COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
NORTHERN LAND USE PLANNING PROGRAM

By

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ABSTRACT

This study identifies and assesses the implications for community development in the Northwest Territories resulting from the structures and processes that have evolved from the Northwest Territories Northern Land Use Planning Program. Community development is described as a purposeful learning process whereby people identify their situation and plan and implement appropriate responses to it.

The original development strategies that have been applied to the Northwest Territories have been overwhelmingly modeled after the Western economic model, and have contributed to the dependency of northern communities upon government. Community development can help alleviate the powerlessness and economic and political dependency native northerners experience.

Community development literature argues that any process leaving out those most affected by decisions will not lead to self-reliance. The Northern Land Use Planning Program was established as a "community-based" process to resolve land use conflicts; its 1983 Basis of Agreement mandated the sharing of authority to make land use plans between the native organizations, and the federal and territorial governments.

The principle implication of the findings of this study is that although the Northern Land Use Planning Program is described as a community-based process, and has the potential and opportunity to develop structures and processes which contribute to community development in the Northwest Territories, it has done little to reduce dependency of communities on government. This is because the key elements of decision-making in the Northern Land Use Planning Program are held external to the communities.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past forty years, the lives of the people in the Northwest Territories (NWT) have undergone rapid change. Where once only aboriginal people lived a nomadic lifestyle, now can be found settlements, airports, modern utility systems, and industrial development. The modernization ideology that has driven development in the NWT held different values than the original inhabitants regarding the uses of land and resources. The differences in values and expectations led to conflict between the original inhabitants and those who came later. The Northern Land Use Planning (NLUP) Program was established in the early 1980s as one means of helping to integrate various land use expectations, thus helping to relieve land use conflicts.

The common focus of planning in general in the NWT has been to emphasize the end products such as documents or the construction of tangible objects such as roads and housing. Community development literature, on the other hand, stresses the importance of developing the community capacity to undertake greater control and responsibility over actions and programs that affect them leading to greater self-reliance in many aspects of their lives. In short, to take over the development agenda. The NLUP Program can potentially be used as a mechanism to strengthen the community development aspects of planning, thus assisting the communities in gaining greater "self-reliance." It is recognized that no individual or group is truly self-reliant. In this research, self-reliance is defined as an alternative to dependency-producing practices. This movement towards self-reliance can be aided by a community determining their development priorities.

The NLUP Program is part of the federal and territorial governments, native organizations, and communities, and has influenced and been influenced by political, economic and social factors. These political levels and factors are interrelated, and a change in one level often reverberates through other levels. The interrelationships indicate that effective change at one level requires commitment and change in others.
... since no condition and no event can be seen isolated, every problem is but a symptom of some deeper problem imbedded in the next larger subsystem; and that perception compels of a depth of humility guaranteed to turn the most evangelical reformer into a cautious planner (Webber, 1978: 155).

The need for greater community control in the NWT stems from historical political and economic development, and this need is reflected in current practice. Through the settlement of native land claims and the development of new government structures, native people hope to improve their economic and political position. The NLUP Program has the potential to facilitate communities acquiring some of the knowledge, such as a greater understanding of government decision-making structures, and skills, such as administration procedures, and accounting and management skills, that are required to regain control over many aspects of their lives.

1.1 **Purpose and Scope**

The purpose of this research is to examine the NLUP Program from a community development perspective. The term community development is fully developed and defined in Section 4.2. To build capacity for communities to undertake greater responsibility and authority over actions and programs that influence them, they must have both the opportunity to become full participants, and the necessary resources to be effective. The NLUP Program is examined with a view to its "success" in providing communities the opportunity and resources for their full participation in the development of regional land use plans, thus facilitating the evolution towards greater self-reliance.

The NLUP Program was established as a means to resolve land use conflict. As well as encompassing land use, the Program clearly influences social and economic development. This is acknowledged in the Program's definition of land use planning:

Land use planning is a systematic process of decision-making relative to the conservation, development, management, and use of land and resources .... Social, cultural, and economic interests of the human community are central to the policies that guide land use planning (DIAND, 1983: 2).

Different types of products can emerge from a process using this definition. One is a group of instruments which guide land use decisions, such as development plans and policy.
Another is the more intangible social and institutional relationships which arise, resulting in increased community knowledge and skills. This thesis focuses on the second product, emphasizing community involvement in the NLUP Program and decision-making processes.

It is argued that regional plans do not "make" land use decisions, but are tools that can effectively influence how land use decisions are made. The research does not enter the debate regarding the devolution of power and land use decision-making outside the NLUP Program.

The analysis of the existing NLUP Program provides evidence with regard to the establishment of future regional planning processes in the NWT, most notably through land claims. The thesis builds on the community development principle that those who are most affected by decisions must have a meaningful part in the decision-making process. It is proposed that the regional planning structures currently being negotiated between the federal government and the native organizations incorporate community involvement in land use planning decision-making processes.

1.2 Research Method

A combination of literature review and field research were used in carrying out the work. The theoretical foundation is based upon a literature review of northern development strategies and community development. The ability to apply the theoretical to actual practice within the context of the NLUP Program has been assisted by the author's 10 years residency and professional planning experience in the Northwest Territories (NWT), including almost 4 years working in the NLUP Program.

The field research comprises of structured interviews, and content analysis of: government letters, documents, and memos; various regional planning commission publications; regional planning workshop reports and minutes; and responses to proposed regional plans from various government departments, agencies, industry, and communities.

Structured interviews were conducted with 23 participants of the Lancaster Sound planning process immediately after publication of the final draft of the proposed regional plan.
Interviews were conducted with territorial and federal departments directly involved in the planning process; industry representatives; community representatives; and Lancaster Sound commission and staff members. All interviews were carried out by the author in English. When required for unilingual participants, a translator familiar with the NLUP Program was used. A complete list of organizations represented in the interviews and the interview questions are found in Appendix A. Those interviewed were guaranteed anonymity, thus providing a greater opportunity for objective and unobstructed insight into the reality and perceptions of the NLUP Program. The insights developed from the interviews and documents are applied and woven into the case study to illustrate key findings.

An invaluable source of additional historical information was obtained from government documents, memos, letters, and workshop proceedings. These were obtained from: the Northern Land Use Planning Office, Yellowknife; the Department of Renewable Resources, Government of the NWT, Yellowknife; and the Environment and Renewable Resource Directorate, Department of Indian and Northern Development (DIAND), Ottawa. A complete list of reference documents is found in Appendix B.

1.3 Chapter Organization

Chapter 2 describes the physical characteristics of the NWT, and introduces implications for community development. The environmental and physical characteristics impose severe limitations on human activity in the NWT, and must be understood and considered when discussing community development.

Chapter 3 presents a summary of the historical and cultural context of the NWT. It traces the path of the original inhabitants from a life of apparent economic, social, and political self-reliance, to one where many aspects of their lives are dependent on external forces. This chapter is intended to familiarize the reader with the NWT’s development history, and illustrate the rationale behind communities desire to regain control over the things that influence their lives, that is, shape the development agenda.
In Chapter 4 the theoretical framework for community development is presented. This chapter outlines the history of community development. It discusses the concepts of community and development from a northern perspective, and establishes the working definition of community development. In addition, it provides a summary of the potential benefits of and impediments to community development in the NWT.

Chapter 5 describes the NLUP Program. It focuses on the political arrangements which have guided the evolution of the institutional and decision-making structures that currently exist in various land use planning regions.

Chapter 6 analyzes the NLUP Program. It describes five elements of the Program which significantly affect the communities ability and motivation to effectively participate in the NLUP Program.

In Chapter 7, the implications of the structures that have evolved from the Program are examined with a view to their impact on community development and self-reliance.

Chapter 8 provides a summary and conclusion of the research.
2. THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Community development opportunities and the natural, capital, and human resources which facilitate it are conditioned by physical and social environments, as well as historical and economic development. The physical context within which community development and regional land use planning takes place today in the NWT is discussed below.

Until the Berger Inquiry (1974-1976) there were two predominant visions of the north: the first was based on romanticism, the second on resource exploitation. The romantic vision was rooted in the mythical quality of the landscape and the harsh reality of the climate. It was linked to images of exotic wildlife and native people surviving against all odds. Many Canadians use this vision of the north to help define themselves as "Canadian." The value or benefit of this vision to people is often not the result of direct experience, but exists independent of it. Canadians gain a satisfaction in the awareness that such areas exist. It is the notion of an open, free, and uncontaminated landscape that distinguishes Canada from the United States in the minds of many Canadians. In the words of Coates (1985), the north becomes a "state of mind."

In the second vision, the north is viewed as a resource waiting to be exploited and developed whenever and wherever feasible. Historically exploitation centres on the fur trade and whale harvest, dating back to the 1600s. The modern vision of exploitation coalesces around the search for oil and gas, and minerals, which began in earnest with the introduction of the modernization paradigm to the north in the 1940s. This vision has profoundly influenced the development of the north, and is discussed in Section 3.2.

Both visions of the north are fueled by Western values and attitudes, which are quite different from those of the original inhabitants of the region. This leads to a third vision of the north, which came to light in the 1970s with the Berger Inquiry. This vision is the view from a native perspective. In it, the land is seen as sacred, a source of life and sustenance not a
commodity to be bought and sold. The Berger Inquiry introduced the hinterland/homeland argument, and publicized the view of the north as a traditional homeland for native people.

2.1 **Physiography**

The NWT contains approximately 3.4 million square kilometers, and comprises approximately one-third of Canada's land area. The population density is less than one person per 100 square kilometers. The NWT holds 18 percent of Canada's fresh water, and spans four time zones. The sheer size and vastness of the area has led Hamelin (1979) to assert "there are many norths within the north" (See Figure 1).

The major geographical region is the Canadian or Precambrian Shield. It consists of rugged barren granite hills extending from Great Slave Lake in the west to Baffin Island in the east, encompassing more than half the NWT. It is covered with patches of muskeg and numerous lakes interspersed with bare and rocky outcrops. The Shield rarely rises more than 600 m in altitude, except in the east where it is tilted to form a mountainous fringe.

The Plains are the second largest region and include the Interior Plain, Arctic Lowlands, Arctic Coastal Plains, and Hudson Bay Lowlands. The Interior Plain lies between the Shield and the Cordillera Region of the Yukon boarder to the west. It is dominated by the Mackenzie River, flowing out of Great Slave Lake northwards to the Beaufort Sea. This is the only navigable river in North America that flows to the Arctic Ocean. The Arctic Lowlands lie north of the Arctic coast as far south as Melville and Ellesmere Islands, and in the Foxe Basin area. This area is comprised of sparsely vegetated tundra. The Arctic Coastal Plain stretches from the Yukon boarder across the Mackenzie Delta to Meighen Island. The Mackenzie Delta dominates this area and consists of lakes, swamps, and river channels. The Hudson Bay Lowlands are found northeast of James Bay, and have an elevation generally less than 90 m.

The third major region is the Innuitian Region situated north of the Arctic Lowlands and lying entirely in the northern Arctic islands. It is composed of mountains and basins ranging from 120 to 2400 m in elevation.
At the western edge of the Interior Plain lies a small portion of the Cordilleran Region. This encompasses significant mountains ranging in elevation from 900 to 2750 m (Outcrop, 1990; Armstrong et. al., 1978).

2.2 Climate

The vast geographical expanse of the NWT results in significant variations in climate throughout the year. Two major climatic zones, the Arctic and sub-Arctic, divide the NWT (See Figure 2). The Arctic zone is defined by the area in which the average daily temperature of the warmest month does not exceed +10°C, and is generally separated from the sub-Arctic zone by the tree line. Approximately half the mainland area and all the Arctic Archipelago are situated in this zone.

The winters in the sub-Arctic are longer and colder than in southern Canada, but the summers, while short, are warm. Temperatures stay below 0°C between October and April, with the average mean daily temperatures in Yellowknife between November and March at -23°C. Extreme winter temperatures have been recorded at -57°C. Summers are roughly comparable to the prairie provinces although the temperatures are lower. Temperatures seldom reach +29°C, but extreme temperatures have been recorded at +32°C. Average daily maximum temperatures in July are +21°C. Average precipitation ranges between 23 and 38 cm. Total snowfall is about 127 cm. During the summer, there are 20 hours of sunlight in the southern portion of this region, climbing to 23 hours in the north.

In general the climate of the Arctic region is colder and drier than that of the sub-Arctic. Winter temperatures often fall below -45°C for extended periods and rarely rise above +16°C in the warmest month. The mean temperature for January in Iqaluit, located on southern Baffin Island, is -26°C. Snow covers the ground for 8 months, with the greatest amount falling in October and November. Total snowfall is less than 75 cm annually. The greatest amount of precipitation falls in late summer and early autumn. Parts of the Arctic region are considered desert. The amount of sunlight received ranges from 20 hours...
Figure 2: Climate Zones of the Northwest Territories
to 24 hours in the summer. In the high Arctic, the sun falls below the horizon in October and does not return until March.

### 2.3 Permafrost

Permafrost describes a soil or rock condition where the temperature remains at 0°C for one year or more. The soil on and immediately below the surface thaws in the summer. Below this active layer, which is up to 2 m thick, is a perennially frozen layer. In general, the thickness diminishes with lower latitudes. Virtually the entire NWT is underlain by continuous or discontinuous permafrost.

Permafrost is a significant factor in northern development. Areas of permafrost are susceptible to shearing, heaving, and subsiding, and generally have poor drainage and a high concentrations of water. Permafrost presents the most serious geo-technical and engineering problems for physical development.

#### 2.4 Implications for Community Development

An examination of world wide economic development indicates that its distribution is limited mainly to temperate regions (Pearson and Pryor, 1978). The physical environment and its characteristics such as temperature extremes, freeze and thaw cycles, topography, and precipitation, have a profound influence on the economic, demographic, and human activity in an area (Swiderski, 1989; Pearson and Pryor, 1978). This has led to the concept of environmental determinism, which suggests there are areas that are not suited to large scale development because they are either too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry. The north has been placed within an area of negative environmental factors suggesting that its environmental and physical characteristics have imposed severe limitations of human activity, and development in general. Geographical and environmental factors in part provide the template for social and psychological processes, and are instrumental in shaping people's perceptions and values. These factors should be considered when discussing community development.
3. THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Original Inhabitants

The north has been occupied by humans since at least the last ice age, about 10,000 years ago. Some archaeologists speculate it has been as long as 27,000 years (Coates, 1985). The original Siberian inhabitants are believed to have crossed to Alaska over a land bridge created during periods of glaciation. Two distinct cultures developed: the Dene, who are Indians speaking the Athapaskan languages and occupy the area below the treeline; and Inuit, who occupy the tundra.

3.1.1 Pre-Contact Period

i) Dene

Prior to contact with Europeans, the Dene lived in small, nomadic bands or family groups of 10 to 30 people. These groups harvested the wide range of resources including fish, small and large game such as muskrat, moose, and woodland caribou, and gathered plants for food and medicine. Trees provided shelter, transportation, and fuel. In the winter, these small groups occupied the shores of larger lakes, where a constant supply of small game and fish could be found. In the summer, people traveled by canoes to major lakes where gatherings of up to 200 people might be found. These gatherings coincided with fish runs and served as a focus for the Dene's social and cultural system. Before winter set in, people would return to small groups.

Life on the land was harsh. It was characterized by high infant mortality rates, short life spans, difficult living conditions, and periodic starvation. Survival was dependent upon cooperation within the groups. Labour was organized along age and sex lines, with men
responsible for hunting large game and setting fish nets, and women and children responsible for the collection of small game. Women were also responsible for making clothes.

Within the groups, resources were distributed on the basis of mutual sharing. Dene assured themselves a supply of food in all but extreme situations by moving frequently, breaking into small groups as resource availability dictated, and using the full range of available resources. When the small groups were not able to maintain their self-sufficiency they would join with other small groups who were more fortunate. In this way, the principles of co-operation and mutual sharing found within the small groups was extended to all people of the region (Asch, 1977; Coates, 1985).

Leadership was usually a function of age, but the Dene chose different leaders for different needs, such as hunting, medicine, warfare, or powers over animals or other people. Political responsibilities and decision-making may have been made by a council or by the male heads of households. Councils would be convened to decide, by consensus, major moves or warfare. Everyone was involved in the discussion and decision. Often people followed an experienced hunter, but were free to move off on their own if they disagreed with the leader's decision (Barneby et. al., 1977; Brockman, 1989).

