THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT

by

ELENA ANN PERKINS

B.A. The University of Arizona 1963

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Anthropology)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
September 1991
© Elena Ann Perkins, 1991
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Anthropology

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date 10 October 1991
ABSTRACT

Throughout the history of the discipline, anthropologists have assumed the role of cultural brokers, often taking explicit responsibility as advocates and representatives for dependent populations. Over the years, the role of cultural broker has changed, reflecting the intellectual and political milieu of the times. This perspective has been evident in the organizational culture at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology (MOA) which has demonstrated a strong public service orientation since the late 1940s.

This is a formative evaluation case study of the Native Youth Project, an education programme for First Nations teenagers which was active throughout the 1980s. The purpose of a formative evaluation is to provide information on the operation of a programme so those responsible for it can make improvements. The Native Youth Project (NYP) was initiated in 1979, co-sponsored by MOA and the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society (NIYAS). Conceived as a social intervention programme to improve academic achievement and introduce young people of aboriginal ancestry into productive careers in the mainstream Canadian society, this programme had a strong cultural component, promoting pride in First Nations heritage. The teenagers were trained to make presentations on various aspects of the indigenous culture of the Northwest Coast to museum visitors and community groups. Tracking the development of the
programme reveals changing sensibilities among MOA staff toward the role of cultural brokerage. This case study also describes an example of the intersection between aboriginal and public institutional forms of organization and programming.

The contributions of the various stakeholders and the context of the project's operation are described using the ethnographic methods of participant observation and interviewing. It is also an exercise in reflexive anthropology, since the author was an active member of the management and instructional team that is the focus of analysis.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract  ii  
Table of Contents  iv  
Acknowledgement  vi  

I.  INTRODUCTION  1  

II.  APPROACH: PROGRAMME EVALUATION  6  
A. Professionalization of Programme Evaluation  8  
B. Anthropology and Programme Evaluation  12  
   1. Naturalistic versus Experimental Study Design  12  
   2. Empirically Based Research  16  
   3. Comparison and Judgment  18  
   4. Generalization  23  
C. The Process of Evaluating the Native Youth Project  27  

III.  FRAMEWORK: CULTURAL BROKERAGE  31  
A. Foundation for the Practical Application of Anthropology  34  
B. A Questioning of Authority  39  

IV.  THE LEGACY OF HARRY AND AUDREY HAWTHORN  49  
A. "Useful Anthropology"  49  
B. The Place of a People's Heritage  53  
C. Background Assumptions of Cultural Brokerage  57  
   1. Credibility and Prestige  58  
   2. Empirical and Practical  59  
   3. Assimilation/Conservation  60  
   4. Cultural Identity  61  

V.  BRENDA TAYLOR AND THE NATIVE INDIAN YOUTH ADVISORY SOCIETY  67  
A. Changing Approach to Education Among the First Nations  68  
B. Establishing the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society  73  
C. NIYAS Co-Sponsorship of the Native Youth Project  77  
D. Coping with the Urbanization of First Nations Youth  80  

Page iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is necessary to acknowledge that many people have contributed to the descriptions and explanations presented in this thesis. I sincerely hope they understand my gratitude. On the other hand, it is equally necessary to note that the final interpretation is my own, filtered through my own particular worldview and expectations. Nonetheless, it is intended to be comprehensive and useful.

First to be acknowledged and thanked are the participants in the Native Youth Project who are recognized in the appendix. They are the inspiration behind this thesis. The staff at MOA are acknowledged for continuing and enhancing the organizational commitment to education and public service. For me, the discipline of anthropology was systematically presented and made meaningful in the museum context through the teaching and guidance of Michael Ames, to whom I am indebted. The thesis committee was chaired by Michael Ames, with Michael Kew and Robin Ridington serving as members. Three friends deserve special recognition for their continuing encouragement and assistance: Jean McIntosh, Anne-Marie Fenger and Marg Meikle. And throughout the research and writing process, my family has been very patient and extremely supportive. Thank you.
I. INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1979, an innovative programme for urban teenagers of First Nations ancestry was launched, co-sponsored by the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society (NIYAS) and the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology (MOA). The Native Youth Project (NYP) operated through the 1980s as a work/study programme, training participants to make presentations on the indigenous cultures of the Northwest Coast to museum visitors and community groups. This project developed as government legislation promoted a multicultural policy, and it reflected the efforts of the First Nations to address educational problems as the population base shifted from reserves to urban centres. The NYP was nurtured by the organizational culture at MOA, and can be understood within a framework of cultural brokerage. This case study of the NYP focusses on the programme's origins, development and operating structure, using the methods of participant observation and organizing information in a purposeful manner to facilitate programme evaluation. The body of the case study attempts to understand the NYP from the perspectives of the various stakeholders, reporting what they did, how they responded and how they talked about their experiences. This is also an exercise in reflexive anthropology, examining the objectives and activities of a contemporary museum education programme in which I participated as part of the management and instructional team.

The NYP illustrated both the style and commitment of MOA.
Anthropological collections were received as gifts by the University of British Columbia beginning in the late 1920s and were housed in the main library building. In the late 1940s, the function and work of MOA were given purpose by the "Useful Anthropology" of Harry Hawthorn and the curatorial approach of Audrey Hawthorn. Along with greatly increased acquisitions of artifacts from the aboriginal cultures of the Northwest Coast, an emphasis was placed on ethnographic research including studies of both traditional culture and contemporary social problems. Under the guidance of the Hawthorns, an impressive new facility was specifically designed for the museum which opened in 1976. A combination of the collections, architecture and academic output have given this relatively small museum an international reputation among museologists, other scholars and the general public. Chapter Four describes the work of the Hawthorns and the ethos which they, along with their students and colleagues, established at the museum. This was the basis for the organizational culture at MOA which continues to inform the programmes and commitments at the museum.

The story of the NYP is told through the key stakeholders. Chapters Five and Six consider the founders of the NYP. The community roots for the NYP came from the work of Brenda Taylor and the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society which she was instrumental in organizing and which she directed through the 1980s. In the early 1970s, the social and economic conditions of First Nations youth in the urban environment became the
focus of attention for Taylor, who has served as a home-school worker with the Department of Indian Affairs and with the Vancouver School Board. About this same time, Madeline Bronsdon Rowan became a curator at MOA responsible for the educational programming. Rowan extended conventional definitions for this work, believing in the potential for anthropology and museum based programming to augment educational opportunities for "disadvantaged" youth of the First Nations. Chapters Seven and Eight deal with the project managers and the project members who were culturally identified with the First Nations. Many of the participants responded to the opportunities provided by the NYP and used the programme to address their own particular needs and goals. Their interest, and in many cases loyalty, were significant in the development and character of the project.

Over the years, MOA provided the facilities and basic resources for organizing and maintaining the NYP. Chapter Nine describes the institutional setting for the programme, the project resources and the evolving sensibilities and commitment of the staff at MOA. The outcomes of this programme have been complex, as diverse as the individuals and groups which came together to create the NYP.

The orientation and structure of the NYP was characterized by a sense of mission. Depending on the available funding, five to twelve high school students participated in the NYP each summer. After a training period, these young people made regularly scheduled presentations to visitors at MOA and
outreach presentations to community groups. The presentations explained various aspects of the indigenous culture of the Northwest Coast. The first presentation at MOA featured the traditional uses of the cedar tree. Presentations on fishing, potlatching and a tour of carvings in the collections at MOA were added. Not only did project members have to master the presentations, they had to be prepared to answer a wide range of questions about the First Nations. Indeed, for museum visitors, the NYP represented the First Nations, a role the project members accepted and considered important. The basic summer project was funded through employment grants from the Canadian government. In addition, the NYP used various methods of fund raising in order to make field trips to First Nations cultural and community centres throughout the province. The NYP also had a winter programme of Sunday presentations at the museum.

Themes and dilemmas emerge from this story of the NYP, many of which can be understood within a framework of cultural brokerage. The history and implications of cultural brokerage in the discipline of anthropology are considered in Chapter Three. MOA staff served as cultural brokers, attempting to make anthropological knowledge more widely accessible and useful in bridging cultural differences. The underlying assumption was that this knowledge would contribute to mutual respect and constructive understanding. Museum staff assumed an advocacy position as cultural brokers by using anthropological research and programming to aid the First Nations of Canada, particularly
the aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Coast. The NYP illustrated the orientation and commitment to cultural brokerage at MOA. Conceived as a social intervention programme to improve academic achievement, provide employment and develop cultural awareness for urban teenagers from the First Nations, the NYP changed over time in response to modified objectives, altered sensibilities and administrative restructuring. Analyzing the needs and aspirations of the various stakeholders in the NYP provides a basis for understanding the impact and potential of the programme. The approach used in this case study is naturalistic and contextual programme evaluation which is discussed in Chapter Two. In addition, this is a reflexive exercise. As an early member of the NYP management and instructional team, I am examining my own involvement and commitment in a programme informed by the background assumptions of cultural brokerage. The information in this case study is offered to provoke debate and reassessment by the stakeholders and, through extrapolation, by those concerned with similar problems and programmes.
II. APPROACH: PROGRAMME EVALUATION

The purpose of this case study of the NYP is to examine in a thorough and purposeful manner the development and practices of a contemporary museum based educational programme. It is an exercise in "formative" evaluation, studying an evolving programme, rather than "summative" evaluation, providing conclusive judgments on programme effectiveness and impact (Weiss 1972:17). The intent is threefold: 1. to help inform policy decisions as the programme sponsors review their continuing support of the NYP and to serve as a basis for the ongoing development and refinement of the programme, 2. to provide information and assessments useful in planning and establishing similar programmes in other settings, and 3. to explore (within the discipline of anthropology) the related theoretical and methodological problems of cultural brokerage and ethnographic authority. This is a reflexive study, analyzing a socio-cultural programme within which I, the author, participated as a staff member.

Between 1977 and 1983, I was a student at MOA and had various staff and project responsibilities. In 1982, and again briefly in 1987, I worked directly on the NYP as part of the management and instructional team. Following this involvement, I assumed the position of researcher, using the methods of participant observation to assemble the information for this case study. The circumstances and activities of the NYP are described in this case study from the perspective of the key...
stakeholders. The descriptions are based on my personal participation in the project, complemented by extensive field observations, interviews and a thorough review of project records. Conclusions are drawn assessing the programme structure and treatments. This is a practical exercise, providing information to stimulate deeper questioning and debate about an ongoing programme in an active institutional setting.

Programme evaluation as a specialized field of inquiry has a relatively short history. Only within the past three decades has it emerged, primarily as a response to intensified social intervention policies and programmes. Michael Patton provides an inclusive definition:

Program evaluation is undertaken to inform decisions, clarify options, reduce uncertainties, and provide information about programs and policies within contextual boundaries of time, place, values, and politics. [Patton 1986:14]

The roots of programme evaluation are diverse. As Carol Weiss explains, "What distinguishes evaluation research is not method or subject matter, but intent" (1972:6). Over time, the purpose and techniques of evaluation research have broadened, assuming a more integral role in contemporary social planning, accompanied by a shift in research design from standardized and abstracted experimental models for the evaluation of programme treatments to contextual and reactive research in continuing programme situations. Since the late 1970s, programme evaluation has gone through a process of "professionalization" with an emphasis on utility, feasibility, propriety and accuracy.
The naturalistic orientation and reflexive perspective of anthropology make ethnographic methods adaptable and serviceable for programme evaluation, and, in fact, these methods have gradually been incorporated into evaluation research, at least into the non-experimental formats. Methodological qualities significant in this relationship are summarized under four issues. First, anthropology is grounded in naturalistic study of ongoing social realities rather than experimental models of research. Second, anthropology is founded on empirical research featuring participant observation. The third issue concerns the nature of comparison and judgment in anthropology which promotes a situationally responsive orientation. And the fourth issue considers the process of generalization. As the field of programme evaluation matured, the methods and perspectives of anthropology have gained recognition and respect. Evaluation research provides both an appropriate occupational pursuit for anthropologists and a responsible operational attitude toward participation in social action programmes.

A. PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PROGRAMME EVALUATION

The 1960s and 1970s were turbulent times for the social sciences in North America. This era of liberal social reforms brought high expectations. In Canada and the United States, this effort combined massive federal expenditures with a conspicuous use of expertise in the social sciences to develop and maintain action programmes in education, health and welfare.
Patton characterizes program evaluation prior to the 1960s as either a "charity orientation" based on assessing staff sincerity or "pure pork barrel politics" based on a political head count of opponents and proponents (1986:18). In the 1960s, large-scale government sponsored social action programmes required project accountability, and administrators turned to state-of-the-art methodologies—rigorous experimental designs, quantitative data and detailed statistical analysis. Criteria for judging evaluation research were virtually the same as judging basic academic research in the conventional social and behavioural sciences—validity, reliability, measurability and generalizability.

Then in the 1970s, disappointing results of social intervention programmes collided with economic problems. It had become obvious that the infusion of funds alone was unable to solve complex human and social problems. Useful evaluation information was recognized as a significant element in the implementation and ongoing effectiveness of action programmes. This marked a time of evaluating evaluation. In other words, evaluators, along with programme planners and staff, were being made accountable. Previously evaluators had clearly defined responsibilities limited to research and sometimes publication of the findings. The lament was often heard among social scientists that research results were not used.

Both on the national and the local scale, the application of social science knowledge and methodology is expected to have beneficial effects: improve decision
making, lead to the planning of better programs, and so serve program participants in more relevant, more beneficial, and more efficient ways. The production of objective evidence is seen as a way to reduce the politicking, the self-serving maneuvers, and the log-rolling that commonly attend decision making at every level from the Congress to the local school. Data will replace favors and other political negotiations, so that the most rational decisions will be reached.

In these terms, the history of evaluation research to date has been disappointing. Few examples can be cited of important contributions to policy and program. Part of the reason lies in the remarkable resistance of organizations to unwanted information—and unwanted change. [Weiss 1972:3]

The underlying tone of this quote suggests that evaluators work under an authority greater than the pragmatic realities of specific programmes. The problem, however, went beyond "unwanted" information and change. Evaluation users required understandable information, relevant to the decision making process within which they participated. Patton describes the net effect of this situation as a utilization crisis, observing, "Just as by the late 1960s we had discovered that poverty would not go away as easily as we had hoped, so the visions of government based on rational decision making undergirded by scientific truth were beginning to fade" (1986:23).

By the mid 1970s, the field of programme evaluation had reached a stage which Madaus, Stufflebeam and Scriven (1983) describe as "professionalization." As part of this, a joint committee was formed with representatives from twelve professional organizations to set out standards of excellence in evaluation research. After years of deliberation and preparation, these were published in 1981. The standards were
based on four qualities: utility, feasibility, propriety and accuracy, in that particular order. This means that evaluation professionals, accountable to their colleagues, make critical judgments about the commissions they accept and carry out. The first consideration is the potential for use of the findings, how and by whom. Second is the practicality of conducting the study including cost effectiveness and political climate. Third is an assessment of whether or not the study can be conducted in a fair and ethical manner. And finally, questions of technical adequacy are addressed. The utility criterion frames their assessment of realizing the remaining standards, and the accuracy criterion does not have an independent status but rather must be judged in terms of providing useful information effectively and fairly. Referring to the work of Thomas Kuhn, Patton states, "It is not an exaggeration, in my opinion, to characterize the shift in perspective represented by the new standards as 'a scientific revolution'" (1986:25). This shift is illustrated in the launching of a new journal in 1979, Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization with Carol Weiss, Donald T. Campbell and others eminent in the field of programme evaluation on the editorial board. The editors looked to an illustrious intellectual heritage and accepted a formidable social mission (Rich 1979). As the pendulum of respect swung from pure (abstract) toward applied (situational) science, a distinct professional identity emerged for programme evaluators. Interdisciplinary but with a shared intent, they endeavoured to
make the knowledge and methods of social science relevant to the needs of society. Anthropologists have contributed to this effort from their grounded study of continuing social realities and, more recently, from their reflexive inquiry into the process of socio-cultural research.

B. ANTHROPOLOGY AND PROGRAMME EVALUATION

Anthropological theory and methods provide resources for the development of a holistic approach to programme evaluation which is naturalistic and responsive. This work must be manageable and convincing. There are several major issues to be reviewed about the nature of an anthropologically based investigation for purposes of programme evaluation. First is the question of naturalistic versus experimental study design, addressing where and when programme evaluation can effectively be conducted. Second is the empirical basis for generating understandings, considering what information appropriately serves as substance for an evaluation. The third issue looks at comparison and judgment to examine how a programme can be evaluated. And the fourth issue is generalization, considering the broader process of generating authoritative understandings.

1. Naturalistic versus Experimental Study Design

Anthropological discourse is often apologetic about the scientific merit of the traditional ethnographic methodologies, allowing experimental models of social research to establish the standards for validity, reliability, measurability and
generalizability. This position has been discussed in terms of a dichotomy between "science" and "art" (see Pelto and Pelto 1978:177-229 and Koppelman 1983:349) suggesting quantifiable objectivity on the one hand and subjective interpretation on the other. However, scientific inquiry is not defined by controlled experiments. There are notable examples of this in the natural sciences where research objectives and study questions of disciplines such as astronomy, geology and meteorology are not well served by experimental methods.

A similar division between experimental and non-experimental study orientations occurs in evaluation research. Experimental studies abstract programme elements to examine them under controlled conditions. In contrast, naturalistic studies are conducted within the working context of the actual programmes. Gerald Britan explains that in the real life situation of social action programmes, goals and intended results are rarely explicit and unanimously held by all parties. Programme treatments are usually multifaceted, eliminating the possibility of identifying specific cause-effect relationships or using an experimental model with quantifiable measurements. Britan explains:

Contextual evaluation treats action programs as ongoing social realities by directly studying their everyday activities. Goals, treatments, and results therefore evolve from continuing interactions among program participants. By understanding these processes, a contextual evaluation attempts to explain how a program has developed, what it does, and how it can be altered. [Britan 1978b:230]
A critical questioning of the appropriateness and usefulness of experimental models for programme evaluation has developed.

During the proliferation of evaluation research in the late 1960s and 1970s, the experimental model of academic research set expectations requiring testable hypotheses based on explicit programme goals (see Gordon and Morse 1975, and Weiss 1972). Limiting background assumptions about the nature of social intervention and policy formation required standardized measurements for accountability. Evaluation practices were expected to provide "hard" evidence of programme outcomes and predict treatment replicability. The results were necessarily abstracted and disappointing:

Quantitative impact studies cannot cope with this messy reality, so their apparently scientific findings are achieved either by ignoring complexity or by canceling it out with statistical "correctives." As a consequence, the abstracted, statistical pictures painted by such studies might bear only a faint resemblance to lived reality. Given this, it is no wonder that direct service workers often see little good coming from evaluations, nor is it surprising that the results of such research rarely are used to inform program operations. [Loseke 1989:220]

Alan Peshkin characterizes quantitative study as reduction, suggesting that "qualitative methods are notably suited for grasping the complexity of the phenomena we investigate" (1988:416). Contextual, naturalistic studies based in anthropological theory and methods "are especially important in providing a basis for policy decisions involving improvements and changes in continuing program settings" (Britan 1978a:126). Evaluation research modelled after anthropological methods
supports penetrating questions with flexible study designs. Ethnographic research allows hypotheses and study designs to be developed in the process of research.

One of the methodological strengths of anthropology is that researchers are generally flexible enough to discover new areas of information not foreseen in their original research plans. This is part of the constructive holism of the discipline. [Pelto and Pelto 1978:240; italics in original]

Ethnographic methods provided a welcomed counterpoint to conventional experimental evaluation. The term "ethnographic evaluator" emerged in the 1970s, primarily in the field of educational research.

David Fetterman explains the committed and grounded orientation most often associated with an ethnographic approach:

[As ethnographic evaluators, we] have the capacity and responsibility to shape the destiny of our work. They have made conscious decision to participate in the social and political arena. Ethnographic evaluators are integrally involved in describing, designing, and participating in the process of change.... Ethnographic evaluators conduct their research holistically, nonjudgmentally, and contextually. [Fetterman 1986:13]

Fetterman uses the concept of "cultural broker" to describe the work of ethnographic evaluators, emphasizing the need to communicate across disciplinary boundaries.

Anthropologists have planted deep roots in the soil of educational evaluation.... They have offered evaluators a new paradigm, a new way of looking at educational innovations, and new methods of data collection and analysis. Moreover, they have diffused a cultural interpretation of behaviors and events in educational research. [Fetterman 1986:21]

Ethnography brought to the field of programme evaluation a holistic, grounded perspective dedicated to the study of ongoing
social realities with an appreciation for the dynamics of culture change and the impact of intervention. Robert L. Wolf (1980:41) concludes that naturalistic evaluation is aimed at understanding the meaning of experience within a particular context which recognizes the "multiplicity" of perspectives and the "rationality" of systematic information gathering and usage. Within this broad orientation, pragmatic considerations establish manageable evaluation studies.

A typical study consists of four major operational phases: negotiation, issue identification, in-depth investigation, and analysis and presentation. [Wolf 1980:42; italics in original]

Naturalistic and contextual research can and should be flexible, not only in responding to diverse needs and study opportunities, but also in incorporating a range of research techniques including, where appropriate and useful, experimental and quantitative methods as part of the repertoire for systematic and holistic probing for deeper understanding. The study focus, nonetheless, remains the naturally occurring events, activities, behaviours and systems rather than standardized abstractions.

2. Empirically Based Research

Exploring further the connections between anthropology and programme evaluation, it is important to recognize that the primary mode of ethnographic investigation is participant observation emphasizing descriptive data. As a research method, ethnography takes the ordinary activity of participating in social life and sets out various techniques for making it a
directed and systematic activity. Information is based on experiential learning, questioning impressions, tracking relationships, regularly checking and monitoring the consistency and patterning of field observations. Research tools for conducting participant observation are chosen to meet the constraints and possibilities of the particular situation. They include extensive field notes, interviews, surveys, collaboration with key informants, life histories, archival research, myth analysis, even psychological measurements, photography, and sound and image recording.

Unlike the situation in the laboratory sciences, research tools in anthropology involve relatively little in the way of hardware and gadgetry but require great sensitivity and self-awareness on the part of the investigator. The fieldworker is the principal research instrument... [Pelto and Pelto 1978:67]

Data gathering is a selective process which reflects the training and orientation of the researchers. Generally speaking, Patton admonishes against unrealistic expectations:

Too often evaluators and decision makers behave as if there is some body of data out there that has only to be collected in order to reveal what it all means, whether or not it works, and whether or not the program is effective. [Patton 1986:246]

Ethnographic evaluators sort through the complexities of ongoing social realities to develop orderly descriptions based on first hand observation and participation.

The content of the ethnographic data collection process can be better understood by contrasting emic and etic approaches (Pelto and Pelto 1978:54-66). An etic approach studies
observable activities and patterns of behaviour, assuming they can be enumerated and adequately described with universally valid terminology. This approach provides concrete descriptions of physical occurrences. In contrast, the emic approach emphasizes meaning and patterns of logic which require an insider's point of view. The cognitive process making sense of occurrences and directing behaviour assumes explanatory importance. Pelto and Pelto point out that most anthropologists "operate with a basically emic perspective" (1978:245). But these are not exclusive approaches. An illustration of the melding of etic and emic approaches is provided by Wolf in his review of naturalistic museum evaluation research, "It is imperative, however, to supplement behavioral observation with visitor interviews so as to fully understand what motivations and levels of interest contribute to a person's actions" (1980:44). The object of investigation guides the selection of specific units of observation balancing etic and emic approaches to develop a data base for holistic analysis.

3. **Comparison and Judgment**

In programme evaluation, data must be coordinated and analyzed in a convincing manner to provide a basis for assessments and recommendations. Analysis in conventional evaluation research becomes convincing through the use of comparison. In experimental evaluation testing goal achievement, formal comparison is internal with pre- and post-tests and external with standardized measurement tools.
Variables are regulated to be held constant, and treatment effectiveness is demonstrated by the use of control groups for explicit comparison. The basic assumption is that, when conditions are repeated, the effect will be predictable within degrees of probability. This experimental methodology minimizes researcher judgment, providing "hard" evidence. But many subjective decisions on content and appropriateness are made in selecting and administering the measurement tools. There are technical limitations on what can and cannot be quantitatively compared, and in real life situations it may not be possible to use control groups. Rethinking the purpose and constraints of programme evaluation has led to a call for situational responsiveness.

Judgments about the relative practicality of a particular evaluation process or evaluation finding can only be made with reference to a particular situation involving specific people, a specific program, and specific constraints. The standards of evaluation are not absolute behavioral guidelines. They require adaptation and interpretation in the context of specific circumstances and constraints.

...This constitutes a major shift in perspective from evaluation judged by a single, standard, and universal set of criteria (methodological rigor as defined by the hypothetico-deductive paradigm) to situational evaluation in which judgment criteria are multiple, flexible, and diverse. [Patton 1982:300; parentheses in original]

Patton uses the phrase "active-reactive-adaptive evaluators" to describe those professionals who are meeting the new challenges.

As a research tradition which respects local integrity, and by extension situational distinctiveness, ethnography offers an alternative to formal comparison through an emphasis on holistic
analysis. Elements and parts are studied and explained in relationship to the total situation, building an integrated picture. Appropriately, the focus of investigation for ethnographic evaluators is the structural characteristics of programmes, studying the interplay of defined social problems, programme goals, treatments and outcomes.

An ethnographic evaluator who grounds his or her research questions and variables in field experience, and aims at the deep rather than the surface structure of communication and behavior, will be able to provide a richer picture and more accurate appraisal of the sociocultural system under study. [Fetterman 1986:217]

An illustration of focussing on structural characteristics is provided in the way programme participants are conceived and studied. Ethnographic evaluators attempt to incorporate into their research and analysis the multiplicity of insiders' perspectives. However, as Patton (1986:71) warns, programme evaluation cannot be allowed to degenerate into personnel evaluation. Staff organization and procedures for personnel evaluation are often basic issues in programme evaluation with long term policy implications. The object of study remains, nonetheless, structural, not routine management considerations of aptitude and performance in individual participants. Appropriately, ethnographic evaluators search for patterns and relationships to develop an integrated understanding of programme development and potential.

An example of holistic evaluation can be found in the study of corporate (more broadly referred to as organizational)
culture by Daniel Denison (1990). He sets out four basic perspectives which frame the judgment of effectiveness. The models illustrate the "inherent paradox" in assessing the success of organizations which are composed of a mix of stakeholders and constituents. The models emphasize internal dynamics or response to the external environment in either a proactive or reactive manner. First is the "natural systems model" which "must be evaluated with respect to the equilibrium and elaboration of the system itself" (1990:36). Second is the "goal attainment model" which is also referred to as the rational systems model where "organizations are perceived as contrived, instrumental, and purposeful" (Ibid.). This model is widely used in conventional programme evaluation promoting summative studies. Third is the "decision process model" where indicators of effectiveness use the information processing and decision making characteristics of organizations. And the fourth model judges organizational effectiveness in terms of reactive ability, studying resource dependence and broader patterns in the external environment. Denison generates an integrating framework for his own work (1990:15):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>change &amp; flexibility</th>
<th>stability &amp; direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>external</td>
<td>ADAPTABILITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internal flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>External focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MISSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal</td>
<td>INVOLVEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CONSISTENCY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normative integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Predictability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Denison stresses the need for balancing competing demands,
concluding, "this framework assumes that an effective culture must provide all of these elements" (Ibid.). Extending the debates and dilemmas developed in this chapter, Denison writes:

The culture perspective has focused on the basic values, beliefs, and assumptions that are present in organizations, the patterns of behavior that result from these shared meanings, and the symbols that express the links between assumptions, values, and behavior to an organization's members. The focus on organizational culture has, in contrast to climate research [a socio-psychological research perspective focussing on the individual level], been more qualitative and idiographic in approach, and has employed methods that have been predominantly clinical, ethnographic, and anthropological. [Denison 1990:27; explanation added]

Denison's framework for assessing organizational effectiveness is used in Chapter Ten as part of the evaluation of the NYP. In addition, the concept of organizational culture provides a way of understanding the institutional setting within which the NYP developed.

In ethnography, judgment in holistic analysis turns to criteria and standards set within the cultural or situational entity, favoring Denison's "natural systems model." Fetterman explains the process and the position of the researcher:

The ethnographic evaluator describes what is going on and then makes a qualitative leap beyond description to the explicit appraisal and assessment of the cultural system in terms of its own cultural norms. As an ethnographer and an ethnographic evaluator, I have found explicit assessment to be a more honest and useful approach to the study of human beings.

...Holding back one's assessments upsets a delicate balance of reciprocity and mutual expectations. [Fetterman 1986:24]

The onus for coordinating and analyzing data in a useful manner falls to the ethnographic evaluator who is responsible for
facilitating and guiding judgments on impact and potential with a sense of fairness and balance.

It is important to note that naturalistic evaluation reports outline areas of consideration in a spirit of suggestion.... The process seeks to provide a rich description of what works and why. The insights and decisions provoked through consideration of these suggestions can help to illuminate possible options. [Wolf 1980:43]

Wolf describes a debriefing process where stakeholders are involved in developing feasible recommendations. "When studies produce insight that can be translated into action, that action will occur naturally" (1980:45). Fetterman counsels, "Ethnographic evaluators like all evaluators must recognize that they are only cogs in the larger system of policy decision making" (1986:220). He goes on to suggest that the mission is really to serve as "a more effective change agent" (Idid.).

 Formats for ordering and organizing evaluation data are developed to facilitate assessment of problems and issues with an expectation of implementation. While evaluation research by definition is concerned with specific, bounded programmes and social action problems, there remains the issue of achieving broader significance and relevance.

4. Generalization

The three issues discussed in the preceding sections have outlined the merits of naturalistic research based on empirical study which is situationally responsive both in terms of research design and interpretation. Then there is the problem of generalization, relating dedicated studies to broader
understandings. Based on an assumption of "the universality and
importance of experiential understanding," Robert Stake promotes
"naturalistic generalization" (1983:284). He explains the
concept in the foreword to a later publication:

I have tried to emphasize the uniqueness of this case
more than its generality.... Believing that each reader
will generalize to sites and circumstances about which I
know little, I have tried to provide great detail about
particulars that facilitate those reader-made
generalizations. [Stake 1986:x]

Stake states that while naturalistic generalizations "lead
regularly to expectation" guiding action, "they have not yet
passed the empirical and logical tests that characterize formal
(scholarly, scientific) generalizations" (1983:282; parenthesis
in original). In a similar vein, Patton suggests
"extrapolation," referring "to the logical, creative process of
thinking about what specific findings mean for other situations
rather than the statistical process of generalizing from a
sample to a larger population" (1986:235). Reflecting a more
conventional approach to theory building, Britan describes the
role of contextual evaluation research:

More important for anthropologists, such evaluation
research provides a practical testing ground for
anthropological theory. Action programs, after all, are
real world experiments in social change. [Britan
1978a:126]

Generalizations range in authority from common sense to
theoretical, incorporating various means to generate support and
establish expectations.

Generalizations result from a delicate interplay between
inductive observation and deductive reasoning.

A generally accepted modern view of scientific procedure holds that effective theory construction depends on both inductive and deductive procedures. That is, solid foundations for scientific propositions often depend on a painstaking accumulation of, and generalization from, basic observations of the real world; but, just as often, theoretical systems provide the frame of reference and basic assumptions in terms of which relevant hypothesis-testing observations can be pursued. In any case, a random gathering of facts cannot by itself result in an increase of scientific understanding. [Pelto and Pelto 1978:15; italics in original]

There are no magic recipes for achieving a respected position; however, two qualities stand out in the successful formulation of generalizations. First, the work must be systematic. Neither a random gathering of facts nor a pointless testing of hypotheses will facilitate generalization or even useful extrapolation. And second, the process of generalization is not an isolated operation but requires effective communication based on publication, critical review and other mechanisms for sharing studies. As Thomas Kuhn observes, "Scientific knowledge, like language, is intrinsically the common property of a group or else nothing at all" (1970:210). Accepting generalizations into a authoritative body of knowledge is ultimately a group activity, more effectively handled with the "corrective mechanism" of a reflexive perspective. Michael Ames makes a direct appeal.

This brings me to my final point: a call for a more reflexive style of anthropology -- the anthropology of ourselves -- as a useful complement to the established externalized and other-directed perspectives. By all means we should continue to apply our methods to others; but in addition, we should give more attention to our backyard.
This perspective will serve as a useful corrective mechanism, making us more efficient in what we do as well as more sensitive about how we do it. [Ames 1979:23]

Contemporary sensibilities among social scientists call for a reflexive as well as a progressive attitude in their work, cognizant of their purpose and how it is accomplished.

In summary, anthropologists are well suited to meet the criteria for contemporary professional programme evaluation as set forth by the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation (1981). "Utility," confirmed in accepting specific commissions, flows directly from the commitment of grounded participant observation and the emerging attitude of social responsibility. "Feasibility" comes from flexible and adaptable methodologies and sensitivity to group organization, standards and resources. "Propriety" is addressed in the basic ethical code of the discipline. And "accuracy" is based on empirical study conducted in a systematic manner with holistic analysis, open to review by peers, stakeholders and other interested parties. Anthropologists tend to be skeptical of definitive answers and prescribed solutions. Anthropologists contribute a way of understanding group behaviour and the human condition which respects the dynamics of specific situations and the unique equations underlying programme policies and implementation. Lofty expectations have to be translated into actual studies meeting a variety of constraints and possibilities.
THE PROCESS OF EVALUATING THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT

This case study of the NYP is an exercise in naturalistic programme evaluation based on reflexive participant observation. The operational phases roughly correspond to those put forward by Wolf (1980:41): negotiation, issue identification, in-depth investigation, and analysis and presentation. It was not a neat, linear process, however, but a study which utilized the methodological strength of anthropology, identified by Pelto and Pelto (1978:240), where discovery can occur during the course of the study, altering and refining the original research plan. The initial negotiation was not for a consultant’s contract but for a thesis topic with the director of MOA serving as advisor. At that time, MOA had administered the NYP for ten years and I had supervised the project for the 1982 summer programme and assisted during the 1987 summer programme. The negotiations focussed on questions of programme significance and classification. The NYP was an innovative museum programme designed to enhance educational opportunities for and about the First Nations. The longevity and consistency of the programme argued that the fundamental concept and procedures developed in the project held interesting lessons and insights. The project provided a rich setting for ethnographic field work into a contemporary social action programme. The work was to be a case study with detailed description based on participant observation which would organize information needed by MOA and the NIYAS as they reviewed their sponsorship of the project. As the research
proceeded, requirements for programme evaluation and the implications of reflexive study gained importance and influenced the scope and perspective of the work.

