivery and capability

of the cooperative body.

a) Factors Important to the Initiation of Cooperation

Statement: Communities involved in successful cooperation
usually respond to a crisis or external threat,
hold some degree of similarity and familiarity,
reach consensus on common problems, have leaders
with vision and imagination, have a propensity
to cooperate with their neighbours, and carry
out preliminary planning to develop joint agree-
ment on the purpose of the cooperative organiza-
tion, participants' roles in it, and mechanisms
to ensure that cooperation's rewards are matched
to particpants' input and its risks minimized.

Data on initial conditions were gathered by interviewing

nine persons with intimate knowledge of the period leading up to

the formation of NVIA. The interviewees include three chief

councillors, two senior NVIA staff (one of whom is a chief

councillor), four elders and one former chief councillor.

i) Crisis or Threat

Everyone in the interview sample responded in the affirmative when asked whether some sort of crisis or external threat motivated the five bands to begin working together. Interview sessions revealed that by about 1965, leaders and other concerned citizens were beginning to recognize and discuss their bands as being in a crisis situation due to high unemployment, heavy reliance on social assistance and short-term employment programs, minimal government encouragement and, most seriously, depressed citizen interest and involvement in local affairs.

Concern was expressed at band meetings about the loss of traditional village unity and its threat to the bands' future as viable communities. Clearly recognized was the need for unity within each band and among the five bands to deal with this threat, which was perceived to originate more directly from internal apathy and disunity than from external influences.

ii) Mutual Similarity and Familiarity

When questioned on the role of similarity and familiarity among the five bands in prompting cooperative activity, all nine respondents replied that it was a key factor. Elders referred to a long history of feasts, meetings and other inter-village social functions, some even involving bands outside the valley. Ongoing, especially close relations among the five bands were

tied to intermarriage, proximity and shared cultural characteristics.

All respondents claimed that these dimensions of inter-village similarity and familiarity facilitated initial informal attempts at inter-band cooperation. They also cited close geographical, historical and social ties between Upper Nicola Band, whose members speak the Okanagan tongue, and the four Thompson-speaking bands.

Other relevant aspects of inter-band similarity not noted in interviews were size, financial resources and organizational structure. Although in the mid 1960's two of the bands were each about five times as large as each of the two smallest bands, all had populations under 400 and limited access to funding essential to the realization of many community goals. Except for Shackan Band with its hereditary system, the bands were led by elected councils. Band funding was administered totally by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC).

iii) Consensus

When asked if the bands harnessed consensus to organize NVIA, all nine respondents agreed that formal agreement on common problems and the communities affected by them was a prerequisite to establishing NVIA in 1973. Five respondents noted that about eight years earlier, people from the five bands

had already begun to discuss common problems such as apathy, dependence and lack of community involvement. They cited this recognition of common plight as contributing to subsequent informal cooperative attempts to deal with these problems.

Two respondents volunteered the opinion that there was an unstated recognition of a degree of interdependence among the five bands. That is, in their view there was and still is a common understanding that important actions taken by or upon one band usually create repercussions throughout the valley.

iv) Leadership

Respondents were asked about the role of leadership. Invariably, bold, imaginative and persistent leadership was cited as the primary motivating factor in the initiation of inter-band cooperative activities in the Nicola Valley. Interestingly, six individuals pointed out that cooperative leadership did not flow entirely from chief councillors, band councillors or others in formal positions of authority. They praised ordinary band members for helping to develop and coordinate informal, area-wide strategies to solve problems shared by the five bands.

Six respondents revealed that in the interest of resurrecting traditional community strength, the leaders of the 1960's promoted informal cooperative strategies among the bands. They sensed that by working together, the five communities could

accomplish more than they could be working alone. Those who later lobbied for a more structured form of cooperation realized that local programs administered by INAC on behalf of the bands could be administered equally well - and probably better - by the Indian people themselves.

The advocates of formal cooperation initially encountered some resistance and were sometimes physically evicted from band meetings. They were encountering fears of diminished autonomy and the effects of long-standing inter-band conflicts originating primarily from a few cases of interpersonal hostility. However, the vision and persistence of this core of activists resulted eventually in the formation of NVIA in 1973.

v) Organizational Propensity to Cooperate

Only seven of the nine respondents felt themselves able to provide knowledgeable answers when questioned about the contribution of the five bands' boundary-spanning and environment-scanning propensities to the introduction of formal cooperation. The seven agreed that these qualities were important in establishing cooperation in the valley, indicating that leaders demonstrated these community attributes by organizing two successful regional training programs in life skills and driving.

As indicated above, many villagers recognized strong social and cultural ties among the five bands. Responses indicate that

at least within the immediate environment of the valley, members
of a given band viewed their community as an `open system'.
However, there was no pre-existing cultural foundation for
institutionalized forms of inter-band cooperation - something
finally ratified by the five band councils following a bold and
unprecendented decision.

Four interviewees revealed that some leaders looked beyond
valley borders to improve themselves and their communities.
Some became involved in the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs' protest
against the federal government's controversial White Paper in
1969. Four future chiefs upgraded personal skills outside the
valley, two obtaining university degrees and two others opting
for practical training in the army. Two respondents noted that
tendencies toward cooperation were further strengthened by
commonalities in the purpose, structure and operations of the
five bands' political and administrative systems.

   vi) Preliminary Planning

The nine respondents were questioned about the role of
preliminary planning - that is, deliberately reaching agreement
on the precise goals of joint effort, the specific roles of
participant bands, and ways of minimizing risks and ensuring
fair distribution of the rewards of cooperation - in helping to
initiate cooperation. Their answers indicate that preliminary
planning - as defined above - was not carried out in the months

preceding the formation of NVIA. During that period, little appears to have been done to reassure bands apprehensive about the risks associated with cooperation.

All respondents indicated that when the bands were in the process of forming NVIA, concerns surfaced about autonomy, risk and reward, at least to some extent. While four stated that autonomy issues were satisfactorily addressed prior to setting up NVIA, five others maintained that much more work should have been done in the early stages to ensure that bands would not later be placed in vulnerable positions by other bands acting irresponsibly. They stated that the autonomy of some member bands had been compromised by other bands' irresponsible spending behaviour. Six respondents said that better planning in NVIA's formative months might well have yielded a fairer allocation of voting power - one which would not have left the three smallest bands in a minority voting position.