Thus, traditional Dene society survived harsh physical conditions, and was characterized by intimate acquaintance with land and wildlife. Survival depended on a mastery of an adaptable technology, cooperation with others in the group, the knowledge of the environment and the wildlife. Leadership roles were defined, and decisions were made cooperatively. People were allowed to chose their own path, however, if they did not agree with the group decision.
ii) Inuit

Pre-contact Inuit inhabited coastal regions of the north, with the exception of small numbers of Caribou Inuit who lived year round in the Keewatin Barren Lands. As with the Dene, harsh climactic and living conditions dictated that flexibility and mobility were required for survival. The land did not offer an abundance of resources, but by living in small nomadic groups and making adaptations as local conditions required, Inuit were able to live well. Adaptation and self-sufficiency were absolute necessities for survival. The technology that evolved was remarkable for its efficiency and simplicity (Balikci, 1970).

People were nomadic, following changes in weather, snow, wildlife, and ice conditions. Groups of families hunted and travelled familiar routes, occupying sites that were important to their people for generations. In the spring and early summer, families dispersed into small groups of wide ranging camps, hunting seal, walrus, and whale at the ice floe edge. During the summer and early autumn Inuit dispersed to hunt for caribou and fish for char. Family groups re-converged at the beginning of winter returning to the sea ice to hunt marine mammals. As with the Dene, life was characterized by high infant mortality, short life spans, difficult living conditions, and periodic starvation.

Winter seal meat was shared freely among close family members and distributed to other camp members. Group membership was flexible and individuals could call upon an extended and complex system of kinship for assistance. Life addressed itself to the problems of survival of the group in an extremely hostile environment. Groups depended on collaborative activities for hunting, distribution and consumption of food, borrowing, and helping during a crisis. Like the Dene, consensus was the main decision-making mechanism, and there was no formal government. Headmen were recognized as leaders of extended families and their authority was exercised informally, only after extensive consultation (Balikci, 1970).
Inuit society was thus characterized by the ability to adapt and gain knowledge about hostile conditions. Like the Dene, Inuit society was self-sufficient, relying on efficient technology. Tight knit family groups, characterized by mutual sharing, helped ensure survival. Decision-making was participatory, relying on group co-operation.

3.1.2 Post Contact Period

It is generally believed that European contact with the people of the Arctic began with the search for the Northwest Passage. Martin Frobisher made one of the first recorded voyages in 1576. Over the next centuries the area has been subject to waves of European interest, searching for and exploiting resources. Early whalers followed by fur traders established posts, thus recognizing the north as an area with economic value to the colonizing powers. Natives quickly identified the value of manufactured goods that were brought. Dene and Inuit social order was irrevocably changed once contact was made, and a re-ordering of their social and economic life followed. Contact with the Hudson's Bay Company introduced the barter and credit system to natives and encouraged specialization in the native lifestyle. The introduction of firearms gradually supplanted traditional hunting methods. The availability of metal tools and cloth began to replace tool making and traditional crafts. Diseases brought by traders easily spread throughout the trading routes, killing thousands of native people. The meeting of cultures brought the concepts of private land and land ownership, permanent settlements, alcohol, and external government control. The introduction of Western mores and values produced plural social and development goals and changed native people's lifestyle.

3.2 Economic Development in the Northwest Territories

Economic development in the NWT can be divided into two phases. The first phase was prior to c. 1940 when renewable resources were the main commercial interest. The second phase takes place during and after World War II, when non-renewable resources became the
corner stone of economic interest. It is important to observe that there are similar features in each phase. Each phase:

1) introduced capital and promoted settlement in the area;
2) entailed the removal of a staple resource;
3) is generated by forces external to the north;
4) has experienced cycles of boom and bust; and
5) has fostered a relationship of dependency of the people of the area on an external power.

The impact of such a pattern of export and dependency extends far beyond economics: the technology required to produce the staple exports helped change the lives of those involved in its production.

3.2.1 Pre-1940s: Renewable Resource Extraction

The major force shaping the northern economy prior to World War II was the fur trade. The direct involvement of native people began as far back as the late 1700s. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), which amalgamated with its rival the Northwest Company in 1821, had a virtual monopoly in the fur trade until 1870. Many of the conditions set out by the HBC helped create the economic framework in the north.

The HBC's efforts were concentrated south of the treeline. Between 1821 and 1850, due to primitive transportation routes, trade goods were brought in and out only once a year. The HBC relied on native hunters to carry trade goods inland and return to the posts with furs from other tribes. The significant changes in native economic life during this period was the adoption of items such as flour, tea, sugar, metal utensils, rifles, and cloth, which made life a little easier. However, people's survival still depended for the most part on local resources.

During the time of the HBC's monopoly, the fur trade was marked by stability. The monopoly was lost in 1870 leading to fierce competition from other traders and forcing the

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1 The historical development of the North is interpreted in many works, including Rea, 1968; Asch, 1977; Dacks, 1981; Robertson, 1985; and Coates, 1985.
HBC to provide more and cheaper trade goods. The fur trade underwent a complete transformation. Items such as the repeating rifle and steel traps were brought in. Steam transportation on the waterways was introduced leading to an increase in the quantity of staple items imported and exported. The intensity of trapping increased causing fur stocks to decline in many areas. To guarantee a supply of furs, the HBC introduced credit to trappers, and in some cases provided part time wage employment to natives to ensure they would stay in the area and return to the bush for the next trapping season.

By the middle of the 19th century, the Dene were dependent on the fur trade. Goods once considered luxury were now viewed as a necessity. By 1914 the natives were transformed from a virtual dependence on local resources to a lifestyle where a combination of both trade goods and local resources were significant for survival. The introduction of trap lines and trading posts encouraged a less nomadic lifestyle. Many families built permanent dwellings along trap lines or at fish lakes, while some gathered more permanently around trading posts. Summer gatherings were now almost always held at trading posts rather than at major lakes.

The first commercial whaling expedition off Baffin Island took place in 1818, and by the end of the century Inuit culture was interwoven with whaling. At the height of whaling, there were 150 ships in the eastern Arctic. In some seasons a single ship took more than 40 whales: one year a single ship took 20 whales in one day (Francis, 1984). Permanent whaling stations were established in the mid 1800s and ships began over-wintering in the Arctic. Sites were chosen close to Inuit camps to provide whalers access to fresh meat and Inuit clothing, and so Inuit could serve as guides and general laborers. Inuit adopted a mixed economy of hunting seals and caribou, and working for the whalers. In return, whalers traded for manufactured goods such as rifles, flour, metal utensils, and alcohol. By 1912, due to
changing consumer demand and depletion of whale stocks, whaling became an obsolete industry. The manufactured goods which Inuit by now had come to rely upon were supplied by the growing numbers of HBC posts in the eastern Arctic (Brody, 1987). Inuit began trapping white fox and supplying seal pelts to the HBC. In the winter, instead of living in communal groups hunting seal, Inuit now lived in small family groups trapping foxes.

The fur trade remained constant during the first part of this century until after World War II when fur prices began to fall dramatically. The increased standard of living that native people had come to rely upon was collapsing. Many of the traditional survival skills had slowly disappeared. Fundamental changes had been brought to all facets of the native's life. The family groups had been individualized, and the emphasis was now placed on nuclear families for survival instead of kinship groups. With the introduction of new economic arrangements, the formerly self contained native was now tied to an external market economy.

3.2.2 1940s to Present: Non-Renewable Resource Extraction

World War II marked the beginning of the non-renewable resource extraction phase of economic development in the north. Prior to this, there were only limited non-renewable resource discoveries and development, and they were discontinued during the depression (Nassichuk, 1987).

The advent of World War II brought a significant increase in the federal government's interest in northern non-renewable resource development. While native people had been integral to a renewable resource based economy, for the most part, they are excluded from the non-renewable resource based economy.

The growth of a non-renewable resource extraction economy was tied to developments during and after World War II. During the war, Canada's Arctic became an area of strategic importance. American military personnel constructed the Alaska Highway, a winter road from
the Mackenzie Valley to Alberta, and the Canol pipeline, all in anticipation of the need to defend an invasion from the Pacific (Coates, 1985). After the war, the Cold War sustained military activity with the construction of weather and radar systems, scientific research, and military training exercises. These activities helped southern Canadians form a new attitude and interest towards the north.

Soeverignty was a powerful incentive for Canada to take an interest in the north. During the intensive military activity from 1941-1946, it was estimated that American military population in northern Canada outnumbered Canadian residents by at least three to one, leading the federal government to establish a more effective state presence in the north (Judd, 1969a). With the release of the federal report Canada's New Northwest in 1947, for the first time the north was treated as an economic unit of the national economy, which was to be based upon non-renewable resource extraction. This attitude towards the north has been prevalent in all subsequent national economic policies (Abele, 1987; Coates, 1985). The interest in the north as the storehouse of Canada culminated in Diefenbaker's "Northern Vision," where the north was to be opened up by means of a new National Policy and would provide staple commodities to be exported to southern Canada. The national economy would be based on northern minerals and would provide export credit, jobs, and investment opportunities. The federal government would facilitate industrial development through programs and projects such as territorial roads, railways, and new oil and gas regulations, all intended to promote exploration and development.

The increased activity in the north led to much greater awareness in southern Canada of the circumstances and living conditions of northern native people. After the war native people were suffering from economic and physical hardships resulting from the decline in fur prices and exposure to diseases such as tuberculosis, polio, typhoid, and diphtheria. Mass starvation
was occurring in the Keewatin Region due to changes in caribou migration patterns. The results of these hardships were publicized in the rest of Canada (Fomoleau, 1973; Coates, 1985; Brody, 1987; Judd, 1969a), leading to the state response of the extension of full-scale administration in the north. Free or low rent housing was offered to natives inducing them to leave their nomadic lifestyle and settle in permanent settlements. This facilitated the government delivery of educational, medical, and social services. Northern people's hardships were perceived as a consequences of their "disadvantage" and lifestyle. As a result, long term strategies were devised for native people's assimilation into Canadian society, allowing them to overcome their disadvantaged circumstances and ensuring their full and equal participation as Canadian citizens in the wage economy, specifically the non-renewable resource wage economy.

i) Modernization

Although numerous calls for a northern development policy have been made, one has never been developed (Orvik, 1983). As a result conventional development theories, which do not address the unique characteristics of the north, have been relied upon. The major development theory influencing the last forty years of development in the north has been modernization. This development paradigm is characterized by reducing people's disadvantage by increasing industrial activity. It has been informed on the most part by a mainstream synthesis of ideas originating in the United States and Western Europe (Weaver and Gunton, 1982).

The core of modernization theory is the conflict between tradition and modernity. Modern development can only occur after traditional restrictions of culturally particular community allegiances are systematically replaced with institutions committed to individual mobility, and with the convergence of social values into a universal framework (Lockhart,
The object is to turn "underdeveloped" countries or regions into "developed" ones. The key to developing underdeveloped areas is through a diffusion of capital and modern values into the "backward" areas. It was assumed that any underdeveloped area would follow the same path to development as the present modern society (Munck, 1984). To attain development, capital must be allocated efficiently and must be free to move wherever it can most rapidly multiply through the accumulation of profits. There is rarely a discussion of how profits are distributed between the regions where the wealth is extracted (the periphery), and the economic centres which dominate development (the core). The implicit presumption is that everyone will benefit from this developmental strategy (Wallerstein, 1974). By the same token, the strategy requires that those who sell their labour should be free from community obligation to move wherever advantages and opportunities are the greatest.

The modernization paradigm is central to the government's attempt to assimilate northern native people while at the same time exploiting the natural resources. The emerging awareness of native people's hardships provided the government with a moral justification for their assimilation and exploitation policies. The Western view was that the native's disadvantage was the result of native people being unprepared for wage employment, as well as the absence of viable economic opportunities in the north. The remedy was wage employment facilitated by the introduction of health, education, and social welfare programs. This would help develop a native labour force and create business and employment opportunities made possible by the massive increase in the government supported exploitation of non-renewable resources. The rationale was that massive capital investment would provide the stimulus for socio-economic development at the community level through the trickle down of benefits. Special training and employment programs would ensure the involvement of native northerners (Rees, 1988). Jobs were to be provided by non-renewable resource activities,
which meshed with national economic policies. Once committed to take an interest in the north, the government decided there was no choice but to change the native style of life and replace it with Western culture's education, technology, and social organization (Judd, 1969b). This approach was developed without the involvement of the people towards whom it was directed.

For those native people who found themselves employed in non-renewable resource extraction industries, there were few lasting benefits due to the boom and bust nature of the economy. This phase of industrial activity in the north has further dislocated the northern native, forcing them into even greater dependency on government for shelter, services, and transfer payments. Development is no longer even remotely connected with the unique cultural values and lifestyles found in the north 2.

3.3 Political Development in the Northwest Territories

As with economic development, political development can be divided into two phases. The first phase prior to 1967, characterized by a colonial administration, and the second is after 1967, characterized by a transition towards responsible government 3.

3.3.1 Pre-1967: Colonial Administration

Prior to World War II, government administration of the north can at best be described as laissez-faire. For decades there was a preoccupation with national consolidation of the provinces, and federal interest in the north was sporadic. The official federal objective was to allow northern native people to follow their "natural mode" of living so they would not become dependent upon "white" man's food and clothing (Abele, 1987). Up until the middle of this

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2 The modernization paradigm is not limited to northern regions, but is global in scale. To some extent most people are affected by the internationalization of economics, technical change, and mass communication.

3 The political development of the Northwest Territories has been chronicled and interpreted by various authors including Rea, 1968 and 1977; Dacks, 1981; Coates, 1985; and Abele, 1987.
century, the North West Mounted Police (later the Royal Canadian Mounted Police) were the primary state representatives in the north, and their job was to maintain sovereignty and keep the peace. It was not until the discovery of oil in the Mackenzie Valley that the federal government showed any interest in the area. After oil was discovered at Norman Wells in 1921, Treaty 11 was signed between the Dene north of Great Slave Lake and the Government of Canada.

The North West Territories Act (1895), (later the Northwest Territories Act) established the powers of the territorial government. This Act allowed for the formation of the NWT Council. Before 1951 the Council was comprised of a group of civil servants located in Ottawa. At this time the NWT was granted elected representation on the Council which consisted of 8 members, with only 3 elected. All elected representation was from the Mackenzie district with no elected representation from the eastern Arctic. The Council did not become fully elected until 1975.

The NWT was administered from Ottawa until 1967 when the Government of the NWT (GNWT), distinct from the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND), was created. Until then, DIAND (known previously as the Department of Resources and Development, and the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources) was responsible for coordinating government activities in the north, administrating the Northwest Territories Act, and promoting northern development.

After World War II with the establishment of a full scale administration and expansion of the welfare state in the NWT, DIAND became responsible for virtually every aspect of the native northerner's life.

After 1951, some modest transfer of financial responsibilities to the Territorial Council occurred but in actuality the Territories were almost totally financially dependent upon the
federal government. This financial dependence was the federal government’s rationale for not increasing the NWT’s elected representation (Rea, 1968).

During the 1960s, appointments to the Council from private rather than only government sectors began. The first native member was not appointed until 1965, and in 1966 the area above the treeline was finally given elected representation. For the first time, elected members held a majority on the NWT Council.

The legacy of the colonial government on native people has been both positive and negative. Health care, transfer payments, and public housing helped to alleviate many hardships resulting from epidemics and the collapse of the fur trade. However, permanent settlements strained the traditional social patterns. People were no longer in control of many aspects of their life. This contributed to increased dislocation from traditional lifestyles. The establishment of an appointed administration with only limited elected representation supported the federal government’s assimilationist attitude.

3.3.2 Post 1967: The Transition Towards Responsible Government

The implementation of the Carrother Commission’s recommendations was a turning point in the political development of the NWT. The Carrother Commission was appointed to advise the federal government on the question of the development of government in the NWT. The report recommended, among other things, the movement towards NWT responsible government. This resulted in transferring the base of government from Ottawa to Yellowknife in 1967, and the creation of the GNWT.

In its initial stages the GNWT carried out mostly housekeeping responsibilities. It has progressively taken on provincial-type responsibilities. The federal government has a policy of transferring programs to the NWT Government, and today the territorial government has responsibility in the areas of education, local government, property and civil rights, direct
taxation, wildlife resource management, and social and economic affairs. Nevertheless, there is not a constitutional basis for these powers, and the territorial government still depends to a substantial degree on federal financial support. In 1989/1990, 73% of the territorial budget was from federal transfer payments. At present, the transfer of programs appears to be on hold pending the settlement of land claims.