The information for this case study was collected in the natural setting of the project by observing and recording activities and relationships in order to assess the strategies and structure of the programme. This has balanced etic and emic approaches, watching and questioning the proceedings, discussing the project with the participants, examining project records and archival sources, and by actively taking a part in the management of the project. My own service to the NYP included the position of project supervisor in the summer of 1982 when Madeline Rowan, the founding curator, was on a leave of absence, and substituting as project manager for part of the summer of 1987. In 1988, I began systematic research on the NYP as a basis for this thesis. My commitment to the NYP has been both as an active participant and as a researcher, making this a truly reflexive exercise. Over the years, I have worked with the originating curator, three of the nine project managers, 20 of the 59 project members, and the MOA supervising staff. I have also been acquainted with three other project managers and several other project members. In 1982, I coordinated payroll and other administrative activities with NIYAS. From this direct involvement, personal relationships exist which both inform my understanding and restrict my explanations. The research value in my position is in-depth familiarity with the
programme and the stakeholders. The drawback is heightened subjectivity. I identify with the successes and failures of the NYP and have an inclination to serve as apologist. To further explain my orientation, I am a teacher by training with varied experience in conventional classrooms and supplementary educational programmes. While I have always questioned conservative mainstream educational policies and practices, I accept the process of education and intellectual development as the promise for individual and social fulfillment and improvement. My objective in preparing this case study of the NYP fits the description of naturalistic evaluation provided by Wolf (1980:43) — to outline with rich description "areas of consideration in a spirit of suggestion" for purposes of stimulating insights and debates. To accomplish this, the observations have been thorough, covering all aspects of the programme, questioning and reconsidering information to refine explanations and presentations.

This case study of the NYP describes the origins and development of the programme, focussing on the key stakeholders and their experiences, expectations and relationships. It follows the circumstances and sensibilities surrounding the project as the participants and conditions for operating the programme changed over time. Holistic and naturalistic evaluation, as an operational attitude in social action programmes, entails not only the collection and manipulation of data, but also a penetrating consideration of the background
assumptions which inform the programme. The various stakeholders brought diverse perspectives and expectations to the NYP. As a reflexive study, this case study emphasizes the motivations of the originating curator and the supporting staff at MOA, of which I was a part. Chapter Three considers cultural brokerage as a background assumption in anthropology, especially in applied work. Anthropologists, historically specializing in the study of dependent peoples, have often been moved to serve as representatives and advocates to facilitate cross-cultural understanding and social planning. This orientation to serve as "cultural brokers" has remained as anthropologists moved into the study of contemporary society, for example, informing the role of ethnographic evaluators. Fetterman identified so strongly with this orientation that he dedicated his 1986 publication on educational evaluation, edited with Mary Ann Pitman, "To our families and to pioneers and cultural brokers in every field" (1986:7). The general orientation to cultural brokerage in anthropology was given an operational base within the organizational culture of MOA through the work of Harry and Audrey Hawthorn, along with their students and associates. This is considered in Chapter Four, setting the stage for the development of the Native Youth Project.
III. FRAMEWORK: CULTURAL BROKERAGE

At one level, anthropology is an intellectual endeavour, an act of scholarship recording and interpreting a category of phenomena. Perhaps because the field draws so closely on the lives of real people, this act of scholarship often assumes, with varying degrees of commitment, an applied orientation. The literature on applied anthropology is extensive, covering definitions, theoretical debates, ethical issues and professional prospects. For a good bibliography, see Erve Chambers' 1985 publication Applied Anthropology: A Practical Guide. A dominant theme, implicit in the discussions if not explicitly elaborated, is anthropologist as cultural broker.

Applied anthropologists have often described themselves as cultural brokers, maintaining that their activities involve some kind of transfer of knowledge, skill, or service between distinct cultures. The idea of cultural brokerage is often tinged with a sense of advocacy for the economically marginal and least powerful members of society. [Chambers 1985:26]

In their careful analysis of anthropological methodology, Pelto and Pelto suggest that at some point, most field researchers assume the role of cultural broker.

The near-ubiquity of the culture broker role among anthropologists, whether in applied projects or in supposedly nonapplied research, arises from a core methodological feature of anthropology. Almost all anthropologists operate with a basically emic perspective in certain aspects of field work. However etic the final product is intended to be, most fieldworkers look at peoples' lifeways from an insider's point of view and come to identify with the local people in a variety of ways. This hallmark of the ethnographic enterprise...is so taken for granted by many nonanthropologists that it is sometimes thought to be the major raison d'être of anthropology. [Pelto and Pelto 1978:245-46]
This framework of brokerage, entailing an agent or agency negotiating for and between culturally defined parties, is useful in understanding the formation and development of the Native Youth Project.

This chapter briefly traces the historical development of the practical application of anthropology, the background assumptions and the responses engendered. The role of the cultural broker assumed its mission within the intellectual milieu of historic periods. The evolutionary expectations of the late nineteenth century were checked at the turn of the century by the grounded functionalism of Malinowski. Anthropologists as cultural brokers served as informants and then representatives in an effort to make colonialism more palatable. A deeper sense of advocacy developed with an appreciation for the problems of massive social change following World War I, leading to a global perspective following World War II when cultural brokers served as facilitators in development programmes. The 1960s and 1970s were marked with a spirit of "reinventing anthropology" spurred on by skepticism within the discipline and activism within indigenous communities. There was an overt call for social responsibility and with it, an enlarged mission for cultural brokers to serve as analysts and mediators. By the 1980s, a movement developed focussing on critical review of ethnographic authority in Western anthropology exemplified in the work of James Clifford (1988).
Throughout the history of the discipline, there has been a dialectic played out between nomothetic and idiographic orientations with the cultural brokers simultaneously engrossed in humanity and community. The difficulty in this position can be read into Hymes discussion of the use of anthropology.

The opportunity, then, is this: to employ our ethnographic tradition of work, and such ethnological insight as informs it, in the study of the emergence of cultural form in concrete settings and in relation to a world society. [Hymes 1974:35]

Ethnography stresses an insider's perspective and encourages practitioners to speak with cultural authority. Advocacy, inevitably tinged with paternalism, has been a dominant feature. This background framework of cultural brokerage, mediating between cultural entities, provides a way of understanding the motivation for many anthropological efforts. Assumptions of cultural brokerage persist, addressing new opportunities. Suggesting a "postcultural" age from the vantage point of the late twentieth century (Clifford 1988:95), changing client relationships and different forms of authority become evident. Building on the strengths of the ethnographic tradition, the position of cultural brokerage reflects the sensibilities of the time, responding to contemporary challenges and criticisms with conservative and reformative intentions. The work continues. In the application of anthropological understandings, cultural brokers inform real programmes which become part of actual lives.
A. FOUNDATION FOR THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology as a discipline emerged in the nineteenth century. Over three centuries of "discovery" (exploration and colonisation) had opened vast new territories to scholarly description and explanation. The new discipline enjoyed a world of exotic, seemingly pristine cultures, recorded by explorers, traders and missionaries. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, elaborate typologies had been delineated couched in an idea of progress and injected with a heavy dose of racial determinism (Harris 1968). An evolutionary perspective came to dominate social theory which framed explanations and established administrative expectations in the colonies. Crudely interpreted, if tribal groups did survive, "primitive" practices would be eliminated as progress toward a state of civilization was accelerated. E.B. Tylor summarized, "Thus, active at once in aiding progress and in removing hindrance, the science of culture is essentially a reformer's science" (1970:538-9; original 1871). In reality, the role of cultural broker was played primarily as informant rather than reformer. For the most part, anthropologists could only offer administrators and missionaries some information about indigenous customs based on their accumulated references.

By the turn of the century, the method of anthropological research had changed. From a manipulation of second and third hand accounts, anthropologists endeavoured to systematize and refine ethnographic research, moving into the field to collect
their own data through surveys and texts, and later, to conduct extended research based on participant observation. A new relationship between scholar and subject developed. As James Clifford explains, this transition was underscored by an altered conceptualization of culture itself.

In the mid-nineteenth century to say that the individual was bound up in culture meant something quite different from what it does now. "Culture" referred to a single evolutionary process. The European bourgeois ideal of autonomous individuality was widely believed to be the natural outcome of a long development, a process that, although threatened by various disruptions, was assumed to be the basic, progressive movement of humanity. By the turn of the century, however, evolutionist confidence began to falter, and a new ethnographic conception of culture became possible. The word began to be used in the plural, suggesting a world of separate, distinctive, and equally meaningful ways of life. The ideal of an autonomous, cultivated subject could appear as a local project, not a telos for all humankind. [Clifford 1988:92-93]

In Britain, a functionalist approach to understanding social phenomena emerged, promoting a scientific method through grounded empiricism which shunned the amateurism of armchair theorizing. Societies were studied as integrated wholes where institutions and attitudes could not be altered without affecting the total culture. Bronislaw Malinowski used a biological metaphor where tradition served the community as a form of collective adaptation to its environment. Byproducts of this approach to social science have been a working assumption of gradualism, avoiding any radical change that might compromise the integrity of the community, and an ethical stand which is inevitably drawn to a position of cultural relativism. The net effect within the discipline has been to assume a position of
conservator of cultural traditions. The final product of field research tended to be a reconstruction of a pristine society sketched in terms of an "ethnographic present." Ethnographic authority was based on intense, emic directed, observation of the community life focussed on particular social institutions. (For an analysis of participant observation as an ethnographic innovation, see Clifford 1988:29-32.) Respecting and promoting the integrity of the community, the cultural broker served as representative and spokesperson for dependent groups (Chambers 1985:28).

This academic position of an "ethnographic present" was artificial. The pristine integrity of the indigenous communities had already been disrupted. Kenelm Burridge (1973:207) is critical of anthropologists such as Malinowski for their inability to provide a model of the "total situation." In Argonauts of the Western Pacific, originally published in 1922, Malinowski wrote from the perspective of the Trobrianders with a professional, academic authority, but omitted reference to the missionaries and administrators who had been active on the islands for many years. Nineteenth century assumptions about a grand social evolution were challenged by concrete and sympathetic field observations in the first three decades of the twentieth century without a means for reconciling these two extreme positions.

To reject a single progressive or entropic metanarrative is not to deny the existence of pervasive global processes unevenly at work.... Indeed, modern
ethnographic histories are perhaps condemned to oscillate between two metanarratives: one of homogenization, the other of emergence; one of loss, the other of invention. [Clifford 1988:17]

Following World War I, the processes of modernization and industrialization were felt throughout the world. Field observations could no longer discount the impact. By the late 1920s, Malinowski came to promote an attitude toward social research which he called "practical anthropology." He explained the purpose of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures as bridging the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical application.

A new branch of anthropology must sooner or later be started: the anthropology of the changing Native. Nowadays, when we are intensely interested, through some new anthropological theories, in problems of contact and diffusion, it seems incredible that hardly any exhaustive studies have been undertaken on the question of how European influence is being diffused into native communities. The anthropology of the changing savage would indeed throw an extremely important light upon the theoretical problem of the contact of cultures, transmission of ideas and customs, in short, on the whole problem of diffusion.

This anthropology would obviously be of the highest importance to the practical man in the colonies. [Malinowski, 1929:36]

Malinowski's "practical anthropology" focussed on "the facts and processes...leaving to statesmen (and journalists) the final decision of how to apply the results" (1929:23; parentheses in original). The realities of colonial contact could not be denied and had to be acknowledged within the discipline's production.
By the 1930s, research attention shifted in anthropology from salvage ethnography to include the processes of social change and acculturation. In 1935, a committee was struck by the Social Science Research Council in the United States to study the implications of the term "acculturation." A memorandum for the study of acculturation was published the next year with the following definition.

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."

[NOTE: Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.]

Three decades later, Edward Spicer made this observation.

...the term "acculturation" and its derivatives remain somewhat ambiguous. A persistent usage gives it the meaning of cultural assimilation, or replacement of one set of cultural traits by another, as in references to individuals in contact situations as more or less "acculturated"...

[Spicer 1968:21]

From the study of nonliterate peoples, the field of anthropology grew to include peasant societies by the 1940s. Interest also developed in the worldwide process of urbanization. With this shift of theoretical interest and subject orientation, the role of cultural broker had to be redefined.
B. A QUESTIONING OF AUTHORITY

As nations recovered from World War II, a renewed expectation of modern progress surfaced among Western intellectuals with a universal concept of individual worth and human rights. The European colonial order was dissipating as the power to govern was redistributed. The rate of global modernization accelerated with "development" an accepted and valued state of affairs. Anthropologists were being drawn into programmes of directed socio-cultural change. Much of the ethnographic interest grew out of a recognition of the effects of unintentional and well-intended intervention. This is illustrated by Lauriston Sharp's 1952 article describing the impact of steel axes on a group of Australian aboriginals. Editorial comment accompanying the reprinting of this article in the 1973 publication To See Ourselves: Anthropology and Modern Social Issues sets out the professional and moral responsibility of anthropologists, as well as analytical background assumptions.

Those who have the temerity to give direction to the lives of others have much to learn from Lauriston Sharp's article. Here is a classic example of a well-intended, seemingly minor intervention which produced shock waves so intense that an entire social system verged on disintegration.... The account supports our point that intervention imposes the obligation to anticipate the consequences of one's actions. [Weaver et al. 1973:457]

The legacy of a functionalist understanding is apparent. Many anthropologists inclined to applied work assumed a more pronounced sense of advocacy, actively representing the
interests of those seen as unable to effectively advance their own cause during an era of sweeping social adjustment. The role of facilitator had come to characterize the sensibilities and assumptions informing the cultural broker. As Chambers explains, "The facilitator's activities are based on an assumption that certain peoples are not fully able to negotiate with a dominant society" (1985:29). Later, the 1960s heralded a time of new energy within indigenous communities seeking rights, recognition and self-determination. Residual colonial assumptions based in a paternalistic attitude toward indigenous groups were being scrutinized by subjects and by scholars.

In his book *Applied Anthropology*, published in the late 1960s, George Foster identified three principal foci in applied research. His description provides a model of cultural brokerage during this period. First was the target or client group. Second, the innovating organization whose object of concern was the target group. The innovating organization usually determined the general area of research, sponsored the research, had proprietary rights to the research results and used the results in planning and operations. And third was the setting in which these two systems came together. Well-intended as these research efforts may have been, Foster noted difficulties in the relationship between anthropologists and the personnel of the innovating organizations, the programme planners, administrators and technical experts. Foster suggested that "differing goals and forms of ego gratification
characterize the two groups" (1969:x), and proceeded to set out points for establishing a satisfactory working relationship, most of which question the conventional wisdom of objective, scientific observer.

Before an anthropologist accepts an applied assignment he should make sure he knows what is expected of him and what the conditions of the proposed work will be. Only if he is in basic sympathy with the goals of the organization, and can work for it enthusiastically and without reservation, can he accept an assignment honestly. [Foster 1969:160]

Anthropologists found themselves in the uncomfortable position of sympathizing with the target group, working for the innovating organization, all while espousing the ideals and standards of Western academic knowledge.

Actively assuming the role of cultural broker with a tendency toward advocacy brings to the forefront problems of neutrality and accountability. Anthropological allegiance tends to look to higher order considerations, to knowledge, to science, to the integrity of local culture. Commenting on professional ethics in applied work, Chambers lists the various role relationships, concluding, "...applied anthropologists are also working for society as a whole" (1985:217; emphasis in original). The implications of lofty allegiance are apparent in both pure and applied studies. Vine Deloria, Jr., a Sioux and author of Custer Died for Your Sins, rather bitterly recalls the impact of anthropologists on their reservations. The dynamics within the discipline dictated the research conducted in the field. Deloria graphically describes the "anthropological wars"
which test "whether this school or that school can long endure.\nThe battlefields, unfortunately, are the lives of Indian people"

The fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are objects for observation.... The mass production of useless knowledge by anthropologists attempting to capture real Indians in a network of theories has contributed substantially to the invisibility of Indian people today. [Deloria 1973:132; original 1969]

The problem compounds itself.

Many Indians, in fact, have come to parrot the ideas of anthropologists, because it appears that they know everything about Indian communities. Thus, many ideas that pass for Indian thinking are in reality theories originally advanced by anthropologists and echoed by Indian people in an attempt to communicate the real situation. [Ibid.]

Abstract theories create abstract action.... By concentrating on great abstractions, anthropologists have unintentionally removed many young Indians from the world of real problems to the lands of make-believe. [Ibid.:134]

Indians must be redefined in terms that white men will accept, even if that means re-Indianizing them according to the white man's idea of what they were like in the past and should logically become in the future. [Ibid.:135]

It becomes a question of priorities, research priorities, programming priorities, funding priorities. Deloria asks, "Why should tribes have to compete with scholars for funds, when their scholarly productions are so useless and irrelevant to life?" (Ibid.:136).

Maintaining ethnographic authority in the wake of indigenous activitism and skepticism within the discipline required an adjustment of anthropological style. Clifford explains that "before the late nineteenth century the ethnographer and the anthropologist, the describer-translator of
custom and the builder of general theories about humanity, were distinct" (1988:28). By the twentieth century, the authority of the Western anthropology came to be consolidated in the "field theorist," establishing an image for the discipline which lasted for over a half century.

The current crisis—or better, dispersion—of ethnographic authority makes it possible to mark off a rough period, bounded by the years 1900 and 1960, during which a new conception of field research established itself as the norm for European and American anthropology. [Clifford 1988:24]

By the 1960s and 1970s, anthropology was being self-consciously scrutinized, as seen in the publication of Reinventing Anthropology.

This book is for people for whom "the way things are" is not reason enough for the way things are, who find fundamental questions pertinent and in need of personal answer, those for whom security, prosperity, and self-interest are not sufficient reasons for choices they make; who think that if an official "study of man" does not answer to the needs of men, it ought to be changed; who ask of anthropology what they ask of themselves — responsiveness, critical awareness, ethical concern, human relevance, a clear connection between what is to be done and the interests of mankind.

Prosperity, after all, is not necessarily a sign of a profession's intellectual health. The present appearances of anthropology may be deceptive....

There is a certain tradition, a certain ethos, yes, and it informs our concern, or we would not speak of reinventing anthropology rather than of abandoning it. [Hymes 1974:7; italics in original]

The questioning social conscience is reiterated when Hymes concludes, "By virtue of its subject matter, anthropology is unavoidably a political and ethical discipline, not merely an empirical specialty" (Ibid.:48). Chambers (1985:26-33) describes the role of cultural broker as changing from mere
facilitator to a more completely involved position as analyst and mediator. However, Michael Ames observes that applied anthropologists were still studying groups external to themselves as individuals.

My perception of applied anthropology is that it has changed its attitudes over the years, from a position of neutrality and empiricism to one giving more emphasis to active involvement, political consciousness, and social responsibility, but that it has not undergone any fundamental change in what is to be studied. With modest exceptions, applied anthropology continues to be applied mostly to others external to one's own academic reference group. [Ames 1979:23]

The next step was to develop a reflexive anthropology, and Ames suggests "we [anthropologists] should give more attention to our backyard" (Ibid.). This case study of the Native Youth Project is a description and evaluation of a museum based education programme analyzed within a framework of cultural brokerage. It goes beyond participant observation, assuming a more reflexive approach since the focus is an anthropological programme in which I, the author, was personally engaged.

The nature of ethnography had changed. "With expanded communication and intercultural influence, people interpret others, and themselves, in a bewildering diversity of idioms" (Clifford 1988:22). Clifford considers a "postcultural" situation to illustrate "the condition of uncertainty" within which he wrote in the late 1980s:

I think we are seeing signs that the privilege given to natural languages and, as it were, natural cultures, is dissolving. These objects and epistemological grounds are now appearing as constructs, achieved fictions, containing and domesticating heteroglossia. In a world with too many
voices speaking all at once, a world where syncretism and parodic invention are becoming the rule, not the exception, an urban, multinational world of institutional transience — where American clothes made in Korea are worn by young people in Russia, where everyone's "roots" are in some degree cut — in such a world it becomes increasingly difficult to attach human identity and meaning to a coherent "culture" or "language." [Clifford 1988:95]

The ferocity of the interplay in the metanarratives of homogenization and emergence had become disconcerting. Cultural groups and boundaries were simultaneously disintegrating and reforming. While elements of cultural difference were apparent, the parties in the negotiation were often splintered and amorphous in the upheavals of restructuring social life. Throughout, various techniques have been incorporated to maintain ethnographic authority, but fundamental problems remain.

...the ability of the fieldworker to inhabit indigenous minds is always in doubt. Indeed this is a permanent, unresolved problem of ethnographic method. Ethnographers have generally refrained from ascribing beliefs, feelings, and thoughts to individuals. They have not, however, hesitated to ascribe subjective states to cultures.... Ethnographies abound in unattributed sentences such as "The spirits return to the village at night," descriptions of beliefs in which the writer assumes in effect the voice of culture. [Clifford 1988:47-48]

Once again, anthropologists were called upon to justify their emic orientation to the study, description and interpretation of social groups. This problem is inherent in the commitments of the cultural broker. Clifford concludes his discussion of ethnographic authority with this observation.

The modes of authority reviewed here—experiential, interpretive, dialogical, polyphonic—are available to all writers of ethnographic texts, Western and non-Western. None is obsolete, none pure: there is room for invention
within each paradigm. We have seen how new approaches tend
to rediscover discarded practices. [Clifford 1988:53-54]

The 1980s had been marked by a dispersion of ethnographic
interpretation beyond the discipline of anthropology within the
dynamics of cultural "homogenization and emergence." As
cultural brokers, anthropologists had to reconsider their role
as the "voice of culture" and, with a reflexive attitude, they
began to examine the methods used to maintain a position of
ethnographic authority. A new term found application,
"empowerment." The methods and understandings of anthropology
were to be called upon to address the requirements of client
groups truly from their perspective, at their direction, and in
a spirit of consultation. Different political forces were at
work, and the power structure was less obvious.

Connecting threads run through the history of cultural
brokerage in anthropology tying this discussion to an analysis
of the Native Youth Project. The ongoing dialectic between the
universal and the particular, humanity and community, was
apparent in the tension between the anticipation of assimilation
and the conservation of cultural traditions. A connecting
thread was the enterprise of ethnography itself, based on an
emic approach with an assumption of cultural authority. A
dominant feature of cultural brokerage, the sense of advocacy,
was evident. This has inevitably been characterized by a
paternalistic attitude in the past, which, in later years of the
NYP, was called into question, perhaps to be replaced with a
sense of consultancy for purposes of empowerment. Cultural brokerage has been a significant part of the organizational culture at MOA. The structure and mission of MOA was rooted in the work of Harry and Audrey Hawthorn. They arrived in the late 1940s with solid anthropological credentials. Indigenous cultures were conceived in terms of an "ethnographic present," particularly in the collection and documentation of artifacts. There was a counterpoint to this position. Harry Hawthorn had been drawn into anthropology by first hand observation of the impact of social change on indigenous communities in New Zealand, completing his Ph.D. thesis on the subject of acculturation under the supervision of Malinowski. During his career, he developed an approach which he termed "Useful Anthropology." The Hawthorns were teachers and mentors of Madeline Rowan, founding curator of the NYP. Her perspective was that of facilitator with explicit intentions of directed social change in the area of academic achievement among the people of the Northwest Coast. Rowan had a pronounced sense of advocacy and worked from a confident position of ethnographic authority. She actively promoted an "Indian" identity as part of the programme treatment. Indeed, this met some of the expectations of the client group, the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society, but was later to be challenged by programme participants (Brass, 1990). Rowan left the project in 1986, which marked a transition stage as new forms of cultural brokerage emerged at MOA. Responsibility for planning and
coordinating the NYP was progressively passed on to the project managers who were members of the First Nations. The structure and expectations for the programme had been set and were carefully monitored by the museum organization, but there was scope for the project managers to adjust the content and practices to address their own understandings. The following chapters, devoted to the description of the various stakeholders in the NYP, elaborate on their experiences and expectations within a framework of cultural brokerage.
IV. THE LEGACY OF HARRY AND AUDREY HAWTHORN

In 1947, Harry and Audrey Hawthorn arrived at the University of British Columbia (UBC). Over the next three decades their influence was substantial as anthropology at UBC developed under their guidance into an academic department and the ethnographic collections into a serious museum for the study and presentation of material culture. Their approach to anthropology was practical, immediately involving themselves in daily lives and concerns of the people of the Northwest Coast. Harry Hawthorn called his approach "Useful Anthropology." As he explained, "I came into anthropology because I needed to use it" (1976:176). Early in his career, Harry Hawthorn became grounded in the contemporary realities of subordinated cultures. Audrey Hawthorn focussed her work on salvaging and presenting the ethnographic record of the indigenous groups as illustrated through their material culture. The Hawthorns, and the students and colleagues they attracted around them, established the purpose and the institutional culture of MOA. Harry and Audrey Hawthorn served, within the ethnographic tradition, as cultural brokers promoting the resurgence and appreciation of Northwest Coast art and more rational social planning for the First Nations. Their influence was reflected, amongst other things, in the development of the Native Youth Project.

A. "USEFUL ANTHROPOLOGY"

In 1934, Harry Hawthorn graduated from the University of
New Zealand with a masters of science. He spent several years teaching mathematics in country schools including Maori communities. Harry Hawthorn writes in humble, fervent tones about this experience.

I found a book on Maori culture and discussed it fairly systematically with one of the elders. ...I began with a solid ethnography and have remained somewhat empirically oriented ever since. But even my reading of the solid ethnography failed to provide the answers to questions which puzzled me about learning or some other matters, on bonds to the land, on how people chose to spend their money and on what has since been called development. [Hawthorn 1976:177]

Harry Hawthorn elected to continue his education in anthropology, completing his Ph.D. thesis (1944) on Moari acculturation at Yale University under the supervision of Bronislaw Malinowski. In 1947, he accepted the first appointment in anthropology at the University of British Columbia.

From the beginning of his tenure at UBC, Harry Hawthorn successfully combined his academic career with applied research, involving students and teams of scholars in this work. In 1948, he directed genealogical work in preparation for government extension of old age pensions to include the First Nations. That year, he also worked with the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society to organize a conference on aboriginal welfare issues.

The records of that conference present a full and moving statement of the situation of the Indian people in British Columbia, and provided the foundation for much later work by the University and other bodies. [Inglis 1976:3]
Harry Hawthorn made a point of visiting reserves and becoming acquainted with First Nations organizations, forming a network of contacts. In 1949, Harry Hawthorn received a commission from the attorney-general to study the Doukhobour problem to alleviate conflicts arising from acts of civil disobedience. This was followed by two major studies of contemporary conditions of the First Nations which he co-directed. In 1955, *The Indians of British Columbia: A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions: A Report to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration* was published at UBC in three volumes. The research team brought varied experience to the effort and aimed the publication of their report to a diverse audience.

In the collection and analysis of fact the research group worked closely as a team although our training lay in different disciplines, each with its customary vocabulary and ideas.... From the inception of the Project we have aimed at providing findings of use to Indians, to administrators and legislators and others outside of our specialist fields. [Hawthorn et al 1955:30]


One of the intentions of our study was to analyse the situation of the Indians and show how they might approach their goals, another was to make an ethnography of government in relation to the Indians. It is an oversimplification and basically false to say that anthropology is a colonial subject, but it is true that the masters have been less studied than the slaves, the people with power
less than those without. We set out to show how government operated, and trusted that the Indians as well as others reading the report would be strengthened with knowledge of procedures and possibilities. [Hawthorn 1976:178-79]

The 1966-67 survey played virtually no part in the formation of the 1969 Indian Policy put forward by the Trudeau government. Hawthorn (1976:179) identified some reasons for the failure of the report to influence government policy: readability of the report, inability to foresee changes in the government regarding responsibility for framing a new policy, and lack of clout to generate interest in the report by the policy makers. However, Sally Weaver concludes her analysis of the survey with the observation that policy-relevant research is needed, noting the importance of the political medium in delivering the "message of social science." As a research effort providing relevant information, she states: "The Hawthorn-Tremblay Report was indeed 'useful' to native people, the Indian Department and the discipline of anthropology" (1976:86).

Useful Anthropology basically refers to assisting the people anthropologists want to help. "However, times change and what was once useful may not be so today. ...there are no laws or principles of Useful Anthropology other than those of common sense, though the facts which must be known and employed are legion" (Hawthorn 1976:179). Hawthorn provides this advice regarding accepting government or agency sponsorship.

It is always necessary to insist that one's work be published, something I have always done. In that way it can be judged, by one's peers and by others, for accuracy in fact and in conclusion. It also becomes available for all to read, and is not limited to the service of any
group. An agreement to publish freely requires a self-assured sponsor. But publication is not enough to ensure that all can use anthropological findings equally. ...as Dr. Weaver has suggested in her paper, the weight of facts alone may not be enough to bring about policy changes. Facts do not carry influence on their own. [Hawthorn 1976:183]

Along with publication of studies, Hawthorn (1976:184) suggests that anthropological work can be more effective by working directly for the target population and by organizing community consultative committees.

The major difficulty is to make our work effective and ensure that it cannot be overlooked. How can we work as scholars and yet be influential politically? Clear communication will help but we must look at the ways we have followed and seek to improve them. [Hawthorn 1976:185]

Hawthorn's commitment went beyond that of the detached academic observer to consider the ramifications of research and the potential value and use of the information generated to those from whom it was gathered.

B. THE PLACE OF A PEOPLE'S HERITAGE

Harry Hawthorn recognized ethnographic work on a people's history and arts as important "Useful Anthropology".

I repeat that I do not see Useful Anthropology as being confined to that which shows how to increase wages, crops, health, literacy and political power....

...Useful Anthropology has many facets and forms: among them, basic ethnography for people who do not know what their culture was in the recent past; ethno-history for the reconstruction or the recording of the longer development; grammars, vocabularies, texts and writing systems for languages which are still used; the recording and understanding of the arts. I would not decry the usefulness of any of our enquiries which record and aim at understanding cultures. [Hawthorn 1976:184-5]
Harry Hawthorn officially served as curator, then director of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology (MOA) for about 25 years. His wife, Audrey Hawthorn had received her masters in anthropology at Columbia University, "where she had gained from Ralph Linton a strong appreciation of the importance of material culture in the study of human society" (Inglis 1975:2). Harry Hawthorn and Audrey Engel met and married at Yale University where they worked together at the Institute of Human Relations on George Murdock's Cross-Cultural Survey. From the beginning of their tenure at UBC, the Hawthorns secured funding for acquisition and restoration work which incorporated members of the First Nations. Ames (1986) points out another implication of this effort in his chapter on "How Anthropologists Help to Fabricate the Cultures They Study," using the "renaissance" of Northwest Coast art as reference.

These museums [British Columbia Provincial Museum, MOA and Vancouver Centennial Museum] provided or arranged a number of major commissions which helped to establish the legitimacy of contemporary carvers. Probably the single most important event was in 1949 when Audrey and Harry Hawthorn of the UBC Museum of Anthropology commissioned Kwakiutl carvers Ellen Neel and Mungo Martin to restore some of the poles at the university. This commission established Martin as a fulltime carver and informant in residence, first for two years at UBC and subsequently for ten years at the Provincial Museum with Wilson Duff. It demonstrated publicly that an honourable living could be made by producing high quality carvings for White people and their museums. (It is interesting to note at this point...that Duff's successor at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, Peter Macnair, has since endeavoured to demonstrate that carvers can now also make an honourable living by carving once again for Indians.) [Ames 1986:53; parentheses in original]
Audrey Hawthorn places their museum work into the context of the social change which was taking place on the Northwest Coast following World War II.

With the encouragement of Dr. N.A.M. MacKenzie, President of the University, we set out to save local materials. Harry Hawthorn became Curator, then Director as I began to work full time. We arrived at a crucial moment in Northwest Coast life. A half century had elapsed since the full flowering of the cultures, and changing social and economic conditions left many Indian families uncertain as to what to do with family heirlooms no longer in use. With funds given by Dr. H.R. MacMillan, it became possible to accept family collections the owners wanted to offer to the Museum. At the same time we acquired a series of massive carvings from Kwakiutl owners who were no longer living in the large frame houses with their family crest carvings and furniture. We commissioned Mungo Martin, a master carver of a previous generation, to supervise the repair and restoration of the 19 large carvings. He proved to be a powerful influence in the Museum's history. A man of high rank of Fort Rupert, at 70 he was alert, wise, and very concerned with the future of his people. He had a profound knowledge of traditional ceremony and of the related objects, their use, and proper ownership. He saw the Museum as the safe and proper place to put the objects, with records taken by our students on their meaning and history. From this beginning, over the next 15 years, we received visits from Indian families who arrived with trunks of masks, textiles and daily utensils. From the first, our students in the Department of Anthropology were involved, through their own interest, in the unpacking and documentation of these materials, and in social relations with our visitors. Indian carvers from then on became a part of our departmental and museum life, and many photographic and other essays were produced by museum students, avid for information and for accurate recording. As the department expanded, Harry Hawthorn helped to raise funds for several expeditions, involving both University members and Provincial Museum staff. [Hawthorn 1975:95]

Audrey Hawthorn worked diligently on the museum collections, becoming the salaried curator in 1956. That year she, along with J.A. Morris, organized People of the Potlatch, a major exhibition of Northwest Coast art at the Vancouver Art Gallery.
Other accomplishments to her credit in conserving and promoting the material culture of the Northwest Coast include a major publication on Kwakiutl art (Hawthorn 1967, republished 1979) and the 1969-70 exhibition at Man and His World in Montreal. She initiated museum studies at UBC and played a central role in the planning and realization of the new museum facilities. Regarding the new museum, Harry Hawthorn comments, "...we intend to communicate to the general public as fully as to the scholarly" (1976:182). There were some innovative features in the new facilities at MOA which supported and advanced the institutional culture. Visible Storage (see Ames 1977 and 1986 Chapter 6, and Halpin 1976) gave public access to the entire collection with a supporting documentation system that provided all available information on the objects. Museum visitors were considered students, active learners not mere spectators. The main galleries presented fine examples of Northwest Coast material culture as objects of art, to be studied as accomplishments in terms of design and craftsmanship. The architecture is stunning, balancing monumental forms with gestures of intimacy. It stands as a landmark with an international reputation. Soon after the new museum opened in the mid 1970s, the Hawthorns retired. Their interest continued, and their periodic visits provided a reminder to MOA staff, students and volunteers of the origins and commitment of the institution.
C. BACKGROUND ASSUMPTIONS OF CULTURAL BROKERAGE

The careers of Harry and Audrey Hawthorn fit the definition of cultural broker as presented by Erve Chambers (1985). They negotiated and facilitated the transfer of knowledge, skill and service between distinct cultures. Their approach to anthropology both reflected the intellectual and social milieu of their time and anticipated sensibilities that were to emerge in later periods. Their mission was derived from the need to understand and assist indigenous people in an arduous process of social change. Between the two world wars, indigenous populations were significantly increasing after many decades of decline (see Hawthorn 1944). Harry Hawthorn’s applied research generally followed George Foster’s model (1969). The research projects Hawthorn co-directed were commissioned by government agencies for purposes of analyzing target groups and, with diplomacy, he paid attention to the setting in which the two systems came together. His grounded, practical approach to ethnography seemed to resist the questioning disorientation of "reinventing anthropology" (Hymes 1974) in the 1960s and 1970s. His sense of social responsibility was active, forming a fundamental element in "Useful Anthropology." Work was to be open to scrutiny through publication and public presentation with an intent to be influential. While the subject matter was external to their own lives and discipline (Ames 1979), an emerging reflexive attitude is apparent as Hawthorn writes, "we
must look at the ways we have followed and seek to improve them" (1976:185).