It must be pointed out, however, that many funding- and power-related problems which arose years later were likely not foreseen in 1973. To be sure, at that time relatively few band resources were at stake and there was nowhere in the province an inter-band cooperative model to inform the preliminary planning process.

One may argue that more intensive and comprehensive planning in NVIA's formative period would have helped the bands avoid problems which surfaced years later. However, it is

obvious that the planning process engaged in 1973 sufficed to
initiate formal cooperation. At that time, cooperative goals
were articulated in rather non-specific terms. For example,
five respondents referred to leaders emphasizing NVIA's future
role in advancing the well-being of native people in the valley
or in consolidating community-based development and change.
Clearly, these generalized planning discussions provided the
impetus for a decision to cooperate formally in 1973.

b) <u>Factors Related to Reward Delivery</u>

    Statement: To gain credibility with their member communi-
              ties, inter-community cooperative organizations
              usually deliver certain rewards to their mem-
              bers, including increased: access to different
              types of resources essential to their goals,
              adaptability to rapid change in government
              policy and economic conditions, efficiency in
              the use of social and educational services,
              community facilities and special skills, and
              success in achieving common goals.

Data on factors constituting this category were gathered in
interview sessions with the entire survey sample, my intent
being to solicit unbiased views on the overall effectiveness of
NVIA. Seven respondents who admitted personal limitations in
offering informed opinions nonetheless contributed to this
section of the survey.

    i) <u>Resource Acquisition</u>

All thirty-six respondents were asked if band access to
resources such as program or capital funding, information, or

technical and professional skills had improved since the inception of NVIA.

Twenty-six respondents agreed that access to resources had improved significantly since 1973, citing accelerated business assistance, housing and community facilities construction, community infrastructure development, and benefits associated with shared technical and professional expertise. Respondents mentioned twelve times the bands' enhanced political clout in lobbying for band funding through NVIA. Six cited cases of band-sponsored economic development projects receiving support from other member bands, while three referred to unprecedented opportunities for smaller bands to undertake ambitious projects.

Three NVIA staff and two band members alluded to the Nicola Valley Indian Development Corporation, which administers venture loans to band-owned and private businesses. Established in 1981 as a non-profit corporation by pooling the federal government's Local Economic Development Corporation program with each band's economic development dollars, NVIDC has met with some success in encouraging private business.

Eight respondents tempered their praise, stating that relatively recent downsizing by INAC and the availability of funding through national initiatives such as Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation's Social Housing Program mean that with or without NVIA, improved levels of program funding would have been available to the bands. Two senior NVIA staff stressed

that NVIA's annual allocations for program and capital dollars are based on eligibility for INAC's criteria and suggested that most development in the valley is directly dependent on senior government policy.

Three persons alleged that NVIA's allocative decisions on band members' education and economic development assistance applications are politically motivated. Two NVIA staff and three band members observed that average band members had not sufficiently benefitted from increased access to housing dollars and other types of assistance dollars, claiming that the more aggressive personalities in the valley were the major beneficiaries of increased funding levels. These staff also pointed out that most of NVIA's annual budget of about $2.5 million covers social assistance and education costs.

A significant point was made by four interviewees, who remarked that local administration of available funding means that local needs can be more effectively identified and addressed. Two others mentioned that cooperation-based local control represented by NVIA opens the door for many native people to be employed in the administration of their own programs.

ii) Adaptability

The sample of thirty-six interviewees was asked whether inter-band cooperation had improved the bands' abilities to

adapt to major changes in government policy, economic conditions or other environmental influences beyond their total control. Nine were not sure whether bands were better at adapting, eight said there was little the bands could do about decisions made elsewhere, twelve stated that collective lobbying could influence external decision-making and seven made no comment.

A response noted twenty-eight times in relation to the benefits of cooperation was the opportunity of bands to share ideas on problem-solving. Respondents pointed to the monthly Area Council meetings as an effective, ongoing forum for engaging in collective learning and generating adaptive strategies to deal with new developments. An Area Council strategy session was held during the period of my field research, resulting in a delegation being sent to INAC's regional office in Vancouver to express and successfully allay regional concerns about a pending change in education policy.

Eleven respondents pointed to the Nicola Valley Indian Services Association as providing a degree of control over the local economy. Directed by the five bands and registered as a non-profit society, NVISA owns property along the Fraser River, 160 acres of Merritt real estate with potential for residential, commercial and industrial development, and a large building in downtown Merritt from which it leases office space to NVIA and a number of government agencies. The Fraser River property affords a food fishery to the bands' members.

Eight respondents noted that bands previously unable to
adapt to new challenges are now more able to profit from the
experience of other bands. Three referred to increased
adaptability through ideas generated at the inter-band think-
tank session held annually at Glimpse Lake.

iii) Efficiency

When questioned on the relationship between cooperation and
efficiency, the majority of respondents (twenty-three) asserted
that close relations enabled the bands to more efficiently
coordinate human, financial and physical resources at their
disposal. Several key staff were cited, including the Technical
Services Advisor, who helps the bands develop and implement
their housing and infrastructure development plans.

Also mentioned was the Policy Planning Advisor, a lawyer
and business management expert who was preparing, at the time of
my field research, a comprehensive reserve lands registry system
and was also assisting the Manager of Nicola Valley Indian
Development Corporation by advising clients on their business
plans. NVIDC's professional forester has helped three bands
prepare woodlot licence plans and is developing an inter-band,
labour-intensive on-reserve silviculture project through a
Forest Resource Development Agreement with the Canadian Forestry
Service.

NVIA's Social Development Coordinator stated that
cooperation facilitated the matching of social workers' diverse

skills and personalities with individual band needs.

The twenty-three respondents listed joint benefits associated with the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology and education capital funding. Established in 1983 through NVIA's education branch, NVIT offers certificate and diploma programs in forest management, business administration, fashion design, hospitality and tourism, and community economic development.

NVIT's accreditation agreements are in place with Fraser Valley, Cariboo and New Caledonia Colleges. Enrollment has grown from twelve students in 1983 to two hundred in 1987. Cooperative use of education capital budgets has permitted construction of the jointly run Nicola Valley Alternate School, as well as community-based schools operated by Upper Nicola, Coldwater and Lower Nicola Bands.