Notwithstanding recent negotiations such as the Northern Accord 4, transfers to the territorial level are notable for the non-transfer of Ottawa's jurisdiction over natural resources. As a result, resource management and administration is for the most part a responsibility of DIAND, and thus the federal government remains a dominant actor and the ultimate authority in political development and land use decision-making.

The question of the legitimacy of the GNWT with respect to native people has arisen (Hamlin, 1975; Dacks, 1981; Whittington, 1986). Native people initially shunned participation in the GNWT in its early years. However, by the 1980s the majority of members of the Territorial Legislative Assembly were native 5.

A significant political trend in the 1970s and 1980s coincided with the development of the GNWT. This was the increasing participation of natives in the political process, and the transformation of their attitudes from one of apathy to one of greater political consciousness. This trend became manifest in the creation of various native political organizations such as the

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4 The Northern Accord Agreement in Principle was signed by the GNWT and the federal government in September 1988. The Accord, yet to be negotiated, will cover the management of oil and gas development and provide revenue sharing between the two governments. Negotiations are on hold until land claims are settled.

5 It is interesting to note that despite the concern for culturally appropriate government, the new Nunavut Territory will in all likelihood follow the existing model of the Government of the NWT. One major difference will be that the first language of the government will be Inuktitut. This illustrates the difficulty of implementing a government structure based solely on cultural tradition within the larger economic and political structures of Canada.
Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), the Metis Association of the NWT, the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT (IBNWT) which later became the Dene Nation, and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). Their mandates have been to assert the special relationships between themselves and the state at large, and to politically educate and mobilize their members. By the 1980s, these native organizations were participating in territorial politics and were using this forum to advance their political goals. This participation resulted in the local balance of power shifting dramatically to native organizations, thus providing a means for native people to express their views. In 1979 voters elected a new legislative assembly with a native majority and with the non-native representatives determined to respond to native concerns.

3.3.3 Local Government

Because native traditions did not include a formal government structure, local government in the NWT was initiated by senior federal government officials. In the 1950s, the federal government tried to establish settlement councils consisting of elected representatives based on a Western local government model. The goal was to educate people for their assimilation into liberal democratic model. This was largely unsuccessful.

In 1967, the territorial government continued the forms of local government previously established. As before, its functions, structures, and processes incorporated Western political values and cultural patterns. Once again it was assumed that development of local government in the north would follow the same pattern that had occurred in other areas of Canada.

As with the territorial government, the question of legitimacy of the local government structures has arisen (Zariwiny, 1977; Bean, 1977; Hamlin, 1979; Wolfe, 1988). It has been argued that the system chosen imposed a pre-determined and alien structure for decision-making which did not consider traditional institutions such as tribes and clans, nor did it support traditional decision-making processes such as consensus. It was assumed that local
governments would be concerned mainly with issues such as roads and sewage, but according to Bean (1977) these topics would only be of concern to a culture based on property ownership. Local governments were not given the opportunity to set their own priorities.

In 1988, the Executive Council of the GNWT embarked on a major initiative with respect to community government. The release of Directions for the 1990s affirmed the commitment to shaping a local government within which devolution, delegation, and public access could operate. The Municipal Act, which provided for the creation of incorporated local government, was repealed and replaced with the Charter Community Act; the Cities, Town, and Villages Act; the Settlement Act; and the Hamlet Act. Most importantly for community development purposes, the Charter Community Act allows communities to design their own charter or constitution, within the limitations of the statute. For the first time the relationship between a band and the community government can be legally defined within the local government structures. The Charter could state that the community council and band council must hold joint meetings to discuss issues prior to being voted upon, or that a band council must approve a resolution or by-law before it receives final reading.

A new policy, also identified in Directions for the 1990s, was the GNWT Transfer Policy. In recognition of the need for good community government and the desire for aboriginal self-government, this policy lays out the process of devolution and delegation of government programs such as housing, social services, school boards, and health boards to local government. Within the Act and Policy, communities must ask for the development of a new Charter and seek the responsibility for devolution or delegation of a responsibility. They must demonstrate to the appropriate minister their ability to assume the responsibility. Critics suggest that the GNWT is still maintaining a greater control over decision-making at the local level than is necessary. The government is still perceived as "granting" powers to the
communities, and in some cases are hesitant to turn over programs. Devolution involves the turning over of resources to the community government for the delivery of programs: policy development remains with the central government.

Regardless of the drawbacks, the Charter Community Act and the GNWT Transfer Policy are innovative steps towards a form of local government which reflects people's values and culture, and gives the local government the ability to administer programs which reflect local needs and priorities.

3.4 Conditions in Northern Communities Today

Government policies over the last forty years have officially been directed to provide native people with the means to fully participate in the Canadian political and economic structures. The modernization strategy and the expansion of the welfare state has touched almost every aspect of native society, but not with the results anticipated by the federal government.

An examination of literature on the social and economic conditions in communities in the NWT (Swiderski, 1989; Wolfe, 1989; Irwin, 1989; SCONE, 1989) reveals the following:

- There is high unemployment of northern natives in the formal wage sector. In 1988 the unemployment rate was 27% in traditional communities, compared with 7% in the larger NWT centres, and 8% in the rest of Canada.

- Native people are less likely to complete high school than other Canadians. Sixty-six percent of NWT natives have less than a grade 9 education, and only 15% of the native population complete high school. While non-aboriginal people make up less than half the NWT population, in 1987-1988 there were 151 non-native high school graduates, compared to 72 native graduates.

- There is a lack of skills and a low level of interest in the traditional economy, especially among young people.

- There are few opportunities for wage employment outside the public sector.

- There is a high incidence of increasingly complex of health problems. The infant mortality rate is three times as high for natives as non-natives in the NWT.
• There is a high demand for housing resulting in extremely crowded living conditions.

• There is a high incidence of social problems, including vandalism, breaking and entering, alcohol and substance abuse, suicide, and family violence.

• There is a lack of opportunity and access to appropriate job training or higher education. Only 1% of NWT natives attend university, compared with 16% for the total Canadian native population.

The legacy of modernization is that families that were once able to live fairly independent lives have become dependent on government support. Benefits from industrial development and the establishment of government structures, both overwhelmingly modeled by Western standards, rarely "trickle down" to the community level. There are few opportunities for advanced education, jobs, and training in traditional communities. A lack of traditional education and the loss of language and culture has had a widespread impact on native people, their social lives, and their institutions. People have responded to these changes by trying to gain back control over the things that matter to them.
4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 The History of Community Development

Community development has become a major force of social change throughout the world. The term has been used with various meanings and has undergone major shifts in emphasis, but its basic principles have remained intact. The working definition used in this thesis is:

Community development is an educational process in which members of a community define their situation, and plan and implement appropriate responses to it, leading to a strengthening of a community's human and institutional relationships.

To understand the evolution of community development in the north, the rise of community development as a worldwide phenomenon, and a brief history of its growth in Canada, is described.

4.1.1 The Rise of Community Development

Community development is most widely traced from the end of World War II. Prior the war, it was referred to as adult education or mass education. Many community development activities were taking place in outreach efforts by universities and religious groups (Cary, 1979; Lotz, 1977). These early efforts did not rely on experts nor were they official government policy, but instead were initiated and implemented through experimentation.

From an international perspective, community development was first associated with the process of de-colonization of British Colonial Africa. The United Nations was instrumental in the emergence and subsequent diffusion of community development throughout the world. The term was first used in 1948 in the British Colonial context, and in 1955 the British definition was taken over, almost intact, by the United Nations. This definition is:

Community development can be tentatively defined as a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest reliance upon community initiative (Cited in: Lotz, 1967: 7).
Examples of early community development are documented in cases from India, the Philippines, Africa, and Mexico, all indicating a wide ranging goals. For instance: in India its goal was to orient the rural population to modern technology; in the Philippines to establish regional and local units of government; in Africa to hasten the achievement of national independence; and in Mexico to prepare rural people for a western economy while retaining as much culture and tradition as possible (Legasse, 1967). Although varying goals were cited, community development efforts had a number of elements in common. These were:

1) program development and goal setting was a centralized function;

2) community development was aimed at enabling local populations to "meet" the developed world by helping people change traditional folk cultures to one which would be more adapted to the 20th century industrial way of life; and

3) efforts were in some way a response to colonialism and the dependency that it created.

By 1965 most international community development programs had been terminated or drastically cut back. This has been attributed to:

1) the failure of community development to build grassroots democratic institutions; and

2) the failure of community development to improve the economic and social well being of rural people, or make any clear contribution to national economic goals (Voth and Brewster, 1989: 294).

Critics began to question the ability of community development in carrying out the basic task of human development:

In many countries, community development was thought of as taking care of the "human aspects" of economic development, many of which were not amenable to community level solutions. Community development was therefore overburdened with unrealistically high expectations (Warren, 1972: Cited in Cary, 1979: 34).

A re-thinking of community development took place. The 1970s gave rise to a new development agenda focussing on appropriate technology, labour-using strategies, self-reliance, equitable growth and income distribution, and local participation (Uphoff and
Esman, 1984). In the 1980s, the emphasis was on the private sector role in international development (Voth and Brewster, 1989).

Legasse (1967) argued that the chief merit of the early community development was to erect government approaches to development that meshed with the practices of some of the best known economic planners and social reformers of the past century. The trend towards planned change enabled people to plan for and participate in programs that affected their lives. Others (Lotz, 1971; Sim, 1971; Chekki, 1979; Roberts, 1979) have argued that many community development processes throughout the world were used as a simple way to solve complex problems, and a short cut to economic solvency, social stability, and political efficacy. In many cases, the community development process did not solve problems but instead created them through co-optation, raising high expectations, and ill conceived projects. Chekki (1979) argues community development was established as a movement and technique, but a movement without the support of the masses. Instead, internationally it had been designed almost exclusively with the support of developed countries for their benefit.

4.1.2 Community Development in Canada

In Canada, official interest in community development emerged in the late 1950s. Early initiatives grew in conjunction with concern for native people's living conditions. To both the provincial and federal governments, community development was viewed as a panacea for the problems of native poverty and dependency.

Provincially, community development began in the late 1959 in Manitoba in response to Indian and Metis living conditions. The establishment of a community development program as a method to help native people solve their own problems was recommended to the provincial government (Campfens, 1979). Much of the efforts were aimed at skill and competence building which was successful at the local level (Lotz, 1987).

Other provincial governments and the federal government quickly followed suit using community development as a method of dealing with poverty. Many of the objectives included:
developing leadership and self-government; improving community education; building community organizations; and promoting economic development. By the mid 1960s, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario established community development agencies, all with centralized administrative authorities (Campfens, 1979). These agencies have been criticized for their top down structure, and because they attempted to provide overly simplistic solutions to complex issues. For the most part these efforts were unsuccessful. In the eastern provinces, community development initiatives were taken in response to rural regional and economic underdevelopment and resulted in programs attempting to revitalize local economies.

The direct federal role in community development is most significant in relation to native people. In 1963 DIAND initiated a community development program aimed at breaking native people's dependency on government by training community development officers and promoting economic and social development. The program was met by an uncooperative bureaucracy leading to the transference of the program's administration to Indian associations in various provinces (Campfens, 1979). Other federal initiatives were aimed at decreasing poverty of the rural poor. Federal community development programs during the 1960s and 1970s included: the Agricultural Rehabilitation Development Act, the Company of Young Canadians, Opportunities for Youth, Local Initiative Program, and Local Employment Assistance Program. These programs were criticized for their vagueness in objectives and centralized technocratic approach to community development.

In the Northwest Territories, within the GNWT there is no one focus for community development efforts. Instead community development is dispersed among different departments, including: the NWT Housing Corporation; the Department of Education; the Department of Municipal and Community Affairs; the Department of Social Services; and the Department of Renewable Resources.
With increasing government fiscal restraint in the 1980s, community development became increasingly attractive as a solution to alleviate unemployment at the local level. Critics of government community development initiatives believed that government programs had become distanced from and unresponsive to local conditions. Consequently, community-based initiatives emphasizing community have arisen. Results can be seen in worker owned cooperatives and collectives, the development of local exchange trading systems, and in an increasing return to volunteer activities.

From its beginnings in Canada, community development continues to evolve. The emphasis is shifting from economic development to a more integrated community-based development which involves capacity building in the community. Development of alternative economic structures which take into consideration the environment, quality of life, and cooperation among people can be found as the result of recent community development efforts.

4.2 Towards a Community Development Definition

Community development is most often viewed as a process, but it is also valid to view it as a method, product, and social movement. These views are not mutually exclusive. Two major concepts must be explored before a definition of community development can be arrived at. These are the concepts of "community" and "development."

4.2.1 Community

Aristotle asserted that people came together in a communal setting for the enjoyment of mutual association, to fulfill basic needs, and to find the meaning of life. Thomas Hobbes viewed community quite differently: community was a natural process of people coming together to maximize their self-interest. Tonnies used the term Gemeinschaft, linking community with tradition and a natural setting. There was no choice of membership but community was an end in itself. It is generally agreed that the rise of industrialization and individualism has led to the disintegration of the community as Tonnies described it. Traditional relationships that formed the basis of meaningful associations for the individual
have eroded. Nisbit (1953) defined the problem of modern society not as the loss of the traditional context, but the failure of industrial society to create new contexts of association. For writers such as Nisbit, this quest for community is an overwhelming feature of the 20th Century Western society.

In contrast, there is a view of community as utopian and representing myth rather than reality (Gusfield, 1975; Tinder, 1980). Although this view acknowledges that the quest for community is timeless and universal, community is still considered a myth, and as such, unobtainable. In this view people are prone to subordinate everything to their own pleasures and pre-eminence, rather than work towards the cooperation and communal possibilities that community requires. These contrasting views underlie community literature and highlight the difficulty in defining the term "community."

In the north, communities are not "industrialized." Traditional customs and beliefs are still one part of the native people's lives, and the sharing ethic is part of the traditions that have survived in the hearts and minds of people. The cultural, economic, and political history of the north, as outlined in Chapter 3, indicates that native people have certainly undergone major changes in the structure of their traditional community as a result of contact with non-natives. It is essential for communities to adapt and change if they are to endure. In the north, native communities have sometimes faced the problems that Nisbit identified: they have lost the traditional contexts for their association and the creation of new ones is problematic. Change happened with great speed and far reaching consequences. Some people wish to return to a "traditional" lifestyle, while others wish to take the best from the past and present, and create a new future.

Community is often associated with an easily identifiable geographic locality. To think of community in this way alone however is limiting. In large urban areas community as a geographic definition is almost meaningless. This concept disregards the important factor of "common interest." Geographical location, however, is an important factor in defining
community in the north. Vast distances, limited transportation links between settlements, and climactic limitations, bind those living together with common interests. Interestingly enough, knowledge of geographical location is vital in the survival of a community through a shared knowledge of the extent of people's traditional uses of the land. The use of land and its resources is so vital for native northerners that the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (1976), which details historical and present land and marine environment use and occupation, formed the basis of the TFN and COPE comprehensive land claim negotiations. It is the ability to know where to hunt, trap, and fish that supports traditional pursuits. Both the psychological value of living together and the knowledge of the land helps define a northern community.

Technology and communication can bring people with common interests together regardless of physical distances between them. As such, the notion of community can be greatly extended. In the north, technology and communication have helped native organizations become established and extend their physical areas of interest.

In community development terms, community begins with the recognition of the crucial role of shared interests, needs, and commitments (Roberts, 1979; Lockhart, 1985). According to Christenson et. al. (1989), community must have four different components: people, place or territory, social interaction among people, and the idea of common attachment of psychological identification.

In the north, some of the traditional concepts of community have survived. People have generally remained in cohesive, cooperative groups, bound together by shared interests and physically isolated from the rest of the territories and southern Canada. This depiction is not meant to suggest that northern communities are free from conflict: communities are seldom unified groups of people. A single community viewpoint is often obscured by factionalism and differing interests within the community and this frequently occurs in northern communities.
4.2.2 Development

Development implies change, progress, improvement, growth, and in the modernization sense, a movement towards that which is "Western." It has historically been assumed to be a linear, one way process. Human groups were expected to move from a less developed to more developed state. Until recently few challenged the limits and social impacts of growth (Axinn, 1977).