The Hawthorns, through their activities, initiated the development of an organizational culture at MOA within which is embedded a disposition of cultural brokerage. The term "organizational culture" is used in this case study to refer to "the social inheritance, the set of customs, attitudes and beliefs acquired as a member of a social group," to borrow a definition (Hawthorn et al 1955:39), that characterizes MOA and established a working environment within which the Native Youth Project operated. As Daniel Denison (1990:175) explained, "Thus, an organization's culture may be as a code, a logic, and a system of structured behaviors and meaning that have stood the test of time and serve as a collective guide to future adaptation and survival." Qualities the Hawthorn's brought to this process are outlined below.

1. **Credibility and Prestige**

The Hawthorns worked out of a firmly established academic base with respected, nonpartisan credentials allowing them to build support from government, private sponsors, people of the First Nations and the general public. While an assumption of academic neutrality has received critical examination in the past two decades, the setting of the university museum still provides credibility and prestige with the public and government agencies, and MOA continues to serve as an authority base for those who endeavour to function as cultural brokers.
2. **Empirical and Practical**

Harry Hawthorn avoided what Deloria (1973:132) referred to as "theoretical wars", concentrating instead on examining situations empirically within an interdisciplinary framework. He built on the work and sensibilities of his formidable teachers, including Malinowski and Murdock, with a functionalist orientation grounded in naturalistic ethnographic observation. Hawthorn’s problem orientation was rooted in his early experience. His preoccupation was social change, and he had no illusions about the difficult process of adjustment. Even today, the work emanating from MOA is not characterized by allegiance to particular theoretical schools. Research interests tend to be grounded in experience and practical needs. The study of material culture, which anchors the museum, traditionally has been low level theoretical activity, and, under the guidance of Audrey Hawthorn, assumed an orientation of conserving indigenous cultural expressions. However, the climate of exploration and dedication encouraged by the work of the Hawthorns has permitted modifications and variations. A reflexive approach developed at MOA, that is, the anthropological study of the museum enterprise itself and its relationship to the profession of anthropology (see Ames 1986). The ethnographic tradition has remained strong at MOA with an expressed concern for the insider’s point of view, leading, for example, to the study of and support for First Nations cultural movements (see Ames and Haagen 1987).
3. **Assimilation/Conservation**

For the Hawthorns, the grand dialectic was played out in the pressures between First Nations assimilation into contemporary society and conservation of community traditions. This was evident in Harry Hawthorn’s early study of Moari acculturation.

\[\text{Hawthorn 1944:127}\]

While sensibilities about intervention in the process of acculturation changed over time, the basic problem and desired resolution remained.

\[\text{Hawthorn 1967:173}\]

Recommendations in the commissioned studies were directed at how target groups, the First Nations, could become better integrated into the wider Canadian society (Hawthorn et al 1955:32-33) in compliance with the laws of the nation and provincial structures (Ibid.,1019-20). The process of acculturation was understood as irreversible, but the effects were to be tempered so as to proceed gradually, addressing the needs of the First Nations
(Ibid., 37). By the 1970s, assimilation ceased to be a topic that was considered directly. Nonetheless, the social realities and underlying assumptions of the dialectic informed the formation of the NYP (see Chapters Five and Six). For Harry Hawthorn, the emphasis had shifted in the 1970s to a discussion of "Useful Anthropology" and a greater concern for the insider's perspective.

Times have changed in other ways also. Many of the people in the societies we have ordinarily studied are openly hostile to anthropologists. Perhaps one reason is that we have raised expectation that we have not met. Another is that ever-present ethnic conflict has taken new turns and an anthropologist offers an easy target. Ethnic conflict is not new and has possibly not even increased if its inner as well as outer forms are taken into account. (The topic of the paper I wrote for this meeting was ethnic conflict in Canada. In it I held that ethnic conflict was coterminous with difference, where ethnic difference was accompanied by some disparity in power and possessions, as it always is.) To anthropologists, whose subject began with the study of dominated peoples of the Americans, Africa and Asia by western scholars, the new element is the freedom with which resentment is expressed and directed at him.

This merely sharpens issues already present, the usefulness of our work, and the communication of what we do. We can properly regard the current freedom to show hostility as one measure of success of a cause we have believed in. People who once felt impelled to wear a mask of docility have achieved greater independence and self-determination, including the determination of when and how they shall be studied. [Hawthorn 1976:180; parentheses in original]

The necessity to function successfully in contemporary society remained. Attitudes toward and mechanisms for accomplishing this objective had changed.

4. Cultural Identity

Culture as social inheritance is translated into cultural
identity by individuals. The process is not simple, including such factors as how others, members and non-members of the affiliated group, perceive and respond to the individual. This becomes a significant problem for cultural brokers working with visible minorities designing appropriate programme treatments. In the 1960s, the survey directed by Harry Hawthorn analyzed the emerging self-awareness in the First Nations.

On the one hand, there are marked differences between the various Canadian tribes in this matter of ethnic identification.... In some cases even, the young openly reject traditional customs and express admiration for everything that is not Indian.

...Although the desire to identify with an aboriginal society and remain Indian is still strong, the elements of this identification are often vague and even contradictory. A second aspect of the Indians' self-image is a result of their position of inferiority and dependence in relation to the Whites....

For all that, the Indian looks up to the Whites....

In short this is the source of the dual nature of the Indian's identity. In the formation of his own image, he combines indiscrimately elements taken from two widely different cultures. As a result of this conflicting situation, it is hardly surprising that his self-image is ambiguous. [Hawthorn 1967:162-63]

While description of the contemporary situation assumed a transitional and disoriented quality, each group was recognized as distinctive with its own "values and patterns of character" (Hawthorn et al 1955:7 and 39). For each, there was an ethnographic past to be reconstructed accurately and honoured, giving back to people their history (Hawthorn 1976:184). On the Northwest Coast, MOA was conceived as a haven for those concerned with preserving cultural traditions. Following the commissioning of Mungo Martin, Audrey Hawthorn explains that
"Indian carvers from then on became a part of our department and museum life..." (1975:95). During the Hawthorns tenure at MOA, the insider's point of view was respected using informants such as Mungo Martin and his wife Abayah.

Already in his seventies, Mungo Martin was keenly aware of the great changes brought by the years, and was anxious to record what he knew of the culture in which he had grown up, and in which he had seen the changes come. While he was at the museum he helped to identify and describe the materials as they came in....

...Being a full participant in the ceremonial system, he recognized many individual pieces and identified almost all of them with assurance. He gave both the Kwakiutl name and a translation, based on his clear comprehension of the use and background of the piece. He was concerned that his words should not be wasted. "Write that down, now," he often said, and then, "Say it back," until he was satisfied that the transcription was reasonably correct. [Hawthorn 1979:vii]

Audrey Hawthorn's publication Kwakiutl Art (1979, original 1967) is basically presented in terms of an "ethnographic present" with an authoritative style of writing and formatting, rich in description. It should be noted that the Hawthorns did their work with scholarly attention and conviction. Nevertheless, dilemmas in cultural interpretation are evident. Their culture concept assumes a static and comprehensive quality, thereby explaining self-image among the First Nations as a situation of conflicting forces from "two widely different cultures" (Hawthorn 1967:162). This fueled conclusions about the process of socialization and the function of education.

We might emphasize, in passing, that the teaching in the Indian and integrated schools should be designed to prepare students for the exercise of a trade or profession and to adapt them to the White society. An Indian's ability to find a job is a result not only of his education
by also of his level of acculturation. [Hawthorn 1967:168]

The NYP was founded on this static understanding of Northwest Coast culture, an idea that subsequently was challenged by some of the NYP project managers and members (see Brass 1990). A revised approach emerged at MOA during the 1980s, though still respecting the importance of the insider's point of view.

There are many voices, many stories. They do not add up to one consistent view, nor should they, because they represent different people with different interests and experiences. We nevertheless need to listen. The articulation of native points of view may serve to remind us that outsiders do not have the final word. It is the continuing interaction between these various perspectives that is important.

I do not believe that the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, for example, should attempt to present the "native point of view", which it could never do properly anyway, whether by reconstructed contextualist exhibits or by other means. It is more important for a museum to concentrate on what it can do best, which is to present its own point of view as a professional institution, recognizing the limitations that implies, and to work in partnership with the museums and cultural organizations of the "native" or indigenous peoples. A museum is only one volume in an encyclopedia of culture that is always in the process of being written. No one museum can say it all, nor should it pretend that it can. [Ames 1986:47]

The articulation of social inheritance thus becomes the responsibility of the cultural groups, and museum anthropologists avoid the role of representatives providing ethnographic interpretation and authorization.

In conclusion, perhaps the most important legacy from Harry Hawthorn is the basic assumption that anthropology should be useful, and that it can and should serve target populations. Chambers (1985:14) points out that the traditional attitude within the discipline took knowledge to be inherently useful,
but others held the conviction that knowledge "must deliberately be made useful" (emphasis in original). Harry Hawthorn crossed that line, envisioning the professional appropriateness of playing a more complete role, a role which unavoidably assumes the responsibilities of cultural broker. Audrey Hawthorn played a more conventional role. Preparing the documentation and presentation of the material culture of the Northwest Coast, she served as conservator of cultural traditions. They both enjoy esteemed positions as educators, having established anthropology and museology as substantial academic programmes at UBC.

In Anthropology and Sociology departments throughout Canada and beyond, Harry Hawthorn's students are striving to put into practice not only the knowledge they have acquired under his guidance, but also the principles of teaching they learned in his classes.... Most of us would blush to admit how many of his aphorisms, insights and techniques we now claim as our own. I cannot speak at first hand of Audrey's teaching, but her own students can, and do, attest to its virtues from position in museums through [sic.] the Commonwealth and the United States. I know that I speak for all of their students and colleagues, past and present, in expressing to Harry and Audrey Hawthorn our respect, admiration, gratitude and affection. [Inglis 1975:8]

The organizational culture the Hawthorns initiated at MOA has evolved and accommodated changing intellectual and social conditions over the years. This organizational culture is also expressed in the physical setting created for the display of the ethnographic collections:

The proximity of these new works to the old artifacts gathered behind the wall of glass makes very clear the museum's most important message: tribal works are part of an ongoing, dynamic tradition. The museum displays its works of "art" as part of an inventive process, not as
treasures salvaged from a vanished past. [Clifford 1990:10]

By the 1960s and 1970s, the First Nations of Canada were gaining a greater public voice, demanding the right to guide their own destiny as distinct groups. Powers were being reclaimed from bureaucrats and other mainstream representatives. Brenda Taylor is an example of the kind of activist who emerged during this period to represent and work for First Nations causes. She focussed her energies on making the public school system (in Vancouver) more relevant for aboriginal youth. Taylor also was instrumental in creating the Native Youth Project in collaboration with Madeline Rowan, a student of the Hawthorns and curator at MOA. The orientation of "Useful Anthropology" combined with First Nations initiative and new forms of government support to develop the programme. The next two chapters recount the emergence of the Native Youth Project through the activities of Taylor and Rowan.
V. BRENTA TAYLOR AND THE NATIVE INDIAN YOUTH ADVISORY SOCIETY

The next two chapters piece together the founding of the Native Youth Project. The programme resulted from the conjunction of two systems, each represented by an articulate and determined educator. On the one hand was the urban based community of First Nations people struggling to break a dependency relationship with the federal government which had been entrenched for over a century. Brenda Taylor was prominent in this movement, and directly responsible for establishing and directing the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society (NIYAS). On the other hand was the museum community serving as cultural brokers, attempting to bridge the gap between the mainstream society and the aboriginal population. As reviewed in the previous chapter, MOA under the leadership of the Hawthorns had become a centre for cultural preservation and research into problems of social change and development among the First Nations. Madeline Rowan became a curator at MOA in the mid 1970s. She was responsible for the educational programming and had a special interest in improving academic achievement among the aboriginal people of the Northwest Coast. By examining the work of these two educators, one representing NIYAS and the other representing MOA, both the formation of the NYP and the context for the development of the programme can be better understood. The terms "Native" and "Native Indian" are often used in these two chapters because they were the terms used in the discussions and writing of these two key stakeholders in the
A. CHANGING APPROACH TO EDUCATION AMONG THE FIRST NATIONS

The process of urbanization among the First Nations of British Columbia in the past three decades goes beyond a simple migration to the cities (see Hawthorn et al. 1955; Hawthorn 1966, 1967). Prehistorically, the people of the Northwest Coast maintained strong economic and political relationships up and down the coast which became even more elaborate with the introduction of European fur trade, agriculture and fishing industry. Population growth, economic pressures, government policies and lifestyle choices led to increasing relocation as members of the First Nations established residence in urban centres following World War II. Illustrating the economic conditions, the Hawthorn-directed Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada in the 1960s analyzed the causes of prosperity and poverty on reserves.

Thus we have found that such primary resource-based modes of livelihood as trapping, fishing and farming exert a negative influence on Indian prosperity. This influence is contrasted to the great contribution to prosperity made by steady wage and salaried employment off the reserve....

While an increasing number people already work and live away from the reserves, the reserves are not vanishing. [Hawthorn 1966:7]

Active networks of relationships throughout the province remain, enhanced by modern communication and transportation. The relocation of primary residences to urban centres meant changes
in social patterns with new influences on the family and the raising of children. All of this was accompanied by altered forms of funding for First Nations programmes. This brief background description completely side steps the complex issues of status/non-status and political power within the First Nations. Regarding the restructuring of tribal organization, Hawthorn had noted in his study of acculturation in New Zealand, "With the rise of the smaller social units and the decay of the larger ones, has come a much greater pan-Maori unity" (1944:19).

As described in the Hawthorn-directed survey, the Canadian situation in the 1960s was marked by the emergence of a "new self-awareness prevalent in Indian communities" which found expression "in an ambiguous ethnic identification" (Hawthorn 1967:161). The shifting population base for the First Nations in British Columbia created both problems and opportunities for a revitalized leadership with new parameters for political action.

In the 1960s, hard questions were asked by an increasingly sophisticated leadership among the First Nations. Concerns and objectives were being translated into slogans and programmes. The career of Brenda Taylor serves to illustrate the challenges and responses in the area of education. In 1971, when both of her daughters had entered school, Taylor went looking for employment that would interest her. On the advice of her brother-in-law, Alvin McKay, an administrator with the University of British Columbia Indian Education Resources
Centre, Taylor entered the summer training course for home-school coordinators given by Art More and the late Robert Sterling. At the end of the summer, the Indian Education Resource Centre was hiring coordinators for the Boarding Home Programme which operated out of the federal Indian Affairs office. This programme worked with First Nations students coming from reserves to attend high school in urban areas. As coordinator, Taylor was responsible for 70 to 80 students in Vancouver and North Vancouver, guiding their placement and adjustment from the moment she met them at the airport. It was virtually a 24 hour responsibility. Looking back on this experience, she is amazed that the coordinators could cope with the work load. In September of 1973, this programme was turned over to the individual bands as part of a policy to place control of education directly in the hands of the First Nations. Taylor became the counsellor for students from her home reserve, Bella Bella. Work with the Boarding Home Programme served as Taylor's professional introduction to the active and often disturbing life of First Nations youth in the urban environment.

In 1974, Taylor became a Native Indian Home-School Worker with the Vancouver School Board. The home-school programme was a response to requests from the Vancouver Indian Centre, the Musequeam Band and other First Nations organizations to address education problems in the city. Taylor was one of three workers who were hired in the first year of the programme, and for over a decade and a half she used this position as the base for her
many endeavours on behalf of First Nations youth. Taylor emphasizes her commitment to work in this area.

I really wanted to work with Native youth. I could see that there were so many concerns and issues that people had when it came to urban Indian education. And I guess one of the things I wanted was to see what I could do to help, to assist, to establish programmes, to improve Indian education for urban Indian students. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

One of the major problems was the school drop out rate, a rate significantly higher for members of the First Nations. Taylor laments, "So few of our Indian students graduate from high school" (Ibid.). In the mid 1970s, an ad hoc advisory committee was formed to study this problem and to consider the special needs of First Nations students. The committee consisted of school personnel, Native Indian Home-School Workers, university professors and First Nations representatives from the community. Through the initiative of this committee, Dr. Joe Handley wrote the proposal for Kum Tuks, the first alternative school programme in Vancouver for First Nations students. This was an innovative programme and implementation required shrewd educational planning to meet identifiable needs, diplomacy to maintain support within the First Nations community, and political savvy to convince the Vancouver School Board to sponsor the programme. Taylor speaks with pride about this effort and other projects she promoted in the early years of her career to stimulate positive educational experiences for First Nations students.

Another really exciting thing that happened in 1975, the
Vancouver Indian Centre contacted the Toronto Indian Centre to have a student exchange programme, and we received funding federally. Three chaperons took, I believe, 16 students to Toronto for a week or nine days. So we flew to Toronto, stayed at the Indian Centre which was an experience and a half.... And then we flew to Edmonton and took the train back to Vancouver. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

Another project was the Britannia Native Teen Club which was active between 1976 and 1979. During those years, as a member of United Native Nations Local 108, Taylor successfully applied for funding for a summer Native youth leadership training and recreation programme at Britannia Community Centre. High school students received two weeks training, and then led a summer recreational programme for elementary students from all over Vancouver. In 1977, Taylor was involved with an ad hoc committee to save the Native Education Centre. With the help of Member of Parliament Art Lee, committee members negotiated with Indian Affairs. "He was really one of the first politicians that I had been involved with to seek funding for Native programmes. It was through his assistance lobbying for funds for the Native Education Centre that it did stay open" (Taylor interview, June 1989). Art Lee was not reelected. Taylor explains the political dynamics, "...we went to John Fraser to assist us in the area of lobbying for money, and he has really been very supportive of the needs of urban Indians and urban Indian education and Native youth... We go where we have to go" (Taylor interview, June 1989). The committee evolved into the Urban Native Indian Education Society which now governs the
Native Education Centre. A core of dedicated individuals worked to achieve pragmatic objectives through the fluid structure and leadership patterns of ad hoc committees. They developed the ability to understand and utilize political forces, bureaucratic systems, even the media as resources for their cause.

B. ESTABLISHING THE NATIVE INDIAN YOUTH ADVISORY SOCIETY

By the fall of 1977, Taylor and her co-workers felt there was a need for a Native Indian Youth Advisory Committee which would meet on a regular basis, similar in organization to the one involved with the Kum Tuks programme. Taylor explains their challenge: "How we could work together, how we could network, when it came to the needs and concerns we had, and the issues, of Native youth" (Taylor interview, June 1989). One of the first activities the group undertook was the Cultural Enrichment Workers programme. The Native Indian Youth Advisory Committee secured funding from the Secretary of State and the Ministry of Education for the 1978 pilot project, and the Vancouver School Board continued the programme after the first year. For a couple of summers, the committee arranged funding to hire Native Indian Cultural Enrichment Workers for a Native studies curriculum project at Britannia with high school students. This proved "very exciting because it gave different kinds of skills to students who were involved in it" (Taylor interview, June 1989).

In 1983, the committee acquired official status as a non-
profit society, and became the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society (NIYAS). For many years, Taylor served as president of NIYAS. The objectives of the society are outlined as follows:

a) to promote leadership training, learning experience and meaningful direction for Native youth and Native People.
b) to improve the quality of educational services to Native youth and Native People.
c) to develop social, cultural and recreation programs for Native children and families.
d) to improve the quality of life for Native peoples in Vancouver.
e) to promote the total community's understanding and appreciation of Native people and their cultural [sic].
f) to encourage fuller participation of people of Native ancestry in educational and community affairs.
g) to promote the creation of better understanding within Indian groups and between Indian and non-Indian groups and citizens for the general benefits of Native people.

[NIYAS 1989]

The following explanation was provided as background for the work of the society.

British Columbia has the highest proportion of native people living off reserves.... By 1980, there were approximately 25,000 people of native descent living in Vancouver. Over 50% of these were 19 or younger. These figures have increased since that time....

Poverty, alcoholism, suicide and cultural alienation are both cause and effect of the current historical forces affecting native youth. Difficulties with the school system are expressed in a highly disproportionate drop-out rate....

That native youth find so little value or motivation in mainstream schooling results in alienation from the system of support which are channeled through the schools, such as provision of medical testing and referral, monitoring of abuse, and counselling. Even for those students who remain in school, such services are seldom perceived to meet their needs. Thus, the needs of both drop-outs and students tend to be poorly served.

Youth unemployment in the lower mainland is very high. It is estimated to be three to four times higher among Native Youth. Petty crime and suicide are common
responses to the perception of a closed social and economic system. [NIYAS 1989; underlining in original]

The society operated on a project by project basis, selecting or developing ideas or movements which fit their objectives. Funding was secured primarily from government sources through an active grantsmanship effort on Taylor’s part. Matching potential funding sources with selected NIYAS activities was accomplished with extensive networking and contacts. Programmes sponsored by the society have included summer recreational programmes, heritage awareness programmes, counselling, and First Nations youth conferences.

A high profile programme for NIYAS has been Spirit Song Native Indian Theatre Company which started in 1981. Two years before, Taylor supported young First Nations actors auditioning for a theatrical production by Campbell Smith. They were not selected, but the play about teenagers was so well received that it toured in Europe the second summer. Taylor asked Smith to establish a First Nations youth theatre which he did the following summer. With obvious pride, Taylor explains that the students, all in high school, came up with the name "Spirit Song" during the first summer. "That’s kind of neat. It’s kind of a neat name too" (Taylor interview, June 1989). The theatre programme is inspired by aboriginal images.

The natural elements of drama was interwoven into the fabric of the first peoples social and cultural society. From these powerful theatrical roots Spirit Song through its Theatre Arts Program is recalling those aboriginal dramatic talents and blending them with standard theatre practice. [NIYAS - Spirit Song brochure]
During the school year 1987-88, Spirit Song, in cooperation with the King Edward Campus of Vancouver Community College, offered a certificate programme in First Nations theatre arts studies. In 1989, Taylor explained NIYAS priorities as funding to continue this programme, to hire an administrator for the theatre company and to produce new plays.

Taylor expresses particular pride in the conferences that NIYAS has organized.

Well, we felt it was really important that we sensitize teachers to the needs of urban Indians and urban Indian education. So we had the first conference in, I believe, 1977, December or maybe it was November.... One hundred attended workshops at Britannia Centre with resource people dealing with the issues concerning the education of urban and migrating Indians, that is what we called it. And in 1979, the follow up of that conference, where we received funding, and it was called Urban Con II. And at that conference there were over 200 people in attendance. ...and from that we decided to have a joint Native Indian/Multicultural conference....

From that conference, it was decided that we should take a look at an Indigenous Education Conference. And I was not the coordinator of that conference. It was Verna Kirkness and Howard Gray. That was the conference they held at UBC in 1987, June of 1987. Fifteen hundred from throughout the world attended. I was on the planning committee for that.

And since, we have had our last one which is the Native Youth Conference [May 1989].... It was really great to have such a conference. They came from all over Canada, the territories, as well as northwest United States. And what was really neat about it was that probably two thirds of all participants were high school students. And so it was important for us to have Native youth students involved on the planning committee. They picked the type of workshops that they wanted. And then they were very involved at the conference as volunteers.... It was very demanding, but we'll probably have another one. [Taylor interview, June 1989]
the Professional Native Women's Association and the UBC Museum of Anthropology (MOA). The role of MOA assisting in the organization and hosting of First Nations conferences and other programmes is discussed in Chapter Nine.

The draft NIYAS funding solicitation statement concludes with these thoughts.

NIYAS IS A LEGITIMATE ESTABLISHED COMMUNITY SERVICE with a record of accomplishment and demonstrated administrative competence which has been a source of pride to the off-reserve native community in Vancouver since 1977.... NOW IS THE TIME TO FINALLY RECOGNIZE AND SUPPORT THIS ESSENTIAL SERVICE PROVIDED TO THE OFF-RESERVE NATIVE COMMUNITY.

[NIYAS 1989; underlining in original]

Two points are illustrated in this appeal. First, as NIYAS matured, it had to reassure potential funders about its credentials and authority. And second, it had to expand its funding base in order to maintain its activities. With quiet determination, Taylor states, "Until we get the funding we need in place, you know, I won't be happy" (Taylor interview, June 1989).

C. NIYAS CO-SPONSORSHIP OF THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT

During the 1977-78 leadership training and recreation programmes at Britannia, contact was made between Taylor and Madeline Rowan, education curator at MOA.

It was during that period that Madeline had approached us to see if she could do, I guess, Native cultural workshops with students involved with the summer programme at Britannia. And so I said to her, rather than have you come up and do this, why don't we consider training Native Indian high school students to do this work. And so from
that came about the joint sponsorship of the programme. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

From the first, Taylor was impressed with Rowan's enthusiasm. Conveying obvious respect, Taylor states, "Madeline was so gung ho" (Taylor interview, June 1989). A working relationship developed which left programme planning and supervision in the hands of museum staff guided by Rowan. More and more administrative responsibility was also assumed by MOA staff.

For the first four years, Taylor took part in the hiring each summer. Taylor is quick to point out others who have worked on behalf of the NYP through NIYAS, such as Evans Stewart, Rose Point and Rita Barnes. The Musqueam Band has also had an ongoing interest in the project, especially the second year when Glen Guerin and a group of students from Musqueam worked with the project.

By the late 1980s, NIYAS involvement in the NYP was primarily as sponsor of funding applications. The application for summer 1989 illustrates both Taylor's commitment and style. Tracking the progress of Employment and Immigration Canada grant applications for the summer training programme, Taylor was horrified to discover that the NYP was not being considered as a "Native" application because it was jointly sponsored with MOA, a non-Native organization.

Nobody told me that they weren't going to honour anything like that any more, but then I'm not on the District Advisory Board, because when I was on there, I knew about the changes as they came up. Quite surprised me when we found out that they would not fund it under the Native programmes. And after discussions, they said they would fund it if it were done by a Native organization. And so
we had to, for the first time, take off the co-sponsorship, although it still is, right, it’s not on paper. And I think that has a lot to do with saying that they want self government.... I know some of the members of the District Advisory Board when I was sitting on there felt very strongly that they did not want non-Native sponsors for anything as far as funding was concerned. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

The NYP did receive funding that year and the following year through NIYAS. This arrangement tied MOA more closely to the bookkeeping and management practices of NIYAS. For some time, Rowan, and then the director of MOA, served on the NIYAS Board of Directors. With the change in funding arrangements, a MOA staff member was asked to assist in organizing and monitoring the bookkeeping. The work was done on a volunteer basis. This proved to be a difficult situation and contributed to the decision in late 1990 not to seek funding for the NYP in the usual manner from Employment and Immigration Canada, but to alter the programme so that it could be handled through MOA controlled funding sources.

A couple of terms stand out in the NYP descriptions and funding applications—"heritage" and "leadership." Taylor explained the meaning of the terms.

When you apply for funding, you have to use the right jargon to prove the uniqueness of whatever it is you are going after, right? And so that is probably why that was thrown in. But you know, it was really important for us to have that cultural component, Native cultural component. I don’t want to say taught to the kids. They were taught about it by Madeline, and after given the knowledge, they turned around and used it in presentations.

Leadership, I think that is really important. The young people are the future leaders of the Native people. And I think it is really important to try to give them the
opportunity to start looking at employment, at what will be preparing them for the future, preparing them to be able to know how to compete for work, to further their education, whatever. Because without any of, without those, you know, people just don't, won't, really get anywhere. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

Taylor's respect for the students' response to the NYP had grown during the course of the programme. "I was really amazed how much they learned.... It was very impressive for me that it had gone so far" and that the students had gained "so much more confidence" (Taylor interview, June 1989). Considering the future of the NYP, Taylor would encourage more participation in conferences, especially anthropology conferences, where the project members would give workshops. "And also to travel to indigenous countries" (Ibid.). The 1990 World Indigenous Conference in New Zealand was offered as a possible example. The partnership with MOA still held attractive possibilities. Taylor could envision additional funding proposals to provide NYP members with advanced training and work experience in various departments at the museum.

D. COPING WITH THE URBANIZATION OF FIRST NATIONS YOUTH

Educational programming for the First Nations was experiencing major reorientation when Taylor entered the field in the early 1970s. As people of the First Nations moved off the reserves, the Department of Indian Affairs no longer had responsibility for routine social services. New strategies and funding sources were required to address escalating social
problems within the urban based First Nations community. From the 1960s, the educational activities to address these problems had been characterized by a search for new approaches with the active participation of First Nations leaders. Training and educational programming developed which were more responsive to immediate needs, such as employment and group pride, rather than to formal needs such as accreditation. With political savvy and determination, alternative systems evolved, adapted and gained support. Some of the alternative educational systems, such as satellite high schools and the Native Indian Teacher Education Program at UBC, were recognized and functioned within the mainstream structure. Other First Nations educational organizations remained independent, nonetheless constituted to meet requirements for government funding, such as the Native Education Centre and NIYAS. Summarizing developments in the field of education in the 1970s and 1980s, a shadow structure of alternative systems evolved to muster resources for First Nations youth. The structure of ad hoc committees summoned the commitment and talents necessary to accomplish difficult tasks. Networking and grantsmanship characterized this movement. Accountability within this shadow structure was not formalized but functioned more on a basis of entrepreneurship leaving questions about the distribution of benefits and the overall effectiveness. A striking feature of this situation was the effort to reclaim authority and initiative by First Nations leaders. This trend was apparent in political control, such as
the District Advisory Board for government funding allocations, in conferences designed to articulate and build support for the First Nations point of view, and in the interpretation of cultural heritage (Ames 1987). Taylor was deeply involved in this educational movement. She had dedicated her career to First Nations youth.

The objectives and expectations which motivated Taylor provide a basis for understanding the dynamics of the situation. While many of the problems were obvious, clarifying the context could be quite complex. Cultural identity per se could be problematic.

From my perspective anyway, if you are part Native, there's no way anybody can say that you're not Indian.... But so much depends on the person too. ...over the years in my work, there have been Native people who have moved to the city that didn't want to be involved with Native programmes. They didn't want to have specific programmes for their kids. Mainly because, they said, we moved off the reserve, we moved into the urban area and we want to be treated like everybody else. So go away and don't bother us. And I respect that, if that is their feeling, I don't see, you know, why people should push themselves onto families. Because if I felt something strongly myself and people tried to come to me, right, and I didn't agree with whatever, I would let them know. So I think it is important to let Native people make their decisions on what it is they want out of life. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

Taylor balanced a respect for individual choice with a conviction about special status for the First Nations, reminiscent of the "citizen plus" approach (Hawthorn 1966, 1967).

I believe Native has to be kept separate and not considered as a multicultural group, because I think we are unique as indigenous people of North America. [Taylor interview, June 1989]
Taylor expressed optimism about maintaining indigenous culture and language, and even spoke of self-government. For her, First Nations heritage studies are an important element in retaining cultural identity, and serve as an indication of community vitality.

I really think that people in British Columbia are really fortunate, Native people, that they are able to try to keep their culture and their history. It is really, for me, great to see Native people having Indian dictionaries and having Indian stories in their language being taught in schools. It was almost lost, and it is really great seeing all of that coming back. And I think the Native Youth Conference and other conferences that we have had [are great]. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

Membership in the urban Native community has levels of complication -- personal choice, ancestry and upbringing. While there is a great deal of diversity among the First Nations, there is also a recognition of shared values and appropriate behaviour. A fundamental commitment to and support from family characterizes Taylor's description of First Nations values.

...at least where I have come from, family is really important. And that is also a part of what was instilled in us when we were young is you look out for your brother and your sister and your cousins. You respect your aunts and uncles and elders and that. And that is really important, at least for me. I really have a huge family, sometimes I can't keep track... And now I have a grandson, and that is so important to my life. [Taylor interview]

Taylor's experience coping with the urbanization of First Nations youth had led her to identify three major problems to be addressed -- school drop out, employment and discrimination.

To me, though, I think being Native there is no two ways about it, there is discrimination out there. And people are not going to like you and not think much of you because of your race. And I think it is really important to let
Native children at an early age when they can understand what is going on, to let them know they are going to come across people that are racists. And to prepare themselves. And I think one really needs that if they are going to survive. And I think that was one thing I really appreciated with my mother, my father, they taught us, especially my mum, even before we could speak English, you know. Like when we went to residential school, we couldn’t speak English because all we spoke was Indian at home. But, I thought it was really so important in ones life, and I remembered it. I have done that with my children, you know when they were small, I did the same to them. And when I work with Indian students with my work, when they get upset about people that are cruel to them because they are Native, I try so hard to help them to say that you have to expect this and talk to them about it. And I always like to say, well you are not the only ones because you are Native. Because there are a lot of other people out there who get discriminated against too because of who they are, like the Chinese, the Japanese, the East Indian, the Jew, whatever, right. It is not only Native. I try to always point that out.... But I think it is really important for one to feel proud of themselves. You have to to deal with the real life out there. [Taylor interview, June 1989]

For Taylor, discrimination had to be recognized for what it was. Individuals must feel proud of themselves in order to cope successfully with effects of racism. The acknowledgement of discrimination was juxtaposed to the conviction of special status. With this background understanding, the problems of academic achievement and economic security were articulated.

Taylor’s career illustrates the way in which the First Nations community has addressed the challenges of an urbanized life, building on some inherent values and adopting various survival strategies. The mission, however, is formidable. The objectives and expectations put forward by Taylor and NIYAS are summarized in four categories.

1. Improve the quality of educational experience for First
Nations students. This includes extracurricular programmes and activities as well as more effective academic training. In addition, this requires health and welfare support services. At the Native Youth Conference in 1989, a speaker referred to education as "our new buffalo." Later, at the closing banquet, this phrase was turned into a slogan by a First Nations law student summarizing a prevalent hope for reclaiming authority and control over their future.