Twelve respondents also referred to joint use of Valley Business Computer Services, which charges accounting services to NVIA and the bands at full market value and processes monthly financial statements for a large number of clients, including several non-Indian concerns. NVIA employs a fully qualified Controller, who also serves as supervisor of the accounting staff at VBCS.

iv) Goal Achievement

All respondents were asked whether inter-band cooperation has led, through NVIA, to the achievement of superordinate goals

common to the five bands. Interview sessions with two Area
Councillors revealed NVIA's broadly stated superordinate goal as
`developing an improved lifestyle for all band members'. They
identified two objectives as being complementary to this goal:
first, `safeguarding everthing already gained, such as rights of
access to departmental program dollars, social programs, and
wildlife, fish, forest and water resources'; and, second,
`building and enhancing everything that has been accomplished to
date'.

However, thirteen respondents stated that they were not
aware of official NVIA goal statements. Cooperative community
development goal achievement is usually difficult without broad
awareness and understanding of those goals, and an attempt has
been made to address this issue. Two senior NVIA staff said
they were preparing the articles of a new constitution for NVIA.
This exercise was described as a deliberate attempt to educate
and unite band members, band leaders, and NVIA and band staff
behind the cooperative body's goals and objectives.

Once advised of the goal statement as presented above, all
respondents were in a position to offer their opinions. Twenty-
five felt that NVIA had accelerated, at least to some extent,
community development in the valley. Goal achievements most
commonly cited were in the areas of housing and infrastructure,
education and training, small business incubation and expansion,
and, perhaps most important, a sense of greater local control

over change.

Significantly, however, two chief councillors and three senior NVIA staff judged that other factors, such as community pride, funding assistance, key events, a return to older values and individual leadership have been more important to progress in the valley than inter-band cooperation. Perhaps surprisingly, seventeen others expressed the view that inter-band cooperation had not been crucial to community development success. This response calls into question my assumption about the importance of cooperation. All but five of the thirty-six respondents felt that at the time of research, a final judgment on NVIA's effectiveness in achieving the bands' common goals was premature.

One chief councillor and three senior NVIA personnel acknowledged that the five bands have come a long way since 1973 but suggested that NVIA's record is not so impressive when measured against the potential for growth and development. Two elders still referred to the NVIA office building as the `Indian agent's office'; NVIA had apparently not made a great difference to the lives of these people.

One senior NVIA staff suggested that the long-term community development thrust should emphasize the promotion of band self-sufficiency through true market-driven economic development and taxation of wealth created by band members.

c) <u>Factors Affecting the Capability</u>
   of the Cooperative Organization

  Statement: In maintaining their own momentum and sense of
      purpose, inter-community cooperative organiza-
      tions usually nurture a high level of commitment
      among their staff and member communities, pro-
      actively promote inter-community approaches to
      common issues, satisfy necessary conditions at
      appropriate phases of building cooperation,
      monitor and manage change in their external
      environment, involve communities which share
      common geographical, cultural and economic
      circumstances, and are able to overcome problems
      and serious threats to their existence.

The full sample of thirty-six people provided information

relating to this category of success factors.

 i) <u>Building Commitment</u>

As suggested in the above discussion on goal achievement,

little was revealed by respondents on concerted efforts by NVIA

to build and maintain commitment to inter-band endeavour, either

among the bands or within the bureaucracy itself. Other than

the monthly Area Council meetings and preparation of an NVIA

constitution, no mention was made of conscious efforts to

broaden and strengthen the base of support for NVIA's policies,

programs or other joint initiatives. However, one chief

councillor reported that he circulated regularly among

`important' families in his community to inform them of new

plans and register their concerns. As mentioned above, few

respondents expressed awareness of NVIA's stated mandate.

However, nine respondents, including four chief

councillors, stressed that the opportunity for band members to

attend Area Council meetings and voice their concerns
facilitates broad commitment to shared goals. Two chief
councillors stressed the importance of maintaining inter-band
trust through continuous communication, claiming that Area
Council meetings were an excellent forum for these exchanges.
Communication was cited by the chief councillors of the three
largest bands as being crucial to commitment, especially given
the existence of differing approaches to community development.
Interview sessions with the chiefs revealed emphasis by one band
on economic development, another on social development and a
third specifically on education.

One senior and three junior NVIA staff acknowledged NVIA's
monthly staff meetings but pointed to inadequate
interdepartmental communication within the organization as a
problem which occasionally depresses staff morale. Discussed
later in more detail, several interviewees complained about some
bands failing to exercise fiscal restraint. Eight of these
complainants reasoned that commitment to NVIA is jeopardized by
bands which fail to honour joint funding agreements.

Respondents were asked an additional question about the
role of emotional zeal in bolstering commitment. Only one
person cited this factor as still being important; most stated
that it was more operative during the confrontations of the
1970's. Finally, the question of commitment arose in sessions
wih two respondents from Coldwater Band who spoke of their

band's plans to drop out of NVIA early in 1988.

   ii) <u>Planning</u>

   Responses to the question on NVIA's planning capabilities in promoting positive inter-band relations revealed the need for more work in this area. Twenty-four persons acknowledged the work of a core of key persons who harnessed consensus to form NVIA in 1973, and of others who later identified common needs and established appropriate subsidiary cooperative institutions such as NVISA, VBCS, NVIDC and NVIT.

   Fifteen individuals, however, discerned a drop in NVIA's planning capacities to improve and maintain inter-band relations after the inception of NVIA. These respondents related this decline to NVIA's lack of ability or willingness to address two areas of concern: overspending by some bands and the present distribution of power among the five bands. The present system allocates voting power on all joint ventures, including the Area Council, according to band population, as follows: Upper Nicola and Lower Nicola Bands, six votes each; Coldwater Band, four votes; and Nooaitch and Shackan Bands, three votes each.

   The six respondents referring to the power balance protested that the two larger bands control the votes and can thereby overrule the wishes of the three smaller bands. Three respondents specifically expressed the desire for improved methods of monitoring and regulating the bands' spending

behaviour, but acknowledged the difficulties of doing so without overly compromising their autonomy. They also remarked on the apparent difficulty of bands pulling out of NVIA if they owe money to other member bands. Two NVIA personnel added that when NVIA accepts blame for band deficits, as it has been known to do, it perpetuates a dependency attitude which does nothing to improve inter-band relations.

Seven representatives from the smaller bands registered deep concern about the first decade or so of NVIA's existence, when much of their funds were used to foster development programs for the larger bands. They expressed fears that the larger bands, having reaped these benefits, might soon abandon NVIA and leave the smaller bands to fend for themselves. This problem reflects incomplete preliminary planning, a lack of ongoing, long-range planning capability, and perhaps an unwillingness to implement plans calling for repayment to the smaller bands.