In the NWT development has most often been dominated by this Western view. As discussed in Section 3.2.2, government policies supported the theory that large scale industrial development would bring benefits of employment opportunities to all northerners. Built into this view are the conventional liberal economic beliefs that:

- economic production factors must be free from social and political inhibitions to ensure optimal use and maximum growth;
- capital must be free to move wherever it can most rapidly multiply; and
- those who sell their labour should be free from community obligations to go wherever the opportunities are the greatest.

This Western view is inappropriate to apply in the community development context. Indeed, many analysts (Lockhart, 1987; Roberts, 1979) have argued, development without respect to the integrity of the land and without people, cannot be termed community development. Community development adds a new dimension to the industrial concept of development. It is associated with improvement rather than growth, and focuses on social, psychological, and institutional transformations in a community (Christenson et. al., 1989). Development, when placed in relation to a wider order of activities in the community, promotes a long range commitment rather than short term, purely money-making strategies.

In a community development context, development is associated with "improvement" in a community. Improvement as a result of development can be illustrated in a number of ways, including: a shift in attitude from quantity of consumption to quality of life; human
development rather than only physical development; and the potential for locally ensured livelihoods rather than job promises for "outsiders."

4.2.3 **Community Development Defined**

Saunder (1958), (cited in Christenson et. al, 1989), presents a four dimensional typology of community development: community development as a process, as a method, as a program, and as a movement.

1) **Community Development as a Process**: Implicitly emphasized is the process of change in human communities. Change is preceded by a series of steps aimed at community self-reliance. Abstractly, it is increasing the ability of communities to make collective decisions about things that affect them, these decisions are illustrated through plans and implementation strategies. Education, which is equated with capacity building, is the most important factor of community development as a process. Although implying a systematic approach to change, community development as a process is assumed to be flexible, therefore adapting to the unique needs of each community. As a process, it is perceived as a way in which people may evolve their own formulae which serve them best. Emphasis is placed upon what happens to people both socially and psychologically.

2) **Community Development as a Method**: As a method community development seeks to pursue specific goals. It is not the end in itself that is emphasized, but a means in achieving that end. It is a method of working with people, an approach to delivering a service, and a means of achieving certain specific objectives. Community development as a method is most closely linked with centrally controlled programs, and as such, is less attentive to the needs at the local level.

3) **Community Development as a Program**: As a program, community development is task oriented and involves a number of activities that may be evaluated upon completion. It is a combination of plans and strategies for achieving a concrete, tangible
objective, and is not concerned with products that cannot be evaluated. Even if community development is emphasized as a process or method, often a program of activities follows either formally or informally.

4) **Community Development as a Movement**: As a movement, community development is a set of values and aspirations, and an ideology that emphasizes the principles of "progress" in the community. Progress is a philosophical, not a scientific, concept in this view. As a movement, the philosophy of community development is emphasized as interpreted by its believers. When linked with a movement, community development often runs the risk of promoting unrealistically high expectations and the belief that it is a panacea which will achieve immediate results.

In practice, community development is an integration of process, method, program, and movement: these dimensions cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. The typology presented is useful because it illustrates the range of community development thought, all which are valid under various circumstances. In practice it is not feasible to make rigid distinctions between these analytical models.

The understanding of "community", "development", and the community development typologies leads to the community development definition which is used in this thesis:

**Community development is an educational process in which members of a community define their situation, and plan and implement appropriate responses to it, leading to a strengthening of a community's human and institutional relationships.**

A basic element inherent in this definition, and which Roberts (1979) believes is at the heart of all community development, is the collective learning process. People have a capacity for and are capable of cooperation and learning. The general objective of community development is to increase local competence and self-confidence, which will lead to greater self-reliance. A process by which improvements are achieved is essential to a definition of community development. As a learning process community development implies changes in the
behavior of people, and just as importantly, changes in institutional and social structures. The result is that the community is both improved and empowered, and these qualities can be used as a basis for further improvement and empowerment.

4.2.4 Elements of Community Development

Community development literature reveals a number of elements that have been associated with successful community development initiatives.

1) **Leadership**: A fundamental requirement for community development is that the managers of the process must be from the community: an external source will not be able to maintain interest and enthusiasm. Continuous leadership helps groups learn how to perform roles essential to the accomplishment and maintenance of the task. Local leadership is so vital to a successful community development process that it has been described as the human foundation for social action and community development (Garkovich, 1989).

2) **Balance Between External and Internal Resources**: Successful community development does not rely on external resources but builds upon local skill and resources. External resources are often a necessary part of community development, however it is how these resources are best integrated into the project without loss of community control, determination, and strength that helps determine its success.

3) **A Community Initiated Process**: Essential to a community development process is the commitment and participation of community members. Without this contribution and commitment the initiative runs the risk of overextension of leaders and the isolation of the initiative from the community as a whole. Ideally, community development is aimed at increasing community competence in managing its own affairs. Value is placed in the experience gained by doing. In the final analysis, community development is the purposeful action of local people. Whatever the amount of effort supplied by other
levels (municipal, territorial/provincial, federal) community development is a local action process.

To believe that this process can be "sweetened" by the governments apparent willingness to encourage popular participation thorough advisory bodies, task forces, and all sorts of commissions, avoids the crucial issue: real participation occurs not when it is centrally decreed, but only when citizens recognize it as meaningful and effective on their own terms (Bregha, 1971: 81).

4) Local Control: The ability to exercise local control is an important instrument in community development. According to a recent community development study, "local control and ownership of the activity is important to reducing alienation, to promoting self-esteem, and to creating greater self-reliance" (Rees and Hulchanski, 1990: 82). As long as community development operates within the context of external control it cannot be assumed that the process would be responsive to community ideals, values, and concerns.

5) Community Institution Building: Often ad hoc groups are assembled at the outset of a project to sustain the level of activity. The strengthening of existing or development of new institutions is important for broadening the base of community participation. To maintain the usefulness of new institutions, a number of must be considered:
   i) to guard against the new institution becoming a special interest group, efforts must be made to broaden its base;
   ii) the institution requires adequate support including financial, technical, and political;
   iii) training programs for members should be systematic and spread over long periods of time; and
   iv) the institution should become autonomous as soon as possible (United Nations, 1971: 151).

6) Sense of Accomplishment: Often those involved in community development recognize a newly found sense of direction and self-confidence from identifying their problems and collectively determining the directions they wish to move in. In successful community development efforts this is often coupled with a sense of
accomplishment and recognition that people have been able to deal with controversial community issues.

These six elements are important to consider and will be used to analyse the NLUP Program in relation to community development efforts.

4.3 Community Development in the Northwest Territories

4.3.1 The Value of Community Development in the NWT

The northern economy is dependent upon outside economies for its market, capital, and much of its labour force. Although the majority of the development in the north has been manifest in large scale industrial development, Lockhart (1985) argues it is not the size of the development that runs counter to community development principles but the degree to which outside agents share knowledge and control mechanisms of the development.

Any policy that leaves developmental planning decisions primarily to those who do not have to live with the outcomes, or who can insulate themselves from the negative effects through the privatization of benefits and the socialization of costs, has not and will not lead to local, regional, or national levels of self-reliance (Lockhart, 1985: 26).

The industrial development scenario in the NWT has often ignored the human conditions of local people. In a struggle towards "progress," the government's policies fostered economic dependency, as manifest in transfer payments, social disintegration, as manifest in high levels of suicide and family violence, and a lack of real political influence of native people.

There has been a rapid and dramatic increase in the political awareness of aboriginal people in the 1970s and 1980s. Progress has been made in areas of the political system. However it is argued by Whittington (1986) that native people generally remain powerless in the over-all political process. Native people have recently demonstrated that they can "win" some political battles, most notably during the summer of 1990 with the defeat of Meech Lake.
However, these successes are rare.

Although there has been a significant mobilization and organization of native people in the past decade, significant patterns of native political behavior still indicates a lack of confidence, or low feelings of efficacy, in their ability to affect the political decisions that touch upon their lives (Whittington, 1986: 5).

For this reason, any development strategy in the north should not be strictly an economic issue, but also include political and social issues.

This argument is put forward by advocates of northern community development (Dacks, 1986; Lockhart, 1985; Rees, 1986; Rees and Hulchanski, 1990). There is a general agreement that for communities to develop and implement responses to their particular situation and foster self-reliance, social, political, and economic factors must be built into development strategies. In practical terms, such a complex agenda may be difficult to achieve and manage.

A considerable body of community development and community planning literature regarding the north exists. Based on an assessment of this, potential benefits of community development in the north can be identified as:

1) With the increased movement towards self-government, self-determination, decentralization and devolution of government programs to the community level, Boothroyd (1984) argues that there are three major areas where planning can have a useful role. These are:

- planning within self-governing communities;
- planning for self-government; and
- planning under present structures to gain experience for self-governing roles.

2) Community development helps enable a community to understand the potential contribution and the impacts, both positive and negative, of infrastructural, economic, social services, and cultural enrichment programs delivered by agencies.

3) A community can establish its own long and short term priorities. For example the Dene Community Development Program was designed for communities to identify their needs, concerns, and impacts as a result of the Norman Wells pipeline construction.
The result was that the program concentrated on social impacts in communities, such as alcohol and drug abuse. The Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (1989) attempts to follow a similar philosophy. The key goal of this strategy is to "provide long term employment and business opportunities ... and give (aboriginal people) the means to manage effectively their own business enterprises, economic institutions, job training, and social development" (Canada, 1989: 5). A community may then decide that recreation programs, alcohol abuse and family counselling, and a multi-purpose community centre are its priorities, rather than infrastructure improvements, which are priorities of conventional development. Such priorities however are difficult to achieve by consensus. Communities have little difficulty in developing "wish lists" of programs, activities, and developments they find desireable, but community factionalism often prevents priority setting. In actual practice, there are many factors which must be considered when prioritizing needs in a community. For instance, if a safe water supply is not in place, this is forced to the top of the development agenda.

4) Community development helps a community come to grips with the necessity of allocating and mobilizing scarce resources to community-identified priorities.

5) It enables an examination of the impacts of internal change and external forces from a community perspective.

6) It can assist a community to deal with a particular political reality: that of responding to externally set priorities, agendas, and plans.

7) It provides a mechanism for community education, and focus for community activities.

8) It places responsibility for taking initiatives and making decisions in the hands of the community. As such, it is consistent with the move toward political autonomy and aboriginal self-government, while addressing the pressing day to day issues which face

Modernization has contributed to the disintegration of traditional native society and left people with a profound dissatisfaction with the political, economic, and decision-making structures. The ideals and values implicit in community development philosophy has led to its emergence as a meaningful method to increase people's self-reliance and decrease dependence on external factors.

4.3.2 Limitations of Community Development in Northern Native Communities

The potential of community development needs to be examined from its limitations as it applies to northern communities. By examining northern development literature and development literature in general, (Boothroyd, 1984; Lockhart, 1982; Swiderski, 1989; Wolfe, 1988) and observing the approach to planning taken by DIAND and the GNWT, a number of limitations to community development in native communities emerge. These include:

1) **Basic Needs**: Basic needs has been identified as "those which must be met in order that the individual may participate effectively and continuously in the social and economic life of the community" (Smith, 1983: 354). Considering the vast array of problems in native communities (as outlined in Section 3.4) it is difficult for communities to set community development priorities when even the most basic necessities such as clean water, adequate housing, and adequate food, are lacking. Full participation of people is inconceivable if basic needs are not first met.

2) **Community Leadership**: Leadership and continuity are viewed as vital to successful community development. Lack of leadership is a serious limitation to the effectiveness of community development and inhibits an effective community-based process. The following factors are essential to an understanding of this limitation in the northern context:
• Small communities have only a small pool of resources to draw upon. In native communities, leaders and community staff are few in number and may have limited formal education. As more responsibility is devolved, the demands placed on the limited local capacity increases.

• Native leaders must often deal with both local concerns and national aboriginal issues such as land claims and self-government, further stretching their time and availability.

• Leaders may not be able to manage tensions within the communities. Tensions may arise between the traditionalists and modernists, or between the elders and youth.

• Due to the scarcity of people able to work at territorial and national levels, local leaders are often lured away to higher paying jobs, draining the limited community human resources.

• The scope and range of issues is so vast that in many cases, they become unmanageable.

3) **Centralized Controls**: Decision making powers are still held with central governments which are located in regional centres, Yellowknife, or Ottawa. Swiderski (1989) concluded that in the current framework of special purpose bodies in the communities, 64% are directly accountable to GNWT rather than local government. This indirectly encourages and results in significant dependency on the GNWT for administration and political leadership, thus detracting from the relative and perceived power of a community to develop and maintain decision-making control.

4) **Lack of Facilitation Skills**: Successful community development depends upon the right balance of community resources and outside resources. According to Lockhart (1982) in any organizational process, including community development, two kinds of knowledge is necessary. First, the insider's understanding of the particular community processes and dynamic, and second, the outsider's understanding of mainstream organizations and technology through which social, political, and economic options are made available. Central to the outsider's view is their understanding, as far as is possible, of the community dynamics which may render options successful. According
to Wolfe (1982) there is a lack of experts who can work with aboriginal people in the mutual learning mode required for successful community development.

5) Lack of Community Level Skills: Insufficient education has been identified as a central problem in achieving development (Wolfe, 1989). Although the GNWT's policies stress education and skill promotion, as discussed in Section 3.4, NWT natives have some of the lowest educational levels in Canada. The lack of formal education must be recognized as a limiting factor to many community development programs.

6) Factionalism: Communities are seldom unified groups of people, and given the limited scale of communities in the north, community attempts to set priorities may be divisive. Schisms may be forced into the open and exacerbated by the community development process.

The preceding chapters have given a description and interpretation of how northern communities have evolved to their present state, and has outlined concepts of community development with their application and limitations for the north. Community development has emerged as a tool to be used to help overcome the powerlessness pervading native people's lives as a consequence of the conventional development strategies used to date. The next sections will turn to the case study of the Northern Land Use Planning Program to explore it as a forum for helping to develop a community base for successful development.
5. THE NORTHERN LAND USE PLANNING PROGRAM

In this chapter the events leading to the establishment of the NLUP Program are outlined, and the structures which guide the subsequent development of regional planning processes is described. It is argued that the Program was initiated as a result of economic and political pressures, not as a result of community interest pressures, laying the foundation for the NLUP Program's success or failure in promoting community development objectives.

5.1 The Northern Land Use Planning Program

5.1.1 The Origins of the Northern Land Use Planning Program

The combination of physical, economic, political, cultural, and historical characteristics as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 have helped make the NWT a focal point for land use conflicts. During the latter part of the 1970s it became apparent that the piecemeal approach taken to land use, resource development, and environmental concerns was not adequate in the face of pressures generated by non-renewable resource developments. Factors contributing to a recognition of the need for an effective land use planning system in the NWT include the following milestones:

- **The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (The Berger Inquiry)**
  - 1977
  - Established as the result of a pipeline proposal in the Mackenzie Valley. The Inquiry recommended that comprehensive land use planning be undertaken that related to the land use conflicts it identified.

- **Inuvialuit Land Claim Agreement in Principle**
  - 1978
  - Included provision for land use planning on settlement lands.

- **Lancaster Sound Environmental Assessment Review Process**
  - 1979
  - Initiated as the result of proposed oil and gas development in Lancaster Sound. The Lancaster Sound Report was released concluding a broad review was required for present and future land use in the Lancaster Sound study area.
Federal Draft Cabinet Paper on Land Use Planning 1980

• DIAND forwarded first draft to other federal departments, GNWT, and native organizations.

Cabinet Policy on Land Use Planning 1981

• The Minister of Indian and Northern Development announced the Cabinet Policy on Land Use Planning.

Lancaster Sound Green Paper 1982

• The Lancaster Sound Region: 1980-2000 was released. It recommended the establishment of a process to resolve land use and management conflicts in the region.

National Energy Board Arctic Pilot Project Hearings 1982

• Designed to test the technical feasibility of year round navigation through the Northwest Passage. Although the hearing adjourned after approximately six months, the issues revolved around land use conflicts.