2. Provide employment opportunities. This means a measure of financial independence for First Nations students, and serves as preparation, along with improved academic training, for successfully competing in the future job market. This makes employment/training programmes such as the NYP particularly attractive.

3. Develop leadership training and experiences. As Taylor explains, they are the future leaders of the First Nations. Effective leadership is necessary for the continuing administration of First Nations programmes and preserves the option of self-determination and self-government. To do this, Taylor incorporates students into the organizing committees where they can participate in the planning and decision making. Early in the project, Taylor insisted that project managers for the NYP be from the First Nations.

4. Confront discrimination. Taylor worked to give the general public opportunities to see First Nations youth in positive ways. A stated objective of NIYAS was "to promote the total
community’s understanding and appreciation of Native people” (NIYAS 1989). Complementing the public awareness efforts was development of a confident cultural identity. This was built on the conviction that First Nations youth can deal more effectively with consequences of racism if they have a secure pride in their own heritage. Association with MOA was advantageous for realizing aspects of these objectives, and in the course of the project, many expectations held by Brenda Taylor and NIYAS were fulfilled. The other half of the story of the founding of the NYP is described in the next chapter through the work and aspirations of Madeline Rowan, MOA curator responsible for the museum’s educational programming.
VI. MADELINE BRONSDON ROWAN AND MUSEUM EDUCATION PROGRAMMING

Brenda Taylor devoted her career to the survival of First Nations people in the urban environment. Madeline Rowan, as a museum educator, provided mechanisms to support this endeavour with the objective, in the case of the NYP, of helping young people become more proficient in the educational and employment practices of the dominant culture. Rowan, the project originator serving as cultural broker, not only instructed youth of the First Nations in the academic skills of research, writing and public speaking, and in the conventional work ethics of contemporary Canadian society, she also designed presentations of the indigenous cultures of the Northwest Coast for the general public. Building a positive identification with their First Nations heritage was considered to be an important part of the programme treatment for project participants. This chapter describes the formation of the project and the development of its structure and strategies.

A. MOA CURATORIAL BACKGROUND FOR THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT

Curators at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology (MOA) valued a special relationship with the First Nations of the Northwest Coast. Over the years, staff has been actively involved in applied research and programming with and for the First Nations. In the 1960s and 1970s, the relationship was modified as indigenous communities asserted greater independence.
With the growing interest on many Reserves to build museums, there have been increasing numbers of requests for information, photographic material, as individual bands begin to initiate cultural programs on their reserves. [MOA Special Grant Application July 1974, page 21]

MOA staff also sought to make "a contribution toward the reawakening interest among urban Indian people in learning about their own traditions" (Ibid.:22). Rowan was initiated into the MOA organizational culture as a student. Her work was heavily influenced by Audrey Hawthorn who acknowledges her assistance in the record keeping and preparation for Kwakiutl Art (1979:xi).

Rowan explained the position of MOA.

Since its beginning in the late 1940s this museum has encouraged and been committed to the involvement of native Indian people in its research and its programming. [Rowan 1987a:6]

Rowan received her M.A. in Anthropology from UBC in 1966. Her studies were varied, including political and economic anthropology along with museology. Following graduation, her orientation steadily moved to consider anthropology as part of a general liberal arts education, and she worked in non-academic programmes and public schools as well as teaching university courses. A particular interest was the presentation of the First Nations in the elementary school social studies curriculum. Rowan was fascinated with the potential for developing new educational techniques for museums based on visual information and hands on activities. Her interests included educational programming for the First Nations.

Anything which can de-mystify learning, spark curiosity, and bring the satisfaction and thrill of success in the education of the young is desirable. So many Indian youth
face almost unimaginable obstacles to achieving these things. Museums hold part of the key in remedying this situation. We are the forum in which new ideas about education can flourish. Let us hope we decide to use the authority, resources, and powers we possess. [Rowan 1987b:35]

In 1975, as MOA was preparing for its move to the new building, Rowan received her full-time appointment as museum curator responsible for educational programming and department lecturer. Rowan resigned from UBC and the NYP in 1986, relocating in southern California upon the retirement of her husband.

The success of the NYP was closely tied to Rowan personally, demonstrating the importance of dedicated leadership in establishing programmes. With an enthusiastic flair, definite convictions and bold determination, she confidently promoted the projects with which she was associated. Rowan always had more demands on her time than she could satisfy. This might be true of all curators, but it was particularly apparent with Rowan. This influenced her organizational style and management techniques, and had an impact on the development of the NYP. Her professional responsibilities for 1977-78 included, in addition to her half time teaching load in the Department of Anthropology, curating an exhibit called "Dress and Identity," coordinating MOA school programmes and teacher workshops, supervising special workshops, liaison with the Faculty of Education and Native Indian Teacher Education Programme, participation in the British Columbia Museums Association Education Committee, and, in various stages of development, an
educational video programme, the Touchables Collection with a special programme for the blind, and a Native Indian youth leadership training workshop with Britannia Centre, an east Vancouver community centre. The latter evolved into the NYP. In a memorandum dated 27 November 1978, Rowan explained the two levels of the Britannia project.

...one is the provision of programmes relating to Indian culture for young children, the other is the development of experience among the adolescent Youth Leaders so that they can

#1 assist us with programmes
#2 gain skills which will be useful to them later
#3 learn enough that they can begin to initiate programmes with this and other museums.

[NYP files]

The plan for the ensuing year (1979) was to hold training sessions in the spring for First Nations teenagers, and then, with their assistance, organize programmes for children during the summer. This was to be a joint project between MOA and the community centre, initially using facilities and resources at the museum, but eventually operating the programme independently through the community centre. At that point, MOA staff could turn their attention to developing programmes with other community centres. In all cases, programmes would be developed appropriately for the particular needs of each community centre. These ideas were fundamentally modified before the NYP was implemented. Rowan was pushing the scope of educational programming at MOA beyond traditional academic and museum services. This had implications for MOA policies and commitment of resources.
By this time, MOA had been operating in the new building for two years, and it is important to understand the sense of purpose and conviction which permeated the work of the staff at that time. An attitude of experimentation accompanied all aspects of operation, training and programming. The Visible Storage Galleries made the back rooms of the museum accessible to everyone. This, however, was as controversial as it was innovative (see Ames 1977, 1981, and 1986, Chapter 6; Halpin 1976 and 1978). A new understanding about the interpretation of collections was steadily developing. The unedited, often embarrassing, artifact data sheets were made available to researchers and public alike. Video programmes were being developed for more general orientation and interpretation. The problem of information was conceived in a new way. "Visual literacy" was promoted which stressed thorough, critical observation of objects themselves, minimizing reliance on labelling. Scripted guided tours were discouraged as the staff contemplated ways of changing visitors from passive spectators into active students (Halpin 1976). Further, the ethical issues of museology weighed heavily on the curators. Rowan summarized the issue of interpretation in the introduction for the draft of a project manual.

The guiding principle of the Native Youth Project at U.B.C.'s Museum of Anthropology is that museums which are custodians of native Indian artifacts have a moral obligation to involve Native youth in their educational and public programming.

To take this challenge is to catapult museums into a new area - contemporary Indian culture. Projects like the
N.Y.P. bring native Indians and their culture, both past and present, out of the realm of museum research, conservation, and stewardship, and place them squarely in the forefront of museum interpretation. [Rowan 1987b:1]

This statement was made at the apex of a long process of project development and reflects evolving sensibilities at MOA. Over the years, several elements had come together to generate the NYP: 1. a curator dedicated to broadening the educational significance of museum based anthropology, 2. an organizational culture that encouraged work with the First Nations of British Columbia, 3. a questioning of conventional museum interpretation and presentation, and 4. the support and collaboration of the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society and, in particular, its president Brenda Taylor.

B. ESTABLISHING THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT

Along with her other activities in 1978, Rowan organized a craft workshop for the Musqueam Indian Band summer day camp. Rowan points to this experience as the inspiration for the NYP. The workshop was conducted with Hilary Stewart, a well respected author and lecturer who specializes in the traditional culture of the Northwest Coast. The summer workshop focussed on the coastal flora, especially the indigenous uses of the cedar tree. It was a hands-on workshop where participants learned basic techniques for working with the wood and bark of the cedar tree. Rowan explains the children’s reaction.

The children were supervised by Musqueam teenagers, and it rapidly became clear to us that these young people
knew as little about how their ancestors had utilized the local environment as did their young charges. We decided to design a programme for these older students, one in which they would not only learn about traditional coastal Indian culture but would also be trained to share this information with museum visitors. [Rowan 1987a:2]

The Project changed and matured through the 1980s, but the indigenous uses of cedar with hands on experimentation remained at the core of the content with the objective of training teenagers to teach others about traditional, later expanded to also include contemporary, culture of the Northwest Coast.

The initial content theme of cedar proved very successful for several reasons. First, it relates to the local environment so material resources are available, and the topic builds on common knowledge and a shared interest with the community at large. Second, expertise was available from both the First Nations and the academic world. At that time, Wally Henry had an active programme on traditional cedar bark craftsmanship at the Coqualeetza Education Training Centre. In 1983, Hilary Stewart guest curated a major exhibit at MOA, followed the next year by the publication of her book, Cedar: Tree of Life to the Northwest Coast Indians. This served as a basic reference for the NYP. Third, cedar provides opportunities for hands-on activities ranging from collecting bark in the forest to processing the raw material into mats, cordage and other items. These activities served as a foundation for study and research which made it different from school instruction and allowed members to then speak from personal experience during their museum presentations.
Learning to handle materials and artifacts related to traditional technologies early in their training also makes a strong impression. It deepens student respect for the ingenuity and skill of their ancestors, and consolidates their sense of themselves as conveyors of this knowledge. [Rowan 1987b:7]

Fourth, technology is a non-threatening aspect of culture which can be discussed in a straightforward manner. And fifth, Rowan explained, "the remarkably rich repertoire of artifacts which used cedar in their construction leads into every aspect of Northwest Coast Indian culture. Thus the educational potential of the subject is enormous" (Ibid.:7-8). Rowan advised others contemplating similar projects to "begin with one good theme and do it very well, but always stretch both the staff and the students to develop and refine this and new themes when the opportunities arise" (1987b:7).

Inspired by mission and theme, Rowan sought support through the Native Indian Youth Advisory Committee. By mid February 1979, plans were in place for the "Native Youth Heritage and Leadership Training Project." The first year of the project was developed and operated in conjunction with Beverly MacPherson, education coordinator at the Centennial Museum (later the Vancouver Museum). The two museums organized the training and public presentations. The Native Indian Youth Advisory Committee under the direction of Brenda Taylor in affiliation with the Britannia Native Teen Club administered the project, including funding and hiring the student workers. Through Taylor, a grant was secured from the Canadian Department of the
Secretary of State along with additional funding from the British Columbia Provincial Ministry of Labour. By character, Rowan was a determined promoter with a singular attitude toward funding:

...budget restrictions should not be allowed to limit our imagination and our vision. We always chafed under the limits set by our grants, but we never let this deter us in planning and achieving more ambitious goals. [Rowan 1987b:9]

Rowan's enthusiasm and museum based resources combined with Taylor's political understanding and community based resources to initiate the NYP.

Following a meeting of the three principle organizers, the basic programme for the summer of 1979 was sketched out in a letter from Rowan to Taylor on 21 February 1979 (NYP files and records) which served as the basis for the funding applications. The programme was planned in several stages to accommodate 18 to 20 teenagers of First Nations ancestry. The first step would be the collection and preparation of cedar materials at two weekend workshops in May to be led by Stewart and Rowan. Collection of cedar bark, roots and withes would take place at the UBC Research Forest in Haney and preparation would be done at MOA. The nine weeks of full-time summer work for the teenagers would start on June 25th with an intensive week long workshop making objects from the various parts of the cedar tree which would be used later in public presentations. This would be held at MOA and organized by Rowan and Stewart, drawing on the expertise of
various First Nations resource people. The second week would be spent at the Centennial Museum supervised by MacPherson. There were two objectives for this week. First, the teenagers would receive basic orientation and training ranging from museum education to the handling of artifacts. Second, they would be introduced to the Bella Coola educational programme.

With this background, the teenagers would begin the third week working on specific activities. Four choices were available. Not more than six teenagers would stay on at the Centennial Museum as "student docents" working on the Bella Coola programme to be involved with all aspects of researching, preparing, promoting, presenting and reporting. At MOA, the teenagers would prepare a short public presentation on the traditional uses of the cedar tree to be given in the latter part of July and August on a scheduled basis. These presentations would use the material prepared in the earlier workshops and selected artifacts from the MOA Touchable Collection. Project T-shirts proclaimed their position, "UBC Museum of Anthropology Trainee." There were two other activities. The project members were to develop a resource list on contemporary Northwest Coast arts and crafts including a bibliography of ethnographic literature. This work was to be jointly supervised through the participating museums. This activity was expanded into a handbook for young people including interviews with prominent members of the First Nations and representatives of community organizations. The fourth activity
was an illustrated report on the cedar workshops held in May and June. This was to provide documentation useful for future programme development. In the letter of 21 February 1979, Rowan made it clear that she would be taking a year’s leave of absence from the university beginning in late July. At that time, the extension curator would take over supervision of the project at MOA.

In the first summer of the NYP, the group was smaller than proposed with twelve participants, six at the Centennial Museum focussing on the Bella Coola and six at MOA working on the traditional uses of the cedar tree. In addition, the trainees at MOA prepared a report titled "Learning a Little More about Coastal Indians Past and Present" which included interviews with eight First Nations organizations, and the student docents at the Centennial Museum prepared individual reports on various topics. The expectations were high which resulted in some frustration and even exasperation. As will be described in the following section, the teenage project members lacked organizational ability and the experience to initiate and carry out tasks on their own. Continual guidance and supervision were required. The Centennial Museum did not continue its involvement with the NYP after the summer of 1979. The approach at MOA proved more satisfactory, and the group concluded the summer with a memorandum to the director of MOA proposing that presentations continue through the winter. Letters of interest from five of the six participants were attached. Although on
leave by this time, Rowan promoted the project with the director of MOA. Funding from the Canadian Department of the Secretary of State was secured, and the NYP winter programme was initiated. Much of the practical work the first summer, guiding study efforts and preparing reports, was done under the supervision of the museum secretary drawing on her own background of classroom teaching. This support by MOA staff has proved to be a crucial element in the story of the NYP, and is considered in Chapter Nine.

Rowan served as an active spokesperson for MOA education programmes, building a positive public image and reputation. In June 1978, The Indian Voice did a major picture story on the Britannia children’s workshops at MOA with the bold headline "CHILDREN LEARN ABOUT THEIR HERITAGE." UBC newspapers regularly covered the NYP, and it made interesting copy for local newspapers often with accompanying pictures of members and the artifacts. A story headline in The Vancouver Sun in April 1980 read, "Students revive a native craft." The article highlighted the Sunday NYP presentations at MOA.

Maybe someone is thinking, "So what?" Fair question. It is improbable that cedar bark skirts will come back into fashion, and even cedar bent boxes may have only a limited market. But for the culture to survive it is important that someone at least knows how to do those things, someone within that culture.

And it is important to the rest of us, too. The fact is that the red cedar tree and the people who made such resourceful use of it, are part of our culture; part of what makes living in coastal B.C. a different sensation from living anywhere else. [Hal Ober, The Vancouver Sun, 21 April 1980]
Over the years, the project was featured in stories and interviews on radio and television. Rowan has reported on the project at conferences and in museum publications. The project members themselves have made several appearances at conferences. From the beginning and through all the changes and adjustments, Rowan maintained that the project members are the "stars," and thus promoted the project on their behalf. In turn, the project members have recognized her dedicated support for them. They relate stories of how she would fight for the project, and some turned to her for individual guidance. To many project members, Rowan personified the standards and expectations for the project, the museum and academic life generally. Managers and MOA staff may have at times dispaired of the amount of work required and the inevitable commotion, but the mission was kept alive and the lasting impression is one of accomplishment and satisfaction.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT

Undertaking such a project entails overcoming many problems and concerns. Looking back at the project, Rowan identified a couple of significant changes: 1. gradually the orientation became more academic, shifting "from crafts and technology to a more descriptive and historical emphasis" (1987a:5), and 2. the selection process became more rigorous with demanding application and interview procedures for prospective members (Ibid.). These changes reflect the progressive recognition of
the NYP as a museum education programme, therefore requiring compliance with established academic standards and using appropriate kinds of information formats. Correct interpretation and adequate presentation are prime considerations for curators. Early in the project, the outlook for achieving such a programme was guarded. In a paper for a professional conference, Rowan and an early project manager expressed deep dissatisfaction with the lack of academic skills, particularly reading.

Most of the students are not readers and in fact view reading as rather odious. This not only hampers the development of the project, but more importantly, also hampers their development. One can only learn so much about a culture from replicating its technological achievements. Students tend to stay within the comfortable confines of what they know about how objects were made and used: they cannot venture far into their social, political, and ceremonial functions because they simply do not have this knowledge or understanding. Even their own interest in their culture and the assistance of devoted museum personnel have not been sufficient to motivate them to learn to read in order to learn more....

The project is defined by our native co-sponsor as one which will help students develop skills necessary to compete in the job market. Good work habits, such as punctuality, record keeping, and taking responsibility are expected of them. We assume that in time we would also see signs of them understanding the benefits of being able to read and write better English - perceived as job skills if not as academic or intellectual skills, and of expanding their ideas of educational and professional goals. We have so far seen little evidence of this. [Rowan and McIntosh 1982:5-6]

By changing the purpose of the job to focus on the public presentations, the selection and preparation of members changed accordingly. Rowan observed, "We are therefore especially concerned that these Indian students are trained to do well, and
will represent well themselves, Indian people and the museum" (1987a:6). This is a particularly time consuming effort which became more demanding with experience:

Because of their youth they need personal attention and careful supervision.... So we train the students as well as we can in the time available, regularly asking them to write tests in order to make sure they know their information and counselling them in public speaking techniques. [Rowan 1987a:6]

The shift to an academic emphasis was apparent in a suggested name change.

Students have shown that they understand the educational merits of the project. In 1986 the students thought the project should be re-named the Native Indian Youth Summer Education Project, and over the years they have always protested being called "kids". "We are students!" they maintain. [Rowan 1987b:34]

The presentations became more elaborate and polished. The training process was more systematic and prescribed.

Throughout the development of the cedar presentation and other content themes, Rowan and Stewart conceptualized traditional Northwest Coast culture in terms of a verified but static past. For example, individual elders were recognized as expert informants and cited as confirmation, either through personal contact or by reference to established ethnographers such as Franz Boas. This approach stands in contrast to verification and approval by contemporary community organizations, a method used later by First Nations project managers. Furthermore, there was an assumption of a single, authentic practice about which correct information was to be assembled and disseminated. The academic authority as the
baseline for the knowledge used in the project became a point of tension in later years. The NYP was "squarely in the forefront of museum interpretation," Rowan wrote (1987b:1), and it was during the early years of the programme, but the information was still based on conventional museum ethnography. This traditional interpretation has subsequently been challenged both from within and outside of anthropology:

The relations between museums and Indians are changing, however. Indian people, increasingly concerned about the preservation and recovery of their natural resources as they dwindle, are recognizing as well the importance of their traditional lands and cultural traditions as resources for their future as Indians. They are therefore, while calling for the return of their lands, also claiming back from anthropologists and others, their own histories so that they may exert more control over how their cultures are presented to themselves and to others. [Ames 1987a:14]

This process of reclaiming history was also evident in the NYP, as is discussed in the following chapters. Rowan's work, while anticipating this change, predated the transition.

Four presentations in addition to "Traditional Uses of the Cedar Tree" were developed which included "Potlatch: Past and Present," "Traditional and Contemporary Indian Fishing" and "Introduction to Totem Poles in the Museum's Collections."

Another presentation was a botanical walk on the museum grounds. Over the years, the basic method for creating programmes was modified. In 1979, members working on cedar were expected to conduct their own research and develop the public presentation, using the workshops by Stewart as a model. The presentations were to be a demonstration of their own efforts with spinoff
value for their personal school work. Especially for Rowan, this was an intentional pedagogical decision very much in keeping with the underlying MOA attitude toward students and museum presentation. As was evident in MacPherson's recommendation, this approach posed serious difficulties. She wrote, "The problems of intensive research and scholarly writing were beyond the capabilities of many of the students and staff time for editing was enormous" (NYP Records 1979). At MOA, the expectation for members to develop their own presentations based on personal research continued for many years. Early on, however, scripts began to develop, first in outline form. Eventually there were detailed scripts for all of the presentations. These are continually revised making both authorship and references difficult to trace. Much of the information for the cedar script came from the work of Stewart. Her book *Indian Fishing: Early Methods on the Northwest Coast* was a primary resource for the fishing presentation, along with the work of an early project research assistant whose thesis in anthropology was on Northwest Coast fishing. In 1983, an exhibition called "The Copper that Came from Heaven," jointly curated by U'mista Cultural Centre of Alert Bay, the Nuyumbalees Society of Cape Mudge, the British Columbia Provincial Museum and MOA, served as the inspiration for the potlatch script. For a while, the project used a two projector slide show assembled by two Anthropology 431 (Museum Studies) students on Mungo Martin's potlatch held at the provincial museum in Victoria.
The guided walk through the Great Hall was based primarily on
the MOA publication Totem Poles: An Illustrated Guide by
Marjorie Halpin. Rowan has offered this information:

In many instances you will develop your presentation
scripts before the students join the project. But this
will not always be possible. During the first year of the
N.Y.P. we developed the script as we gathered cedar
materials from the forest and learned how to use them in
workshops with Hilary Stewart and Wally Henry, a craftsman
who had made cedar bark clothing in a special research
project of the Indian Mission Friendship Centre. Cedar
was a natural subject for eliciting the students’
assistance in writing our first script.

We did this in a very straightforward way, using the
large newsprint pad mentioned earlier. Each morning we
reviewed what we had done the day before and selected
artifacts and materials to illustrate our activities. The
students made many of these. Together we sought the
clearest and most concise explanations we could, and I
committed these to our large pad. Thus the script was
written. It was slow work at times but the students were
at the centre of this creative exercise, correcting each
other, shouting approval, and most important, using their
new knowledge. The mood was enthusiastic and excited....

There have been other occasions when we have
effectively used our senior students to develop training
materials for new students or to write an outline for a new
script. Students were asked to read about a specific
subject and then look at the collections, applying their
information to write an introduction to the topic. Our
script on totem poles was developed in a similar way. A
senior student identified different types of totem poles
based on a book written by one of our curators, Dr.
Marjorie Halpin, and then wrote a report, complete with
illustrations photocopied from the book, for the other
students. Twice I walked through the galleries with her,
discussing examples, correcting errors, and clarifying
information. What she wrote was clear and in language
which the other students understood. In addition her
research skills improved, she gained additional confidence
about a new and complex topic, and she achieved a somewhat
more privileged, and legitimate, role within the project.
[Rowan 1987b:22-23]

More commonly, instead of conducting research to create a
presentation, members of the NYP studied background material as
well as the scripts in order to be thoroughly prepared to handle the presentations and a wide variety of questions from audiences. The scripts were not to be memorized verbatim, but rather were to be used them as a starting point for making successful and accurate public presentations. The scripts were inevitably memorized and presentations were often made with crib notes.

The task for the members, while more clearly defined with the use of scripts, was still enormous. Their efforts won the respect of MOA staff each summer as the members successfully addressed visitors from all over the world, peers, family, and, perhaps most difficult, First Nations communities. As Rowan explained, "Bestowing the status and responsibility of museum interpreters on these students shows that you believe they can meet your expectations and standards" (1987b:21). Quality presentations were achieved by having high standards and firmly offering constructive criticism. The following instructions from the draft for a project manual give insights into the process as implemented by Rowan.

Rehearsals should always stress the relationship between the artifact, the information about it, and the audience. Clarity and accuracy are the two cardinal dimensions of this triad. Constantly stressing themes throughout instruction, study, rehearsals, and criticism of student presentations heightens their understanding of what we expect, assists them in correcting flaws, and encourages them to set and maintain high standards. Some of these themes are:

Accuracy of information 
Do not "fake" it, and do not be afraid to say you do not know. Many experts disagree
Handle all artifacts with care

This applies even if the artifact is a replica that you or some other student made. How you handle them affects how the audience perceives and handles them! They should be treated respectfully since they represent Indian culture.

Be professional in all you do

Dress and act as if you were a permanent member of the museum staff.

Be polite and attentive always to visitors

If there were no visitors, there would be no project. They have paid to enter and want to see and hear you. Give them the information you know!

Speak clearly and loudly during presentations

Don't make your audience strain to hear you.

Remember you represent Indian people and the museum

You have a public responsibility to do a good job.

[Rowan 1987b:30]

Handouts on methods of presentation were prepared and circulated stressing various public speaking attributes such as looking at the audience and showing enthusiasm and confidence, and providing definitions for key terms. "Crits" have become a routine part of the training process. Rowan has related some stories which illustrate the curatorial interest in quality of presentations.

The project will also inevitably provide an opportunity for the expression of idiosyncratic qualities.
These can be amusing and alarming. For example, we once overheard Stephen during his guided walk of the museum's totem poles asked the question "Why are some poles tall and some short?" (a question answered by the talk he had just given, in fact!) He did not blink behind his glasses but cheerfully responded "Do you remember I said that stories went with the poles? Well, the shorter stories went with the shorter poles, and the longer stories went with the taller ones!" Although the audience seemed satisfied, we passed on our dissatisfaction, amid gales of laughter from other students, to Stephen.

On another occasion we realized that Janice's presentation - articulate and professional reminded us of something we could not identify. One day her boss from the previous summer visited the project. He sold knife sets at exhibitions and fairs throughout North America, and it was the fairground "hustle" style we had detected in Janice! [1987b:32; parentheses in original; names fictious]

The interpretation of collections and quality of presentations were carefully monitored.

As the content became more academic and the presentations more polished, the second significant change noted by Rowan developed accordingly. The hiring procedure became more thorough and rigorous. For the first four years, the NYP was administrated through the Native Indian Youth Advisory Committee which advertized the jobs and arranged the interviews. Applicants submitted resumes and were interviewed at Britannia Community Centre by representatives from the Committee and MOA, usually Taylor and Rowan. In 1983, MOA took over project administration and the interviewing procedures. By 1984, an interview schedule had been developed with 21 questions, most having several parts, which increased to 27 by 1986, Rowan's last year as programme curator. In addition to a resume, applicants in 1984 were to submit a statement on why they were
seeking the position and a couple letters of recommendation. By 1986, two assignments had been added: a review of an NYP presentation, and a report on one or two artifacts displayed in the museum. These were to be completed within a single visit and submitted at the admission's desk upon leaving. Interviews contained the following topics. In 1984, the first three questions were about school performance and the tenth question explored academic skills with regard to job expectations. This question was edited slightly and has become the first question asked.

1. The work involves study, research, observation, written work and weekly testing. Will you willingly do this? A daily journal is to be kept as well as a final report at the end of summer. Will you willingly complete these tasks? [NYP Records, Interview Schedule, 1988]

Other questions in the interview covered skills, interests, career plans, previous job experience, with the bulk of the questions concerning job expectations and summer plans. In 1984, there also was a question about First Nations identity.

7. What do you know about native Indian culture? Are you interested in " " " " ? How do you show this interest? [NYP Records, Interview Schedule, 1984]

This had been somewhat elaborated by 1986 with "Do you belong to any organization related to Indian culture?" A question about status had also been added along with a "tough question" which both tested performance potential and attitudes about First Nations identity.

Tough question: After the students give their presentations, the audience tend to move to the stage to
ask questions. Some questions that are asked don't even relate to the presentations. What would you say if a person asks you this: "I heard that many native people in B.C. have a problem with alcohol." What would you say to this? [NYP Records, Interview Schedule, 1986]

In 1989, the First Nations project manager reviewed the interview questions with staff at the UBC First Nations House of Learning. A few changes were made, but the "tough question" remained. On the other hand, a former NYP member (Brass 1990:6) called this tough question "demeaning and ignorant."

Experience had clearly demonstrated the necessity of selecting members who were qualified to handle the work successfully.

There will always be extenuating circumstances which will make you hire students who you think will benefit from the project. Just make sure their presence benefits the project as well! These are difficult decisions but remember that the supervisor and manager will have to live with their consequences, not to mention the other students. The quality of your project may suffer if you take too many risks or play social worker with your job applicants. Try to ensure the students make a workable group, pick the best you can, tell them what you expect from them, and then unapologetically get on with your project. [Rowan 1987b:18]

Rowan's indomitable optimism shines through as she reflected on the "unsuitable" students who had been hired. From the vantage point of 1987, she wrote, "we have always learned something from our mistakes" (Ibid.:16; emphasis in original). In reality, the hiring practices developed after much anguish and soul searching. In a paper presented to the Canadian Ethnology Society Annual Meeting in 1982, Rowan and the project manager from the previous summer described, with uncharacteristic
disappointment, problems in the project.

Despite the fact that the students are enthusiastic about the project, proud to be hired, and eloquent on how much they have learned and how important it is to learn about their culture, this is not, for the most part, expressed in day-to-day work habits.... Some of this is teenage behaviour, and some of it is, as our native colleagues have pointed out, perhaps a function of native students working for non-native "bosses".

The advice we receive from these colleagues is clear: those who do not abide by the rules should be fired. Our experience is that this is easier said than done, but we know they are right and we are wrong. The students and others who have observed them are clear about the benefits gained from the project. Therefore it often becomes more important to help them stick with the project for whatever advantages they might gain in the long term. Also one does not like to contribute to the pattern of failure many have experienced at school. [Rowan and McIntosh 1982:6-7]

Nonetheless, a policy regarding the dismissal of members was put into place by the summer of 1982 based on a system of three warnings. Lateness was the most frequently cited offense, but other nonsupportive and disruptive types of behaviour also received warnings. This was clearly explained to applicants during their interviews. There were relatively few dismissals.

From the beginning of the NYP, Rowan had had others assisting her with the daily work. Along with guest speakers, there were anthropology graduate students and MOA staff. When Rowan went on leave for the school year 1979-80, the extension curator and museum secretary took over supervising the project. Ever since the winter of 1979, funding has also been secured for project managers. By 1982, the position of project manager was defined as a training position to be filled by a UBC student of First Nations ancestry. Rowan offered this advice about hiring.
Managers should be for two consecutive years if possible, since they bring valuable experience and insights to their second year. At the University of British Columbia there are two discretionary programmes in Education and Law for native Indian students and we have drawn managers from both of them.... Make sure you hire the best person you can for this position, and, ideally, someone who does not have to be trained to do everything that your project requires. We have asked applicants to have experience in either museums, education, or in dealing with teenagers. Recently we have asked them to attend the British Columbia Museum's Association summer intern seminar as part of their training. This worked well, and gave the manager an introduction to museum principles, handling and storing artifacts, cataloguing, and other aspects of museum work. But the manager must also be able to assume authority over six students, handle many tasks alone when necessary, and set and maintain standards in face of occasional student complaints and resistance. [Rowan 1987b:15]

Other suggested requirements for the position included an interest in and willingness to learn more about Northwest Coast culture, a sense of humour and adaptability. "It helps to remember that this position is a training opportunity also, and like everyone else managers grow and improve on the job" (1987b:16). Rowan considered the relationship between supervising curator and project manager a partnership with a fairly clear division of duties and responsibilities. Together, supervisor and manager set the "educational goals and methods of achieving them" (1987b:12) with the supervisor providing educational and museum experience and the manager practical experience and routine control. Rowan noted, "The character of the project should reflect the abilities and talents of the manager" (1987b:12). Other shared tasks included working out the schedule, setting standards, and keeping records. The supervising curator was responsible for the external support and
MOA resources. The project manager maintained the daily routine interacting directly with the project members. Rowan concluded, "Supervisor and manager should present a united front to the students on all important issues" (1987b:13).

The training process changed with experience, the shifting academic emphasis, and altered project staffing. Rowan's pedagogical approach, however, left an indelible mark.

Maintaining a balance between formality and informality is delicate, but erring to the side of the former is, in our experience, a good idea. The project is a serious educational endeavour, giving these young Indians a sense of purpose and of themselves which is entirely new....
[Rowan 1987b:19]

Rowan's training methods stressed tightly scheduled routines, trial and testing, and prompt criticism of work. There was also an expectation of group process.

Everyone should be responsible for the successful completion of tasks, and prepared to assume an appropriate part of the burden. Such an understanding also diminishes the "nagging" into which supervisor and manager can predictably slide. Formalizing the delegation of tasks in a fair and sensible way leaves students no excuse for not doing them. The students will see and appreciate the logic of such a system, and will soon adapt it to work for them.
[Rowan 1987b:20]

Rowan's supervisory style was to make assignments and delegate tasks. During the first summer programme, Rowan would set out tasks in a memorandum to the group with assigned deadlines. For example, on 5 August 1979 Rowan circulated a memorandum explaining the work to be done before the end of the project on August 24th with a reward for accomplishing the tasks, "If we can complete all of this, we will plan our Cape Mudge trip for
August 17" (emphasis in original).

1. **Script of Cedar Tree Presentation:** All the newsprint panels of information on the wall must be typed, double-spaced, for our final report. The work should be divided so that each typist has one full panel.

   **Deadline:** August 9th

   I will take these home and edit them for re-typing if necessary.

2. **Mounted miniature panels of cedar tree presentation.**
   This will be done on sheets of heavy paper which can be put, with the script, in a looseleaf binder which I will get this week. All the panels you have used should be duplicated, although the most important ones are the withes, roots, bark (2 kinds) and wood ones. Small samples and drawings should illustrate these panels, which should look like the large ones you have been using in your presentations.

   **Deadline:** August 13 with all labels in pencil until I edit pages, please!

   [1979 NYP Records; underlining in original]

The memorandum continued, covering several other matters. Rowan had just begun a leave of absence from UBC at that time, and daily supervisory responsibility for the NYP was being shared by the extension curator and the secretary at MOA. The project members were expected to work independently, which, as noted earlier, proved unrealistic. Nonetheless, this memorandum from Rowan illustrates her supervisory style which continued with the project managers in subsequent years. It also illustrates assumptions about basic working relationships and standards which developed an organizational structure for the NYP. Group effort in preparing and conducting the public presentations focussed the purpose of the project and developed commitment.

Rowan emphasized the importance of the first two weeks of
the project in terms of establishing discipline and preparing members for their job responsibilities.