When asked directly, twenty-one respondents acknowledged monthly Area Council meetings as serving a self-evaluative planning function for NVIA; of these, twelve called for more formalized self-regulatory mechanisms. Three senior and two junior NVIA personnel spoke of politicians being unable to distinguish between management and authority. This problem resulted, they said, in program managers being given the responsibility but little authority to carry out their duties

effectively. These same respondents and three band members pointed to similar problems of political interference in explaining the financial woes of several band-owned and jointly owned businesses.

iii) Environmental Management

The sample was surveyed on NVIA's ability to manage change in its external environment. Most respondents praised NVIA's ability to manipulate its own environment, with twenty-two offering favourable replies. Eleven referred to strategies of environmental management employed in 1975, when the five bands rejected government funding as irrelevant and demonstrated self-supporting capacities over a period of months. Two district INAC office sit-ins the same year by NVIA leaders and Indians from elsewhere in the southern interior paved the way for more native employment in a gradually expanding NVIA.

Seven respondents referred to continual monitoring of government policy trends by NVIA's program managers. Five directed attention to a practice which they felt was facilitated by cooperative planning: that of sending representatives to important meetings, whereever they may be held. They explained that cooperation permits a greater population base from which to select appropriate delegates who later report back to the Area Council on proceedings and decisions. A constraining factor, they admitted, is inadequate funding to finance delegates'

transportation to all relevant meetings.

Six persons noted that NVIA regularly takes advantage of its proximity to Vancouver, which is the location of INAC's Central District (this district includes the Nicola Valley) and B.C. Regional offices. They noted that when NVIA representatives perceive a need to meet directly with department officials to discuss urgent issues, they do so readily.

iv) Common Geography and Culture

When respondents were asked if common geographical, cultural and economic circumstances contributed to the maintenance of healthy inter-band relations, 100% replied in the affirmative. Ten respondents elaborated, claiming that while proximity sometimes contributes to conflict and debate, it also reinforces interdependence and frequently facilitates the resolution of internal disagreements.

The survey went further, including a question on whether NIVA had taken full advantage of shared circumstances. Fourteen respondents pointed to NVIA locating its administrative offices in downtown Merritt, the geographic center of the twelve villages and twenty-five reserves. Two referred to the annual Glimpse Lake retreat, which integrates inter-band cultural events with brainstorming strategy sessions.

v) <u>Problem-Solving Capacity</u>

I asked respondents how well NVIA has dealt with various problems and threats to its existence. Half (eighteen) expressed the view that NVIA has been at least somewhat effective in this area. Eight referred to opportunities for band input on problems through the voting distribution system applied in all cooperative ventures. Monthly Area Council meetings were cited by five people as a useful forum for dealing with inter-band disputes.

In general, however, responses indicate a close correlation between inadequate planning and low levels of problem-solving capacity. Nine interviewees claimed that insufficient attention was being paid to the problems of bands whose interests they said were being compromised by the existing inter-band balance of decision-making power or by irresponsible fiscal behaviour on the part of other member bands.

These issues were cited by the nine as the most significant sources of inter-band conflict. They were in agreement that NVIA had done little to deal with them and cast doubt on its ability to address them in the future. This level of negative response suggests that NVIA and its member bands are either unable or unwilling to deal with some of the organization's most potentially divisive problems: those generating dissatisfaction and dissent from within.

Five respondents clearly stated that several concerns

expressed at the band level were not being adequately addressed, either by NVIA or the band councils. Two referred to lack of communication within NVIA as the main obstacle to solving band problems. Three others were upset over alleged meddling by some NIVA actors in a member band's internal conflict over a land development scheme involving the new Coquihalla Highway.

Six interviewees, including two chief councillors, acknowledged that political interference in business and program operation at both band and NVIA levels was a serious problem which had not yet been completely resolved. They referred to an inability, at least on the part of previous band councils and Area Councils, to distinguish between business and community service decisions. Four linked the demise of the jointly owned construction company to band leaders ignoring sound business management practice by currying political favour through overemphasizing costly home renovations and overemploying carpenters.

On the positive side of the ledger, six respondents referred to a valuable lesson that has been learned from past political meddling in band or jointly owned business ventures. Due to counter-productive interference in the past, NVIDC is now more wary of supporting community-owned business ventures and is placing the bulk of its venture assistance behind privately owned initiatives.

All four chief councillors who were interviewed stated that

their time commitments with the Area Council were not overburdening and that they were therefore able to give their required attention to global concerns. Three chiefs said that delegating various responsibilities to their band councillors enabled them to better cope with pressing Area Council matters without neglecting the needs of their own bands.

All respondents were asked if they felt that the five communities could benefit from the application of interorganizational cooperative theory to solving community development problems in the valley. Sixteen replied that any new ideas with the potential for bringing the bands together for mutual benefit was worthy of attention. Two noted that it might help resolve major inter-band problems. Significantly, seven respondents pointed to a need to apply useful cooperative theory in building intra-band consensus, citing three cases of unresolved conflict at the band level.

As was mentioned earlier in the section on adaptability, twenty-eight respondents stated that problem-solving capacity was greatly enhanced through the pooling of ideas. Four respondents said that over the last twenty years, local bands had benefitted from a collective learning process marked by many victories and defeats; nine observed that this experience would prepare them well for successfully meeting future challenges.

Overall, this section suggests that NVIA does not fully exhibit the qualities of an effective problem-solving

organization, especially where problems are internal in nature. However, band leaders are generally able to balance their responsibilities between NVIA and their community. The problem of political interference in business has been addressed for the most part, albeit by avoiding the problem rather than directly confronting it.

Important decisions have been reached through the sharing of ideas and the application of a representative, though some say unfair, inter-band voting system. However, it does not appear that the legitimate concerns of bands who wish more input into collective decisions directly affecting them are being satisfactorily addressed. In addition, inadequate communication within NVIA appears to be limiting the resolution of administrative matters calling for inter-program action.

4. Summary

The story of inter-community cooperation in the Nicola Valley is punctuated by instances of challenges being met and surmounted by individuals, bands and the cooperative organization itself. In the early days, inertia, apathy, lack of trust and a few interpersonal differences were overcome, thanks largely to the leadership of a small, vocal core of activists.