It is clear that economic development was the impetus for developing the NLUP Program. A mechanism was required for reconciling continuing economic growth with the conservation of resources, and the protection of both the cultural traditions and preferences of northern residents. In response, the Minister of DIAND released a cabinet policy on NLUP in July 1981. This policy promoted the continuation of external political and resource control of the north and perpetuated a federal system of centralized planning and decision-making control. From the outset the policy did not re-evaluate the existing governmental development or decision-making structures. Little thought was given to the GNWT, native organizations, or communities as decision-makers or even shared decision-makers in regional planning. The rationale provided was "because DIAND is the northern land manager, the decision-making process must operate through the Department" (DIAND, 1981: 10). Responses to this policy resulted in policy workshops and promising consultant reports, all recommending a shift in focus of the proposed planning program from Ottawa to the north. These activities culminated in October 1982 with the selective release of a draft policy document, Land Use Planning in
Northern Canada (DIAND, 1982), which perpetuated the prevailing view of land use planning decision-making. The northerner's response to this policy was to insist on the inclusion of their aspirations and rights of greater autonomy and self-determination into the land use planning process. This response led to the 1983 Basis of Agreement.

5.1.2 The Basis of Agreement

In 1983 a negotiated Basis of Agreement on land use planning was signed by the Dene Nation, Metis Association, Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), and the federal and territorial governments. The Basis of Agreement seemed to alter the distribution of responsible authority for the formulation of land use plans from the federal government to the territorial government and native organizations. After the Basis of Agreement was signed, the federal government stipulated that the planning agreements were not to be interpreted as affecting existing jurisdictional arrangements. In 1984 a letter of agreement between the Minister of Renewable Resources, GNWT, and the Minister of DIAND was signed asserting that the provisions of the 1983 Basis of Agreement was not to change current jurisdictional authorities and responsibilities (Rees, 1985).

The Basis of Agreement is a political document regarding the sharing of authority over land use plans, not a detailed blueprint for the development of land use plans. It is an important document because it establishes the Program's operational principles, structures, and processes, as well as accepting the largely unlegislated approval and implementation process that is now in place. The Basis of Agreement has greatly influenced how the NLUP Program and regional planning processes have evolved, and is essential to understand when considering community development and the NLUP Program.

6 The Inuvialuit, represented by COPE, did not participate in negotiating the Basis of Agreement due to the approaching settlement of their land claim. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement was signed in 1984, and COPE's participation in land use planning has been assumed by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, a management corporation established pursuant to the provisions of the final agreement.
The Basis of Agreement emphasizes that land use planning should deal with renewable and non-renewable resources, and connects resource development with long term social, cultural, and economic health of community residents. Section 2 of the Basis of Agreement outlines the mandate of the Program. It must:

... provide a systematic process of decision-making relating to the conservation, development, management, and use of land and resources, including inland waters and the offshore. The land use planning process includes implementation of land use plans and the monitoring of land use conflicts. Social, cultural, and economic interests of the human community are central to the policies that guide land use planning (DIAND, 1983: 2).

Section 3 of the Basis of Agreement describes the purpose of the Program:

The primary purpose of land use planning in the NWT must be to protect and promote the existing and future well-being of the permanent residents of the NWT, taking into account the interests of all Canadians. Special attention shall be devoted to protecting and promoting the existing and future wellbeing of the aboriginal people and their interests as they define them (DIAND, 1983: 2).

These sections outline vital community development principles: the human community is deemed to be central to regional land use planning, and special attention is to be given to the well-being of aboriginal people and their interests as they define them. This is a basic component of community development as it indicates a process wherein people define their situation and priorities, and are part of the development of appropriate responses to them.

Although the Basis of Agreement identifies who is responsible for approval and implementation of regional land use plans, it does not define a process for their approval and implementation. Approval and implementation mechanisms are outlined in Sections 5.3.4 and 5.3.6. Section 5.3.4 states:

Upon accepting the plan, the Minister of Indian and Northern Development shall seek Cabinet commitment and approval. The Minister of Renewable Resources, Government of the Northwest Territories, shall seek commitment and approval of the Executive Council (DIAND, 1983: 8);

and Section 5.3.6 states:

Once approved, plans will be implemented on the basis of jurisdictional authority (DIAND, 1983: 9).
Problems arise because the meanings of commitment, approval, and jurisdictional authority have are defined in the Program.

Nowhere in the Basis of Agreement are the native organizations a part of the approval process, highlighting the policy nature of the NLUP Program. The emphasis on policy is vital when considering the NLUP Program in light of community development, and is expanded upon in Chapter 6.

5.1.3 Regional Land Use Planning and Land Claims

Signatories to the Basis of Agreement recognized changes to the NLUP Program may take place as a result of land claims or territorial constitutional development. To accommodate this the Basis of Agreement explicitly recognizes the unique relationship between regional planning and the land claims negotiation and implementation processes. Sections 4.6 and 5.1.1. states:

4.6 The Relationship to Land Claims and Constitutional Development
The longterm future of land use planning is a topic of both priority and substance in aboriginal rights negotiations, and may emerge in different forms in various points of the existing NWT as a consequence of aboriginal rights negotiation and constitutional development.

5.1.1 Land Use Planning Commission
A land use planning commission will be established to carry out the major responsibility of developing land use plans in the NWT. Other commissions may be formed in the future in response to possible changes brought about by land claims or constitutional development.

The Nunavut and Dene/Metis Land Claim Agreements in Principle (AIPs) each have provisions for land use planning. Thus when settlement legislation is passed, the development of regional land use plans will have a legislative basis. The AIPs allow for the establishment of an administrative system for regional land use planning, special purpose land use planning commissions or boards, and specifies the content and development requirements of regional

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7 The Dene/Metis AIP, signed in September 1988, has since been set aside. Some regions of Denendeh are pursuing regional claims. This will have implications for regional planning that are yet to be determined. Information pertaining to land claims and regional land use planning in Denendeh refers to the 1988 AIP.
plans. It is anticipated that after settlement a regional land use planning act may be developed for each region pursuant to the provisions of the final agreements.

Both AIPs allow for exemption of land use requirements by application to the appropriate minister. Approval of regional land use plans under the settlement legislation will remain with the federal and territorial government, and as is the case now, the regional plans will have no binding power over government actions. In contrast, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, negotiated between 1978 - 1984, much earlier than the Dene/Metis and TFN AIPs, does not establish special purpose commissions or boards specifically for regional planning. Instead, it provides for Inuvialuit participation on existing commissions or future bodies. This is being implemented now by their participation on the Management Steering Committee and Mackenzie Delta Beaufort Sea Planning Commission.

5.1.4 The Structure of the Program

The Basis of Agreement also establishes the decision-making structures of the Program. The original structure comprised of the Minister of DIAND and the Minister of Renewable Resources, GNWT, who had overall Program authority, a NWT Planning Commission, Regional Planning Commissions, a Policy Advisory Committee, Planning Partners, and a Land Use Planning Office. The roles and responsibilities of the Policy Advisory Committee and NWT Planning Commission were never clearly defined and often overlapped, resulting in a very expensive and unwieldy structure. In addition, the NWT Planning Commission was criticized for its centralized (i.e. Yellowknife) focus. In 1988, at the agreement of all signatories of the Basis of Agreement and the Inuvialuit, the original structure was disbanded. The Policy Advisory Commission and the NWT Planning Commission were dissolved in favour of a Management Steering Committee (MSC) and more independent regional commissions.

Figure 3 outlines the existing organizational structure of the NLUP Program.

1) Ministers: The overall Program responsibility lies with the Minister of DIAND
Figure 3: Existing Structure of the NWT Northern Land Use Planning Program
Source: NLUP Office
and the Minister of Renewable Resources, GNWT. The federal minister appoints commission members in consultation with the territorial minister, and upon recommendations from government and native organizations. The ministers, upon agreement of their respective cabinets, jointly approve the plans submitted by the regional commissions.

2) Management Steering Committee: Membership includes one federal, two territorial, and three aboriginal organizational representatives. The MSC provides planning and program direction and general management functions to the Program.

3) Regional Commissions: Regional Commissions are accountable to the ministers and must ensure any plan proposed adequately represents the wishes of the people of the region. There are currently three major commissions established: the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea Planning Commission (MDBSPC), established June 1987; the Denendeh Planning Commission (DPC), established June 1989; and the Nunavut Planning Commission (NPC) established June 1989. Figure 4 indicates the boundaries of the regions. Each planning commission is responsible for directing the preparation of land use plans within an area generally delineated by land claim settlement areas. Commissions are comprised of nominees from the federal and territorial governments who are not civil servants, and an equivalent number of representatives from the participating aboriginal organizations. At least 50% of the

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8 Prior to the establishment of the Nunavut Planning Commission, the Lancaster Sound Regional Planning Commission (LSPC) was established in September 1986 to complete regional planning in the Lancaster Sound area of the high Arctic (See Figure 2). After this plan is approved and finalized with the communities, the LSPC will be dissolved and the NPC will assume implementation and monitoring responsibilities.
Notes: Nunavut includes the Lancaster Sound Region. The boundary between Nunavut and Denendeh will be decided through the land claims process.
members must be government representatives. They develop terms of reference, prepare budgets, carry out consultation with communities, government and other groups, review land use issues and options, draft plans, submit these to the ministers for approval, and monitor the implementation of the approved land use plans.

4) **Northern Land Use Planning Office**: A directorate of DIAND, the Northern Land Use Planning Office (NLUPO) provides professional and administrative support to the regional planning commissions.

5) **Planning Partners**: Planning Partners include the Regional Land Use Planning Division, GNWT, the Environment and Renewable Resources Directorate, DIAND, and the Dene Nation, Metis Association, TFN, and Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. Each is responsible for the management and coordination of their respective government or native organization input into the planning process.

6) **Land Use Planning Teams**: Land use planning teams report to commissions and consist of staff from the Northern Land Use Planning Office and native organizations, as well as field staff hired by the commissions from the communities.

The 1989/1990 operational budget for the NLUP Program was $2.6 million, and the number of full time persons years resulting from the Program was 31 (See Table 1).

### 5.1.5 The Northern Land Use Planning Processes

The NLUP processes have been described as experimental and evolutionary (DIAND, 1989). Since its introduction, the Program has survived varying political agendas among the planning partners, restructuring and reorganization, and changing jurisdictions.

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9 The MDBSPC is the exception. It comprises of secondees from the old NWT Planning Commission, resulting in a predominance of nominees appointed by aboriginal organizations.
Table 1: Northwest Territories Northern Land Use Planning 1988/1989 Operating Budget and Person Year Allocation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION</th>
<th>Dollars Full Time (000's)Person Years</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NLUPO</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNWT Regional Planning Division</td>
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due to devolution of government programs. Its original emphasis of a federally controlled process allowing only a marginal role for the territorial government and the native organizations has shifted to one where, in theory, native organizations have equal representation to federal and territorial governments.

Regional land use planning is presently being undertaken in three regions simultaneously: Denendeh, Nunavut, and Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea Regions. Planning in the Lancaster Sound Region (now part of Nunavut) is complete. No single process for the development of a regional land use plans has emerged, nor is there a requirement to strictly standardize the process from region to region. Given that the issues and delivery structures, both existing and contemplated through the final land claim agreements, vary with the planning regions, it is not anticipated that strict standardized procedures will be required.

The Basis of Agreement, due to its political nature, identifies only broad interests to be covered in regional planning. It gives little specific direction to the commissions on how the interests should be achieved. Each regional commission has thus adopted different approaches to planning, resulting in a different emphasis on community development elements. In each regional process, an element of community development is inherent, whereby people define their situation and priorities, and are part of the development of appropriate responses to it. Each commission involves people in different ways. This may be a function of community desires, identified issues, circumstances in the region such as ease and cost of transportation, as well as adjusting to take into account experiences from other planning regions. Each process has one element in common: all processes are described as "community based." This term, however, has not been defined by the NLUP Program or the commissions.
The question to be addressed is: given the history, structure, and nature of the NLUP Program, are the processes that are emerging ones that will promote or impede community development objectives? Drawing upon reports of experiences from the four existing planning commissions (the Lancaster Sound Commission has not yet been dissolved), as well as specific interviews with people involved in the Lancaster Sound planning process, the next chapters examine how the processes that are emerging promote or impede community development objectives.
6. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE NORTHERN LAND USE PLANNING PROGRAM

This chapter describes six elements of the evolving NLUP processes which significantly influence community development. Although the NLUP Program is promoted as a community-based approach to regional planning, it will be shown that many important factors concerning regional planning are held external to the community and thus impede community development objectives.

6.1 The Regulatory Basis of the Northern Land Use Planning Program

6.1.1 Legislative Authority

Prior to the settlement of land claims the development of regional land use plans is carried out without legislative planning authority specific to the NWT. Presently the Basis of Agreement is the only document that allows for the establishment of the regional planning commissions and the development and approval of regional land use plans in the NWT.

As discussed in Section 5.1.2, the Federal Cabinet and the Territorial Executive Council are responsible for the approval of regional land use plans. Approval by these bodies, as opposed to approval by only the Minister of DIAND and the Minister of Renewable Resources, reflects two major political considerations. First, many departments other than DIAND and Renewable Resources play significant roles in land and water management. Second, there was a concern that without approval by the Federal Cabinet and the Territorial Executive Council, commitment to regional land use plans would be weak and implementation would be viewed as only a DIAND responsibility.

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10 The Dene/Metis Comprehensive Land Claim AIP and the Nunavut AJP state that until land use planning provisions in the respective final agreements are implemented, regional land use planning will be conducted in accordance with the 1983 Basis of Agreement.
Absent from the Basis of Agreement is the requirement for native organizations to approve regional plans. This was changed by a 1990 MSC Policy on Planning Commissions, which states that:

... planning commissions (must) secure concurrence of (the) native organizations prior to the proposed plan approval (Management Steering Committee, 1990).

At no time are communities required to give their approval to regional plans. The assumption is that native organizations will obtain it prior to their concurrence.

6.1.2 Approval of Regional Land Use Plans

The Basis of Agreement is not explicit as to the meaning of government approval of regional plans or government commitment to implementation upon approval. As a result of the Lancaster Sound Plan approval it is now understood that regional plans are not binding over the actions of the governments. They are primarily to advise departments and agencies with responsibility for land use decisions.

The uncertainty and vagueness that originally surrounded the meaning and methods of government approval for regional plans is problematic. Because the Basis of Agreement does not give direction concerning implementation commitments implied by government approval, approval has posed problems for each government. Lancaster Sound is the only plan to be submitted for approval, and due to these uncertainties, 20 months elapsed before approval was granted. The plan was submitted to both ministers in February 1989. It received TFN endorsement in June 1989, was approved by the GNWT Executive Council in February 1990 and by the Federal Cabinet in October 1990. During the government debates on approval, two major issues arose. First, the governments were unsure of the legally binding nature of the Basis of Agreement's requirement for "Cabinet commitment and approval"; and second, they were unsure if approval of the regional plan committed them to implementation of all plan recommendations. Approval has been given only upon an understanding of the non-binding nature of the approved document, indicating governments are not bound to implement all
recommendations. Once this understanding was reached, at least within the territorial and federal governments, approval was given for the Lancaster Sound Plan\textsuperscript{11}. This understanding of the meaning of approval was reached without community involvement, resulting in a difference between government and community understanding of approval. It is not unreasonable to expect that governments will not bind their actions by recommendations of a regional plan, however the confusion and uncertainty leading to these decisions may lead to credibility problems with the communities in the future.

6.1.3 Implementation of Regional Land Use Plans

Acts and regulations pertaining to land and water in the NWT are numerous. There is no doubt as to the primacy of the federal role in managing land and water. Approximately 97% of the land in the NWT is federal Crown land resulting in much of the regulatory authority resting with the federal government. DIAND is accountable for the provision of services regarding regulation of land use, licencing and monitoring of water use, inland water surveys, mineral rights registration, exploration and geological assistance, and environmental management. The territorial government, whose direct regulatory responsibilities are largely over territorial Commissioner's land, along with the native organizations, play an important role in assisting federal authorities in managing land and water resources by participating on a number of technical and advisory committees. Overlap exists between federal and territorial roles, responsibilities, regulations, and policies.

The Basis of Agreement gives little direction regarding implementation of plans. It states:

Once plans are approved, implementation and monitoring mechanisms shall serve to ensure that compliance occurs (DIAND, 1983: 3).

\textsuperscript{11} Critics argue that federal approval of the plan in October 1990 was the result of the desire to limit damage of the 1990 Auditor General's Report on DIAND. This report stated that no land use plan had been approved even after expenditures of $20 million over 9 years.
In addition it states that plans are expected to be implemented upon the basis of jurisdictional responsibility (DIAND, 1983). But as previously stated, the governments are under no obligation to implement the plan once they have approved it. As a result, the LSPC expects:

... the plan to be integrated within existing processes of land use decision-making and resource development (LSPC, 1989: 55).