This period is absolutely crucial for the success of your project. It sets the tone for the entire summer and should be planned with great care and in every detail. If you have doubts about a student’s ability or commitment these should be erased or confirmed during this time. The students will do their first short presentations in front of a "real audience" and feel the resulting power and exhilaration. They will also feel the psychological "let down" that often occurs the day after their first really successful presentation, when they realize they have only passed one hurdle, and they still have a great deal more to learn! In face of all these up’s and down’s [sic], keep your eye firmly on the project goals, your information clear, straightforward, and well-organized, and your supervision and teaching focussed on individual progress. Also, remind yourself and your students that the subjects they are studying are complex and difficult, and although they can’t know everything in one summer, they must learn as much as they can. [Rowan 1987b:21; underlining in original]

As indicated in the discussion of script development, the project did not begin with explicit assignments. Members were expected to conduct their own research to better understand technologies for working with cedar and to prepare their public presentations. Parts of the early approach remained, but the lessons had become quite specific by 1986. The structuring of time had also changed. Following is the training schedule for the first two weeks laid out by Rowan in 1987 for the draft project manual.

Day 1  Field trip to UBC Research Forest to collect cedar materials. Return to MOA to strip off outer bark from inner bark, roots and withes.
[Note: Bark is now stripped in the forest before the sap begins to dry which also eliminates bulk in transportation and trash at MOA.]

Day 2  Formal introduction to MOA and project procedures,
facilities and payroll. 1 hour
Workshop with Hilary Stewart on cedar wood. 3 hours
Learning to Look workshop. 1.5 hours
(This was developed by Rowan for teachers and is based on the principles of "visual learning.")
Distribute study questions for test on cedar wood and reference book Sea and Cedar by Lois McConkey.
[Sea and Cedar is an introduction to the culture of the Northwest Coast Indians written for the Grade Four social studies curriculum.]
Film "Mungo Martin Making a Box" 30 minutes
Discussion 15 minutes
Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 3
Workshop with Stewart on cedar bark. 3 hours
Tour of MOA galleries 1-1.5 hours
Show books, articles and pamphlets used as references, "touchable" artifacts, and other study materials.
Distribute study questions for test on cedar bark.
Study time on cedar wood and bark. 2 hours
Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 4
Workshop with Stewart on withes and roots. 3 hours
Distribute study questions for test on cedar withes and roots and Seafaring Warriors of the North Pacific.
(This is a basic reference book, more advanced than Sea and Cedar.)
Study time. 2 hours
Write test on wood and Sea and Cedar. 30 minutes
Demonstration of Cedar presentation by two senior students. 30 minutes
Select 5 minutes of Cedar presentation for each student to rehearse for first public appearance.
Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 5
Study time for remaining parts of cedar. 1.5 hours
Write test on cedar bark. 30 minutes
Rehearse 5 minute segments with artifacts and all other presentation materials. 2 hours
Film "Potlatch - A Strict Law Bids Us Dance" and discussion. 1.5 hours
Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 6
Test on roots and withes and Seafaring Warriors of the North Pacific. 30 minutes
Rehearse 5 minute segments for senior students. 1 hour
Backstage tour of MOA work areas and labs with staff technician and/or conservator. 1-1.5 hours
More rehearsing of 5 minute segments.
Afternoon - public presentations of programmes by senior students with 5 minute segments by junior students.
Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 7 Add another 5 minute segment to presentation and rehearse for afternoon presentation. All members prepared to read introduction to slides. 2 hours Use "Discovery Sheets" in MOA Visible Storage Galleries for cedar artifacts. 1 hour Present 10 minute segments of Cedar programme in the public presentations. 1 hour Watch "Potlatch" film again and the presentation of the Potlatch programme by the senior members. Begin to rehearse 5 minute segments of Potlatch. 2 hours Distribute study questions for Potlatch test. Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 8 Student interviews (10-15 minutes each) to discuss individual progress and any problems. Rehearsal schedule now complicated and must be supervised carefully so that students learn and perform quickly and well. Two new students should be able to do complete Cedar presentation alone. Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 9 Half day visit to city museum viewing collections relevant to Cedar and Potlatch presentations, discussing display techniques, perhaps meeting a curator to answer any questions from members. Distribute study questions in advance. Afternoon public presentations, rehearsals and study. Test on potlatch. 30 minutes Journal entries 15 minutes

Day 10 Test on city museum. 30 minutes View MOA video Introduction to Totem Poles. Discuss and distribute study questions for test. 1 hour Watch Totem Pole public presentation by senior members. Select 5 minute segments of this programme to rehearse. Distribute study questions for totem pole test. 1 hour Journal entries 15 minutes

[Based on Rowan 1987b, Appendix F]

The programme treatment was overly ambitious, and led to frustration. On the other hand, the accomplishments were substantial. Training and study activities continued throughout the summer, and by the second week scheduled public
presentations also became a dominant part of the daily routine.

Over the years, basic funding for the project covered wages for members and project managers, and honoraria for workshop leaders and some guest speakers. Facilities, support services and project supervision were provided by MOA. Later in the project, MOA also supplemented the wages of the project manager. Early on, special study trips were added. Members raised funds themselves for this travel. This usually included a day trip to the British Columbia Provincial Museum in Victoria (now the Royal British Columbia Museum), and a trip to First Nations cultural centres and community museums lasting several days. A couple of years, Rowan organized two trips. The trips combined study along with presentations to diverse groups. Rowan considered these trips rewarding adventures but not holidays. The sense of educational discipline was evident.

Students can drift into rather casual behaviour on study trips. Travelling in a van, with the "bosses" at the front discussing schedules and study questions, encourages them to snooze or plug in their walkmans, disappearing into the land of high decibel music. We have found assigning some work for portions of travel time has been useful. Students study small segments of information, rehearse with each other, and benefit from the time spent this way, although they will complain at first, naturally enough. [1987b:30]

Beginning in 1981, travel was made possible by fund raising salmon barbeques on the grounds of MOA. Initiated by Rowan and fuelled by her optimism and determination, this activity is discussed from the perspective of managers, members and MOA staff in subsequent chapters. The overall impression of the NYP
as envisioned and orchestrated by Rowan was one of multiple activities, rich variation and enormous energy.

D. **DIGNITY AND KNOWLEDGE**

In her paper to the World Conference for Indigenous Peoples' Education in the summer of 1987, Rowan listed three basic reasons for the success of the NYP:

1. the students are paid and treated as young adult museum staff members capable of studying and giving public presentations
2. "empowered" with knowledge, they quickly gain that satisfaction (and thrill) of being the performers for an attentive and appreciative audience
3. what they are learning is related to their Indian identity.  [Rowan 1987a:13-14; parenthesis in original]

Point number one, the NYP provided jobs for high school students which meant both responsibility and recognition. As an established university based institution, MOA held high standards for the work. On the other hand, MOA has a small staff with casual and supportive interpersonal relationships. For Rowan, the project members were museum trainees hired to do a job which they were expected to do well and thus to be successful within the work culture of museum.

However, providing jobs was a secondary objective for Rowan.

...although offering students employment is the way in which the museum has secured them, as it were, for the term of the project, the staff's goals are primarily educational. This difference in perspective is one of the fundamental dilemmas of the project. If it is not understood and handled clearly from the beginning it can cause unnecessary frustration, misunderstanding, and disappointment. The students have, after all, "contracted"
to be trained as museum guides and lecturers. [Rowan 1987b:5]

The second reason for project success identified by Rowan, empowering with knowledge, held potential when it worked in tandem with the dignity inherent with holding a job and serving as a staff member. Knowledge as used by Rowan meant academic training. Learning under the project conditions took on a different meaning from the participants' school experience. It was a job with a specific purpose of making public presentations where the individuals were so obviously accountable for quality and personally rewarded for their efforts. Rowan recognized a kind of dilemma in the academic expectations.

High-minded educational goals of museum staff can sometimes lead to problems as well. This is usually because one has unrealistic ideas about what can be accomplished by a summer project and what the project's impact will be on the students. It is likely that you will deepen your students' understanding and appreciation of Indian culture, raise their awareness of professional standards in public speaking and public relations, and introduce them to some basic museum principles and techniques. But you will not reformulate their characters, revolutionize their perceptions of the world, or reorganize their plans for the future. Some of this will occur, of course, but to expect it to occur is both foolish and condescending. Once one recognizes this, everything becomes easier, and one can take the small and larger satisfactions as they come with pleasure and delight. [Rowan 1987b:6; underlining in original]

Regardless, Rowan's own expectations remained high, as she reported to the World Conference for Indigenous People's Education, "If other native students could experience some of the achievements discussed here, it is quite likely they would more often perform better at school, complete their education,
and perhaps go on for further training" (1987a:11). Rowan proposed that the project should serve as a model for school programming.

Credit academic programmes could be established which provide museum-based study and public presentations which relate to and reinforce subjects studied in the normal curriculum. There could be a natural development of N.Y.P. topics into studies of biology, history, geography, politics, economics, and art. The formula should remain the same - study and performance - but the audiences could vary widely. [Rowan 1987a:11]

Indeed, the hallmark of the NYP was the mutually reinforcing activities of "study and performance."

Moving on to the third reason for project success, Rowan listed learning related to participants' cultural identity. In 1982, she explained her reasoning on this matter:

The project has been a success for the students, the museum, and the public. Central to this success is its unique character - young Indians are the stars of the show. Their presence brings a special and undeniable vitality to these presentations where museum visitors, usually for the first time, encounter Indians. Questions and associations normally not crossing visitors' minds arise just because the modern reality of Indain people is brought home to them. They begin to understand the countless changes in traditional culture Indians have had to endure, how far removed from their ancestral customs many students are, and how difficult it can be to straddle both contemporary Indian culture and that of the dominant society. Placing these teenagers before an audience is therefore risky. Will they be able to answer difficult questions? How will they respond to remarks and questions which are insensitive, unthinking, and ignorant? Is it fair to expose them to these kinds of pressures?

Inevitably there will be some unpleasant visitors during presentations, but usually the sessions are lively and interesting. By their own admission, students benefit from having to deal with such visitors - they develop more resources and resilience. They also begin to see issues in the wider historical and cultural context we stress in their education. And this can be an additional advantage
when applied in their high school or college training. The N.Y.P. offers visitors the rare opportunity to meet the descendants of those who made and used the objects they find so fascinating. It gives native youth the opportunity to explore and understand their own heritage, to reclaim their ancestral artifacts from the past, and to breathe life into them for themselves and the public. [Rowan 1987b:3-4; underlining in original]

Early in the project, leadership training was held as a prime, if somewhat elusive, objective. As Rowan stated, "Our ultimate aim was to train them so that they could work in the Museum and then develop their own programmes on reserves, in day camps and community centres" (1982:1). At that time, Rowan was very aware of cultural differences. The separation of youngsters and teenagers after the original summer workshop at Musqueam was explained as an effort "to make our programme more efficient and sensitive to the leadership patterns which existed" (Ibid.). Project problems were explained in cultural terms.

For anyone who has worked with native people in non-native institutional settings, or even in native ones such as band councils and community development committees, much of what we have said here is not new. In such situations the real cultural gap between native and non-native people becomes obvious.

We have learned a great deal from this project. A next step is to place our experience and growing understanding in the wider context of studies of programmes such as Headstart and others, which were designed for the educationally disadvantaged. There are two problems which are central to this project and others of a similar nature: first, to understand better the cultural gap just mentioned and, second, to adopt teaching methods which release the potential that students possess. It is clear to us that such projects are worth the effort despite the inevitable frustration. [Rowan and McIntosh 1982:7]

As has been discussed, these initial objectives for remedial training in mainstream education and employment practices were
set aside with the recognition that participants had to have basic skills in order to successfully carry out the job tasks. The project was slowly redefined as museum public programming with a conventional academic orientation. Selective hiring lessened frustrations considerably and brought with it a new understanding of the project's role with regard to the members' cultural identity. The function of the project shifted from intracultural leadership training and remedial education to intercultural communications programming. The project members served as representatives of their hereditary culture, albeit in a generalized form of First Nations culture rather than in personalized forms. The expectations were different, and the programming was more conducive to the project's setting in a public museum. The members' obligation to be articulate in an intercultural forum gave additional purpose to the study of contemporary First Nations issues. Rowan tied the three reasons for project success together in this statement of goals.

The main goals are to give the students more knowledge and deeper understanding of traditional Indian culture and of the artifacts originating in this culture, and to teach them how to present this information to visitors. We also want to improve the students' reading and writing skills, and to help them develop more pride and confidence about being Indian. As the project developed we found that the first and fourth of these goals inevitably led us to include more information about contemporary Indian life in both training and in presentations. Students needed this information to answer more adequately visitors' questions, and we also considered the contemporary scene a legitimate part of the museum's concern. [Rowan 1987b:21]

Rowan was an energetic and inventive curator and museum educator who worked within an established institution dedicated
to upholding and advancing the intellectual values of the dominant culture. As a centre for the study of other cultures, there existed at MOA a special concern for the problems encountered by members of minority groups. The path to success was conceived in terms of dignity and knowledge, both qualities being directly facilitated in the NYP. Rowan's experiment was intended to give First Nations youth a prominent, respected place in the public presentation of indigenous culture, but the information base was conventional museum ethnography. Under Rowan's guidance, the interpretation mechanisms developed in the NYP did not "free Indians from their ethnological fate" (Ames 1987a). Participants in the NYP were encouraged to speak in the first person when referring to the First Nations, but this cultural identity was based primarily on an academic understanding of traditional life. As the NYP evolved, it became more oriented to museum public programming and less to remedial skill development to improve academic and employment potential. It became an enrichment programme for promising First Nations youth. Throughout, dignity was an important element in the programme treatment. The training prepared participants to become "stars" of the public presentations. Their accomplishments were respected. They were accepted into the MOA institutional culture as "museum trainees." Rowan's leadership set the style, the standards and the expectations. Rowan (1987a:14) identifies the NYP as the educational undertaking which brought her the most pride and pleasure.
Finally, the satisfactions accruing to museum staff supervising such a project are substantial. All days will not be good days, students will under pressure sometimes let you down, occasionally badly. But as a whole the N.Y.P. is enormously rewarding. The students represent the native community, and the museum well. Poised, confident, addressing a large audience, and handling questions with increasing ease, maturity, and knowledge, these Indian teenagers become an asset to any cultural institution. [Rowan 1987b:4]

Rowan expresses a rewarding sense of accomplishment for the achievements of the NYP and for the potential this approach offers museum programming and education generally. Rowan’s enthusiasm masks difficulties encountered as overly optimistic expectations led to frustrations in the realization of overly ambitious plans.

Rowan understood anthropology as a useful discipline and served as a conventional cultural broker, designing a programme to promote cross-cultural understanding and to advance the educational and career opportunities for members of the First Nations. She assumed ethnographic authority in encouraging an "Indian" identity and in developing presentations on traditional Northwest Coast cultures. On the other hand, Rowan espoused the fundamental assumptions of acculturation as she diligently worked to facilitate social adjustment through educational programming for the First Nations. Returning to MOA in the fall of 1989, Rowan gave a lecture on the NYP. She concluded by suggesting what she would have done if she had continued with the project. Rowan envisioned a four year programme, the additional two years during college would have focussed on
western civilization. "They [First Nations students] of all people deserve the very best education we have to offer" (MOA lecture, 6 November 1989). Illustrating the objective by referring to an accomplished First Nations artist, Rowan commented, "He feels at home in both worlds" (Ibid.). After Rowan left MOA in late 1986, the NYP continued to evolve in keeping with the changing sensibilities at the museum. There were attempts to move beyond conventional ethnographic authority to a deeper, collaborative questioning and exploration of the roots of contemporary First Nations people and issues. Responsibility for operating the NYP, under the guidance of MOA staff supervisors, was progressively passed to First Nations project managers. Their role and influence on the NYP is described in the following chapter which outlines the daily routines of the NYP and articulates changing understandings of cultural brokerage at MOA.
VII. PROJECT MANAGERS

The community and institutional base for the Native Youth Project has been described in the preceding chapters. To fill out the picture with information about the operation of the programme, three categories of stakeholders, project managers, project members and museum staff, are considered in the following chapters. This chapter examines the project managers who were responsible for the routine activities of the project. The development of and expectations for this position were reviewed in the previous chapter outlining the basic structure of the project. Experience during the first summer of the NYP demonstrated the need for regular management assistance. The position of project manager was created to fill this need. Conceived as an extension of the training mandate at MOA, it provided skill development opportunities for university students. Following Rowan's departure from the NYP in 1986, this position assumed broader management responsibilities. This change reflected and contributed to altered understandings about the place of the NYP in museum programming and the nature of cultural brokerage at MOA.

Beyond basic course work, university life offers students a variety of part-time and summer job opportunities. These positions are often considered training positions, but at MOA, they also keep many of the programmes functioning. Inherently, this means programme staffing is in a constant state of flux. This, however, can contribute vitality, and, for the most part,
it has done so at MOA where the system is thoroughly integrated into the operation of the museum. Most of the student positions at MOA are filled by museology and anthropology students. For the position of project manager of the NYP, students of First Nations ancestry were recruited, with one exception in the early 1980s. By the end of the 1980s, there had been eight project managers with diverse backgrounds and interests. Four of the first five project managers were in the Native Indian Teacher Education Programme (NITEP). Difficulty filling the position with NITEP members developed when the NYP project managers started work in May due to schedule conflicts. The education students had to complete their practicums in May. Candidates for the position were then drawn from the Native Indian Student Union (NISU), and have included a law student and a fine arts student. When hiring for this position, information was circulated primarily by word of mouth among the students. The outgoing project managers took an active interest in recruiting an acceptable candidate for the position. When a student decided to apply, other First Nations students tended to respect this, leaving a single candidate for the position. Most of the students who have served as project managers would be classified as mature students having had a variety of work experiences prior to attending UBC. The project managers have had active ties with First Nations organizations and their home communities representing bands all along the coast and into the interior of British Columbia (see the appendix).
A. PRACTICAL Routines AND SCHEDULES

The position of project manager was created the second summer and became essential to the organization of the project. While in many ways the early years were an exhilarating time of designing strategies and enjoying the excitement of well received public presentations, there was frequently exasperation backstage maintaining the schedules and coordinating the various personalities. The position of project manager developed to handle the daily routines. They consequently have born the brunt of the frustrations and tensions, and have invariably done so with personal dedication. A comment in the first project manager's final report is typical: "For myself, I learned at least as much as they [the members] and benefited in many ways, not the least of which was my joy in watching them perform" (NYP Report for summer 1980:7). In the 1988 final report, the project manager described her position.

Funding guidelines require that the Project Manager be a student attending UBC. It is preferable that the candidate for this position be in the faculty of education, ideally with some teaching experience as the position requires much planning, preparation, instruction and supervision. Familiarity with Native culture or museum work is an asset.

The 1988 summer Project Manager had three years of teaching experience including both the elementary and high school levels. Northwest Coast Indian culture had been studied in university courses such as "Ethnography of the Northwest Coast", "Contemporary Indians of British Columbia" and "Native Peoples of Canada". Courses such as these helped to provide much of the background knowledge that was necessary for the planning and instruction of the training program for the Native Youth Project. It is important that the Project Manager enjoy working with teenagers and the public.

The Project Manager enrolled in a three day intern
seminar which introduced the general structure and organization of museums. The course provided an introduction to museum principles, conservation of artifacts, exhibits, public relations and archives. The course proved to be extremely beneficial as it helped to provide a new perspective to one who is not familiar with museums. [NYP Records, 1988 Final Report]

Most project managers also served as winter programme coordinators. In addition, anthropology and museum students also served as winter programme coordinators and research assistants. These jobs were part-time, and most were filled by non-Native students. Their role in maintaining the NYP is considered in Chapter Nine on the support structure provided by the museum.

Each summer started with high expectations, seasoned with some trepidation. A primary concern was planning and scheduling activities. The first project manager described the process as follows:

...I began to write down trips and guest speakers to help fulfill my objectives. After all this was done, [we] sat down and began to write our schedule. We completed the first week to the best of our ability. The month of August, we played by ear. Whatever needed to be done we did. [NYP Summer Report 1980:1]

In the beginning, very little preparation time was provided for the project managers prior to the start of the summer training programme for the NYP members. Project managers did not participate in the organizational planning and hiring which was done before the starting dates of their employment. This was one of the many project practices that was adjusted with experience. The following recommendations by an early project
manager illustrate some of the difficulties.

I think the project manager should be hired for a minimum of three days before (not necessarily immediately before), and three days after, the project time. The project supervisor should be available before the project and the two should discuss guidelines and philosophies for the project, loose scheduling, and prepare the room and material. There should also be a long meeting with the student supervisors, asking their suggestions, discussing and clarifying their roles, filling them in on plans. Meetings with the student supervisors should continue throughout the program, as should meetings between the project manager and curator....

After the program, time is needed to clean and store objects, and write reports. This job involves extra time commitment and expense, and although obviously, I do extra work because I want to, and because I am interested, acknowledgment of the extra work by paying for the additional days would be appreciated. [NYP Records - Thoughts on the Native Youth Project, Summer 1981:4; parentheses in original]

At that time, project personnel, titles and responsibilities were slowly evolving. After the departure of Rowan as supervising curator in 1986, the project manager had explicit planning and hiring responsibility and therefore started full-time employment nearly two months before the training programme began.

Early in the project, the procedures and schedule were controlled by the objectives of the originating curator who continually assessed the possibilities available and provided directions accordingly. The net effect was a loosely structured schedule of activities. A project manager explained the rationale for this approach and the problems it addressed.

I agree that for this type of project it is essential to keep planning very loose in order to take advantage of opportunities which come up, and to follow the individual interests and talents of the students. Due to the
students' low level of enthusiasm and initiative, I think it important to facilitate and encourage anything which seems to appeal to their interests, even if it does not fit in with our initial plans for the project or with the schedule. [NYP Records - Thoughts on the Native Youth Program 1981:4]

However, in consultation with the project managers, Rowan's response to the unanticipated problem of lackluster member participation was to make the scheduling fuller and more structured, as discussed in the preceding chapter. In 1985, the project manager's first recommendation simply stated, "The project training should be more structured, so that students progress is clearly shown" (NYP Records, Summer 1985 Final Report, Appendix I). Based on several years of experience, Rowan placed primary emphasis on the first two weeks for intense training (see Chapter Six), and the project managers diligently planned and implemented this period. A project manager described the process.

The preparing of the training schedule was much the same as preparing a teacher's planned daybook of activities. This detailed planning is important to ensure that the content is being covered and that the students are allotted the necessary time to learn the material. A large calendar of events was made and posted in the study room outlining special activities of the project.

Six new students had eight weeks to learn four presentations. This was a very ambitious schedule to be followed...

High expectations set early and maintained helped to set a tone that encouraged the students to work hard at their studies. A set schedule of presentation training dates did much to promote good study habits as the tasks set were demanding....

The training programme consisted of reading resource material, viewing films and videos, listening to guest lectures and practising presentations daily.... In the previous 1987 Summer Programme, each student was given a binder for information concerning the project and the
presentations. This same format was adopted for the 1988 summer program except that they would become permanent training manuals. These training manuals organize material and provide important reference material readily for each student.

Guest lecturers are very important to a successful training program.... Some of the guest lecturers' material related directly to the content of the presentations and others related [to] issues concerning Native Indians today. [NYP Records, 1988 Final Report]

This project manager was trained in conventional classroom techniques, and applied her experience, and a lot of personal energy and organizational ability, to the responsibilities of the position. Another difficulty became apparent as the training schedule became more and more ambitious. It simply was not possible to complete all the desired lessons and activities in the allotted time. Indeed, the focus of the NYP became training for public presentations. One project manager flatly recommended, "trying to produce the material for new programmes during the training should be avoided" (NYP Records, Summer 1985 Final Report, Appendix I). The project managers attempted to set a reasonable pace as they determined the tasks to be addressed, but they had to constantly reorganize the schedule to compensate for interruptions, unrealistic expectations and unforeseen study opportunities.

The summer training programme started with a day trip to the UBC Research Forest in Haney for collecting cedar bark, roots and withes. Often the first cedar bark collecting experience for the project manager has been a trip to the forest the previous month when supplies for the training workshops and
presentations were secured. For this reason, the project manager would arrange for others with the appropriate expertise to accompany the group. MOA staff was given prior notification of these collecting trips, and two or more usually joined the work party providing quiet support and assistance. Most years representatives from other First Nations organizations or museums took this opportunity to get materials for their particular projects. This trip tested the leadership ability of the project manager and provided insights into the summer to come by revealing the esprit de corps and individual idiosyncrasies. Transportation, tools, proper clothing, mosquito repellent, lunches — gathering and cleaning cedar bark is demanding work and if the group wasn’t properly prepared, it would become arduous.

After a hour and a half drive from the museum, staff at the research forest assigned a stand of cedar slated for logging, and the dusty trip up the mountain was made. A bear cub, deer or rabbit might scoot across the road contributing a sense of wilderness for this basically urban group. In later years, forestry staff did not provided an escort, leaving it up to the group to find the stand and identify appropriate cedar trees which could be a disconcerting process. Sometimes project managers would draw on memories of family outings or stories from their home communities to inform their handling of this activity. Respect for the bounty provided by nature was an important element illustrated in the public presentation on the
traditional uses of cedar with a prayer recorded by Franz Boas from his fieldwork with the Kwagiutl. On one occasion, the project manager, whose origins were not coastal British Columbia, used her own family prayer, although they gathered other materials from the forest, not cedar bark. The removal of a strip of bark was demonstrated, often by a senior member, and then groups of two or three dispersed to continue the work. The trip was an opportunity for senior project members to display their knowledge, and in the still of the forest while cleaning bark, they would provide instructions and share stories of the previous years. The lore of the project was passed from generation to generation. Returning to the museum in the late afternoon, the bark would be unwrapped and laid out to dry to avoid an awful moldy mess. The group gathered in the project room, and the project manager used what little time remained in the official work day to discuss the forest experience and initiate the practice of keeping individual journals. There were job related details to attend to: referral slips from Employment Canada, payroll procedures and income tax forms.

Typically, day number two of the training would start with a welcome by the director of museum and a thorough review of administrative procedures and policies for the project. Then there were tours of MOA galleries and backrooms, meeting staff along the way. Preparation for making presentations would begin in earnest with the assignment of reference materials, study questions and films. Each new project member was assigned a
particular segment of a presentation to learn. In later years, a project manager revised the procedures by giving individual assignments covering all the scripts, scheduled so that ideally each member would know all of the presentations by the end of the summer. This replaced a group process of sequentially studying the various subjects and presentation scripts. On day three, presentation rehearsals started along with a full schedule of guest lectures, cedar workshops, and other activities.

Day three in 1988 also brought the first major interruption to the training schedule. The Peace Train Project, forty five students from Russia and Quebec making a goodwill journey across Canada, scheduled a visit to the museum. The project manager had planned the occasion upon request from the Centre for Peaceful Endeavors in Montreal. The members of the NYP were to host the group. Senior members would do the cedar and potlatch presentations. New members were asked to volunteer to address the group as they arrived and bid them farewell with small souvenirs. The NYP members would also prepare and serve refreshments. The train was late arriving in Vancouver. Messages were received, not noon but two o'clock, now three, maybe three thirty. The programme for the afternoon was revised accordingly. The television news cameraman grew impatient, but remained pleasant. Finally the group arrived, very much the weary travellers. Surprises, the Russian students really weren’t that fluent in English. The leaders of the Peace Train
group asked if their interpreter could please translate the presentation. This was definitely a new experience even for the senior NYP members. They graciously helped the interpreter find a Russian phrase for "potlatch" and pronounce Bakbakwainooksiwae. Translation broke the pace of the presentation, but the senior members carried it off confidently and with a nice sense of humour. The snap of the beak on the Hamatsa mask spoke an international language. A member of the Peace Train group had planned to give a taiko (Japanese drum) performance in the Great Hall necessitating yet another programme change. Nearly a full day of preparation and waiting resulted in a whirlwind visit of perhaps an hour. MOA has a worldwide reputation, and special visitors are regularly hosted by the staff. When the excitement was finally over, the project manager expressed an overall feeling of relief and a lingering sense of pride and satisfaction. The schedule for the rest of the week had to be adjusted to compensate for the work not done this day.

Day four usually concentrated on rehearsal, background study and more rehearsal. Only eight working days remained before the first public presentations. But there are many other things to attend to as well including research and discussion on contemporary First Nations issues and concerns. The project members had to be well prepared not only for the actual presentations, but for the question period which followed. The video "Journey to Strength" on current First Nations programmes
provided background information and generated lively discussion. The members explored their ability to deal with stereotypes and to explain current issues. Their interest was sparked by programmes such as indigenous language taught with the aid of computers in the Okanagan. The project manager prompted the group, "What can we do to help other Native people?"

By Friday, the pressure mounted as the project manager considered the work set aside during the course of the first week. During the coming week time would have to be devoted to promotion and preparation for the fund raising barbeque and raffle with only two weeks remaining. And three or four guest speakers had been scheduled. In 1988, there were thirteen guest speakers in all. Seven were First Nations speakers on subjects including land claims and aboriginal fishing rights, band administration, traditional oratory, history of education for the First Nations, and Northwest Coast ceremonialism. Three speakers were on staff at MOA. Project managers must discreetly direct polite formalities according to the particular status of each guest, and they must serve as sensitive moderators to draw out relevant information. Throughout the training period, the senior project members exert subtle pressure. They know the routines and have developed their own style of work and presentation under the guidance of the previous project staff. The current project manager may not realize that the senior members judge rather harshly the current approach and methods against standards established for them during their own
training.

Each summer, the NYP took over a classroom next to the receptionist’s desk at MOA. The project manager set up the space as office, library, seminar room, storeroom and workshop. An easel with a large pad of newsprint was always present for posting daily schedules and recording significant points from guest lectures, films and other lessons. Pounding cedar bark to make cordage, mats and other sample pieces had been designated an outdoor activity early in the history of the project. Quiet steps in processing bark, however, were done in the room and generated quantities of debris. A frequent occurrence was the project manager entering the room, throwing hands in the air, and firmly commanding a thorough cleaning, particularly if a guest speaker was due momentarily. There seemed to be a strong relationship between physical order and productive attention.

Most of the objects in the museum’s "Touchable Collection" would be housed in two locked trolleys which remained in the project room during the summer. The objects, referred to as artifacts, were used in the presentations and served a central role in study and rehearsals. How to handle, store and maintain these objects were basic lessons the group had to learn. Managing a collection was new for most of the project managers. For outreach presentations, proper procedures had to be followed for taking the objects out of the museum including paperwork and packing. The project manager instructed the members in the care and handling of the artifacts. The most obvious test came when
members assisted and monitored audiences handling the objects following presentations. This required a balance between vigilance and encouragement.

Beyond the project room, there were many resources available to the NYP at MOA. There was administrative support and a wide variety of contacts. And there was expertise—ethnography, archaeology, public relations, conservation. Help was there and the museum staff willingly gave time, but the project managers had to survey the possibilities and request assistance. Participation in the weekly staff meetings facilitated this. Nonetheless, the onus was on the project managers to actively pursue help. The relationship between project manager and staff changed after Rowan’s resignation. In general, the position of project manager required individual initiative and determination to plan, manage and promote the summer programme.

In every aspect of the project, the project managers had to direct the members as they developed and exercised the proper social grace and group sensitivity, all made more obvious when teenagers were introduced into the sophisticated setting of a university museum. This required diligence and discretion.

The students are constantly improving their interpersonal skills as they must learn how to deal with the public effectively both within and outside the Museum. They learn how to be patient and understanding at times when it may be difficult to do so. They also learn appropriate behavior for greeting and thanking guest lecturers. [NYP Records, 1988 Final Report]

Group discipline placed a constant demand on the project
managers who were responsible for the members behaviour at all
times and in diverse situations. This was a heavy burden.

In the beginning, crafts were stressed in the NYP, and each
member was expected to produce not only samples to test methods
and materials, but also finished objects. Some of the pieces in
the "Touchable Collection," which are regularly used in public
presentations, were made by project members. Assisting,
encouraging, cajoling and finally threatening, the craft work
proved to be some of the most frustrating time for the project
managers. There were several reasons for this. The members
usually had grand ideas and minimal skills, a recipe for dismay
which was rarely compensated by perseverance. This problem also
revealed the interests of the project managers who usually had
limited craft ability, and guest expertise was available only
sporadically. Furthermore, the equipment and work space for
crafts was makeshift and inadequate. All around, the
dedication, concentration and patience to develop a proper
attitude of craftsmanship was not present. Craft work is very
time and energy consuming, so while it remained important to
study the materials and become familiar with their special
properties, members were not expected to produce presentation
objects. Each member made study samples, and if gifted members
expressed an interest, they would be encouraged to further
develop their abilities. Periodically presentations were made
which included a hands on twine making exercise, but overall the
project shifted away from a crafts orientation. This shift of
emphasis helped lessen pressure on the project managers.

By the third week, a daily routine had more or less been established. The routine was centred on organizing, preparing and delivering the presentations with the underlying concern of making a good impression on diverse audiences. This activity, however, gave purpose and direction to the work and provided genuine rewards. In 1988, there were four presentations to be learned ranging from fifteen minutes to a half hour in length which kept the new members very busy. Presentations were made Tuesday through Friday at the museum. Tuesday was the free day, drawing the largest attendance, especially when it rained. The Theatre Gallery, holding about 100, could be filled on these days. Special presentations at the museum included children from schools and day camps, when storytelling or a hands on activity such as making cedar bark twine might be featured, conventions of professional associations, and even groups of the blind. The standard presentations were adjusted for these occasions, and for outreach presentations, to meet the constraints of each situation -- group interests, ages, facilities, availability of artifacts and number of participants. The project manager reported that 95 presentations were given during the summer of 1988 with an estimated attendance of 3225.

Even when the presentation routine had been set for the summer, other responsibilities kept the schedule full and fluid. The senior members as well as the new members had to be kept
actively involved and productive. Overseeing special assignments could be taxing for the project manager when there was so much to be done to meet the basic schedule. Having the senior members work independently was desired, but the purpose and tasks had to be very clear. The work had to be monitored even when there was sincere interest and the very best intentions on the part of the members. Mondays and mornings, MOA was closed allowing time for day trips, guest speakers and catching up. Of course, there were many maintenance chores such as caring for the objects used in the presentations. There were larger undertakings such as study trips and special events, and outreach presentations to be scheduled, planned, confirmed and executed. And there was a nagging pressure to upgrade the presentations and develop new ones. In 1989, the project manager guided the revision of the fishing presentation, working with the elders of the Coqualeetza centre who approved the information and the use of photographs taken on a group study trip to their fish camp on the Fraser River. This initiative was appreciated by the MOA supervising staff. It was a concrete example of sharing ethnographic authority and interpretation with those represented in the presentation. The commitment of the project managers extended beyond official hours of work. They took a personal interest in the project members, spending social time together. The delicate balance between friend and supervisor varied, but the mix was always present. The objectives and activities of the NYP were ambitious, and the
B. **REALITIES OF DISCIPLINE AND MOTIVATION**

From the start, the group effort to produce effective public presentations was respected. However, expectations regarding work habits, initiative and organizational abilities of the project members were not realized. It was assumed that the members would be quite self-sufficient in carrying out assigned tasks, research and preparation work. When this assumption proved unfounded, a plan to use experienced senior members as student supervisors was put into place with disappointing results.