Later, collective political will enabled a newly

established NVIA to endure minimal funding support before
employing shrewd confrontational tactics in supplanting an
insensitive and irrelevant bureaucracy. NVIA was able to build
upon itself, gradually assuming from INAC increased
administrative responsibility for band programs. Local people
were employed to administer these programs. Political clout
grew. Initiatives in education, economic development and land
speculation were undertaken. Physical development accelerated
in the early 1980's and transformed the face of the Indian
villages of the Nicola Valley.

Along with the concrete accomplishments accompanying
collective endeavour, several problems emerged. Political
interference impacted negatively on joint ventures and community
owned businesses. Program managers were overruled by a few
politicians with contempt for INAC funding criteria. Some of
the larger bands overextended their budgets. Smaller bands came
to lament their limited input into NVIA decisions and feared
pull-outs by larger bands which owe them funding from earlier
sharing arrangements. Internal band problems occasionally
became intertwined with vested interests within NVIA itself.

Several success factors identified in the literature have a
counterpart in the Nicola Valley. However, other factors are
not noticeable at all, or are not prominent. It is likely that
community development success and failure in the valley is tied,
at least in part, to the degree of convergence with these

factors. The final chapter examines this premise in more
detail.

<u>Chapter Four - Conclusion</u>

1. <u>Introduction</u>

This chapter is a synopsis of the analysis presented in
Chapter Three. Inter-band cooperation in the Nicola Valley is
summarized in terms of the fifteen success factors viewed by
scholars as contributing to successful inter-community
cooperation and discussed in detail in Chapter Two. These
factors are grouped into three broad categories. An
acknowledgment of the limitations of this study is presented,
followed by a section on thesis findings. A final discussion
treats the findings in terms of their implications for other
groups of native communities.

2. <u>Analysis of NVIA</u>

In this section, inter-band collaboration in the Nicola
Valley is compared to the fifteen factors drawn from the
literature. These factors are classified into three categories:
those relating to initiation, those relating to reward delivery
and those relating to the capability of the cooperative
organization.

a) Category 1: Factors Important to the Initiation of Cooperative Effort

In general, circumstances leading to the establishment of NVIA conform to conditions typically present to stimulate inter-community cooperation, as identified in the literature. Informal inter-band cooperation in the late 1960's was a reaction to a generally perceived crisis situation. Reinforced by long-standing cultural and social ties, the high degree of inter-community similarity and familiarity created the conditions for consensus. Success in informal cooperative strategies in human resource development created an awareness among a few key band leaders of the potential benefits of deeper and broader forms of inter-band cooperation.

It is significant that the crisis which helped launch joint effort was largely viewed by locals as originating from within the Indian villages themselves rather than from external sources. Wide recognition of the need for internally generated change increased the liklihood of collective ameliorative action being taken, whereas blaming external sources for local problems could well have created expectations for external responses and thereby entrenched the prevailing dependency attitude which had been eroding self-determination among the five bands.

A key research discovery is the critical role played by informal inter-band strategies in legitimizing formal cooperative processes in the valley. Joint planning of life skills training programs and participation in political protests

harnessed and reinforced already high levels of similarity, familiarity and boundary-spanning propensities.

The other critical factor in creating NVIA was the presence of individuals in the region who possessed the foresight to recognize the potential benefits of more formally working together toward common goals. This core of leaders exhibited persistence and boldness - essential qualities given the intense resistance to cooperation initially encountered and the lack of native Indian traditions in institutionalized inter-band cooperation.

The period leading up to the inception of NVIA was marked by animated debates between the advocates and detrators of formal cooperation. The success of informal cooperative strategies in local skill development was cited by the proponents of formal cooperation as evidence of the potential of more intense collaborative effort to further advance the well-being and self-governing capacities of the native people of the Nicola Valley.

Comprehensive planning was not done in the formative stages to outline the goals of the cooperative organization, identify the roles and obligations of member bands, establish mechanisms for mitigating risk and restraining potential violators of joint agreements, and distribute the rewards of cooperation. Because preliminary planning failed to focus on these key issues, problems later surfaced.

In fairness to the organizers, however, there was in 1973 little precedent for the formal structuring of cooperation among groups of native Indian bands. Early planning activity focused on general `motherhood' statements about the potential value of formal cooperation. Whatever its eventual shortcomings, an inter-band, cooperative decision-making body was, in fact, established in 1973 - a major achievement given the lack of native Indian traditions in representative democracy.

b) Category 2: Factors Related to Reward Delivery

The NVIA case conforms to the factors categorized under the heading `reward delivery'. Since NVIA's establishment in 1973, the five bands have benefitted substantially from improved funding levels and related programs, adaptability to economic and political change, efficiency of resource use and ability to achieve common goals in social development, housing and infrastructure, education and training, small business development and, most significantly, enhanced local control.

NVIA has therefore gained considerable credibility among its member bands by `delivering the goods'. A wide range of community development initiatives have been made possible through joint political action. By pooling human and financial resources, the bands have managed to establish companies, build and renovate housing, expand community infrastructure, nurture new businesses, build band schools and develop the area's

natural resources. Opportunities have been seized through joint
control of agencies with mandates in financial management,
social services, post-secondary education, economic development
and real estate investment.

Collective political lobbying has enabled the five bands to
influence, to a degree unmatched in the past, public policy
makers and bureaucrats in matters directly affecting their
future. Lobbying has contributed to improved adaptability to
change and uncertainty, resulting in an enhanced capacity to
carry out joint agreements. At the band level, innovative
strategies and improved problem-solving have resulted from the
cooperative sharing of ideas and experience. Coordinating
professional and technical services through NVIA has facilitated
cost-effective implementation of a range of community
development strategies.

c) Category 3: Factors Affecting the Capability of the
Cooperative Organization

In general, NVIA is weakest in the category of factors
relating to organizational capabilities. However, there are
exceptions. Recognizing that interdependence also operates at
levels beyond the borders of the valley, NVIA's leaders have
demonstrated a capacity to influence decision making by senior
government policy makers for well over a decade. To a degree,
NVIA has also capitalized on the bands' shared geographical,

cultural and economic circumstances.

However, NVIA does not clearly demonstrate the ability to build broad-based commitment, promote healthy inter-band relations and resolve its own internal problems. In any inter-band cooperative structure in which the three largest members emphasize three different dimensions of community development, continuous consensus-building is essential. Yet there is a general lack of awareness of NVIA's stated mandate and a relatively passive approach to community involvement on the part of the cooperative organization itself. Recognizing the vital role of communication to organizational commitment, some NVIA staff have perceived a need for an improved system of information-sharing among the organization's numerous program areas.