The MDBSPC states:

The final land use plan will be intended to guide decision making. Land users and managers will be implementing the plan through actions they take in response to the plan's direction (MDBSPC, 1990: 101).

All land users (which includes government, industry, special interest groups, and the communities) are responsible for implementing plans by applying the recommended general policies and specific actions to their programs. Although it is expected that implementation will take place within existing decision-making mechanisms, no over-all structure, other than yearly monitoring, has been identified to give advice, assistance, or direction for integrating the recommendations into the existing decision-making structures. This lack of an identified mechanism for implementation introduces the importance of the NLUP Process as a cooperative process. Participation and implementation are expected to be on a voluntary basis. However, in the 1989 Northwest Territories Land Use Planning Program Evaluation it was noted that:

There is confusion, even among those federal departments and agencies other than DIAND which have participated directly in the process, of what will occur if and when the Ministers approve the Lancaster Sound and subsequent plans (Intergroup Consultants Ltd., 1989: 4-9).

Provisions regarding regional land use planning in the Dene/Metis AIP and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement are silent on implementation. The TFN AIP perpetuates reliance on government by giving no role to communities for implementation. Section 11.1.3 of the AIP explicitly states:
Notwithstanding anything in this Article, the implementation of land use plans shall be the responsibility of appropriate government departments and agencies (DIAND and TFN, 1990: 135).

Section 11.6.1 states that a land use plan "may be implemented upon completion." As with the government, implementation of regional plans is not obligatory on settlement lands.

A review of the Lancaster Sound Plan and the Mackenzie Delta Beaufort Sea Proposed Plan reveals minimal links between plan implementation and community responsibility. The Lancaster Sound Plan has 56 recommendations. Thirty-seven recommendations, or 66% require government, industry or other agencies to take the lead role in implementation; 7 recommendations, or 12% require a joint lead role for implementation between with the communities and government, industry, or other agencies; and 7 recommendations or 12% require communities to take the lead role in implementation. Five recommendations were declaratory in nature, indicating a support for existing policies or activities. The MDBS Proposed Plan continues this pattern. In total, there are 51 recommendations. Thirty or 59% require government, industry, or other agencies to take the lead role in implementation; 6 or 12% require joint lead role between the communities and government, industry, or other agencies; and 5 or 10% require communities to take the lead role. Ten recommendations in this plan were declaratory in nature. Clearly planning commissions have afforded communities only a minor role in the implementation of regional plans.

In the Lancaster Sound Plan, of the seven recommendations requiring a community lead role, none have begun to be implemented by the five communities of the region. In the more than 20 months since the submission of the plan to the ministers, no significant regional planning work has been continued by the LSPC in the region, leading to a lack of continuity in the planning process. By suspending all regional planning work in the region until government approval is granted, the commission is perpetuating the perception that government approval is required before communities can initiate any implementation. This inhibits regional planning as a local action process.
6.2 *Initiators of the Northern Land Use Planning Program*

The issue of implementation must be examined from more than just an approval point of view. As outlined in Chapter 4, community development literature reveals that a successful community development process is most often initiated at the local level. The question must be asked, from the community point of view, who is perceived as the initiators of regional planning?

The Basis of Agreement is a document negotiated by political organizations to establish the principles, purpose, and structure of regional planning. It is assumed that the native organizations represent community points of view; however, this is not necessarily the case. This is evident in both the western and eastern NWT. In the western NWT, it is manifest in the recent split in the Dene Nation and Metis Association over a significant clause in the Dene/Metis AIP. Communities are being asked to accept the postponement of a final land claim settlement until the outcome of a court case concerning the extinguishment of aboriginal rights which the Dene Nation has instigated. Some communities are not willing to accept this postponement, believing that the Dene Nation is not representing their best interests. As a result, regions of Denendeh have split from the national native organizations with the purpose of negotiating regional claims. In the eastern Arctic, Swiderski's 1989 research concerning the relationship between the communities and their national organizations indicating an overwhelmingly large percentage (45%) of people dissatisfied with the overall leadership given by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada Executive. These examples provide evidence that native organization involvement in the negotiation and signing of the Basis of Agreement should not necessarily be used to indicate community acceptance of regional planning as their own. Communities may not be prepared, able, or willing to participate in regional planning.

Of the 7 community members from the Lancaster Sound Region (excluding Commission members and staff) interviewed regarding the benefits of regional planning, each recognized a personal gain of knowledge as a result of the regional planning process. However
the legitimacy of the Program was questioned by four of the seven people interviewed from the communities. According to one community resident, the land use planning process taught the communities how government did land use planning instead of teaching communities about land use planning. It was felt that planning was for what the government wanted to do, not really for what the communities wanted. This highlights the lack of ownership and the suspicion that some people felt towards the Program, the process, and the final plan. When the process is perceived as a government process, the plan will be perceived as a government document. Consequently regional planning may be interpreted as another vehicle for the implementation of programs and projects not necessarily of benefit to the community.

6.3 The Expectations of the Northern Land Use Planning Program

Prior to its official establishment, the NLUP Program was laden with varying expectations. For example, Peter Jacobs, chairperson of the Lancaster Sound Regional Study: 1980-2000 (the Green Paper), expected the NLUP Program to provide "a process designed to achieve sustainable development for the Arctic communities" (Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1986: 8). The Task Force on Northern Conservation (1984) expected regional planning to form the major mechanism for the implementation of a northern conservation strategy. At the outset of the Program, the Basis of Agreement should have been the major document to which groups could turn to clarify general expectations. Clear and achievable statements in the Basis of Agreement pertaining to the Program's purpose and desired outcome was required. This would have resulted in shared expectations among the actors. However, the Basis of Agreement did not clarify realistic expectations and objectives of the Program. This lack in part reflects the realpolitik of often incompatible goals. Sections 1.2 and 1.3 of the Basis of Agreement illustrate this point. Section 1.2 stipulates the process must take into account the interests of all Canadians, while Section 1.3 states that the planning process must
ensure land use plans reflect the priorities and values of the residents of the planning region. Conflict between local and national goals may account for how confusion over the expected products arise. There were and still are many varied and competing expectations of the NLUP Program. As a negotiated document, the Basis of Agreement represents the minimum to which each of the negotiating groups would agree.

The Lancaster Sound planning process will be used to illustrate differing expectations held of the Program and the implications for community development. The analysis is based on 23 personal interviews and a review of 34 documents, for a total of 57 documents. Representation from these sources includes conservation organizations, community members, the federal and territorial governments, industry, and Lancaster Sound Commission members and staff. For a complete list of sources, refer to Appendix A and Appendix B.

In the analysis of the documents, expectations were defined as an explicit indication of what the individual, group, department, or organization wanted the plan to accomplish. As anticipated, many groups held more than one expectation of the planning Program. In all the interviews and in the document analysis, the question "what did you want land use planning to accomplish?" was asked. The analysis reveals six dominant expectations of the planning process and the resulting plan.

1. The plan must protect wildlife and wildlife habitat from industrial development: 28% of the sources indicated this expectation.

2. The planning process and the resulting plan must be a mechanism to give communities greater control in land use decision-making: 23% of the sources indicated this expectation.

3. The plan must ensure access to land or water for continuation of a particular activity: 21% of the sources indicated this expectation.

4. The plan must protect hunting areas from industrial development: 19% of the sources indicated this expectation.
5. The plan must be a zoning-type document indicating where different land uses could or could not be allowed: 18% of the sources revealed this expectation.

6. The plan and the process should be only an information gathering exercise for future decision-making: 7% of the sources indicated this expectation.

Table 2 provides a summary of these expectations, and their sources.

The expectations that were indicated are very broad statements which, in part, reflect different interest's need and the mandates of different government departments. To further illustrate, in correspondence to the LSPC, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee stated that the plan should be a "conservation plan" (1987); the Department of Transport, GNWT wanted the regional plan to outline how future transportation demands in the region should be met (1988); the Canadian Wildlife Service perceived the process as a mechanism to deal collectively with the protection of key migratory bird habitat sites (1987); while the Department of Fisheries and Oceans indicated that in addition to the establishment of a system of protected areas, the plan should deal with waste disposal and conservation education (1987). In these government and interest group expectations, there is little or no questioning of existing decision-making structures regarding the provision of the departmental or interest group mandate. This lack of reflecting on how programs are defined and delivered illustrates the different groups' desire to further their objectives and agendas through the NLUP Program.

In contrast, the community expectation of greater community control in the land use decision-making processes, although also an indication of the community desire to further their own agenda, is suggestive of the need for something different from the status quo. This indicates that community expectations about their involvement in decision-making has overtaken land and other resource management policies which have been legislated or otherwise put into place. This expectation is not amenable to resolution at only the community level, but has roots going deeper and wider in the existing government decision-making

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<td>2. The planning process and resulting plan must be a mechanism to give communities greater control in land use decision-making.</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Ensure access to land or water for the continuation of specific activities.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Protect hunting areas from industrial development.</td>
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<td>5. Zoning type document indicating where different land uses would or would not be allowed.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The plan and planning process should be only an information-gathering exercise for future decision-making.</td>
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Table 2: Dominant Expectations of the Lancaster Sound Regional Plan
structures. At the outset of the process the communities expected their involvement to have an influence on who makes decisions and how they are made.

Notwithstanding its role in community development as a local action process, the NLUP Program must operate within a larger developmental perspective. It must be articulated and implemented within the policy and development goals of the governments: land use planning cannot survive in isolation from the rest of the government system. From the outset, the community clearly expected a shift in the locus of decision-making to the community level. This expectation can not be realized if it is expressed only by the community. In the final analysis, the community on its own lacks the authority to unilaterally make government policy.

The Basis of Agreement ensures that regional planning must operate as a cooperative process where participation and implementation is on a voluntary basis, and must involve a broad range of interests in both the private and public sectors. In an increasingly interdependent regulatory regime, participants must collaborate in setting common goals of the process. Although they may not agree on the final substantive goals, they must as least feel confident that there is general agreement on what the process is trying to achieve. When goals are achieved through a clearly articulated process, participants will have the opportunity to achieve a sense of direction from the process. This sense of direction did not occur in the Lancaster Sound process.

6.4 Community-Based Arrangements

An important feature of the NLUP Program is that the process is to be rooted in the communities. Although each regional commission has adopted slightly different approaches to the community-based process, each has recognized that on its own it simply does not have the resources or knowledge to cope effectively with developing a community-based regional plan.
The commission must rely on the support of organizations in the community if it is to be successful.

The term "community-based" has never been defined by the Program or the regional commission. It is generally believed to mean that a significant amount of regional planning activities occur at the community level. The key method of achieving a community-base has been through fostering local an organization whose purpose is to provide input into the regional plan. The development of local groups, or community working groups (CWGs) as they are known, is instrumental to successful regional planning and community development efforts. According to Esman and Uphoff (1984):

Studies in the United States and many other countries suggest that local organizations can equip local publics with the voice and capacity to make credible demands on government and others who control resources (Esman and Uphoff, 1984: 27).

The development of CWGs in the NLUP Program has been an evolutionary process. The Lancaster Sound process used ad hoc groups where membership changed from meeting to meeting and people volunteered their time. Meetings were held when input to the plan was required and usually prompted by commission or staff members. The MDBS process formalized the CWG structure. CWGs developed their own terms of reference, and volunteerism became less important as they were funded by the commission. Once established, most CWGs were capable of and frequently held meetings without commission members or staff present. The DPC and NPC have also adopted a formalized CWG structure.

There are practical benefits realized from the Program as a result of the provision of full time and part time employment in the communities. Appointment to commissions provide 22 part time jobs for people in the four regions (including the Lancaster Sound Region). Numerous part time positions are also available as a result of CWGs. Although exact numbers are constantly changing, in the Mackenzie Delta Beaufort Sea Region, in 1990-1991 the MDBS
Commission budgeted $52,000 for honouraria for CWG meetings, and provided part time employment for 29 people. Although to a lesser extent, honouraria funds are also provided to CWGs in the Nunavut and Denendeh regions. In addition, full time employment as members of regional planning teams are provided to 11 people in the three regions.

The commissions have also recognized community limitations relative to the establishment of CWGs. In communities where there is previous successful experiences in working in group situations, such as in Baker Lake, whose recent community efforts coalesced around opposition to a proposed uranium mine, community leadership, facilitation, and factionalism were not inhibiting factors in developing CWGs. However, in the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea Region, a CWG in Inuvik was never formally established. In this community, consisting of Dene, Metis, Inuit, and a non-native population, and having a history of industrial development and a predominance of wage employment, a unified community perspective was difficult to achieve. As a result, the commission chose a less structured CWG format to involve the different community interests in the process.

An important lesson learned by the DPC is that the most effective way to ensure establishment of CWGs is to allow the community to choose their group structure. For example, in some communities the CWG collectively completes mapping and reports for submission to the Commission, while others have chosen to hire a fieldworker to complete these tasks. Although the Commission requests that certain information be prepared, it is left to each group to chose the best way to prepare it.

CWGs rely on network building in the community. Membership is composed of people from other leadership roles in the community, such as the band council, municipal council, elders, regional council, and the Hunters and Trappers Association. Thus strong working alliances with other groups in the community are built, and the CWGs become broadly based.
organizations in the communities. Rooted in the consensual decision-making style, CWGs often do not endorse issues or actions without the broader acceptance of their communities as a whole. Acceptance is facilitated through the wide membership base of the CWG, and serves to identify a group concerned with regional planning in the community, as well as to provide a vehicle for citizen participation in the regional planning efforts. CWGs are not viewed as "reporting to" the commission, but are viewed as "reporting to" the community they represent.

A two year time frame for development of regional plans is set by the Minister of DIAND. This is a limiting factor to the establishment of enduring and capable CWGs. Long term benefits are rarely achieved quickly, but usually in small and incremental steps. The NLUP Program has not successfully achieved a strategy where communities are prepared or CWGs are established at the beginning of the planning process. At the outset, commissions have discovered that much of their time and resources have been required to train communities for meaningful involvement in regional planning. Although this is a necessary and fundamental aspect of developing a successful community-based regional plan, training is not the main responsibility of the planning commissions. As a result, the training elements of CWGs specifically and communities in general has received less attention than is needed to ensure self-starting community groups. Given the educational, economic, and social conditions in the communities and the resulting limitations to community development, training and continued support to CWGs is vital to ensure lasting benefits to the people in the community.

The Denendeh region attempted to overcome this time limitation by conducting a pre-planning phase prior to the establishment of the commission. During this stage communities were to undergo training for their involvement in regional planning, and identify issues of importance to them. Pre-planning was undertaken in the absence of even a generalized but ascertainable NLUP process. Under this condition, and without an appointed commission,
staff were hesitant to develop a process that a future commission may not have been committed to. Pre-planning was unsuccessful in developing the expertise at the community level for meaningful involvement in the regional planning process. Consequently, once established, the DPC found that most of their time was spent in establishing and training CWGs for input into the process.

On the other hand, the NPC built upon existing Community Land Identification Teams (CLINTs) which were originally established and trained for input into the TFN land claim. The CLINTs had previously received technical training, such as mapping, and had participated in the land claim process. They therefore had an understanding from the outset of how and why such processes were undertaken. In addition, CLINTs had already established a positive relationship with the community as a whole, and a workable community communications network was in place. The training aspects that the NPC needed to undertake were thus concentrated on the differences between regional planning and land claims, and specific regional land use planning related issues.

The method most often used for expanding the knowledge and information base of the CWGs has been regional workshops with community, government, and industry representatives exchanging information and issues, or simply presenting their respective positions. While this approach may yield important information of interest to each group and may foster links between community leaders and organizations outside the community, it does not necessarily build a local capacity for coping with future information needs. Just as important, exchanges of information or the mere presentation of positions does not lead to an understanding of other interest's positions, nor is it a mechanism for successful conflict resolution.
The origins of the NLUP Program were stimulated by land use conflict, and as such, must find a workable mechanism for conflict resolution. CWGs have been successful in presenting a strong voice as a regional coalition of community interest; however, they must also become the vehicle for resolving the issues and conflicts identified through the planning process and become part of the regional planning decision-making process.