These student supervisors did not show the responsibility or initiative to take on more challenging projects. Instead, although they did help the others in learning the presentation, they tended to use their seniority to show off, as power in personality struggles, and as an indication that they knew everything and thus did not have to work. Instead of taking charge for the project manager, they needed as much or more supervision as the others.

[NYP Records - Thoughts on the Native Youth Program Summer 1981:3]

When the use of senior members in supervisory roles proved counterproductive, the position of project manager became more clearly defined. The project manager describes the situation.

It is essential that a full time project manager spend all her time with the students (in addition to part time of the project supervisor). These students require more supervision than would be expected. At times we left too much up to the students: they could not accept the responsibility, nor could they organize a whole project. They needed someone to break down the steps of a task for them, and tell them concretely what to do and the order in
which to do it. In the future I think the project manager should spend more time in the room with the students, and working on the same projects as them. The students expressed a feeling that supervisors were not aware of how hard they worked, and that supervisors instructed them to do tasks they had not done, and therefore did not realize the difficulty of. Being in the room would make it easier to monitor exactly what is taking place. It would also indicate an interest in the students and their work, which I think the students would appreciate. However, these students liked to be isolated (to work behind closed doors) and would often leave the room if the project manager was working in there. [NYP Records - Thoughts on the Native Youth Program Summer 1981:2; parentheses in original]

A later project manager provides this recommendation: "The project manager should not try to become 'friends' with the students but he/she should become an instructor, leader, boss (this is always a difficult dilemma)" (NYP Records - Summer 1985 Final Report, Appendix I; parentheses in original). Senior members remained an important element in the training process, but they did not have an explicit supervisory function. Project managers spent most of their time with the members, often doing their own work in the project room to maintain a productive atmosphere, and carefully established the routines and monitored progress.

Rules and regulations evolved rather slowly, avoided at first assuming the group would regulate its own affairs. In response to unacceptable behaviour, rules tended to be made ad hoc, as observed by an early project manager.

We should carefully think through any "rules" we set down, and be fully prepared to implement them. It is not good for the students to see us not keeping our word, not enforcing rules we make, and allowing some to get away with something other students are abiding to. I think it makes them less willing to pay attention to us. [NYP Records -
Thoughts on the Native Youth Program Summer 1981:1]

Some rules evolved from the way the project was conceptualized. Job training was a definite element in the project, thus working set hours and being on time received particular attention. Various methods were used to monitor this behaviour such as time sheets. Problems in attendance and tardiness eventually led to the three warning system for dismissal of project members which was initiated by early project managers. After eleven years, a long list of dos and don’ts had developed which were carefully reviewed at the beginning of each summer programme. They ranged from policy on using telephones, typewriters and photocopier to the personal use of portable recorders with headsets and posters on the walls of the project room. MOA staff contributed to the rules along with the project managers, but it was primarily the project manager who used them to establish an acceptable working environment and who enforced them in a manner that not only was fair, but was perceived to be fair by the members. Formal standards and explicit rules of conduct were inevitable, but they remained flexible enough to allow project managers to develop their individual managerial styles.

Problems of discipline and motivation also lessened with the adoption of more rigorous hiring practices. There were a couple of reasons for this. First, the selection was based on more complete information which directly related to qualities necessary to be successful in the project. And second, project standards were established by the thoroughness of the
application and interview process, so new members started the summer training with more realistic expectations. After Rowan's resignation, the project managers took the responsibility of recruiting members very seriously, and, with the help of MOA staff, distributed flyers and application information to school districts throughout the Lower Mainland, and to alternative schools, First Nations organizations and band offices. Building on the assignments and interview questions developed when Rowan was the supervising curator, recent project managers, in consultation with MOA supervising staff, have added questions and activities. In 1988, the project manager added a written assignment to be completed by the applicant following the interview, answering the question, "Why should people use museums?" This assignment was made for the explicit purpose of determining writing proficiency and gauging the applicant's ability to understand and complete a new task. In 1989, the project manager reviewed the application procedures and interview questions with staff at the UBC First Nations House of Learning. Some minor changes were made based on their suggestions. The project manager contacted all references provided by the applicants, a practice considered to be invaluable. The selection team was made up of project manager and MOA staff supervisors. Respecting the effort put forward by all the applicants, the project manager contacted each by telephone, followed by a letter, explaining the outcome of their interview.
To make sure the summer was off to a flying start in 1988, the project manager arranged a meeting of the new group of project members a couple of weeks prior to the start of the training programme.

This would provide an opportunity to meet before the program started as well as start the fund-raising efforts. Each student received a number of raffle tickets to sell to raise funds for the Summer Study Trip. In addition, each new student received a script package to read over before the summer project commenced. The handing out of the scripts prior to the actual training proved very beneficial as it allowed the students to familiarize themselves with the program content. Students were also instructed to apply for their social insurance numbers immediately. Students under the age of sixteen are required to bring letters of permission from their parents or guardians stating the student had permission to work for the Museum.

[NYP Records, 1988 Final Report]

The members had positive memories of this meeting, especially the good snacks and fresh fruit. The stage was set for a productive summer. Over the years, many procedures and practices have developed and been handed down providing effective ways of coping with problems of discipline and motivation. Nonetheless, each year is different, a blend of diverse personalities, experiences and interests.

C. TESTING POTENTIAL

The NYP became a forum which allowed university students from the First Nations to test the potential of museum based activities and their own ability to plan and manage a cultural programme. As Rowan observed, each year the project should reflect the skills and interests of the project manager. The
role of the project manager went beyond planning and monitoring routine work. They brought their own visions of possibilities which were fed by their particular experiences and the goals they had set for their individual lives. With the influence of the project managers, the conceptualization of the indigenous Northwest Coast culture was altered to be treated as an ongoing tradition, albeit a tradition which had weathered sweeping disruption of social, economic and political patterns in the past 200 years. The NYP had progressively developed a deeper interest in the contemporary First Nations community. As a project manager explains, "The expanding and updating of existing presentations is necessary in order to help provide a balanced perspective of both traditional and contemporary native life" (NYP Records, Final Report Summer 1988).

From the beginning of the project, it had been a joint effort with the First Nations through Brenda Taylor and the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society. Although primarily involved in sponsoring the application for funding the NYP, there were certain expectations held by NIYAS: improved academic achievement, youth employment, leadership training and experience, and confronting discrimination (see Chapter Five). It was left to Rowan to develop mechanisms to address these expectations. The project managers provided more concrete representation of the First Nations in the NYP. Most of the project managers had made personal commitments to service in the First Nations, and thus, they provided invaluable contacts which
became an important resource in planning and shaping the summer’s activities.

This summer, the Native Youth Project was able to establish new contacts in the native communities on the coast of northern British Columbia and the Queen Charlotte Islands. This contact fulfills an important goal of the Museum as it creates direct links between the Museum and native communities. [NYP Records, Final Report Summer 1988]

This project manager also served in an official capacity as MOA liaison with the First Nations community, a practice which became a part of the job description. It was particularly important because there were no members of the First Nations on the permanent staff at MOA. The most common reaction this project manager received from the First Nations was that the Great Hall was "old and dead" (personal communication). She wanted to find ways of making the museum a vital institution for the people of the First Nations. Continuing the NYP report, she explains that the primary goal of the project was "very successfully met" as members "gain a competence and pride in presenting their culture and themselves to native and non-native audiences" (NYP Records, Final Report Summer 1988).

The training tasks set before each student are demanding and rigorous but they accept the tasks readily as each student knows they represent native people to the public. This is a task not taken lightly as they strive to improve themselves and the image of their culture. [NYP Records, Final Report 1988]

The challenge of intercultural communication weighed on the project managers, and they imparted a positive sense of purpose and responsibility to the members.

Under Rowan’s guidance, an "Indian" identity had been
adopted which generalized the indigenous culture of the Northwest Coast and accentuated a common origin for all First Nations. In 1989, this type cultural identity came to be directly questioned by the project manager who respected the integrity of specific groups and rejected personal association with heritage not really ones own. An example of recognizing specific traditions was provided by this project manager when she revised the fishing presentation with the participation of the elders at Coqualeetza giving them explicit credit. Ongoing, active social and cultural traditions had been recognized in the NYP in other ways. In 1987, the project manager organized a Naming Ceremony and a presentation to the annual general assembly of the United Native Nations. The Naming Ceremony brought a Nuu-chah-nulth observance to the museum, hosted by the family with the assistance of members of the NYP. While these activities were initiated by the project manager and planned and implemented with the cooperation of MOA staff, they are described from the perspective of the project members in the following chapter. The training and experience provided to the project managers through the NYP has extended beyond MOA. A couple of the project managers have gone on to plan similar interpretation programmes for young people, one with the National Museum of Civilization in Hull and the other with a reserve in British Columbia.

In summary, it was through the project managers that the integrity of the museum was able to coexist with the integrity
of First Nations knowledge and cultural interpretation as sensibilities about ethnographic authority and cultural brokerage began to change in the late 1980s. The grand dialectic of assimilation and conservation, homogenization and emergence (see Chapters Three and Four) had not been resolved, but more searching questions were being asked. Within a programme structure conceived and directed by Rowan as the originating curator, the project managers maintained the daily routines, refining the procedures and practices as the programme evolved. After the departure of Rowan from the NYP, the project managers assumed more responsibility for managing the programme, bringing to their work an insider's perspective. The purpose of this extensive effort was to provide a programme for First Nations teenagers. Their experience is described in the next chapter.
VIII. PROJECT MEMBERS

Constructive interaction with people of the First Nations, their organizations and bands has been part of the continuing commitment MOA. In turn, the Native Youth Project was accepted by many in the First Nations as an attractive training opportunity with creditable presentations on the indigenous culture of the Northwest Coast. There was another side to this. An early project manager, a non-Native anthropology graduate student, recalled the criticism she received from fellow students who categorized the NYP as "teaching Indians to be Indians" (personal communication). Rowan initiated an experiment in First Nations involvement in the presentation of MOA collections with educational and job training for the participants. As discussed in Chapter Six, the background assumptions were rooted in an ideology of acculturation. The question of cultural identity and pride in heritage were important throughout the project as major concerns of the co-sponsoring organization, the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society, to deal with the effects of racism and discrimination, and as a part of the programme treatment and public presentations developed under Rowan's guidance. In the process of acculturation, the effects of "homogenization" were juxtaposed by "emergence" (Clifford 1988:17), and, in the NYP, a generalized First Nations identity was cultivated. Content and interpretation were based on the academic authority of conventional ethnographies and ethnographic techniques. Later
project managers began to adjust the experiment, building a contemporary insider's point of view. The grand dialectic of cultural homogenization and emergence was played out more subtly for the project members. Perhaps, as one former member (Brass 1990:2) suggests, because of apathy and ignorance. He goes on to call for a programme focussed on empowerment, transforming a self-centred attitude into searching social responsibility, building a cultural identity with deep, individual meaning for First Nations students. The role and approach for cultural brokers was being critically reviewed by First Nations managers and project members.

This chapter describes the central stakeholders in the NYP, the First Nations teenagers, for whom the programme was organized. Between 1979 and 1989, fifty nine high school students served in the NYP as members. Table VIII-1 sets out the pattern of participation. The number of participants each summer ranged from five to twelve. Four members did not serve a full term. Nineteen went on to become "senior" members continuing for a second, third and, in one case, fourth year. Twenty four members were male and thirty five female. Project record keeping was inconsistent, and what information is available can be found in the appendix. While the family origins of most of the students were coastal British Columbia, there were several from the interior, four of Cree ancestry and one of Iroquois ancestry. Several students from other programmes attended workshops and training sessions with the
project members for short periods. They have not been included in the list of members.

TABLE VIII-1
Numbers of Participants in the Native Youth Project by Year and Terms Served

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Terms served in NYP</th>
<th>Total number each year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;1 1 2 3 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5 7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4 1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1 5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6*</td>
<td>55 19 6 1</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Two of these members served full terms other years. Total number of individual members through 1989 was 59. See the appendix for further information about the members of the Native Youth Project.
Not only was each year different, but members responded in a variety of ways to the experience offered. With this in mind, a description of the basic cycle of membership is illustrated with individual accounts.

A. APPLICATION AND SELECTION

There were a range of reasons why students applied for the NYP. Sometimes the high school student was seeking employment. Often it was an elder, school counsellor or social worker who directed the student into a potentially productive summer activity. As the reputation of the NYP grew, more people were aware of the annual recruitment of members. However, project staff experienced deep disappointment when many of those making inquiries failed to attend the orientation session and submit applications. Undoubtedly, the institutional setting and commitment required by the programme deterred many from following through with their applications. One member recalled going to her school counsellor for permission to miss an exam in order to attend a potlatch. His comment was, "You're not Native, are you?" Having discovered her origins, he suggested that she apply for the project. Most applicants were new to the job market, and therefore had to prepare a resume, arrange for letters of reference and compose a letter of interest for the first time. In reviewing the letters of interest on file from successful applicants, all mentioned some aspect of First Nations culture, most expressing a desire to
learn more and a few offering their expertise. Two thirds spoke about First Nations culture in the first person, "our culture" or "my heritage," and the remainder use the third person, "they." It is interesting to note that in recent years, the project presentations have consciously shifted from third person to first person. About half of the application letters mentioned a desire to teach others about the First Nations, or to develop skills of working with people including public speaking, or to work in the museum as a special place. A third of the letters referred to the need for a job or work experience. Only a fifth of the application letters mention any interest in future work with First Nations programmes.

For the first four years, interviews were held at Britannia Community Centre. In some ways, 1982 was a turning point. Five of the nine members hired that year had had previous experience with the project, and some of them were getting stale and bored. A policy was formed limiting participation to two years. The only exception to this policy was made in 1988 when junior members from the previous year were not able to continue with the project (see Table VIII-1). By the mid 1980s, even returning NYP members had to go through the full application procedure which included reviewing an NYP public presentation at the museum prior to the interview. These procedures generally gave applicants a practical understanding of the programme. The interview and hiring practices are described in the project structure outlined in Chapter Six. Project members all had
personal tales about their interviews and how they learned about being accepted. The hiring procedures had a lasting impression.

The NYP served First Nations teenagers in the urban centre of Vancouver, but the following profile shows the varied backgrounds of members. The vast majority of applicants selected had been directed to the NYP through the public schools. About a fifth have been referred through band offices. Perhaps a half dozen came through the efforts of their social workers, and another half dozen had parents attending the University of British Columbia (UBC). Over a third of the members were status members of the First Nations, and nearly a third had lived on reserves at some point. A few members made applications to officially establish their status. One member applied not only for his own classification as status but also for his siblings as a result of commitment nurtured through the project. Possibly a fifth of the members could be considered as having culturally and politically influential families in the First Nations.

B. RESEARCH AND TRAINING

The terms "research" and "training" were basic in the NYP vocabulary. At a conference workshop, a project member described the process.

We studied many books, and we took notes on a lot of films and videos which we saw. We visited five other museums, and we had guest speakers come in and talk to us about various topics. And our first day of the job, all the Native Youth Project went to the research forest and we
collected our own cedar bark. We cleaned the bark, and we made our own cedar products. Every member of the project also kept a journal on our feelings about specific events and special things that may have happened.... And not only did the group research the content, but we also had discussions and quizzes to make sure that we knew all our material and that we understood what was being said in the presentations. Eventually, after studying and researching, we all began to be trained on presenting itself. We were helped on speaking loudly, clearly, with confidence. And we were shown how to present ourselves in a dignified, mature manner. We all helped one another on our presenting, and, as a part of this training, we had critiques and short talks and discussions on the positive and negative sides of our manner in front of an audience. We learned the skills of presenting as well as the content of the presentations. When we first gave our presentation, the first time, we were all really very nervous.... But afterwards, it felt really good because you had so many positive comments from a lot of people, and people ask you questions, and they just talk to you. It was really nice. [1989 presentation at conference workshop]

Research focussed on preparation for the public presentations. In addition to lectures, readings and discussions, it included experimenting with the materials, especially cedar, and handling artifacts. This was intended to give the members an intimate connection with traditional technology, an expectation which appeared to be realized for most members. When the cedar was split, most smelled the wood, felt it carefully and tried to sand it with the dried dogfish skin. When artifacts were handed around the group, they were examined carefully and any moveable or removeable parts tried. When asked what research material was most useful, the response in unison was Hilary Stewart’s book, *Cedar*. There was some hesitation accepting a non-Native as authority, but Stewart’s very thorough workshops served as the basis for much of the knowledge the member used.
Group discussions provided valuable learning and testing situations. In the later years of the project, contemporary issues were as important as topics about traditional life. Films, videos, guest speakers and field trips were used to stimulate discussion. Discussions, however, were very unpredictable. Some became animated, others were lifeless. On a field trip to a museum, the project manager expressed her dismay at the lack of apparent interest, stating she was "embarrassed" that they were not asking questions. On another occasion, the speaker was so tedious that, the project manager confessed later, she unobtrusively prompted a couple of members to ask questions. Attitudes and opinions often emerged during discussions. A member, who did not complete the full summer programme, initially made rather romantic references to bringing back the "old culture," and at another time, in a discussion about land claims issues, suggested she could settle for $100 million. Later, the tone of her questions and comments became more serious. On a field trip to the Musqueam Reserve, she asked the chief how people of the First Nations could become involved in band affairs and the legal problems which had been discussed. Another member suggested to a guest discussing land claims issues that this would be the last generation to sit down and talk to officials; the next generation would fight. The guest calmly responded that it was a good possibility, qualifying this with the observation that the First Nations are desperate to establish an economic base. The senior members
often established the expectations for guests and workshops with tales from the previous summer and the stories passed on to them. This could be warm, if sometimes seemingly irreverent, for example a guest who was affectionately referred to as "Elmer Fudd," or it could be reserved, almost suspicious. A tradition of project etiquette developed over the years. The project manager introduced each member stating their band affiliations, and guests were offered tea or coffee. At the end of the session, guests were rather formally thanked and, when possible, invited to the salmon barbeque or other project event by a member assigned the responsibility. Guests and others who assisted the project were sent thank you notes. The members were quite serious about these tasks, although they usually consumed far more time than anticipated. Many of the guests were from the First Nations, and a special ambience developed where they assumed the role of elders. A usual pattern between guests from the First Nations and project members was to identify common origins in a village or family connections.

Project members made themselves at home in the museum. The first step was adding their characteristically teenage touches to the project room primarily in the form of posters and notes on the boards. The intimate scale of the museum allowed the members of the NYP wide access and personal contact with a range of activities and special projects. This was a typical comment by a project member.

I know practically everybody in here.... It is all
interesting. During the summer, it's like a big family here. Everybody knew each other. [personal communication]

This comment was made when describing how this member would slip down to the labs and talk to the staff, even though he knew project members weren’t supposed to be there without permission. It, of course, was a matter of judgment, and he used fairly good judgment. With a few members, fraternizing with the staff became a problem. The staff remained patiently friendly with project members, even under sometimes trying circumstances. The job training aspect of the project introduced high school students to regular work hours, the responsibility of representing an established museum, the paperwork of employment, and money management. Pay day was definitely important, and there was invariably confusion on the first pay cheque due to "red tape." Attitudes toward money varied, as illustrated in the granting of advances which was done occasionally for reasons of hardship. A few members proved to be unworthy of this trust creating difficulties for the administrators and generally bad feelings. Some members experienced pressure from their families to share their earnings, a new problem for them if this position was their first job. Often the members used their earnings for prized items, such as a leather jacket or a pair of boots. The project filled one of the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society (NIYAS) objectives in providing gainful employment for the members.

The members accepted the responsibility of being museum
employees. One sign of this was their attention to time. Maintaining the museum reputation prompted members to insist on starting presentations at the scheduled time. This led to tension for outreach presentations when host organizations were more casual about starting on time. Another way members demonstrated their sense of responsibility to MOA was their conscientious way of dealing with the media and their critical evaluation of news reports. On the other hand, they thoroughly enjoyed the recognition. In Prince Rupert, the group received front page coverage with a photo of a member proudly wearing the ceremonial head piece from the MOA Touchable Collection with a prominent image of James Dean on the T-shirt she was wearing. The exposure pleased them immensely and the symbolic juxtaposition of traditional Northwest Coast and contemporary mainstream was an accepted part of their reality. However, the members found the content and tone of a subsequent article disappointing because the reporter insisted on questioning which cultural group on the coast was "best," which the members considered stupid and irrelevant, and characterized the presentations as including "commentary where the teenagers frequently begin explanations with the words, 'We used to....'" (The Daily News, Prince Rupert, B.C., August 17, 1988, page 6). The members disapproved of the emphasis on the past, on bygone traditions. The NYP research and training "was intense and it worked: within two months we were speaking like professionals" (Brass 1990:7). This project member, looking back on his
experience in the project, suggests that more effort be put into stimulating contemporary social and cultural awareness to actively confront discrimination.

C. PRESENTATIONS

Most project members firmly held the position that their public presentations changed impressions and built understanding.

People have this stereotype Indian that is drunk and all that. And if you start introducing them to the potlatch and [other traditions], it just changes their view of an Indian. [personal communication]

They were also aware that it was their presence as First Nations youth which played a significant part in the effectiveness of the presentations. A member came into the project room all excited after conducting a guided totem pole walk to report that one of the visitors said it was much more impressive hearing about the pieces from a "Native Indian" rather than from an anthropologist. The visitor had suggested that project members give their tribal affiliation as part of their introduction. The member thought this was a great suggestion, and went on to explain the meaning of her own name to the Carrier people. This particular project member did not make it through the entire summer training programme, but her enthusiasm and pride at moments like this were genuine. One determined comment by a project member while travelling to make a presentation at a band community centre was, "I'm so glad we're doing this. It will
show the elders what young people can do" (personal communication). On several occasions, members borrowed materials and slides to make special presentations on their own to a class or to a youth group. The objective of teaching others about the First Nations was accepted confidently by most members.

To script or not to script, that was the big question. With a broad range of abilities, interests and inclinations, scripts were developed to facilitate good presentations by all project members. Script or no script, members usually modelled their own presentation on the style and content of senior members, and it quickly became entrenched. This factor was more instrumental in determining the presentations given by members than personal experimentation and research. Some members were very rigid about particular details, both in terms of how they perceived the effectiveness of the presentation and accuracy of information. Sometime in the mid 1980s, there was a significant shift in the presentations changing from third person and past tense to first person. In the early days of the project, there was a pronounced separation of past and present, using phrases such as, "In those days, they would have...." and "How they made these...." The changing approach had influence beyond the scripted presentations. A project member in the late 1980s criticized studies of the First Nations in the school curriculum, pointing out that they were taught in the past tense. By the late 1980s, most of the members identified on a
personal level with the indigenous traditions and made a point of using the first person. On many occasions when rewriting scripts, they would be asked if they wanted to use the first person and their positive response was firm, mystified that another form of expression would be considered. A further refinement on this approach gained approval in 1989 which respected the integrity of specific groups and the actual personal heritage of individual NYP members, rejecting the generalized first person usage for Northwest Coast culture.

Presentations were adjusted for special groups and a variety of outreach situations. For example, a hands on activity with cedar bark might be included for day camps. Returning from a presentation at a summer library programme for young children, where the members had featured Northwest Coast myths and stories, the senior member reported that the new member had made a wonderful Tsonoqua (Wild Woman of the Woods), mimicking the sounds and motions of the creature. The staff supervisor who accompanied them confessed that it had brought tears to her eyes. The members developed skill in the presentations, but there remained an unresolved tension between the use of scripts to standardize the presentations, and the use of scripts as a study tool and presentation guide to be personalized by each project member. MOA staff expected the latter, but in practice, the former prevailed. Speaking skills developed beyond the scheduled public presentations. Project members were called upon to greet and thank guests, and to make
formal and casual statements at events such as the fund raising barbeques and conferences. The confidence and maturity shown on occasions such as these invariably impressed MOA staff and the families and friends of the project members.

"Crit" was another conspicuous word in the NYP vocabulary. Over the years, a practice evolved where everyone participated in reviewing the individual presentations. Constructive criticism was stressed. The objective had two sides, provide feedback to members on their presentations and develop greater awareness in members regarding public speaking qualities and techniques. Typical comments included, "You have to slow down. Some of your words are coming out too fast." "You sounded a little bored. Make an effort to sound interested." "Try not to read the script. Refer to it only when you have to." "Make it a more personal thing." "You were standing nice and tall." "Showing improvement. Good eye contact." "The plank is bent, not bended." "Don't hide your face when you show the artifacts." This was carried out in a supportive climate with positive results. As one member reports, "As well, I learned to accept criticism in a mature manner and learn from my mistakes" (Brass 1990:6). This technique contributed to the spirit of teamwork.

Presentations focussed the purpose of the project and established the routine. The presentation schedule attempted to distribute the work load fairly. A team effort was essential and a sense of responsibility was evident. The two members
assigned to make a particular presentation snapped to attention about 15 minutes prior to the scheduled start, often with assistance from other members. The artifact trolleys, slides and script were checked. One member usually volunteered to make the announcement over the museum public address system.

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. In 10 minutes the students of the Native Youth Project will give an illustrated lecture on Northwest Coast Indian Culture: Traditional Uses of the Cedar Tree. This will be held in the Theatre Gallery of the museum at 12 o’clock. Thank you.

Sometimes there were improvisations, intended or otherwise. The announcement was repeated at the 5 minute point and, if the audience was too small, at the beginning of the presentation. In the Theatre Gallery, the sound system was turned on and tested, the screen was lowered, and the artifacts were laid out. There was an air of authority and control about using the equipment and spaces in the museum. Little adjustments frequently had to be made, an artifact had been misplaced or a slide would get stuck or the usual lights would not turn on. The members would quickly come to each others aid. A little episode illustrated this. On the guided totem pole walk, with representatives of the government funding agency present, a new member asked the audience if anyone could identify an animal figure on a totem pole; no response. Another new member sensed the presenter’s consternation and cheerfully suggested, "Bear." The presentation continued smoothly. For the project organizers, this provided one of those heartwarming moments
indicating concern and ability in the members. As in any work situation, there were swings of mood and enthusiasm, but the lasting impression for supervising staff was one of pride and respect for the effort made by the project members.

While the presentations could become very rehearsed and formal, the members displayed extemporaneous skill during the question period drawing on personal experience and group discussion. A member explained the purpose of the NYP "to educate the public, to provide them with an outlet for asking questions" (personal communication). They used the audience questions and comments to gauge the success of their presentations. Describing the accomplishments of the summer, a member stated, "When somebody asks me a question or questions on Native culture, I am able to answer them with no hesitation and not feeling embarrassed" (final report). Audience questions seemed to spur members on to learn more about First Nations issues and culture. "Sometimes people want to know..." prefaced suggestions for study subjects. They also experienced opinionated museum visitors, but most learned to handle this very graciously. These incidents provided the basis for much of the project humour. An example was the comment overheard when selling raffle tickets in the museum, mother to son, "See the jewellery they used to wear." Or the visitor's comment about the canoe bailer, "Wouldn't it make a wonderful centrepiece." Or the tourist from Britain who refused to believe that contemporary Northwest Coast people didn't live in longhouses.
"She was actually **telling** us that we live there.... I actually don't run into very many rude people. You see more rude people on TV" (personal communication). Once, at an outreach presentation, a woman from the local band emphatically warned the group that they were dealing with dangerous things and evil spirits by describing Northwest Coast traditions and handling the artifacts. There was little the members could say and they just listened quietly, later asking the project manager for explanations. Not only did the members generally serve as representatives for the First Nations, but increasingly they spoke from personal experience. A visitor imagining what it would be like to attend a potlatch received an animated description, concluding, "Really neat to watch!" Asked about Salish potlatching, the visitor was passed on to a Salish member of the group for more information. Summarizing the most frequently asked questions, the group reported, "Why was the potlatch banned?" "Where are the washrooms?" "How do you get to the Haida House?" and "Was cedar bark clothing itchy?" Along with answering questions, after presentations audiences were invited to the front to handle the artifacts. "Cedar" and "Potlatch" have the largest collections and regularly 40% to 60% of the audience moved forward to ask questions and inspect the objects. This was a popular feature of the presentations in the museum setting where objects are under glass or protected with "Please Do Not Touch" signs.
D. FUND RAISING EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES

The summer programmes for the NYP tended to be overly ambitious. The annual fund raising salmon barbeque became a popular tradition, but it disrupted the schedule of training and presentations. The following comment shows not only the frustration with a full schedule, but also the responsibility felt by senior members for the progress of new members.

This time last year, we knew everything. And that's because this summer we didn't have any time. We had to go up to Prince George, and we had the Naming Ceremony, and you know, we just didn't have enough time. There were too many things scheduled, we couldn't push them as much as we were pushed. [personal communication]

In the later years, raffles were held in conjunction with the barbeque, a combination which in 1988 helped make the trip to Prince Rupert and the Queen Charlotte Islands possible. Carvers and printmakers from the First Nations supported the NYP over the years by instructing and assisting the members and by donating work for these raffles. This was an extension of the position First Nations carvers had at MOA (see Chapter Four), and also reflected the personal contacts of the project managers. For the project members, the biggest problems they could identify on the morning following the barbeque in 1988 were an unsuccessful salad, starting the salmon earlier (42 salmon had been barbequed), and keeping the reserved tickets in order. The memories were more about the interesting tourists from Spain who staged their pictures with project members. Handsome young men always received special attention. The
Spirit Song (the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society theatrical group) performance had gone well, especially since they had had only three weeks of rehearsal. But the project manager stressed to the group that it all went well because everyone pitched in, including the museum staff. At least 25 experienced people had volunteered to make it a successful occasion. The previous summer, the salmon barbeque had been combined with a Naming Ceremony. For the project members, this meant many trips to First Nations organizations to extend formal invitations as well as the usual distribution of posters and flyers. It also meant preparation of dozens of cedar bark head bands and a gift for the person receiving her "baby name." The event was inspiring and successful. It was held on the evening when MOA was open with free admission, and was well attended by the general public. A visitor from Quebec, who attended by chance, was so moved that he offered a song. He was an accomplished singer, providing a memorable addition to the occasion. Co-hosting this event was a practical lesson in the formalities of Northwest Coast ceremonial life for the project members. Unfortunately, organizing these events left little time for research and training. For all the extra work and inconvenience, the annual salmon barbeque did build group commitment and developed programme awareness and loyalty from the larger community of the museum and project associates. It served as a time for families of project members to share their museum experience. Most families of project members were very supportive. These events
provided many project stories.

E. STUDY TRIPS AND CONFERENCES

The purpose for holding fund raising events was to support study trips to First Nations cultural centres, community museums and the British Columbia Provincial Museum (Royal British Columbia Museum). For many project members, these trips provided lasting memories.

Went to places that I never thought of...Neah Bay, that museum there was, oh, just outstanding. Looking at 5000 year old nets, gill nets. It sort of like sparked my imagination, you know, my roots...who am I?" [personal communication].

The importance was further expressed in this comment, "It is all words until you go out and meet the elders and carvers" (from an NYP group discussion). These were project activities which Brenda Taylor encouraged, and later project managers took a special interest in it. However, the responsibility for field trips weighed heavily on MOA supervising staff. Over the years, there were a variety of overnight study trips. A couple were made to Neah Bay in Washington and several to Vancouver Island, one included Alert Bay. There was a study trip to Prince Rupert and the Queen Charlotte Islands, with funding assistance from a First Nations organization and discounts from the airline. Over the years, there were several workshops at conferences held in Vancouver, and the group travelled to Port Townsend, Washington in 1988 and in 1989 to St. Johns, Newfoundland with a stopover at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto to attend conferences and
make presentations. Each study trip was different. The schedule of presentations was expanded as opportunities arose. The balance between free time and planned activities was delicate and a continuing topic of concern for the members. Most of the project members were very gregarious, quickly gaining attention, especially in small towns. For example, after striking up a conversation with two young skateboarders at the ice cream parlor one evening, they showed up for the presentations at the local museum the next afternoon. Later the entire group ended up touring the seiner belonging to the father of one of the boys. On field trips, when the group would live and work in close proximity for several days, patience and consideration was required on everyone's part -- choice of food, choice and volume of music, choice of activities. Some members complained about curfews and other restrictions, and there were definite mood swings in the group. Generally, however, the members realized they represented MOA and conducted themselves accordingly. Doing a good job was important to the members. Recommendations from members following one study trip included: 1. proper packing materials for the Touchable Collection, 2. more hot dogs and marshmallows, 3. scheduling in practice time, 4. maintaining a good balance between recreation and work avoiding study questions in the van, and 5. more publicity information provided to host organizations including posters and brochures (from NYP group discussion). Reciprocally, the NYP has hosted groups at the museum from First Nations cultural
centres and organizations. The members spoke positively about these exchanges.

In 1987, the project manager made arrangements for the group to attend the United Native Nations (UNN) Annual General Assembly in Prince George. The project manager was unable to make the trip, so I accompanied the five project members. We travelled on the UNN chartered bus from Vancouver, and the artifacts were transported in a UNN supply truck. The assembly was held on the grounds of a boarding school. For four days, the thousand plus delegates were housed at the school, primarily in tents, and fed in the school cafeteria. Months later, when asked about their most outstanding memory of a presentation, the group answered quickly and in unison, "Prince George." The cedar and potlatch presentations were combined and modified, carefully selecting and packing artifacts for the trip. For two of the members, it was the first time they were to make public presentations. Teamwork and group support on occasions like this were very important. Setting up for outreach presentations always required some ingenuity. On this occasion, slides were used for the introduction, but the assigned room had a large skylight. Soon a couple of members had rounded up help, climbing onto the roof to put a tarpaulin over the skylight. As the project members gave more thought to the presentation, it became less routine. They would be describing First Nations traditions to dedicated members of the First Nations. During rehearsals in the afternoon, one of the
new members had a severe attack of stage fright. The senior members went to work relaxing her and building up her confidence. She did a fine job of her part of the presentation. The senior member following her mentioned that it had been her first public presentation, and the new member received a gracious, warm round of applause. She absolutely glowed. The audience response made this presentation very memorable for the project members.