Although some band members are dissatisfied with the present distribution of voting power among the five bands, NVIA has not demonstrated an ability or willingness to allay their concerns. The Area Council may be reluctant to accept the political consequences of amending the existing balance of power. For example, if the decision making process were amended, the problem of some larger bands owing money to smaller bands would probably have to be addressed.

Maintenance of positive and productive inter-band relations has become more difficult in the absence of mechanisms for monitoring and regulating the fiscal behaviour of member bands.

Respondents spoke of the need to restrict bands from spending in areas where other bands' funding could be adversely affected. To date, however, the Area Council appears to have turned its attention to other matters. Its inability or unwillingness to create effective self-regulatory mechanisms may ultimately weaken the bands' commitment to a cooperative organization in which the three largest bands pursue community development from three different perspectives: social development, education and economic development.

Significantly, controversial power relations and fiscal conflict stem from incomplete planning during the formation of NVIA. Early planning was sufficient to help establish NVIA itself but it lacked a deliberate, comprehensive approach in setting up the cooperative body's goals and each member band's specific rights and responsibilities.

Similarly, NVIA has demonstrated a lack of capacity to develop policies restricting political intervention in program and business management. Leaders with contempt for government regulations are perhaps more prone than others to disregard proper protocol in their own backyard. Serious limitations are placed on the impact of policy improvements if there is insufficient political will to enforce them. As the bands' cooperative agency, NVIA has not confronted this issue. In any case, its policy-making authority is limited to jointly controlled organizations, as it does not extend to those

controlled by individual bands. On the positive side, however, NVIA's economic development agency - NVIDC - has sidestepped political meddling in jointly or band-owned enterprises by placing greater emphasis on individually owned businesses.

NVIA has an impressive record in dealing with externally generated problems, such as irrelevant government programs, insensitive INAC policies or insufficient funding support for local initiatives. However, its record is less impressive in addressing its own internal problems, such as dissatisfaction with existing inter-band power relations and imprudent fiscal practices on the part of some bands.

3. Summary of Findings

Below are listed the three major findings of this thesis. Each relates to a major category of factors for establishing and maintaining effective inter-community cooperation.

a) The Nicola Valley case exhibits all six factors for initiating inter-community collaboration. These factors include the five bands responding to a crisis or threat, holding a degree of mutual similarity and familiarity, achieving consensus, possessing effective leadership, demonstrating a propensity to work together, and planning formal cooperation. The case therefore conforms to expectations relating to the initiation of inter-community cooperation.

b) The Nicola Valley case exhibits all four of the factors for
   delivering rewards to the participating communities. These
   rewards include enhanced resource acquisition, improved
   adaptability, greater efficiency and more successful goal
   achievement. The case therefore conforms to expectations
   relating to the delivery of rewards to participating
   communities

c) The Nicola Valley case exhibits only two of five factors
   respecting the abilities of NVIA to maintain positive momen-
   tum: the ability to manage the external environment and to
   exploit common cultural and geographical circumstances. How-
   ever, NVIA does not exhibit three abilities: building commit-
   ment, planning harmonious inter-band relationships and
   solving internal problems. In general, therefore, the case
   does not conform to expectations relating to the ongoing
   capability of cooperative organizations.

4. Limitations

Two thesis limitations are worthy of note. First, case
study research fails to address factors other than inter-band
cooperation which may have been critical to community
development success in the Nicola Valley. Indeed, the survey
results call into question my assumption about the vital role of
inter-community cooperation, with about half of the respondents
claiming that cooperation was not critical to progress. Five
interviewees judged other factors, such as community pride,
external funding assistance, key leaders, important events and
a return to traditional values as being more crucial to
development than inter-band cooperation.

However, this revelation does not eliminate cooperation as
a key factor. For a variety of reasons, such as pride in one's

own band, personal dissatisfaction with NVIA or lack of awareness of the links between cooperation on the one hand and key leaders and events, tradition, and funding support on the other, some respondents may be underestimating cooperation as a factor in the bands' development. Nevertheless, research findings suggest that in the Nicola Valley at least, cooperation was only one of several factors behind community development success over the last two decades.

Second, one may well question the relevance of thesis findings to the needs of small, geographically isolated Indian bands which face many of the constraints to development once confronted by the Nicola Valley bands acting separately, but which do not share their regions with other bands.

5. Discussion

Critical to the initiation of inter-band cooperation in the Nicola Valley was the contribution of a high degree of similarity and familiarity among the bands to the development of consensus. Further strengthened by informal cooperative strategies, consensus helped to maintain close inter-band relationships after cooperation was formalized in 1973.

Also critical in the formative stage was the ability of a few leaders to anticipate the benefits of cooperation and then build sufficiently broad support to implement their ideas.

Given the lack of precedent in Canada of cooperative structures

involving native communities, strong leadership was particulary

important. To establish formal cooperation, native communities

lacking strong traditions in institutionalized forms of

cooperation may therefore be more dependent than other types of

communities on imaginative, bold and persistent leadership.

It is important to recognize that formal inter-band

cooperation was successfully initiated in the Nicola Valley in

the absence of comprehensive early planning to establish the

purpose of NVIA, the roles, responsibilities and power of each

member band, how band inputs could be matched to rewards and how

bands could be compensated for violations by other member bands

of cooperative agreements.

Clearly, some preparatory work had been done prior to the

formation of NVIA or the bands would not have been induced to

participate. It is only in hindsight that a significant number

of respondents decried the lack of adequate planning in the

formation of NVIA. The point here is not to de-emphasize the

importance of preliminary planning in introducing inter-band

cooperation, but to stress that the early planning that was

conducted sufficed to initiate formal cooperation in the Nicola

Valley. However, it is likely that many of NVIA's internal

problems which surfaced years after its inception originate, at

least in part, from inadequate preliminary planning.

NVIA's success in 'delivering the goods' in terms of

providing improved access to resources, adaptation, efficiency and ability to achieve the physical, economic and social development goals of its member bands has been crucial to its survival over a period of fifteen years. However, to date some of the benefits of cooperation - particularly those accruing from new housing and subdivision development projects - have been disproportionately distributed to the larger bands.

At least in recent years, NVIA appears not to have extended itself in building and maintaining broad commitment and positive inter-band relations. It is now therefore less able to resolve serious problems stemming from the perceived unfairness of present joint decision-making arrangements, irresponsible fiscal behaviour by some bands, and fears of band autonomy being compromised by previous internal funding agreements going awry. In this way, the Nicola Valley story supports literature findings stressing the importance of comprehensive preliminary planning, which would have avoided or at least mitigated many of these problems.