6.5 The Meaning of Development Used in the Program

The use of the term development in the NLUP Program has generally been based on the Western concept of industrial development as outlined in Section 4.2.2. Land use conflicts arise most often as a result of the competing interests between industrial development and the land uses of native people. Given the history of decision-making regarding industrial development and the origin of the NLUP Program, it is not surprising that regional plans focus upon industrial development. The Lancaster Sound Plan and the MDBS Proposed Plan both recognize a "hierarchy" of development. A distinction is made between renewable resource development, such as tourism and commercial fishing, and non-renewable resource development, which includes mining, and oil and gas development. Non-renewable resource development most often clashes with the native lifestyle, and it is the perceived threats to native lifestyles from this type of development that pushes it to the forefront of issues to be dealt with in each planning process.

Although the Program and the commissions explicitly accept Western industrial concepts as "development," both the LSPC and MDBSPC implicitly recognize the need for greater community self-reliance in land use decision-making. The commissions are aware that consequences of industrial development transcend physical land use conflicts, and many commission members have first hand experience of the results of external decision-making control and ownership of resources. Both regional plans recommend greater community input
into land use decision-making and recognize that communities require community-based organizations to achieve this. It is in the promotion and support of CWGs that the commissions begin to facilitate an attitude shift from industrial development to one which includes people development, thus promoting community development objectives.

Specifically, the plan proposed by the MDBSPC leaves the communities to:

... ensure they have a mechanism in place for continuing to participate in land use decision-making that can bring an integrated community perspective to land use decisions (MDBS, 1990: iv).

The Lancaster Sound Plan also recognized the need for a community organization, and in addition, the need for them to:

... acquire expertise in resource management so they can propose modifications to projects to best suit the goal of the communities (LSPC, 1989: 30).

To achieve this, the LSPC proposed that the federal and territorial government fund a position for a person reporting to the Baffin Regional Council who will train community representatives in land use management techniques.

These two approaches are both valid self-help approaches to community development. The MDBSPC took the view that a community initiated process was fundamental to successful community input into decision-making, and as such, leaves each community in the region on its own to develop a mechanism that works for it. This appraisal is based on the premise that people can and will collaborate to solve community problems. There are two assumption underlying the MDBSPC's recommendation. First, they assume the mechanism to be chosen by the communities will build upon the already established CWGs. Second, they assume the CWGs are capable of continuing regional planning work, without commission support. By relying on each community to forge its own mechanisms through internal rather than external resources, the MDBSPC is relying on the existence of a strong sense of community and commitment to the regional plan. The MDBSPC failed to recognize that, at least in the case of
Inuvik, the community's capacity to act on their own behalf may not be present. With this in mind, the MDBSPC's technique runs the risk of succumbing to some of the limitations of community development outlined in Section 4.3.2. However, communities that succeed will have made an important step towards actioning their own responses and strengthening their human and institutional relationships.

The LSPC recognized existing limitations within the communities and recommended the use of resources and services based outside the community. Helping communities achieve a capability for self-help is fundamental to the practice of community development, and the LSPC suggests that the capacity for self-help may be instigated with external assistance. Thus, the LSPC attempts to strike a balance between the use of external and internal resources help increase community involvement in land use decision-making. The challenge faced is to help build a capacity for self-help without building an even greater community dependence on outside resources. Given the history of development and decision-making in the NWT and the reality of existing conditions in NWT communities, it is realistic to expect that further assistance is needed to help communities achieve a greater capacity for self-help. The LSPC specifically suggests that success depends upon the community understanding of resource management processes and techniques in the context of existing decision-making structures. By gaining this understanding, communities once rendered powerless because they were outside the system or because they did not understand how decisions were made within the system, will now be capable of becoming involved in and responding to land use decisions. They are able to influence previously top-down decision-making processes, thus mitigating the dependency felt under the present structure. By recommending a community focus for land use decision-making and acknowledging the need for communities to acquire expertise, the LSPC has promoted a cooperative well organized, community-based organization that will better meet
community needs regarding input into the land use decision-making processes. This strategy builds upon experience and skills within the community.

At the conclusion of the planning process, 7 community members and 6 commission and staff members residing in the region were asked what development meant to them. The 7 community members equated development with industrial development: something that was the result of major oil, gas, or mining activity. People expressed a fear regarding the dangers of development, but the benefits that the community might receive were not identified. Development was viewed as something someone else did, usually government or industry. These community beliefs indicate that the promotion and understanding of development must be broadened to involve aspects of development whose results do not include only economic growth and environmental degradation. The commission and staff members expressed a wider view of development, including tourism, outfitting, housing construction as development.

The planning commissions have recognized the primacy of industrial development in the history of the NWT and also the results of such development in the communities. An important opportunity provided by the NLUP Program with respect to community development efforts is to help achieve a shift in the meaning of development to one which includes something that happens in communities. Although this shift has begun in the minds of Lancaster Sound commission and staff members, and is implicitly recognized in both the Lancaster Sound Plan and the Mackenzie Delta Beaufort Sea Proposed Plan, a still greater emphasis must be placed on widening the view of development in the NLUP Program.

6.6 Other Benefits from the Program

There are various perceptions as to what constitutes valuable results or outputs of the NLUP Program. As outlined in Section 4.2.3 the results of change can range from visible and less tangible products, such as changes in physical developments in the community, to
intangible products such as changes in values, aspirations, self-confidence. From the outset, expected products of the NLUP Program were not defined, and to date there has been no agreement on the scope of products coming from the Program. The Basis of Agreement does not specify required or desired outputs.

The following discussion of intangible benefits is based upon interviews with participants in the Lancaster Sound process.

The benefit that people repeatedly identified was the mutual understanding of other participants needs and issues that was gained through involvement in the planning process. For instance: industry indicated a greater understanding of why communities take an active interest in exploration and development activities located hundreds of kilometers from their community; and the commission, field staff, and community members specified a greater understanding of how industry and government operate, thus believing they had a greater chance of knowing where to find answers to questions they may have.

A very basic but important improvement in attitude identified by the participants was that they no longer viewed conflicts from only their perspective, but were now aware of "other" points of view. These new points of view were not limited to "the other side," but included a comparison of problems and issues with other communities. The planning process became important in providing a forum for those interested in northern land use issues outside the municipal boundaries to communicate.

In the interviews, community participants, commission members, and field staff also reflected upon their personal experiences of in the process. Responses indicate expanded skills and abilities such as mapping and public speaking, to enhanced self-confidence. One commission member indicated he now realized his potential for working in other regional processes, and that the knowledge gained from the Lancaster Sound experience would be of
use as a background reference for other initiatives he chose to become involved in. The information and understanding gained by participants regarding the processes and decision-making structures can directly feed into processes independent of the NLUP Program.
7. IMPLICATIONS AND PROSPECTS

The impact that the NLUP Program has on promoting or impeding community development objectives is the result of many interrelated issues. The actions and perceptions regarding one element of the Program influences the outcomes and perceptions of another. To identify the links among these elements, this chapter examines the implications and prospects of the NLUP with respect to community self-reliance. It will be shown that although the NLUP Program provides an opportunity to promote community self-reliance, many processes that have emerged impede or raise barriers to community self-reliance.

7.1 Regional Land Use Planning as a Policy Initiative

- Regional land use plans provide only a guide to land use decision-making, they do not legislate land use. This situation both promotes and impedes community development. In its promotion, administrative and management structures as well as the planning processes can develop differently in each region, thus responding to each region's needs. Conversely, without a legislative base, governments and native organizations are not bound by the recommendations in regional plans, thus putting commitment to implementation in question.

This research indicates that the NLUP Program was developed primarily as a policy initiative. Regional plans provide a guide to land use decision-making, they do not legislate land use decision-making. It has been shown that the lack of a legislative base for the NLUP Program has allowed for flexibility in the development of administrative and management structures of the Program and in the evolution of the planning processes. This flexibility is evident in the dissolution of the NWT Planning Commission in favour of stronger and decentralized regional commissions. In addition, because they are not required to follow one specific process for developing regional plans, commissions have had the opportunity to develop processes suited to their particular regions. Thus it has been shown that CWGs have been developed slightly differently in each region, but in ways which work best for each. The result is that while a general process is beginning to emerge, different regional processes are promoted to allow for varying community needs and priorities.
On the other hand, because there is no legislative base, governments and native organizations are not bound by the recommendations in regional plans. This situation will not change with the settlement of land claims. This lack of mandatory implementation can be viewed as a positive attribute of the Program in a cooperative process. In theory, a process that participants cooperate in and understand will lead to improved communications and improved decision-making. To date however, research indicates that a narrow view of planning has been taken which emphasizes plan development. This focus has led to delays in the approval of the Lancaster Sound Plan, and may have led to differing expectations between the communities and government regarding the meaning of approval and commitment to implementation.

Regional land use planning under the NLUP Program has little power because there is no legislative basis to enact land use plans: the implementation is dependant on the goodwill of departments and agencies with the regulatory authority over land and water. Future processes must emphasize a more complete view of planning which includes the communities place within it. This view should include training of participants, development of plans, decision-making at the community level, approval mechanisms, and community involvement in implementation and monitoring.

7.2 Decision-Making in the Development of Regional Plans

- Regardless of the contention that the NLUP Program is a "community-based" program, decision-making powers within the NLUP Program are held external to communities, thus impeding community development objectives.

Regional land use plans as advisory documents can only influence, not form land use decisions. Regional commissions are responsible for the content of the plans forwarded to the ministers, and thus hold decision-making power within the regional planning process. The Basis of Agreement grants native organizations, not communities, full participation on regional commissions. Evidence indicates that native organizations do not necessarily represent the
community interest: their views may be indicative of community views, but this should not be a foregone conclusion.

The process that has emerged to date is one where communities are an important interest group that provides to the commission their views on how the land should be used and why. When conflicting issues emerge between the communities and other interest groups, the commission sets the priority of the issue, and if appropriate, recommends a solution. Although termed a community-based process, in reality there is no real sharing of NLUP decision-making with the communities. They are allowed input into the process but hold no real power to force their preferences on final decisions. By holding little power in the regional planning decision-making process, communities still have little real influence on governmental land use decision-making. At its worst, the NLUP Program could be viewed as a decision-making tool to maintain the vested interests of the status quo. It is important to understand that the NLUP Program was economically and politically driven, not community interest driven. Land use decisions in the final analysis are political. The ability to exercise control is an important tool in community development. As long as the regional planning processes operate with the commissions as decision-makers, communities will have little control over the planning process and content of the plans. Participation in such a process may be viewed as an exercise in co-optation: it allows the government to assert that the plan meets the needs of communities on the basis that the communities participated.

Because commissions are not bound by a pre-determined decision-making process they are free to develop their own. To promote and sustain community development objectives, a partnership model of decision-making which includes CWGs must be developed rather than the commission acting as an intermediary and final decision-maker. Communities must be given the opportunity to face the various interest groups and work out their differences face to face. Cooperation between the communities and interest groups should be sought through a process of bargaining, discussion, accommodation, and persuasion, and decisions made with reference
to both interests. If conflicting interest groups cannot reach an agreement, the commission is available to arbitrate. In this way communities will have greater interest in the process and its outcome.

The NLUP Program has the potential to develop a process that affords the communities voices in the decision-making, administration, and implementation of regional plans, rather than relegating them to the role of important interest groups. The community will have greater influence over government decision-making when they provide a vital role in the regional planning decision-making, rather than only input into the regional planning process. The success of a partnership model is dependant upon a strong and capable CWG. This issue is discussed further in Section 7.5.

7.3 Initiators of the Program and Implementation of the Program

- There is little evidence to suggest that a meaningful change in the dependency relationship between government and community has occurred as a result of the NLUP Program. Communities are afforded only minor roles in terms of initiating the planning, decision-making during the planning process, and implementation of final plans, thus impeding community development objectives.

Community development experience indicates that community-initiated processes have been most often associated with successful community development. Without the community-initiated element, community contribution and commitment to the process may be lacking. Within the Lancaster Sound Region, the motivations for planning have been questioned by some community members who believe the planning process to be a government initiated process for government ends. Because the factors that support this belief are not localized to the Lancaster Sound Region, it is likely that the motivation for planning is questioned in other regions as well. Four factors illustrating communities roles in initiating and implementing the Program are: responsibility for implementation; requirement for participating in regional planning; decision making; and the role of communities in implementation of regional plans.
1) **Responsibility for Implementation:** The Basis of Agreement, the Dene/Metis and TFN AIPs, and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement have proven to be either silent on implementation of regional plans or give no role to communities for implementation responsibilities. Government is expected to take the key implementation role. As long as this situation persists, government will be viewed as the initiators of regional planning, and the regional planning process will be viewed as a method for government to achieve their objectives. As a first step towards improving community ownership of regional plans, these agreements must reflect a substantial role for communities with respect to implementation of plans.

2) **Requirement for Participation in Regional Planning:** Communities within a defined region are expected to participate in the planning process by virtue of their location within a planning boundary, regardless of whether they are prepared to or not. The result is that either they get dragged along in the process or they slow it down for the remaining communities of the region. To resolve this, a process must be promoted whereby the community can chose if, at that time, they wish to expend the time and energy required for regional planning. Community participation should not be dictated by a pre-determined regional boundary, but because the community is willing and able to become involved.

3) **Decision-Making:** Evidence supports the conclusion that the decision-making power regarding content of regional plans resides with the commission. Regardless of the Program's description as using community-based approach, as long as the plan decision-making remains only with the commission, regional planning will be perceived to operate within the range of a government initiated process based on community feedback. This gives rise to a lack of community ownership of the final plans, thus inhibiting implementation.
4) **Community Role in Implementation**: Research indicates that the Lancaster Sound Plan and the Mackenzie Delta Beaufort Sea Proposed Plan give communities only a minor role in implementation of the plans. This perpetuates the prevailing attitude that government will solve community problems.

These four factors reflect the role and importance given to communities by the government, native organizations, and commissions in the planning process over the long term. There is no doubt as to the vital role that the government plays in land use decision-making in the NWT, but the uneven spread of responsibilities between government, industry and communities for plan implementation only mirrors the existing regulatory environment in the NWT. The NLUP Program has an opportunity to facilitate the examination of community priorities within this existing political and regulatory reality. As of yet, the Program has failed to accomplish the examination of these external controls on the community and place the communities in an initiating rather than a responding stance. Implementation is treated as a role of government agencies and industry rather than a function of communities interacting with these groups. This is clearly illustrated in the Basis of Agreement, the TFN AIP, the Lancaster Sound Plan, and the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea Plan. Communities have been given little role in the implementation, monitoring, and enforcement of regional plans.

Evidence supports the fact that community self-reliance is furthered as a result of the experiences communities gain by doing, which leads to an increased competence in managing their own affairs. A plan whose credibility and legitimacy are suspect is unlikely to possess the authority and respect required for voluntary compliance. As long as government is perceived as initiating regional planning, and is given the responsibility for implementing the plans, there will be a lack of commitment from communities for plan implementation, and community members will not gain the experience that is so vital for contributing to successful community development. Communities will continue to rely on external forces to solve their problems, thus inhibiting local action.

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7.4 Expectations of the Program

- The planning processes which have emerged from the NLUP Program have not yet established realistic parameters of what can or cannot be achieved in developing a regional land use plan. Without shared expectations, there are serious implications for a planning process that relies on cooperative efforts.

The NLUP Program was overburdened with unrealistically high expectations from its conception. Land use planning was viewed as the "pinnacle" of planning and as the final step to solve all land use conflicts. The Basis of Agreement exacerbated this impression by building the expectation that all concerns would be resolved in the land use planning process, and everyone's concerns would be reflected in the plans.

The LSPC, in its effort to meet prior expectations and follow the Basis of Agreement, did not challenge or question unrealistic expectations of the planning program. Without realistic parameters outlining what could or could not be achieved through the planning process, it was difficult to achieve any sense of direction in the process. Lancaster Sound was the first regional planning process undertaken and completed and will be used as a benchmark of how the program works. Lancaster Sound, as the first measure of the program, failed to balance overly optimistic expectations of the Program with existing political and regulatory reality. As a result, people did not accomplish what they expected to accomplish through the planning process.

Failure to establish realistic expectations has serious implications for a cooperative planning process and subsequent planning efforts.