After we did the programmes, people were coming up and saying, "Oh, I remember my grandfather doing that, my grandmother doing this." "Oh, I remember this, but I never knew what it was used for." [personal communication]

The members basked in compliments, all the more significant because they came from people of the First Nations. The next day, the members placed invitations to the Naming Ceremony and barbeque on the tables in the assembly hall. At this point, a very disconcerting controversy erupted. A couple of UNN members took exception to a private ceremony being held in a public, non-Native museum, and further, being used as a fund raising event. One of those putting forward a complaint from the floor of the assembly was a lawyer from the same band as the family that was hosting the Naming Ceremony. The project members were stunned. The invitation for the NYP participation in the UNN meetings had been extended through the president and vice-president who came to the assistance of the project members. The vice-president immediately met with the project members to discuss the situation and possible options. Acting as mediator,
the vice-president arranged a meeting between the offended UNN members and the NYP members. After a very frank discussion between urban teenagers and prominent First Nations representatives, a truce was reached, more or less agreeing to disagree about the appropriateness of holding a Naming Ceremony in a public museum. It had been clarified that the barbeque was the fund raiser and not the Naming Ceremony. Following the meeting, the project members gathered as much to console one another as to try to make sense of what was happening. The emotional swing from the elation of the successful presentation the previous day to the devastation of the controversy was consuming. One of the senior project members decided that he would have to give a public response from the floor of the assembly. Solemnly the group moved back to the hall, and a message was sent up to the presiding officer requesting permission to speak to the assembly. Less than a half an hour later, before the assembly recessed for lunch, the project member was recognized. His statement was brief and to the point, apologizing for having offended anyone, but defending the integrity of the event and reissuing an invitation to all. A collection was taken as had been arranged by the project manager which was duly presented at the Naming Ceremony a couple of weeks later by UNN officials. Immediately upon hearing about the controversy, the host of the Naming Ceremony sent a polite but firm letter of explanation to the offended band member, stating that a family had the right to hold a naming ceremony at
a place of their own choosing, fully expecting a proper apology in return for the embarrassing episode his action had caused.

F. SENIOR MEMBERS

Nineteen of the fifty nine high school students who have participated in the project have returned for two or more years. There were a variety of reasons why nearly two thirds did not continue. A few didn’t make it through the rigors of a full summer training. Only three members dropped out during their initial training year, and one returned to successfully complete the training a couple of years later. Others barely made it through. Interest, aptitude and commitment all took their toll. It was often surprising which new members accepted the challenge and thrived on the teamwork, and which ones didn’t. Perhaps one out of every eight members could be considered failures in terms of the programme objectives as their personal problems overwhelmed the possibilities provided by the project. This was sad to watch, for other members and management. The group invariably offered support. An illustration of mixed results can be seen in the area of substance abuse. While one new member returned to dependency, another refrained and persevered with the project successfully. Other personal problems included family traumas, chronic listlessness or hyperactivity, or egocentric tendencies. The majority of members served successful for one season and moved on to new endeavours.

After 1982, the maximum term of membership was set at two
years based on observations by the project manager that third year members were easily bored when reviewing information and made their presentations in a rote and often lethargic manner. A two year term remained the policy which was set aside only when none of the new members were willing or able to continue for a second year in the project. By the mid 1980s, even the returning project members had to go through all the application procedures, facing questions such as, "What do you expect to accomplish this year?" They also were encouraged to give advice based on their experience the previous year. Returning project members played an important role in the organization. They assumed an honoured position of "senior" members with a sense of responsibility, although this was basically an informal arrangement. Senior members assisted in setting up and preparing materials for guests or workshops. Often they coached new members individually and conducted demonstrations for the group. A potlatch presentation training session serves as an example. Taking over an hour, the senior members went through the presentation step by step for the new members, embellishing as they went along based on personal experiences and favourite stories about the artifacts. An important part of the potlatch presentation was demonstrating the masks, referred to by the members as "modelling." In this particular training session, the senior members felt a new member was not paying attention and told her to "wake up." At another point, a senior member showed anger when he thought a new member was making fun of his
style. Far more characteristic of the relationship between senior members and new members was awe and mimicry. Communication between members had a teenage flavour, such as when the movement of the Bukwas mask was likened to Stevie Wonder.

Organizers of the project felt under pressure to provide new learning experiences for senior members. About the third week into the summer programme, a meeting would usually be held with senior members to prepare a schedule for them, attempting to draw on their individual interests and the needs of the project. One summer, a senior member active in the Kwakiutl community planned to contribute information about contemporary potlatching, and another senior member was interested in upgrading the fishing presentation. Work started with the best of intentions, but in the end, neither of the scripts was actually revised in any way. Independent work tended to be left in an exasperatingly incomplete state. Various fund raising ideas were suggested by members over the years, such as producing cedar bark pieces for sale in the museum gift shop. This was never tried. During the early years of the project, a contract from the Field Museum in Chicago was accepted to make touchable cedar bark pieces for their education programmes. Prodding the senior students to complete this work went on for months, which was finally done the following summer during the training programme. That summer, a pectin shell rattle was commissioned for the education programme at the Vancouver
Museum. However, use of these rattles in presentations was discontinued at the request of Salish elders, out of respect for the sacred nature of their use. Much of what senior members contributed to the project and the kind of responsibilities they assumed were related to level of maturity. Expectations were high. A favourable assessment of a project manager by a member read, "He always kept us on track and also pushed" (NYP student application). Throughout, there were reminders that the members were indeed teenagers. The most welcomed counterpoint to any problem was watching the development of gracious and confident young people, competently and reliably handling project routines and presentations in the museum and in diverse outreach situations. The senior members provided the model and the intimate guidance for the new members.

G. **AFTER THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT**

This case study of the NYP has concentrated on the programme's origins, development and operating structure. There is only limited information about the members after they left the project to address conventional questions about programme outcomes. Methodological problems in formulating conclusive observations about programme effects have been discussed in Chapter Two. There are, nonetheless, some indicators about the impact of the NYP on the lives of the project members. Most project members seem to have proceeded without a dramatically altered course. Perhaps it should simply be said that the
project helped keep most of the members on course during their teenage years, providing a support group, encouraging a broader perspective, reinforcing positive social and cultural values, and introducing new options. There was evidence of an awakened cultural identity in most members. Following the summer programme, a new member arranged to visit her grandmother, a trip she had never initiated before. She had vague memories of family stories and now she wanted to know more. Another member matter of factly described how she lived on a reserve much of her life, but knew little about traditional ways. Now she could talk with her father, a prominent member of the band, and learn more from him. A visiting UBC law student of First Nations ancestry who heard this explanation remarked a couple of times during the afternoon how moved she was to see the project members proud and confident about their heritage. But the NYP could not overcome deep seeded social problems. There were signs of frustration and alienation present in some members, the ultimate case being the suicide of a senior member several years after leaving the project. She had worked hard in the NYP, taking on additional responsibilities, and would have been considered a model member.

Past members, particularly senior members, can be emphatic about the effects of participation in the project.

The more I stayed here and worked, the more I learned, the more I changed. I was considered mature when I came here, and I matured even more. Now I have an idea about what to do. I want to go to university now. Take anthropology... [personal communication]
This member selected high school courses so he could meet college entrance requirements. "Plus, I find that I have better grades now. I got three A's my last term. My only weak spot is algebra" (Ibid.). On several occasions, this member referred to the project as having "saved" him, an expression used in conversations by a couple of other members as well. Undoubtedly, the project opened a different world to him which he thoroughly enjoyed, although he had noted on his original application that he expected to attend college. The NYP in this case provided an opportunity for realizing some of his potential. At least four members have gone on to college, one majoring in anthropology. He received a fellowship to study at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C. Four or five project members have worked on other NIYAS programmes, such as Spirit Song and the youth conferences. For a couple of winters, a special outreach programme for elementary schools was conducted through MOA using members of the NYP. An interpretation programme at the new Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) was developed by an NYP project manager and staff were recruited from senior members for a couple of summers. These are tangible results of participation in the NYP. An indication of the impact of the project, at least for one person, was a university essay critiquing the project (Brass 1990). This was written by the former member majoring in anthropology, who also supervised the CMC project one summer and
received the Smithsonian fellowship. His primary concern, expressed in this critique, is to redirect the project from a public service programme at MOA to "empowerment" for the First Nations students. Calling on museums to effectively perform their duty as "societal educators," he wants to challenge the apathy he experienced in university classrooms and society generally. He criticizes Rowan for the "consistent, free, and uncritical use of the ambiguous title 'Indians'" (Ibid.:14) which was used in developing a generalized cultural identity in the programme treatment. Like Taylor (see Chapter Five), he wants to confront discrimination and racism, but he wants to go beyond an abstract pride to build an active commitment to the First Nations based on personal heritage, relevant history and penetrating social commentary. More intense demands were being made on the role of cultural brokerage at MOA.

One winter a lengthy exchange of notes took place between project members, posting messages on the wall of the project office. The messages from active and past members tended to be somewhat sentimental, "don't forget me," "please call." This unsigned, open letter seems to be an appropriate conclusion to the chapter on NYP members.

Memories of a not so distant past fills this shallow soul. Remembering the long beaches, the crashing sea. People coming together, to work as one. More than just co-workers, we were all changed by each other. Grown wiser and mature we leave each other as other goals beckon us. This is of course us...the Native Youth Project. Remember the good times, cherish the friendships.

Page 183
I shall always remember everyone, everything and the feelings that dwelled within me. Thank you for all your understanding and friendship...I'll remember all of you.

The NYP had demonstrated some effectiveness in getting teenagers to responsibly handle creditable public presentations in a sophisticated museum. In the process, the NYP exposed members to a wide range of associated activities, events and individuals. This experience appears to have had a personal impact on the lives of many of the project members.

Thus far in this case study, roots of the NYP have been identified in the organizational culture at MOA and in the efforts of the First Nations to address contemporary education problems. The formation and structure of the programme have been described in work of the originating curator Madeline Rowan. The operating routines and discipline in the programme were outlined in the discussion of the project managers who, as members of the First Nations, served as community contacts and redirected the NYP following the resignation of Rowan from the project in 1986. And this chapter presented the membership cycle. Each of these stakeholders had been motivated to some extent by concerns and expectations involving cross cultural understanding and planning, and each received some satisfaction in the realization of the NYP. The next chapter considers the setting within which the programme was conducted (the institutional base for cultural brokerage) analyzing the resources and support system that made the project possible.
IX. MOA STAFF AND PROJECT RESOURCES

The investment required to sustain the Native Youth Project was hidden for the most part. The Native Indian Youth Advisory Society (NIYAS) contributed influence to secure the government summer work/study grant, but this funding covered only the wages of the students with a small training budget, and not the cost of developing and maintaining the project. This chapter considers the institutional base that supported the project, analyzing the contribution made by the museum. Much has already been presented about MOA in the preceding chapters. In the late 1940s, Harry and Audrey Hawthorn established the museum as a centre for the study of Northwest Coast material culture with the active participation of First Nations elders and carvers. Harry Hawthorn instilled an attitude of "Useful Anthropology" which had a broad definition encouraging research to assist minority groups in their struggle for a meaningful place in Canadian society. In 1976, the museum was relocated to a building specifically designed to display the massive Northwest Coast sculptures as works of art and to house the collections in "visible storage" galleries making the materials and related data available to scholars and general public alike. The staff at MOA explored new ideas about the interpretation of collections attempting to treat visitors as students rather than spectators. MOA gained a respected international reputation and became a regional landmark.

The organizational mission of MOA has four component parts.
1. MOA is an academic unit of the University of British Columbia engaged in teaching, research and experimentation. 2. MOA is an anthropology institution "with a commitment to learn the point of view of others and, in doing so, promoting respect for the differences between cultures" (MOA Report on Activities, August 1986). 3. MOA is a professional museum maintaining appropriate standards in the collection, preservation and display of cultural objects. 4. MOA is a public service institution "with an obligation to share scholarly knowledge" (Ibid.). The official mission is summarized in the preamble to the MOA "Professional Guidelines."

Purpose of the Museum of Anthropology
The UBC Museum of Anthropology from its inception in 1947 set as its goals the development of useful collections so as to promote research, the training of students, public education, and interest. As an anthropology museum it has always been concerned with the study and portrayal of human achievements from around the world as a means of furthering understanding of other cultures. As a museum based in British Columbia it has always actively participated in the preservation of traditional B.C. Indian heritage, in the promotion of contemporary Indian arts and crafts, and in the interpretation of the different cultures represented in the B.C. population. As a university museum it has always been committed to combining research, teaching, and experimentation with public service. [MOA Professional Guidelines, August 1982]

A brief description of MOA and review of activities for the year ending March 31, 1987 is offered to put the NYP into perspective. MOA is a relatively small museum with a full-time staff of less than twenty including six joint appointments with the UBC Department of Anthropology and Sociology. In addition, there are part-time student employees, research associates,
interns (28 in 1986 plus 17 volunteer student interns), various
grant programmes including the NYP, Volunteer Associates (72 in
1986 contributing 7,439 hours) and Shop Volunteers (20 in 1986
contributing 3,985 hours), and, of course, other university
students. Thirteen courses were taught by the MOA director and
staff during the year ending in March 1987, with an additional
22 anthropology courses and 17 other UBC department courses
using MOA facilities. There were 17 students using the
collections for their research, and other students working on
independent academic studies with the MOA director and staff.
Six other colleges used MOA facilities that year. MOA staff, as
usual, were called on extensively to provide a variety of
professional services to other institutions. MOA offers school
programmes. In 1986, nine different programmes were available
which served 411 groups for a total attendance of 11,890.
Education kits were circulated in schools. Public programming
at MOA included lecture series, Sunday programmes and special
events, plus receptions, exhibit openings and barbeques. During
the year, there had been ten temporary exhibits and three
student exhibits, along with completion of some contract work
for EXPO 86. In the year ending March 1987, attendance at MOA
was 161,558, up 52% from the previous year due to EXPO 86.
Security, custodial services and maintenance at MOA are provided
and administrated through the university system. In 1986, there
were grant programmes at MOA totaling just under $250,000. The
NYP received $15,516 for the summer training programme from
Challenge 86, Employment and Immigration Canada, and $1,160 for the winter programme from the Secretary of State. In other words, NYP represented less than 7% of the programme funding received in 1986. Other programmes that year also served the First Nations, such as the Correctional Services Outreach and the Vancouver Indian History Project. This was a fairly typical year, the one anomaly being increased gallery attendance due to EXPO 86. MOA is a public institution dedicated to advancing knowledge with more diverse audiences than would normally be expected for a university museum.

A. PROJECT ADMINISTRATION

Rowan enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in developing and managing the NYP. In the mid 1970s, Michael Ames was appointed director of MOA, succeeding Harry Hawthorn. As an undergraduate at UBC, Ames had participated on the research teams organized by Harry Hawthorn, and he had worked in the museum laboratories under Audrey Hawthorn. Ames' administrative style had a direct impact on the development of the NYP. Curators, staff and even students at the museum were given the freedom to pursue their own interests in consultation with the director. MOA staff actively sought funding for a wide variety of projects which operated fairly independently. Because the staff is small, everyone could attend weekly staff meetings where information was shared and schedules coordinated. In most cases, a balance was struck between group approval and support for the various
undertakings, and autonomous project development. Standards, nonetheless, were maintained, enforced by professional consensus and a mutual recognition of individual areas of expertise, with the overriding authority of the director. Those initiating and running special projects were answerable to the director regarding the feasibility and the impact of their work. This authority was recognized even by the members of the NYP who would make inquiries about whether or not the director would read their final reports. Rowan was the administrator for the NYP, working with the cooperation and assistance of MOA staff. Her approach to this responsibility was characterized more by missionary zeal than by practical organizational skill. The effect of this was apparent in the development of the programme structure and treatments (see Chapter Six), and in the relationships with the various stakeholders. When Rowan resigned from UBC in late 1986, the NYP was not taken over by another curator. Project supervision passed to MOA administrative staff. As a university museum, MOA attracts highly qualified staff. The programme assistant, in cooperation with the administrative assistant, assumed responsibility for the NYP. Both have degrees in anthropology with museum training, and the programme assistant has a professional degree in education. The NYP had become a regular feature of MOA public services.

Early in the project, Rowan fought vigorously to rally support for the NYP within MOA. Each year questions of funding
and logistics made it seem unlikely that the project would continue, and each year the problems would be resolved or otherwise set aside. A memorandum exchange between Ames and Rowan in the fall of 1984 is representative. Rowan asked that the museum supplement the wages of the project manager. If this was not possible, the current project manager would have to seek more lucrative employment. Rowan continued, "...and I, after training her thus far, would feel terribly burdened to train another new person next summer" (NYP Records, memorandum dated 17 October 1984; emphasis in original). Ames replied:

Why does not the government agency, which funds NYP, fund it adequately? If it does not, why should we continue with the project? Nickeling and diming our projects is very exhausting for everyone....

Also, I sympathise with the task of having to train someone every year. But we are a training institution, and should therefore assume that much of our time will be spent training people. [NYP Records, memorandum dated 19 October 1984; emphasis in original]

An administrative strategy to provide reasonable employment for university students was arranged by combining positions. For example, one winter funding and responsibilities for outreach presentations in elementary schools was combined with supervision of Sunday NYP presentations to create adequate part-time employment for the project manager. In 1988, project manager and First Nations liaison were combined, an arrangement which benefited both positions. Over the years, funding remained the biggest administrative concern. Programme content and organizational structure were treated as a subset, areas of development for Rowan to resolve as part of her curatorial
experiment. Only after Rowan’s departure from the project were philosophical and treatment issues openly scrutinized in terms of MOA priorities and evolving sensibilities.

Basic funding for the NYP came from employment initiative grants which covered wages for members, part of the wages of the project manager, and a limited budget for training expenses. Funding for the winter programme from the Secretary of State or foundations also covered only basic wages of project members and manager. Additional funds were required for study trips and many other expenses. Corporate sponsorships were considered, and one summer early in the project history, when programme survival was threatened, funding from Labatt Breweries was accepted. Upon further consideration, MOA and NIYAS representatives decided this was an inappropriate funding source, and only small donations for the summer study trips were sought from the private sector after this experience. Much of the project overhead for facilities and services was simply absorbed into the general MOA operating budget. In the late 1980s, MOA administrative staff organized a substantial endowment fund for work with First Nations youth and educational programmes. Funding for the NYP could be requested from this endowment fund. In 1989, funds were allocated from this source to revise the presentation script and purchase additional objects for the Touchable Collection to upgrade the fishing presentation. This was prompted by an invitation to the NYP from Interpretation Canada to make a special presentation at
their national conference in St. John’s Newfoundland. The endowment fund serves as evidence of the museum’s continuing commitment to programming for young people. The NYP gradually was accepted by MOA staff as a regular part of the museum’s programming. The project advanced to some degree the policy to involve the First Nations in the interpretation of the collections. The style of presentation used in the NYP was consistent with a trend encouraging performance in museums to contribute vitality. The project members proved to be good ambassadors for MOA, affectionately referred to as "the travelling road show." However, this acceptance of the NYP within MOA was not based on critical review. The NYP had simply become a tradition at MOA.

B. THE MUSEUM SUPPORT SYSTEM

Even though MOA is relatively small without rigid departmentalization, there are several distinct groups within the organization. There are curators, administrative and technical staff, students and volunteers. There are also a variety of individuals who work on contracts or special grants through MOA, including First Nations carvers. The intimate scale of MOA allowed the participants in the NYP to interact with all of these groups. Their professional expertise and assistance was not only available to the NYP, but essential to the project operation. MOA staff participated in the orientation and training of the project members and manager.
Professional guidance was present in subtle and direct ways to maintain MOA standards. Staff regularly made observations, and offered constructive criticism and advice. On the other hand, NYP supervisors expressed doubt that most MOA staff would even notice if the project were discontinued. While MOA staff willingly contributed their expertise to the project, the NYP did not directly assist them in fulfilling their own responsibilities. The NYP was part of the community service provided by MOA. Professional staff at MOA worked with many programmes for the First Nations. By the late 1980s, archaeology excavations were organized with the local bands, including interpretation programmes. MOA staff assisted the Musqueam band with several projects, including a training programme in preparation for the eventual establishment their own cultural centre with a collection. Internship programmes, conferences and lecture series are regularly organized with the First Nations. An NYP supervisor points out that staff were better prepared to coordinate these programmes because of the intense experience with the NYP (Fenger interview, April 1990). Overall, the NYP was part of a longstanding pattern of programming with the First Nations at MOA.

A profile of the operational support used by the NYP describes the significance of locating the project in an anthropology museum. The institutional base that MOA provided for the NYP started with administrative support. After the few years, funding applications and budgets were essentially
prepared by MOA administrative staff even when the processing took place through NIYAS. Bookkeeping including payroll was transferred to MOA in 1983 and handled through the university system. In 1989, bookkeeping reverted to NIYAS due to funding stipulations but was done with assistance from MOA staff. MOA was responsible for funding the winter programme, any supporting grants for university student assistants, and other fund raising efforts such as the barbeques, raffles and private sector sponsorships and donations. In addition to financial services, MOA provided the full range of project operational requirements for the NYP including receptionist, secretary, the physical space and facilities, equipment and supplies. MOA administrative staff over the years filled in when Rowan took leaves of absence. The very first year of the project, the extension curator stepped in as supervisor with the bulk of the actual work with the NYP members being handled by the secretary based on her training as a classroom teacher. None of the administrative costs, including the curatorial and organizational planning done by Rowan, were charged to the NYP. There were other professional services available at MOA. MOA staff in the ethnology and archaeology labs, the archives and the conservation lab all contributed to the training, development and maintenance of the NYP programme. Technical support was utilized for audio-visual equipment and special requirements, such as tools for working with cedar. Public programming assistance was necessary for the fund raising
barbecues and special events such as the Naming Ceremony. MOA public relations coordinated promotion of the project, presentations and special events. Even graphics assistance was available. For example, project signage for the lobby prepared by NYP members was found unacceptable by the MOA designer. Assistance was then offered to the group to solve the problem with the appropriate quality. The project members sometimes questioned these procedures, but it became part of the training process. None of this professional time was charged to the project.

In addition to support from permanent staff, the NYP received useful assistance from a variety of individuals who held temporary jobs or had other contractual arrangements with the museum. In the early 1980s, summer research grants for anthropology students working at MOA were specifically written to include assistance in developing and supervising the NYP. In 1982, a summer intern from Ontario was assigned to the project for 14 hours a week. She worked on assembling background material for the cedar presentation, a necessary task at that time because Stewart's book on cedar had not yet been published. As the intern became familiar with the project, she decided that the members would benefit from preparing personal genealogies. This effort proved disappointing, but her supportive presence during the summer was important to the operation and development of the project. More typically, summer interns assisted with specific tasks. For example, conservation interns helped
members reorganize and repair artifacts in the Touchable Collection. Summer interns in public programming and public relations assisted in organizing the annual fund raising barbeque. Special programmes taking place at the museum often provide opportunities for the NYP. In 1982, project members participated in the videotaping of carvers using traditional tools. As a reciprocal gesture, the video production crew recorded the NYP presentations which proved to be a valuable study tool. The NYP had some interaction with the volunteer programmes at MOA. The Museum Shop Volunteers provided books for the NYP library and raffle prizes. The Volunteer Associates were regular supporters of the salmon barbeques, some making additional donations for the NYP study trips. But there was also a point of conflict between volunteers and project members. The Touchable Collection was used by both the volunteer school programmes and the NYP. Each group was highly critical of how the other maintained the artifacts and the storage trolleys. Some volunteers went further, expressing disapproval of the NYP presentations, convinced the approach, quality and consistency of their own educational programmes were superior. Project managers were informed about the need to maintain good working relations with the volunteers. Generally, however, the attitude and commitment of those attracted to work at MOA can be characterized as pitching in when needed. This was repeatedly demonstrated with the NYP. As a trend, initial assumptions that project participants would work independently proved unfounded,
and MOA staff and associate support grew.

Continuing a policy initiated by the Hawthorns, carvers often have work in progress at the museum. MOA has come to serve as a contact point in a First Nations network, particularly for artists. Carvers would explain their work to the NYP, and the group would informally follow the process through the summer. The carvers were usually attractive and engaging, gaining the admiration of the group. In addition to serving as role models, they instilled a firsthand appreciation for craftsmanship, especially in the making and using of tools.

In 1988-89, MOA managed a project to construct and install six traditional Northwest Coast cedar houses in the Grand Hall of the new Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull. The NYP was given a thorough explanation of the work by the project coordinator and then they tracked the progress with interest.

Some carvers have had special areas of experience and expertise. One described Northwest Coast canoes to the NYP based on his carving experience and canoe projects. Another explained Northwest Coast representations and craftsmanship in the context of First Nations ceremonialism. Yet another carver took an interest in NYP practices, meeting with project staff to discuss a wide range of operational details. Carvers have also supported the NYP by donating raffle prizes. In addition to carvers, the NYP interacted with a variety of special internships and training programmes at MOA organized in conjunction with First Nations groups.
Two themes emerge from a consideration of the support system supplied by MOA. First, MOA served as a meeting ground where contacts and work with the First Nations could flourish. MOA provided support and resources for exploration of the arts and traditions of the Northwest Coast. And second, MOA provided an institutional base for independent projects, contributing extensive administrative and professional services for the NYP. The investment required to sustain the NYP was substantial. Was all this support system necessary to sustain the NYP? Perhaps the full complement was not necessary, but the NYP as a specific case in point would not have developed without it.

C. CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD CULTURAL BROKERAGE

The support rendered the NYP at MOA was buoyed by a largely unstated policy and a cohesive organizational culture. The mission of MOA, and the associated organizational culture, had evolved under the guidance of the Hawthorns as described in Chapter Four. Under the leadership of Ames, as MOA director, it was further modified and articulated. Connecting threads tied the transitions together. The enterprise of ethnography with an emic approach remained central, even though sensibilities changed about cultural authority. The spirit of cultural brokerage was strong, respecting and bridging group differences. However, the nature of advocacy was being adjusted from what was subsequently seen to be a relatively "paternalistic" representation to a perspective of collaborative consultation.
The dialectic of assimilation and cultural conservation, homogenization and cultural emergence, had been set aside. Cultural identity was understood more as an individual problem. The organizational culture at MOA was secured with an overriding practical and empirical orientation. In his work as director and professor, Ames (1979) promoted a reflexive approach to the study of anthropology and to the operation of ethnographic museums. This included reevaluating the relationship between museums and the First Nations. Ames has numerous publications dealing with these issues (1987a, 1987b, 1986, 1981a). He admonishes anthropologists and museologists to consider the ramifications as people of the First Nations take control of their own histories:

> It challenges the very foundations of anthropology and museums, including especially the beliefs in the principle of scientific freedom and the validity of knowledge derived from scientific research, and the rights assumed by anthropologists and their museums to represent other cultures. [Ames 1987b:17]

Ames views this as an interesting and important challenge. Far from being restrictive, this is understood as having the potential of a stimulus for a "revitalized" anthropology (Ibid.:24). In the 1980s, reflexive anthropology became a significant intellectual perspective at MOA informing the work of the staff in subtle and often overt ways, exemplified in this case study of the NYP.

The NYP should be understood from this and the preceding chapters to have developed out of a complex set of circumstances.
with a variety of individuals contributing to its organization and condition. In all aspects, the NYP bears the imprint of a cumulative process. The project continued to change and adapt as new management practices were put into place and new individuals became involved. After 1986, when Rowan left the project, two significant changes took place which speak to the changing attitude of cultural brokerage. First, the NYP shifted from a curatorial project to a regularly scheduled MOA programme coordinated by MOA administrative staff, who were trained in anthropology and museology. And second, organization and content responsibilities for the NYP were progressively passed to members of the First Nations. The first change was a practical arrangement to maintain a programme which had become a MOA tradition. The supervising staff, nonetheless, was fully committed to maintaining and improving the project, but they had to proceed realistically. Their objective was to use the time and resources available to the project to the best advantage. It should be noted that the MOA administrative staff who assumed supervision of the NYP volunteered extra hours beyond their paid positions to this project and other NIYAS programmes. Overseeing the NYP became a matter of accepting circumstances and restrictions, and tapping into available resources. Paraphrasing a discussion with supervising staff, those with problems must assume the search for solutions (Fenger interview April 1990).

After Rowan's resignation, the position of project manager
became central to the success of the NYP. The character of the project was set each summer by the manager. The continuity provided by a supervising curator had been replaced with exploratory change provided by decision making project managers from the First Nations. The primary concern for the MOA supervisors became the recruitment of well qualified candidates for the position of project manager. They looked for someone with a "vision," focussed and thorough, someone who had a "spark" and real experience working with teenagers (Fenger interview 1990). Supervision then entailed orienting the project managers to the resources provided by MOA and the procedures and routines of the NYP. The MOA supervisors provided access to the museum support system necessary to run the project, and they monitored and advised the project managers as the work proceeded. The project managers were able to carry out the work independently after establishing goals and standards with the staff. Day plans were considered essential with an overall schedule of work and activities. The supervising staff understood their responsibility as "integrating" the project managers into the museum and "empowering" them to plan and implement the summer programme (Fenger interview April 1990).

The NYP had changed from a fairly impetuous series of lessons, assignments and activities, to a methodical programme, training for public presentations. With the change of administration emphasizing the project managers, practices had
to be adjusted to meet the new conditions. Contrasting project activities in 1988 and 1989 illustrates the impact of individual project managers. For years the salmon barbeque was used for fund raising. In 1988, it was combined with a raffle in a major effort to finance a study trip to northern British Columbia. By 1989, other funding sources had been put in place lessening the need for such an event. But more importantly, the supervising staff and project manager had become convinced that the benefits from the barbeque did not justify the costs in terms of time, disruption to the training programme, and inconvenience to the entire MOA staff. Furthermore, serving hundreds of safe meals with makeshift equipment and volunteer help was considered an unreasonable risk. Other options for fund raising events generating community awareness were possible. In 1989, the project manager elected not to organize a salmon barbeque or other major fund raising activity. Instead, the NYP members prepared a supper for their families at the end of the summer, where individuals who had assisted the NYP during the training programme were recognized. The supervising staff carefully scrutinized plans for study trips, making many of the necessary arrangements. In 1988, a ten day study trip was made to the home of the project manager - Prince Rupert, Port Simpson and the Queen Charlotte Islands. In 1989, senior members of the NYP made a keynote presentation at a heritage interpretation conference in St. John’s, Newfoundland with a stopover in Toronto for a presentation at the Royal Ontario Museum.
The staff was flexible, believing that the NYP should change to meet the needs of the First Nations. One way in which this was addressed was shifting organizational and content responsibility to the project manager. Shifting organizational responsibility was a basically practical matter as illustrated above. Shifting content responsibility brought out deeper issues of cultural authority and the role of cultural brokerage. Supervising staff were aware of an underlying discontent with the cultural interpretation offered in the NYP presentations, and in the museum generally. For the supervising staff, adjustments in cultural interpretation did not invalidate the place and purpose of museums. If individuals or groups philosophically disapproved of museums as public institutions, those individuals should not use museums (Fenger interview April 1990). In other words, the supervising staff attempted to use the available resources to the fullest, but they understood and accepted the inherent limitations, setting their objectives accordingly. MOA was just one centre for cultural interpretation. NYP supervising staff expressed the position that it was the responsibility of individuals and groups within the First Nations to present their own interpretations. Regardless, MOA staff consciously played the role of cultural broker providing a forum and support for cultural interpretation. They participated in other NIYAS programmes, making the museum facilities available for various events. Over the years, MOA staff gained experience concerning the observance
of proper formalities. For example, elders from the Musqueam Band are regularly invited to begin First Nations events with a dedication. The supervising staff paid close attention to the concerns and suggestions of the First Nations community, which they weighed against their own understandings and professional responsibilities in attempting to achieve a reasonable position. MOA staff were sensitive to issues such as the terminology used for the indigenous peoples of Canada. Opinion on this was not unanimous, but in the late 1980s had generally shifted to "First Nations" or "First Citizens." Another example was criticism regarding the use of Edward Curtis photographs. Sometimes solutions were practical. It was simply a matter of finding substitutes. MOA staff assumed the stewardship of a public institution and, as such, attempted to maintain a balanced, nonpartisan position.

After Rowan's departure from the NYP, there was a shift in orientation and expectations. The perspective became far more situational and pragmatic, informed by intellectual questioning of assumptions and practices. A reflexive attitude toward ethnographic authority replaced conventional academic authority. As cultural brokers, allegiance and accountability balanced the professional standards of anthropologists and museologists with the desire not only to assist, but to fully respect the integrity of the First Nations. MOA staff supervising the NYP deliberately attempted to stay in the background, providing support and technical assistance, "empowering" the
representatives of the First Nations to realize their "visions" as project manager (Fenger interview April 1990). As the staff explained, MOA support was there "to keep the NYP on track," to keep it going. The project managers were "the switchmen" who were to determine which track it followed (Ibid.). In 1989, the project manager reinforced the importance of community validation as she revised the fishing script with the cooperation of the Cooqualeetza elders. MOA staff learned different lessons from the various project managers. The success of the NYP became dependent on the commitment and skills of the individual project managers, which did vary from year to year. Staff would act and react to goals and abilities of the project managers in a "dialectic" process (Fenger interview April 1990). With shifting sensibilities, the non-Native supervising staff expressed reluctance to represent a project for and about the First Nations. To date, MOA has been an institution of the dominant Western society exclusively controlled by members of that culture. The staff at MOA regularly have searched for mechanisms to establish collaborative relationships with the First Nations of the Northwest Coast. This chapter sets out the hidden investment required to develop and sustain the NYP, one programme reflecting this institutional orientation.
X. REVIEWING THE NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT

In this case study, the Native Youth Project has been described as an organization of stakeholders which assumed its own unique system of traditions, norms, values and assumptions, modifying project practices based on experience and external circumstances. Further, this programme developed within the context of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology (MOA), reflecting and responding to its organizational culture which was informed by background assumptions of cultural brokerage. The NYP was initiated in 1979 as an innovative museum education programme and operated throughout the 1980s. The programme began as a joint project. The NYP addressed problems identified and promoted through the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society (NIYAS), and was developed through the curatorial commitment and resources of MOA. This museum project was conceived as a social intervention programme to improve academic achievement, increase employment potential and instill cultural pride among urban teenagers from the First Nations. While the project extended ordinary museum educational programming, the original content and objectives were informed by conventional academic ethnography and mainstream pedagogy. The NYP changed over time in response to modified objectives, altered sensibilities and administrative restructuring. This case study uses the activities and experiences of the key stakeholders to focus the descriptions, illustrating the elements which came together to establish and maintain this
programme. Examining the needs and aspirations of the stakeholders serves as a basis for reviewing the impact of the programme and understanding trends. The information is provided to facilitate formative (Weiss 1972) programme evaluation using qualitative methods of participant observation. This study is also a reflexive exercise in applied anthropology. While anthropology utilizes participant observation as an experiential methodology to develop an indepth understanding of the insider's perspective, anthropologists traditionally study others, not their own personal activities and commitments. This case study of the NYP attempts to analyze in a thorough and useful manner an education programme in which I served on the management and instructional team. As such, I worked within the framework of cultural brokerage and have had to rationalize my own involvement and intentions. Observations and assessments of the NYP are offered "in a spirit of suggestion" (Wolf 1980:43) to provoke debate and reassessment by the stakeholders and, through extrapolation, by those concerned with similar problems and programmes.