Continuation of the close and productive inter-band collaboration that has made NVIA outstanding among tribal councils in British Columbia depends on its ongoing planning capability. NVIA must deliberately confront and find agreement on the resolution of these key issues related to resource sharing and joint decision making. Otherwise the consensus upon which the organization was founded and maintained will begin to

break down.

An important lesson to be drawn from this thesis is that inter-community cooperation is not so much a goal in itself as it is a community development tool. Building cooperation involves one in a process comprised of stages, each to be nurtured along toward maturity. Key factors in this process are temporally arranged into three categories, each representing a stage. First, communities initiate cooperative processes in the expectation of certain rewards; second, they set up a cooperative organization and reap these rewards; and third, they nurture within this organization an ongoing capacity to further their common goals.

The importance of preliminary planning to this process cannot be overstated. Unless there is a capability and willingness to bring local representatives into agreement on the precise purpose, structure and operations of collaborative endeavour, cooperation will either not occur at all or, as in the case of NVIA, it will not evolve to its full potential for enhancing community growth and improvement.

6. Conclusions

Based on analysis of the Nicola Valley case, I have listed below the seven most important factors for successful implementation and maintenance of formal inter-band cooperation.

One factor - organizing informal cooperative strategies - is
drawn solely from the case itself. These factors represent
steps that other groups of native communities should consider in
planning their own cooperative efforts.

a) Developing Consensus

> To initiate formal cooperative relations, groups of Indian
> bands should formally recognize and attain a degree of
> consensus, whereby needs and interests are clearly defined
> and acted upon, not in terms of a single band but in terms
> of the common needs and concerns of all bands sharing the
> region.

b) Organizing Informal Cooperative Strategies

> To consolidate consensus and legitimize more structured
> forms of cooperation, Indian bands should initially plan
> and implement small-scale, informal joint strategies.

c) Leadership

> To initiate formal cooperative relations, groups of Indian
> bands should depend on the foresight, persistence and
> leadership of a core of band members who, recognizing that
> the benefits of cooperation outweigh its disadvantages, are
> willing to commit themselves to bringing the communities
> together.

d) Preliminary Planning

> To interest groups of Indian bands in structured forms of
> cooperation, proponents should engage in a deliberate
> planning process to reach formal agreement on the purpose
> of collaborative endeavour, the precise responsibilities of
> each band, and ways of distributing the rewards and minimi-
> zing the risks of cooperation.

e) <u>Reward Delivery</u>

To gain credibility, an inter-band cooperative organization should deliver to its member bands improvements in access to vital resources, adaptability to change and uncertainty, efficiency in the use of human and financial resources and success in attaining common community development goals.

f) <u>Planning</u>

To be effective in an ongoing way, an inter-band coopera- tive organization should have a planning capability to build commitment to its purpose through active encourage- ment of broad-based involvement in collective decision making, promote positive inter-band relations and deliberately time certain key activities with appropriate phases in the process of consolidating cooperation.

g) <u>Problem-Solving Capacity</u>

To maintain viability, an inter-band cooperative organiza- tion should deliberately confront and resolve its problems, whether they originate externally or internally.

As noted in the discussion of thesis limitations, inter- band collaboration has been just one of several factors driving community development in the Nicola Valley. Other elements such as community pride, external funding assistance and dynamic leadership have also been important. Just as cooperation should not be cited as the sole explanation for progress over the last two decades, nor should it accept full blame for the bands' ongoing high levels of unemployment. Indeed, the contribution of cooperation and other factors to positive change is constrained by the valley's relative poverty in natural resources and its heavy emphasis on agriculture, which limits opportunities for year-round employment.

Clearly, interorganizational relations theory contributes to the Nicola Valley case study by highlighting the importance of comprehensive preliminary planning and ongoing planning to the establishment and maintenance of inter-community cooperation. Indeed, recent difficulties in the valley support theory dealing with the need for inter-band cooperative networks to conscientiously build commitment and positive relations `from the bottom up'. To solve internal problems and maintain momentum, cooperative groups must first stimulate debate among their constituents to ensure a broad base of support for joint decisions and then promote inter-departmental staff communication to optimize implementation of joint strategies.

It must be emphasized, however, that significant rewards have been captured through collective action despite inadequate planning practices. Case analysis indicates that while starting cooperation and reaping its rewards may not be totally dependent on a commitment to planning, maintaining the joint venture over the long term may well be.

The case analysis makes significant contributions to knowledge about inter-community, and more specifically inter-band, cooperation. As noted above, factors such as consensus, leadership and informal cooperation were shown to be more important than others in organizing and consolidating formal inter-band endeavour. Utilizing informal cooperative strategies can be important, at least in some native communities

unaccustomed to institutionalized joint effort, to building confidence in subsequent, more formalized cooperation. Implementing such strategies can be a low-risk venture which bands may use to assess the feasibility of more structured and binding forms of cooperation.

The documented progress of the five bands reinforces writings about the critical importance to the credibility and longevity of inter-band cooperative organizations that they provide to their member communities measurable and previously unavailable benefits essential to the attainment of community development goals.

It is through NVIA's role as trailblazer that the value of its experience is most clearly recognized. For the five subject bands, leadership and informal cooperation proved to be indispensible to the initiation of structured cooperation, especially given the absence of pre-existing cooperative models. For other groups of Indian bands interested in similar forms of collaboration, these two considerations will be perhaps less important. NVIA's success clearly demonstrates that inter-band cooperative organizations can be advantageous to their member communities. On the other hand, its difficulties highlight the importance of deliberate preliminary planning and ongoing planning to the continuing integrity and effectiveness of the cooperative construct. Thesis analysis suggests that comprehensive preliminary planning is not always as crucial to

initiating formal inter-community cooperative networks as it is to establishing the basis for their ongoing utility over the long term.

Naturally predisposed to cooperative endeavour by history and culture, geographically and culturally related Indian communities stand to benefit from building close political and economic linkages with each other. Cooperative enterprise holds out to single Indian bands the promise of greater political clout, coordinated planning, economies of scale and more innovative strategies. These incentives are essential to the realization of many kinds of community development goals.

However, Indian bands need to exercise caution in embracing formal cooperative relations with their neighbours. That is, in their own long-term interest bands need to reach formal agreement not only on the specific purposes of the cooperative body and their respective roles in it, but also on how the anticpated benefits of cooperation are to be distributed and its potential risks mitigated.