As a voluntary process, regional planning must ensure that those who participate find it worthwhile. Efforts will result in failure unless unified principles and expectations are clarified at the outset. One Lancaster Sound planning team member indicated that the plan tried to resolve as many problem issues as it could, and produce a product that all publics could live with. This lack of parameters frustrated participants. This research indicated that the impact of not having clear planning parameters is that the scope becomes too broad, and participants hold conflicting expectations of the process. For instance, the expectation of a zoning-type
document indicating where land uses can and cannot take place, and the expectation that the process is only an information gathering exercise for future decision-making, directly conflict. No realistic sense of both the possibilities and limitations of the planning program were presented to the participants. To promote community development principles, the process must refine the broad and sometimes conflicting expectations of the various groups to achieve realistic expectations within the legislative, regulatory, political and financial realities.

Common expectations and clearly expressed goals and objectives are required before the outcomes of the planning process can be evaluated for their success or failure. Without these, participants in the process will have little confidence in subsequent planning efforts, and the program will lose the opportunity to be a vehicle to facilitate improved communication and decision-making. Community development can help a community come to grips with political realities of external forces impacting on the community. Given the regulatory and legislative structures, the ownership of land and resources, and the non-binding nature of regional plans, fulfillment of the major community expectation was unrealistic, and as such, not met in the Lancaster Sound Plan.

Community development literature notes the importance of communities identifying important issues and determining the direction they wish to move to resolve them. By not focusing on unified and achievable expectations at the outset, the Lancaster Sound planning process impeded community ability to gain a sense of direction through the regional planning process. This will possibly discourage community involvement in subsequent planning efforts in the NWT, and potentially build disillusionment into any implementation process.

7.5 Community-Based Arrangements

- The establishment and support of CWGs as a focus for regional land use planning activities at the community level holds the most promise for building skills in the community which promote self-reliance. To promote practical and sustained community development principles,
the CWGs must be expanded from merely representing the community point of view to becoming partners with the regional commissions in the planning, decision-making, and implementation processes of the plans.

It is not likely that there will be disagreement on the desirability of increasing the efficiency of regional planning through community-based arrangements. From the outset commissions recognized this was essential for successful regional planning. CWGs have become a tool for commissions to use for input into the process. The planning process, however, has been shown to be pre-occupied with the development of plans and that lasting support for CWGs has received less attention than required to sustain them over the long term. Evidence suggests that without continued support, community-based regional planning becomes a title, not a reality.

To ensure that a CWG is established in more than just name, there must be the perceived need in the community to establish such a group. This is associated with a broadened understanding of development which includes things that happen in the community. Without a community will to participate, commitment to the development and implementation of any project will not exist. In the NLUP Program, communities have been generally willing to establish groups as a community focus for the planning process. Continued existence of these groups is dependent upon their perceptions of how their input is used and positive benefits they receive becoming involved in the process. Under existing decision-making structures, CWGs are the major vehicles for community input into regional plans. However, the NLUP Program should be viewed as a point of entry for the communities into the land use planning decision-making process, and the CWG as the vehicle for communities to enter. If they are to successfully become part of the regional plan decision-making structures, CWGs require on-going support and training or they are unlikely to last very long.

Effective and enduring CWGs are not built overnight: there are no quick fixes to the complex limitations and barriers that are placed in the path of meaningful community
participation. The two year timeframe for completion of regional plans leaves little room for trial and error, and the training and support of CWGs has been sacrificed due to the urgency of meeting deadlines. This time constraint can be reduced by drawing upon existing networks and organizations as the NPC has done using CLINTs. If these groups do not exist, the Program must put efforts into introducing and assisting CWGs into the planning and decision-making processes. The emphasis of the NLUP Program should be broadened to explicitly support the development of groups competent to participate in regional planning and its decision-making structures. The support of CWGs is vital to successful regional planning. As much as is possible, CWGs add a cohesive and integrated community perspective to the regional planning process. Because they are responsible to the community, not to the Commission, they most clearly articulate the needs of the community as a whole, and identify some of the actions that, from a community point of view, are required to solve their needs.

Community development can be limited or impeded by the absence of institutional relationships. Regional commissions have recognized the importance of using community institutions to facilitate regional planning. CWGs have become the community focus for regional planning and hold promise for building skills in the community which further community self-reliance. Their role must be expanded from merely representing the community point of view to becoming partners with the commission in the regional planning decision-making process. Community based success of regional planning is dependent upon the accomplishments of CWGs. To help ensure success, CWGs must be provided with appropriate and continued training and support.

7.6 The Meaning of Development

- The NLUP Program has the opportunity to help facilitate a shift in attitude towards development from the dominant Western view to one which includes development as something that occurs in the community. Failure to do so will impede development as a local action process.
The history of the NWT reveals an emphasis on modernization resulting in a lack of commitment to community development as defined in Section 4.2.3. The NLUP Program can explicitly assist in helping to bring about a shift in attitude from the Western industrial view of development to one which includes development as something that occurs in the community.

The regional commissions have begun to facilitate this shift, however they have not internalized community development principles in the planning processes. Even after the planning is complete, people in the Lancaster Sound Region still define development as something government or industry does. The meaning of development used in the planning processes is closely linked with how the commission views implementation responsibilities. As long as agencies external to the communities are given the lead role in implementation of plans, regional planning will not be perceived of as a local action process, and development will remain an activity that others do. The NLUP Program has the opportunity to help the community re-define development and realize the structures and powers of self-reliance that already exist in the communities. It is upon this foundation that further initiatives would be built upon in the community.

7.7 Other Benefits from the Program

- The NLUP Program has helped people enhance their abilities and skills. These skills can directly feed into processes independent of the NLUP Program, and help to further promote community self-reliance.

The NLUP Program has had a positive influence on assisting communities in gaining the tools they need for greater self-reliance. It affords the opportunity for leadership development, increased mutual understanding between land users, increased self-confidence, and enhancement of technical skills. These expanded skills and abilities do not necessarily add to the influence of a community, however, equips them with the capacity to make credible demands that can be applied beyond regional planning practice.
Mutual understanding, expanded abilities, and enhanced self-confidence are elements that build upon each other. They should be recognized as long term benefits, and viewed as products of the NLUP Program that may ultimately positively influence other processes people become involved with. However, in the final analysis, an evaluation of the products of regional planning must reveal more than expressions of good feelings about personal gains. These intangible benefits may be overshadowed by the lack of tangible products from the Program. This leads back to the critical matter of the need to begin with unified expectations and clear objectives. Without understandable and agreed upon objectives, products from the Program will be difficult to evaluate. According to Roberts (1979), community development is a process, but more importantly it is a process towards some condition. Without an understanding and agreement on the condition people are working towards, the success or failure of both tangible and intangible products will be difficult to evaluate.

7.8 Continuity of Regional Planning

- To make a meaningful and sustained contribution to community development objectives, the program must ensure a continuity of planning occurs in the community, and strengthen the link between the community and actions for plan implementation.

To date, the planning processes that have evolved have emphasized plan development with little emphasis on plan approval or implementation. More than 20 months elapsed between the submission of the Lancaster Sound Plan for approval and its subsequent approval. During this time, no further regional planning work was undertaken by the commission in the Lancaster Sound communities, resulting in a significant gap in planning activities. Community development experience shows that the knowledge gained and positive working relationships that developed will be lost and may be difficult to re-establish in the future. Due to the lack of continuity in planning activities, community participants may be discouraged from becoming involved in subsequent regional planning efforts. If the NLUP Program is to make a meaningful contribution towards community development objectives, the Program must ensure
a continuity of planning occurs in the communities, and the link between the community and implementation must be strengthened. The time between plan development and approval must be taken as an opportunity for further CWG training, to prepare communities for their role in implementation, and to begin implementation of the plan.
8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The research question addressed is: given the history, structure, and nature of the NLUP Program, does it promote or impede community development objectives in the NWT.

The development strategies and political structures that have been imposed upon native northerners have not been successful when applied to an area with vastly different physical and cultural characteristics. Northern communities have received at best only marginal benefit from the modern development strategies. Benefits from industrial development and government, both overwhelmingly modeled by Western standards, rarely "trickle down" to the communities. There are few opportunities for advanced education, jobs, and training in small communities. A loss of cultural knowledge has had a widespread impact on native people, their social lives, and their institutions. Results are manifest in people's dependency upon government, and has contributed to a loss of control over their lives. Native people have responded to these changes by trying to gain back control over the things that matter to them.

Community development can help alleviate the powerlessness and dependency native northerners experience. Successful community development initiatives are associated with community leadership and control, external support of the project without the loss of community control, and the development of a strong focus in the community for the project. The historical, political and economic development as well as the existing social and economic situation occurring in the communities pose potential limitations to community development in the NWT.

Community development is a process whereby people identify their situation and develop and action appropriate responses and can contribute to community self-reliance and empowerment. This process is a purposeful process, and leads to social, physical, and institutional improvements in the community. The movement towards northerner's greater control over their lives can be facilitated by having the opportunity as well as the necessary resources to undertake greater responsibility over actions and programs that influence them.
The NLUP Program was established as a voluntary and cooperative program between the federal government, territorial government, and native organizations, as a means to resolve land use conflicts. The Basis of Agreement sets the parameters of the NLUP Program. It is a non-legislated process, relying on goodwill and cooperation for the development of plans and their implementation. Commissions, who represent government and native organizations interests, are responsible for the development of the regional plans. Although regional planning is described as a community-based process, the negotiation of the Basis of Agreement and the regional planning decision-making structures that have evolved through the implementation of the Program exclude the communities.

Community development experience indicates that a process that leaves out those who are most affected by decisions from the decision-making will not lead to self-reliance. In the case of NLUP, decision-making regarding plans has remained external to the communities: the federal and territorial governments hold overall authority for plan approval, and the regional commissions hold regional plan content decision-making authority. There is no doubt that neither the commission or the communities are given land use decision-making authority as a result of Northern Land Use Planning. The potential power that Northern Land Use Planning wields is in influencing how land use decisions are made, and this is directly through the content of regional plans. The planning processes that have emerged give the communities a very important role in influencing regional plan content, however communities still do not hold a share of decision-making authority. As a result, the NLUP Program has done little to change the status quo of power and land use decision-making in the NWT.

Despite the apparent failure of the NLUP Program to promote community self-reliance, valuable long term benefits will be realized by the communities as a result of their involvement in their planning process. Mutual understanding between participants, expanded communities abilities, and enhanced self-confidence are products that will positively influence other processes the communities become involved in.
The Basis of Agreement is based on community development principles. In theory, the Program depends upon people having the ability to collaborate in setting common goals, in organizing themselves, and in mobilizing the resources necessary to achieve these goals. The NLUP Program must put these principles into action. In an increasingly interdependent and complex world, it is easy to overlook the fact that people have the ability to contribute to decisions which affect their lives. To build an on-going and enduring capability for community involvement in regional planning, the NLUP Program must orient itself towards capacity building in the communities.
Since the completion of the field work and writing of this thesis in the spring of 1991, the federal government announced the abandonment of the Northern Land Use Planning Program citing budgetary constraints and lack of completed plans as the main factors contributing to the decision (DIAND, 1991). It was a unilateral federal decision made in the absence of input or consultation with the territorial government, native organizations, and communities. This supports the research conclusion that decisions in the planning program are made external to the communities, and in this case, external to the "planning partners," that is the Government of the NWT and native organizations.

In the announcement, the federal government asserted "termination of the NLUP Program does not, in any way, affect our commitment to a land use planning process as contemplated in the land claim agreements" (DIAND, 1991). The federal government expects that in the future regional land use plans will be developed and implemented in accordance with the land claim provisions, thus tying the resolution of land use conflicts with the land claim political process.

Due to the fragmentation of the Dene/Metis 1988 AIP, future implications for regional planning in Denendeh are completely unclear. Dene and Metis leadership are concentrating on salvaging regional land claims, and the regional planning program is considerably far down on their list of priorities. TFN, who are estimated to be a year away from a Final Agreement, are attempting to put into place funding arrangements to ensure current regional planning initiatives in Nunavut are not abandoned. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement allows for participation on existing or future bodies, but does not require the establishment of such bodies in the region. In the past, there has been considerable conflict between the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and other regional planning bodies such as DIAND and the MDBS Commission regarding regional planning. Given this history of conflict, it can be expected that regional planning for
the existing region, which includes areas outside of the COPE land claim boundaries, will be abandoned. The Inuvialuit have, however, expressed their commitment to continued regional planning on Inuvialuit settlement lands.
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APPENDIX A
DEPARTMENTS, AGENCIES, ORGANIZATIONS, AND COMMUNITIES REPRESENTED IN INTERVIEWS. 23 Interviews in Total.

Communities

Community Residents, Resolute Bay
Community Residents, Pond Inlet
Hunters and Trappers Association, Resolute Bay

Government of the Northwest Territories

Department of Renewable Resources
Department of Municipal and Community Affairs
Energy Mines and Resources

Government of Canada

Canadian Wildlife Services
Department of Indian and Northern Development
Environment Canada
Northern Land Use Planning Offices

Industry

Chamber of Mines, NWT
Oakwood Petroleum Ltd.

Commission Members

Arctic Bay
Grise Fiord
Pond Inlet
Vancouver, B.C.

Field Staff

Clyde River
Pond Inlet
Resolute Bay

Interview Guide Core Questions for Government and Industry

1. How did the Land Use Planning Office and Commission members prepare you for your involvement in the Lancaster Sound land use planning process?

2. What was your participation in the Lancaster Sound Plan? (How were you involved?)

3. At the outset, did you know what the goals and objectives of the plan were? When did you find this out? How was it communicated to you? Did you have any input in the goals and objectives?
4. Were you kept informed of the progress of the plan? How? Was there enough feedback?

5. Did you understand how decisions were arrived at (by the commission members and staff) at critical junctures of the plan? (i.e. the drafts, guidelines etc.)

6. At the outset, what did you expect from land use planning in Lancaster Sound? (What did you want the plan to achieve/accomplish?)

7. How did land use planning in Lancaster Sound satisfy your needs? did it accomplish what you thought it would? (Did it go far enough?)

8. Did your input help influence the plan? How?

9. How do you think the final (proposed) plan will influence land use decision making in the Lancaster Sound Region?

10. What did your particular interest group get out of the Lancaster Sound planning process and plan?

**Interview Guide Core Questions for Commission Members and Fieldworkers**

1. Think back to the beginning: how did you get involved with land use planning?

2. How did you learn what land use planning was?

3. What training were you given for your involvement in land use planning?

4. What support were you given by the Land Use Planning Office? What did you need that you didn't receive?

5. At the very beginning:
   1) what did you think that land use planning was?
   2) what did you want it to do?

6. After we did community tours and workshops, i.e. getting information for the areas of importance map, do you think your community concerns, ideas, information, etc. was used in the drafts and final drafts of the plan, and in the maps?

7. How was the community trained for input into the land use planning process?

8. What methods did you use to get information from the communities, and get information to them?

9. Do you think that there are better ways to involve the communities? (Ones that you did not employ?)

10. What do you mean by:
    - Conserve
    - Communicate
    - Develop
11. At the beginning you told me what you thought land use planning was and what it may do. Now that we are near the end of the process, have you changed your mind about what it is? Can you tell me now what you think it is?

12. What did you learn from the land use planning process (personally and professionally).

13. From your point of view, what do you think your community learned as a result of land use planning?

**Interview Guide Core Questions for Community Members**

1. As a member of the public, what is the most important part of land use planning to you?

2. How did you learn about land use planning?

3. After the Commission was appointed and planning was going to happen in the region, how did you find out:
   i) what land use planning was; and
   ii) how community members could have input into the process?

4. What did you want land use planning to accomplish.

5. What do you mean by:
   - Conserve
   - Communicate
   - Develop

6. Were you kept informed of the progress of the plan? If yes, how?

7. Do you know why the Commission members were asking for your advice?

8. Do you think the community concerns were put into the plan?

9. Do you think that as a result of the plan the communities will influence land use decision-making? How?

10. As a result of land use planning, did you learn something about industry or government that you didn't know?

11. From your point of view, what do you think your community gained from land use planning?
DOCUMENTS ANALYZED FOR EXPECTATIONS OF THE NORTHERN LAND USE PLANNING PROGRAM


Coast Guard, Government of Canada. Letter from I. Marr to LSPC regarding "Department of Transportation Review of Proposed Land Uses." 08 December 1987.


Wildlife Management Division, Department of Renewable Resources, GNWT. Letter from B. Ferguson to Director of Land Use Planning. 29 October 1987.