Once bands have established a cooperative organization, the challenge has just begun. The organization must meet the diverse needs of each community while addressing collective concerns in a way that will not overly compromise each community's political and economic autonomy. This is not an easy task and a measure of band autonomy will have to be relinquished in order to attain shared goals.

It is hoped that this thesis will enlighten groups of communities, particularly Indian bands, on ways of effectively introducing and maintaining close cooperative relations for mutual advantage, and that these groups will be inspired by the potential rewards of cooperation while systematically recognizing and confronting its difficulties and risks.

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Appendix 1 - List of Respondents

The alphabetical list of names below identifies those persons who participated in the Nicola Valley interview sessions.

1. Harold Aljam — Band Councillor, Coldwater Band
    — Program Manager, Coldwater Band School

2. Gordon Antoine — Administrator, NVIA
    — Chief, Coldwater Band

3. Rose-Linda Archachan — Band Membership Clerk, NVIA
    — Upper Nicola Band member

4. Doug Baker — Manager, Nicola Valley Institute of Technology

5. Willie Basil — Lower Nicola Band member

6. Donna Charlie — Shackan Band member

7. Mary June Coutlee — Band Councillor, Lower Nicola Band

8. Jimmy Fountain — Band Councillor, Nooaitch Band
    — Businessman

9. John Hilton — Technical Services Advisor, NVIA

10. Fred Holmes — Chief Councillor and Band Planner, Upper Nicola Band

11. Richard Jackson, Jr. — Membership Co-ordinator, NVIA
    — Lower Nicola Band member

12. Barbara Joe — Executive Secretary, NVIA
    — Shackan Band member

13. Mabel Joe   - Elder, Lower Nicola Band

14. Percy Joe   - Chief Councillor, Shackan Band

15. Rose Joe   - Elder, Shackan Band

16. Harvey Mcleod   - Small Business Advisor, Nicola
                           Valley Indian Development
                           Corporation
                         - Upper Nicola Band member

17. Daniel Manuel   - former Chief Councillor, Upper
                           Nicola Band

18. Brian Michel   - Resource Planner, Upper Nicola Band
                         - Upper Nicola Band member

19. Lorraine Moses   - Manager and Small Business Advisor,
                           Nicola Valley Indian Development
                           Corporation
                         - Lower Nicola Band member

20. Charlotte Ned   - Payroll Clerk, Valley Business
                           Computer Services
                         - Upper Nicola Band member

21. Clarence Oppenheim   - Band Manager, Coldwater Band
                         - Coldwater Band member

22. Phillip Oppenheim   - Coldwater Band member
                         - Businessman

23. Rena Sam   - Accounts Receivable Clerk, Valley
                           Business Computer Services
                         - Shackan Band member

24. Dave Schaab   - Controller, NVIA
                         - Supervisor, Valley Business Computer
                           Services

25. Joan Seymour   - Social Development Coordinator, NVIA

26. Francis Shuter   - Chief Councillor, Lower Nicola Band

27. Gib Shuter   - Band Manager, Lower Nicola Band
                         - Lower Nicola Band member

28. Phil Smith   - Registered Professional Forester,
                           Nicola Valley Indian Development
                           Corporation

29. Doug Springford   - Policy Planning Advisor, NVIA

30. Austin Stirling   - Band Councillor, Lower Nicola Band
    - Businessman

31. Clifford Stirling   - Computer Systems Operator, Valley Business Computer Services

32. Deanna Stirling   - Lower Nicola Band member

33. Sophie Stirling   - Elder, Lower Nicola Band

34. Amy Tom   - organizer, Upper Nicola Band School
    - Upper Nicola Band member

35. Tracey Tomma   - Lands Registrar, NVIA

36. May Voght   - Elder, Lower Nicola Band member
    - Businesswoman

Appendix 2 - Interview Questionnaire

Below are listed the fifteen questions which were used in
the interview sessions held in the Nicola Valley:

1. For the category of factors important to the initiation of
   inter-band cooperation, the following six questions were
   asked of nine respondents:

   a) Were the five bands responding to some sort of crisis or
      external threat when they began working together infor-
      mally in the mid-sixties, and later formally beginning in
      1973?

   b) Were mutual similarity and familiarity among the five
      bands important factors in stimulating cooperative activi-
      ty? If so, how important were they?

   c) How important a role did consensus - or the recognition of
      common problems and goals among the five bands - play in
      the establishment of NVIA?

   d) Were there individuals who played a leadership role in the
      introduction of closer cooperative relations among the
      five bands? If so, how important a factor were these
      people?

   e) In the years leading up to the formation of NVIA in 1973,
      did the bands view themselves as communities open to
      neighbouring communities, did their members demonstrate
      boundary-spanning and environment-scanning propensities,
      and what were some of the factors which induced the bands
      to begin working together?

f) Was preliminary planning an important factor in NVIA's formative period in 1973 and, more specifically, did this planning ensure that participant bands clearly understood the purpose of the proposed joint undertaking, their own roles and obligations, the risks involved and the relationship between participant input and reward?

2. For the category of factors dealing with reward delivery, all thirty-six respondents were asked the following four questions:

   a) Has inter-band cooperation, as represented by NVIA, resulted in improved band access to resources, such as government funding for various programs and capital projects, key information, and technical-professional skills?

   b) Since the formation of NVIA, have the bands increased their ability to adapt to significant changes in government policy, economic conditions or other environmental influences?

   c) Have the bands been able to coordinate human, financial and physical resources more efficiently than they did prior to the formation of NVIA?

   d) Has inter-band cooperation led, through NVIA, to success in the achievement of common physical, economic and social development goals?

3. To determine the capability of the cooperative organization in maintaining its own momentum and sense of purpose, the thirty-six respondents were asked the following five questions:

   a) How effective has NVIA been in building and maintaining broad commitment to its own activities and goals among the membership in the five bands, band staff and its own staff, and how important a role has emotional zeal played in this process?

b) Has NVIA itself demonstrated an ongoing ability and
willingness to actively promote positive inter-band
relations?

c) To further its own goals, has NVIA been able to manage
change in its external environment?

d) How important are the bands' common geographical and
cultural characteristics in maintaining and strengthening
cooperative activities, and has NVIA been able to take
advantage of these shared characteristics?

e) Over the years, how successfully has NVIA dealt with
serious problems and threats?