A. CULTURAL BROKERAGE AND THE FORMATION OF THE NYP

The NYP was fostered within the organizational culture of MOA where the attitudes and values of cultural brokerage were prevalent. In his work on applied anthropology, Erve Chambers explains that practitioners often describe themselves as cultural brokers, maintaining that their activities involve some
kind of transfer of knowledge, skill, or service between distinct cultures" (Chambers 1985:26). Explicit use of the term "cultural broker" can be found in writings on ethnography as a methodology (Pelto and Pelto 1978:245-46) and applied anthropology (Chambers 1985:26-34; Fetterman and Pitman 1986:7, 15 and Chapter 2).

As cultural brokers, applied anthropologists assume a variety of roles in relation to the people with whom they work. Anthropology is not unique in this respect. The broker role is central to the activities of most professions.... The anthropologist's professional role calls for a brokerage between cultures, or at least between the divergent values and distinct life opportunities of recognizable groups or constituencies of people. The complementary roles of analyst and mediator represent a maturation of the ways in which anthropologists have responded to opportunities to participate in decision-making activities. [Chambers 1985:33]

The implicit use of ideas of cultural brokerage is pervasive in anthropology. As such, in the late twentieth century, anthropology came to be critiqued within the discipline not only as an "empirical specialty" but also "unavoidably a political and ethical discipline" (Hymes 1974:7). Advocacy for indigenous peoples or "populations at risk" characterized cultural brokerage. By the turn of the century, anthropologists assumed the role of representatives, attempting to make colonialism more palatable. Later they became facilitators, working to make the administration of dependent populations more effective and introducing possibilities for socio-economic development. The attitude of anthropologists was invariably paternalistic. A trend adjusting the expression of power relationships between
aboriginal peoples and anthropologists emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1980s, the First Nations were actively reclaiming authority over the presentation of their cultures, holding expectations of collaboration and empowerment in their dealings with anthropologists. The history and nature of cultural brokerage are discussed in Chapter Three. At MOA, a public institution dedicated to ethnographic research and education, one way in which this orientation became evident was in the sponsorship of research and programmes for and about the First Nations such as the NYP. Cultural brokerage provides a way of understanding the institutional foundation for the NYP and trends in the development of the programme.

The organizational culture at MOA matured under the leadership of Harry Hawthorn who arrived at UBC in 1947 and served as museum curator and director for three decades. The significance of organizational culture has been studied by Daniel Denison who provides this explanation based on his work in the field of business administration:

Thus, an organization's culture may be as a code, a logic, and a system of structured behaviors and meaning that have stood the test of time and serve as a collective guide to future adaptation and survival. This definition helps to explain why cultures can be abstract and mystical, yet concrete and immediate; impossible to change, yet rapidly changing; complex and intricate, yet grounded in very basic values; and occasionally irrelevant to business issues, yet always central to an organization's strategy and effectiveness. This definition also explains why culture must be studied as both a cause and an effect. [Denison 1990:175-76]

The work and teaching of Hawthorn guided the growth and
development of MOA with a sense of purpose that went beyond ordinary museum ethnography to "Useful Anthropology." This approach reflected his first hand experience with the dilemmas and difficulties of social change among indigenous populations. The work of Harry Hawthorn was extended and modified by the material culture studies of Audrey Hawthorn, conserving the traditional culture of the Northwest Coast and legitimizing the work of contemporary carvers, and by the efforts of students and scholars who were drawn to MOA. The legacy of the Hawthorns as it impacted on the structure and mission of MOA is considered in Chapter Four. The organizational culture at MOA has been characterized by professional consensus, building and defending the museum as a respected, nonpartisan institution. Research interests have tended to be grounded in experience and practical needs, encouraging staff to pursue a wide variety of community oriented projects. Public awareness increased, supported by a conviction to make museum collections, archives and other resources generally accessible.

There was an element of experiment in the NYP as curators at MOA attempted to change the place of museum visitors from spectators to students and endeavoured to involve the First Nations in the interpretation of their cultural artifacts. A trend adjusting the power relationships between anthropologists and the First Nations had already begun when the NYP was initiated. The project was a collaborative effort between Taylor, representing the NIYAS, and Rowan, representing MOA.
This collaboration, however, left development of the cultural interpretation and programme treatment to the discretion of Rowan, informed by standard educational methods and expectations. The initial experiment of the NYP dealt more with style of museum presentation than the content. The NYP used academically sanctioned knowledge presented in a manner expected of a mainstream museum with an international reputation. On the other hand, the introduction of First Nations youth into MOA programming was a radical departure and even brought disapproval from volunteer museum docents who were comfortable with conventional forms of museum interpretation and presentation. The nature of cultural brokerage as expressed in the NYP assumed an aura of paternalism which was apparent in the programme objectives and content. This quality was openly criticized by some project participants in the late 1980s, following Rowan's departure from the project.

The role of cultural broker was set by the operative concept of culture. A dialectic tension was evident in the formation of the NYP between the apparent inevitability of acculturation and the desire to affirm a pride in cultural heritage for visible minorities. This tension assumed definite form with the use of an organic concept of culture as naturally occurring social entities. Rowan was part of a school of thought which accepted cultures as fairly static products, most often romanticized in an "ethnographic present." Michael Ames provides an illustration of the sacrosanct quality which
accompanied use of this concept of culture in public presentations:

The dinosaurs, aborigines, and pioneers depicted in exhibits are all typically presented as noble creatures who in the distant past struggled heroically but (except for the pioneer European settlers of the New World) ultimately un successfully against the brute forces of nature. Rarely will a museum exhibit imply a criticism of the past or the present, though admittedly it is fashionable in North American museums to present a muted criticism of European pioneers for destroying the traditional cultures of native American Indians. But North American museums would never dare to subject native Indians themselves, or the contemporary establishment, to objective scrutiny or critical assessment. Native people are sacred to museum ethnologists, and are consequently removed from virtually all critical comment. [Ames 1986:80]

Initially, the NYP scripts presented the people of the Northwest Coast in terms of a noble "ethnographic present" and caveats referring to continuing cultural traditions could not mask this approach. Project members were being prepared for success in the contemporary mainstream society as pride in heritage was advanced through a dissociated "Indian" cultural identity. The blurring and isolation of First Nations cultures in a noble past was pointedly criticized by a former project member during his anthropology studies at UBC (Brass 1990:14-16). The current trend is to use a concept of culture as process, revealing groups in terms of living, albeit evolving, cultures, respecting the integrity of specific communities and the unique cultural identity of individuals. The role of cultural broker assumed an appropriate function. At MOA, the role became more pronounced as educators, guiding and supporting practical and intellectual development, less as authoritative intermediaries. MOA staff
described their work in terms of "empowerment," assisting members of the First Nations in the representation and presentation of their own cultures. The dialectic tension persisted, however, as the metanarratives of cultural homogenization and emergence (Clifford 1988:17) continued to be played out.

B. NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT STRUCTURE AND STAKEHOLDERS

The structure of the NYP is revealed in the interaction of the key stakeholders. Motivations and objectives are understood within a framework of cultural brokerage. This review of the impact and potential of the NYP is organized under three topics, analyzing the needs, experiences and aspirations of various stakeholders. 1. Cultural Collaboration considered the changing power relationships and altered definitions of empowerment in the transition from the project founders, Rowan and Taylor, to coordination of the NYP by the project managers; 2. Project Resources surveys the participation of MOA staff, changing project administration and evolving sensibilities at the museum. 3. Project Objectives reviews the programme from the perspective of the recipients, the project members.

1. Cultural Collaboration

The NYP was an experiment in cultural brokerage at MOA, extending conventional ideas of museum educational programming to incorporate remedial academic training and First Nations cultural interpretation. Brenda Taylor, a Native Indian Home-
School Worker with the Vancouver School Board, had identified pressing social and economic problems among urban First Nations youth and actively sought assistance from various agencies and programmes. From Taylor's perspective, young people of the First Nations had to develop survival skills necessary for success in the urban environment, and they had to receive an appropriate share of the social resources due their unique position as the indigenous people. Taylor was instrumental in the formation of NIYAS, which set for itself four primary objectives: 1. improve the quality of educational experience for First Nations students, 2. provide employment opportunities, 3. develop leadership potential, and 4. confront discrimination which entailed pride in heritage. Taylor and NIYAS are discussed in Chapter Five. Taylor's focus was on the successful social adjustment of First Nations youth in contemporary Canadian society, and she shared that objective with Madeline Rowan. As MOA education curator, Rowan believed that museum resources could effectively augment school based education to improve the academic chances for students of First Nations ancestry. At that time, MOA staff were also exploring new ideas about the nature of museum public education and the authority to interpret cultural traditions. Rowan and the formation of the NYP are considered in Chapter Six. Part of the NYP programme treatment was the development of a positive cultural identity. Rowan's work was informed by conventional ethnographic authority and an assumption of acculturation. Her pedagogical methods and
expected outcomes were firmly fixed in the traditions of the
dominant Western society. The NYP was conceived as a programme
of directed socio-cultural change with MOA serving as the
agency. The nature of the NYP was altered after a few years of
operation. By the early 1980s, emphasis had shifted from
remedial academic training to effective presentations for museum
visitors and community groups. Procedures and standards for
selecting members changed accordingly, drawing on students who
were able to demonstrate an aptitude for reading, writing and
public speaking. As a youth work/study programme, the NYP
provided a substantial training experience, still serving the
objectives set by NIYAS, but the purpose of the project had
changed. One of Rowan’s expectations was to bring First Nations
youth into the process of cultural interpretation in the museum
setting. However, the NYP training emphasized traditional
Northwest Coast culture based on established academic sources
for ethnographic information. The NYP introduced a new
presentation style to the museum without freeing the First
Nations from their "ethnological fate" (Ames 1987a). Rowan as
the cultural broker retained the position of arbitrator with
ultimate ethnographic authority.

Early in the development of the NYP, the need for dedicated
management of project routines and activities was identified as
a basic operational requirement. This responsibility was given
to university students hired as project managers. The position
of project manager is discussed in Chapter Seven. By 1982, at
the urging of Taylor representing NIYAS as the co-sponsoring organization, this was designated a training position to be filled by First Nations university students. However, Taylor and NIYAS were for the most part passive co-sponsors of the project, leaving the development and administration of the NYP to the discretion of Rowan and MOA staff. The project managers became the active representatives of the First Nations, contributing insights and contacts. In 1986, Rowan resigned from the university, and the NYP was not transferred to another curator. By this time, the NYP had become a tradition at the museum, and it was carried on by MOA administrative staff who served as project supervisors. Progressively the First Nations project managers (who were also trainees in museum education) were given greater responsibility for planning and implementation. From the beginning, the position of project manager had provided an opportunity for First Nations university students to test their potential for cultural programming with teenagers utilizing the resources available at an established anthropology museum. There were obvious constraints on this position due to the substantial work load and limited time. The project managers did introduce some new elements of cultural collaboration, for example, the Naming Ceremony co-hosted by the NYP in the summer of 1987 and the revision of the fishing script with the Coqualeetza elders in 1989. By the late 1980s, certain assumptions and practices came to be questioned. MOA supervising staff stepped back to reassess the role and approach
of cultural brokerage. MOA supervising staff expressed reluctance to personally represent a project for and about the First Nations. They described their work with the NYP as "empowering" the project managers to successfully conduct the project. Rowan had used the word "empower" to describe the effect dignity and knowledge would have in the lives of project members, but the knowledge she referred to was based in conventional ethnography and mainstream academic pedagogy. In the late 1980s, the position of the NYP project manager was combined with MOA First Nations liaison, emphasizing changing relationships. These arrangements continued the trend of cooperative planning and provided part of an interim solution to collaborative programming with the First Nations. The NYP was a social intervention programme designed to help make people of the First Nations competitive in the mainstream society. It developed within an orientation of "useful" anthropology and with the professional conviction that museum resources could help mediate cultural differences. The NYP continued to evolve, testing the capacity of MOA to serve as an agency of cultural brokerage meeting expanded First Nations expectations for empowerment.

2. **Project Resources**

Central to the development of the NYP was its location at MOA, which calls into question how transferable the programme would be to other situations. MOA served as a meeting ground where a variety of independent projects were nurtured. The
resources made available to the NYP through MOA are discussed in Chapter Nine. The MOA official statement of purpose concludes, "As a university museum it has always been committed to combining research, teaching, and experimentation with public service" (MOA Professional Guidelines, August 1982). The NYP started as a curator's research project and became a regularly scheduled museum programme. Using 1986 as a fairly typical year, the NYP accounted for less than 7% of the funding received for special grant programmes at MOA. In the overall picture of activities, programmes, exhibitions and academic studies, the NYP represented a very small part of the annual work commitment at MOA. The NYP was only one way MOA staff worked with the First Nations, which also included interpretation programmes, museum training, carving projects, conferences and lecture series. On the other hand, the NYP enjoyed a very visible presence at MOA each summer, interacting with almost all of the staff at some point in the training process. The NYP provided sustained and meaningful contact with members of the First Nations developing within MOA greater sensitivity to contemporary realities. As a programme, the NYP achieved a substantial profile. The project received media coverage, and annually the NYP would make over a hundred museum and community presentations with attendance totalling well over 3,000. This was possible because the project was sponsored by MOA. While MOA staff willing contributed expertise and assistance to the NYP, the project did not directly advance their own work and
responsibilities. The NYP fit within the mandate and mission of MOA, which was confirmed in the formation of the endowment fund to advance First Nations educational programmes, but there were many worthy projects and programmes competing for limited staff time, energy and resources. The most serious weakness of the NYP was the hidden investment required of MOA to develop and maintain the programme. An accurate accounting of the cost to MOA would be difficult to make, requiring cost estimates for project development and management, facilities, equipment, administration and staff cooperation, and benefit estimates for NYP participation in MOA visitor services. Initial planning for the NYP optimistically assumed that project members would work independently. Experience showed that close guidance was required in maintaining study and presentation routines. Elements of the NYP or scaled down versions of the project could be adapted to other settings, but the NYP as a specific case in point is a product of the particular commitment to public service and variety of resources available at MOA.

MOA provided a stimulating and supportive environment for the NYP. As a relatively small university museum, there is an intimate scale with diverse expertise and a wide range of museum activities and academic work. NYP participants were accepted as museum trainees and gained familiarity with the work at MOA through both formal and casual contact with staff, students and research associates. Museums offer out-of-the-ordinary study and employment opportunities. Working with material culture
provided an attractive alternative to conventional classroom learning, and the Touchable Collection gave the presentations an engaging quality and public appeal. Museum visitors were regularly available for presentations, and were receptive to explorations into cultural traditions. MOA is a rather unique centre for the study of Northwest Coast art and traditions, serving as a hub in a network of First Nations carvers and other researchers. While MOA did not offer students a formal continuation to the NYP programme, some employment and advanced training opportunities were opened for project members through contacts made as project participants.

The development of the NYP was characterized by MOA staff embracing opportunities and stretching resources to meet the obligations incurred. This pattern is not uncommon for projects driven by personal conviction, a quality Rowan brought to the NYP. Adequate funding was a regular problem. Strategies were devised for overcoming difficulties, such as combining jobs to generate reasonable wages for project managers. Funding from the private sector required careful scrutiny and had not provided appropriate possibilities for the NYP. While upgrading was an ongoing concern, the NYP had assembled the basic systems and materials necessary for a fully operational programme. Procedures and practices were established. Furthermore, the project had a good reputation within the urban First Nations community and the general public. The NYP was the result of a cumulative process, and it had the strength of reputable
momentum. The programme, however, was ambitious and required an exceptional effort from members, managers and supervisors. Improving the content of the presentations, advancing collaborative forms of interpretation and adjusting training methods to reflect altered ideas of "empowerment" were for the most part unrealized aspirations. The work was so extensive that many routine matters were handled in an incomplete manner. Record keeping was a low priority, for instance, offering only limited information on project participants without a system for maintaining contact with participants after they left the programme. Within the project, members and managers prepared reports at the end of each summer programme and discussed problems and accomplishments. However, external review procedures were incidental to administrative, funding and scheduling matters. Systematic assessments of the NYP were not conducted either as part of the working relationship between the co-sponsoring organizations or as a monitoring mechanism by MOA. Concerns and questions became more apparent with the administrative restructuring which accompanied the change from a curatorial project to a public service programme in 1986. Over the next few years, there were adjustments in resource commitments for the project.

After 1986, project administration evolved from Rowan's curatorial authority to supervisory control by the MOA programme assistant, who served on the NIYAS Board of Directors, working with the MOA administrative assistant. An altered set of values
and expectations informed the administration of the NYP, but the project still enjoyed professional direction and attention to standards and planning. MOA supervising staff held that the museum offered one forum for cultural interpretation, and that members of the First Nations had a responsibility for advancing their own interpretation and creating their own forums. MOA supervisors described their responsibilities to the NYP as recruiting project managers from the First Nations, preparing them to handle the project and utilize MOA resources, and then assisting and monitoring programme implementation. Programme content and quality became dependent on the commitment and skill of the individual project managers, which varied from year to year. Flexibility was the key ingredient for the MOA supervisors, determining the soundness of planning by project managers to sanction more elaborate activities, such as a study trip to Prince Rupert and the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1988, or to maintain a minimal schedule of training and presentations. The programme was simplified where possible, such as eliminating the fund raising salmon barbeque. The NYP was progressively scaled down to fit the resources available at MOA in keeping with the professional standards and ethical requirements of the public institution. An important factor which made the NYP unique was indeed the institutional base provided by MOA. Along with facilities, administration and operational forum, the museum provided continuity and professional expertise.
3. Project Objectives

The rationale for the NYP was informed by three basic assumptions: first, that holding a job with regular wages in an official and disciplined environment would foster appropriate work attitudes and establish personal career goals for First Nations youth, and second, that applying academic skills in the performance of an actual job would encourage the project members to continue their education. The third assumption was that a positive cultural identity could be developed from a focussed exploration of the indigenous cultures of the Northwest Coast. These assumptions proved to have merit, as the project provided notable opportunities especially for those participants who had an academic aptitude. The activities and reactions of project members in the NYP are discussed in Chapter Eight. The museum presentations served as monitored reinforcement in developing research and public speaking skills, including a method of critiquing which encouraged self appraisal and improvement. The programme treatment centred on a self-image as teachers. Members were trained to present information about Northwest Coast traditions to museum visitors and community groups. This technique built confidence and a sense of accomplishment. The schedule of public presentations gave purpose to the work routines. Over the years, the project increased the emphasis on quality museum presentations. This proved effective as a job focus, but diverted attention from other aspects of personal growth for members, such as remedial academic training, cultural
exploration and contemporary First Nations studies. The need for polished public performances oriented the research and study, and information was approached more as a problem of explanation, preparing for questions from the public, rather than a problem in forming a position for personal action.

The backgrounds and expectations of the project members were varied. Many needed employment and most were at least curious about the museum, the aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Coast and their own cultural heritage. Whether or not the NYP caused an awakening in the members is a moot point. The NYP did provide expanded opportunities, challenges and rewards, to which almost all of the members responded with determination to do their jobs as presenters well. The NYP programme treatment developed substantial skills in the project members and managers, most notably, teamwork, study habits and public speaking ability which were required to meet the job responsibilities. These skills had application to all types of activities, and were appropriate for success in the mainstream Canadian society. Using conventional academic and employment standards, the original programme treatment was developed with an assumption of acculturation. A project member reflects on the benefits he derived as a member of the NYP.

What did the summer program teach me? I learned much about the Northwest Coast cultures - both the distant and recent past. I learned how to speak confidently in front of a large public audience, a skill which is still very useful and enjoyable today. As well, I learned to accept criticism in a mature manner and learn from my mistakes. I improved my study habits as a student. In short, I gained
confidence and self-esteem. As ambiguous as it sounds, I was taught to be proud of my "Indian" identity. The program was beneficial for me and I believe for a majority of my young co-workers. [Brass 1990:6]

Summing up his experience in the NYP, he nonetheless points out, "It would not be too harsh a generalization to say that at the time I went through the NYP it fulfilled the Museum's needs more than it did the First Nations student's needs" (ibid:7). This former member began to question the value of the project from his perspective as an anthropology student at UBC.

My concern for the program as both a student and supervisor is what value does the program have for the 'Native Indian' student beyond learning some interesting or, as some might say, 'quaint' historical facts, a few extra summer dollars and a new skill? Does the program empower them with knowledge beyond its use within a museum? [Brass 1990:5]

In this paper, he describes the proper role of museums as "tools of social awareness" and his objectives for the NYP as "empowerment" to overcome apathy and ignorance. He didn't want tough training questions in preparation for explaining alcoholism in the First Nations to museum visitors. He didn't want a generalized 'Indian' identity. He wanted tough First Nations history squarely addressing issues such as discrimination, taught so as to generate a strong sense of social responsibility. "Learning how to split planks from cedar logs as relevant as it is to the cedar presentation sags in importance to issues of racism and job discrimination" (Brass 1990:12). This critique of the NYP views cultural brokerage as a form of paternalism, indeed "teaching Indians to be Indians" utilizing a noble and static concept of the culture. The
missing observation in this former member's critique of the NYP is the motivation and reinforcement which the members derived from the responsibility of making the museum presentations.

The rationale for developing the NYP, while modified by experience, remained valid at the end of the 1980s. Practical administration of the programme had confirmed and clarified the objectives: 1. academic enrichment for First Nations high school students, 2. disciplined employment, and 3. enhanced First Nations cultural awareness for the project members, the general public and special interest groups. Altered attitudes and sensibilities had influenced training procedures and presentations. The possibilities of collaborative cultural interpretation had been introduced. The objectives which informed the NYP had been achieved to some degree. Judgments had to be made assessing whether the investment had been justified by the results. In eleven years, fifty nine First Nations teenagers were associated with the NYP. Nineteen became senior members, demonstrating notable competence and confidence. Almost all of the members displayed some commitment to the objectives of the project and some positive response to the opportunities offered, even those members who did not serve an entire term. Did an average of five and a third trainees per summer warrant the costs? A typical question asked of programme evaluators by funding agencies helps in this assessment: Were alternative programmes available which satisfied the needs of First Nations teenagers? Options were limited. Some employment
opportunities were provided through work grants to upgrade facilities on reserves or to staff summer recreational or community service programmes. Spirit Song provided a First Nations theatre experience, and NIYAS and other First Nations organizations sponsored periodic conferences. Closest to the objectives and experience offered by the NYP were cultural interpretation programmes associated with archaeological excavations. The NYP occupied a specialized niche as a work/study project operating within a university museum, providing real opportunities for members to develop potential in areas rarely recognized in teenage employment situations.

C. ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTIVENESS

This case study has been presented as an effort in programme evaluation, suggesting that it is an important activity for those participating in social action programmes. An overview of programme evaluation is provided in Chapter Two. The thorough descriptions included in this study are intended to help inform policy decisions and the ongoing operation of the NYP, and to assist those planning similar programmes. The assessments outlined below provide a basis for judging the success of the NYP and identifying some of the factors contributing to it. They are offered to stimulate debate and reassessment by interested parties. Based in the field of business administration, Daniel Denison (1990) developed a framework for relating corporate culture to organizational
effectiveness (see Chapter Two). Building on his analysis, the NYP is assessed, summarized in point form, using the four elements of this model. Denison concludes that together these elements serve as an indicator of effectiveness, balancing competing demands from the various stakeholders and constituencies. The NYP displayed the following qualities.

1. **Mission** explores the purpose and direction of the programme.
   - a. Work/study project for First Nations teenagers as museum trainees providing interpretation services and thereby giving the NYP a raison d'être.
   - b. Basic objectives had shared meaning for the project founders representing NIYAS and MOA:
     1). Improve quality educational experience/increase academic achievement
     2). Employment opportunity/career preparation
     3). Leadership training/communication skill development
     4). Confront discrimination/pride in cultural heritage.
   - c. Underlying purpose of "empowerment" assumed different meanings for the project stakeholders and constituents.

**ASSESSMENT:** Initially, the mission for the NYP was actively promoted by the project founders and became meaningful to the various stakeholders. This mission continued to give purpose to the participants and could be translated into goal directed behaviour. The mission became less focussed with the
administrative restructuring, leaving the future direction of the project vaguely articulated. This condition was evident in the differing meanings and expectations expressed in the use of the term "empowerment."

2. Consistency looks at stability with the development of shared values and norms.

   a. Public presentations focussed members' responsibilities and tied them to a cultural identity as representatives of the First Nations.

   b. Selection procedures evolved which not only tested for candidate potential but also set out basic programme expectations.

   c. Training procedures developed which prepared members to handle job requirements and built an esprit de corps.

   d. Emphasis on technology as a cultural achievement provided a tangible study base and artifacts had audience appeal.

   e. "Senior" members provided role models and initiated new members into the procedures, expectations and norms of the programme.

   f. Disciplinary policies were articulated in a system of three warnings.

   g. As museum trainees, NYP members were expected to meet professional standards which was expressed in concrete ways, such as caring for artifacts and equipment, and starting presentations on time.
ASSESSMENT: Although there were individual disappointments and deviations, the NYP had developed predictability and normative integration due to a structured programme treatment and mechanisms for the socialization of new members. These reflected standards valued in the mainstream society, thus operationalizing objectives to improve academic achievement and career potential. The main strength of the NYP was internal consistency which closely related the original programme objectives to actual policies and practices.

3. Involvement considers the informal processes and formal structure of participation.

a. The quality of programme implementation became dependent on the style and commitment of the project managers.

b. The project manager had scope for innovation within the basic procedures and routines of the NYP.

c. In reality, the programme training and activities were very ambitious leaving the project managers and members pressed to meet the basic schedule.

d. NYP members enjoyed casual and formal access to MOA staff and resources due to the size and layout of the museum and the organizational culture which stressed a public service orientation.

e. Members were encouraged to speak from their own experience which was used extensively in answering audience questions following presentations.

f. The practice of "crits" involved the whole group in
maintaining standards and established an expectation of individual improvement.

**ASSESSMENT**: Involvement considers the NYP's internal mechanisms for adaptation and change, placing prime importance on participant contributions. The project was dedicated to personal growth and had numerous ways of promoting and recognizing individual accomplishments. However, the organizational process itself was relatively fixed, leading to high ratings for consistency, but calling into question future development of the programme, especially with leadership dependent on managers hired for short terms and indirect guidance MOA supervising staff.

4. **Adaptability** reviews the forces of change and the organizational responses.

a. The NYP functioned within the existing structure and organizational culture of MOA which insulated the project from many external forces, including funding sources, audiences and First Nations groups.

b. Within this dependency arrangement, a precise understanding of project costs was not possible due to the broad support provided by MOA.

c. While project participants regularly submitted reports and were encouraged to critique the NYP, there was no formal or systematic review process.

d. The basic mission and practices of the NYP seemed resilient enough to survive the administrative
transition and some reduction in activities.
e. The initial focus on remedial academic training was adjusted to make the project viable and take advantage of possibilities offered by a museum based programme.
f. Internal management structures developed to more realistically handle supervisory requirements for work with teenagers.
g. Methods for involving members of the First Nations in the interpretation and presentation of their cultural traditions and artifacts were being altered in response to changing sensibilities internally and external expectations.

**ASSESSMENT**: Adaptability requires that an organization has mechanisms for responding to internal and external forces and for incorporating new ideas. The NYP had demonstrated a capability for adapting to changing circumstances, and had done so because of a shared commitment to the basic mission and approach, and because of the particular organizational culture at the host institution. The belief in the mission provided a basis for stability and reactive group response. However, the mission, and the policies and practices it informed, showed signs of becoming entrenched, limiting the potential within the NYP to review directions as a successful proactive organization.

**D. STATEMENT OF CONCLUSION AND CONTRIBUTION**

This case study of the Native Youth Project is a reflexive
exercise making sense of a museum based project originally planned as a social intervention programme. The study explores some fundamental questions about the purpose and place of anthropology, especially in its applied forms. The background assumptions informing the work of anthropologists have been explained in terms of the role of cultural brokerage. This role has been shown to reflect the particular social milieu within which it operates, adapting to changing sensibilities and political forces. This perspective has been illustrated in the development of the NYP within the context of the organizational culture and institutional resources at MOA. Through this reflexive study, I have come to accept that I was attracted to MOA because the museum programmes satisfied some of my interests and expectations, and the philosophical orientation manifest in its operations was compatible with my own worldview. I have served in several capacities at MOA including that of student, and through this association, my sense of purpose and ethics have been honed within the organizational culture. This case study attempts to tell the story of the NYP honestly, though informed by my own involvement, ever aware of the various stakeholders. Their anticipated reactions and disappointments have been a constant test of the appropriateness and usefulness, indeed the validity, of the information being presented. As an early project supervisor, I accepted the original mission of the NYP and willing worked to make the project a success. However, I also felt some personal hesitation.
designing and implementing a programme for another cultural group forces one to clarify background assumptions and assume responsibility for consequences of the work. I have now come to understand the initial motivation for the project (which informed the content and treatment in the project) as an authoritative form of cultural brokerage. Personally, I welcomed the transition towards forms of cultural brokerage emphasizing fundamental, programmatic collaboration. The nature of ethnographic authority and the scope of "empowerment" as a guideline for cultural brokerage continue to evolve. Truly reflexive anthropology, studying one's own activities and commitments, has the potential of serving as a corrective mechanism, "increasing both rationality and sensitivity" (Ames 1979:24).

The contribution of this case study has been as a "formative programme evaluation," organizing the information to facilitate policy review and ongoing development of the NYP by programme sponsors and stakeholders, and to assist those contemplating and planning similar programmes. The assessments have been offered in a spirit of suggestion, to focus discussions and provoke debates. This case study provides a contemporary example of the intersection of aboriginal ways and public institutions. It exposes underlying intentions to incorporate aboriginal peoples into the mainstream Canadian culture where achievement is judged in conventional social and economic terms. While the NYP was designed to socialize First
Nations youth into the academic and career patterns of the dominant society, hosting the programme had an impact on MOA. Traditionally, museums served as the caretakers for cultural artifacts and archival materials, part of movement known in the early part of this century as "salvage ethnography." While fascinated with aboriginal life ways and concerned about forces of social change, there has also been implicit criticism of contemporary conditions among the First Nations. This attitude can be seen in programmes such as the NYP. Indeed, the initial inspiration for the project was two pronged, to improve academic achievement among First Nations youth and to instruct them in their own cultural history. From a position of overt paternalism with a background assumption of acculturation and a cultural identity ennobled in a dissociated, heroic past, the NYP developed into a forum for the active participation of members of the First Nations in the museum. While the basic pedagogic approach and educational objectives for the project were of Western origin, elders and leaders of the First Nations were used in the training procedures. This was consistent with the common practice in the museum of using elders for elaboration and verification of published information, reinforcing conventional academic ethnography. As project managers from the First Nations assumed greater responsibility for planning the NYP in the late 1980s, aboriginal sensitivities gained prominence. The managers and members tended to return to the ongoing oral traditions of specific communities, recognizing the
authority of the elders as primary sources of information. Although the discipline and standards for the NYP continued to be set by the professional requirements of the university museum, the managers and students brought to the museum sustained and purposeful involvement with members of the First Nations, thus helping to create a more thorough and direct appreciation for contemporary conditions and a basis for constructive interaction with their organizations. In turn, MOA provided a place where members of the First Nations could explore their own identity vis-a-vis public institutions and the dominant culture, a relatively safe place where they could give expression to their emerging consciousness. The educational environment at MOA encouraged a critical perspective as managers and members tested the potential of anthropology as course of study and the museum as public institution.

The concept of the NYP was in fact a radical departure for museums, introducing First Nations teenagers into interpretive programming. The project had a considerable impact on MOA, but only limited response from other museums. After a couple of summers, for example, the programme at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, modelled directly on the NYP with basic staffing by former project participants, seemed to flounder. Why has the idea succeeded at MOA but not transferred successfully to other major museums? Lack of funding was one reason advanced. The NYP was not merely a training programme for gallery docents, as the CMC apparently assumed. It was a more complex operation,
combining an educational commitment to First Nations teenagers with new forms of cultural interpretation and representation. In order to successfully transfer the programme to other institutional settings, the deeper structure and mission of the NYP would have to be understood and adapted to function within the organizational culture and available resources of the host institution, and the institution itself would have to adjust or create an ideological "space" for the students. Madeline Rowan tried for several years to persuade community museums in British Columbia to adopt programmes similar to the NYP, but without success. Lack of financial resources and experience dealing with First Nations were the usual reasons given. Over the years the most positive interest in the NYP as a model for programming came from First Nations organizations, though only a few of them actually took steps to institute comparable programmes. Why a programme can be a reasonable success at one institution but not transfer to others is a topic for further research.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, Michael M.


1987 "Free Indians from their Ethnological Fate: The Emergence of the Indian Point of View in Exhibitions of Indians," Muse, Volume 5, Number 2, pp. 14-19.

Ames, Michael and Claudia Haagen

Boas, Franz

Brass, Gregory M.

Britan, Gerald M.


Burridge, Kenelm

Page 238
Campbell, Donald T.  
1981  
"Comment: Another Perspective on a Scholarly Career,"  

Campbell, Donald T. and Julian C. Stanley  
1963  

Chambers, Erve  
1985  

Clifford, James  
1988  

1991  
"Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections,"  

Deloria, Vine Jr.  
1973  
"Custer Died for Your Sins,"  

(1969)  
Denison, Daniel R.  
1990  
_Corporate Culture and Organizational Effectiveness_. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Doxtator, Deborah  
1988  

Fenger, Anne-Marie  
1990  
April 1990 interview and other personal communication.

Fetters, David M.  
1984  

1986  
Foster, George M.  
1969  
```applied anthropology.  Boston: little, brown and company.```  
Foster, George M. and Robert V. Kemper (eds)  
1974  
```anthropologists in cities.  Boston: little, brown and company.```  
1983  
```putting knowledge to use: facilitating the diffusion of knowledge and the implementation of planned change.  san francisco: jossey-bass publishers.```  
Halpin, Marjorie M.  
1976  
"A new kind of ethnographic museum in Canada,"  
```Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie Band 10, Heft 2, pp. 304-308.```  
1978  
"The Twelve Thousand Year Gap: Archaeology in British Columbia and First Peoples: Indian Cultures in British Columbia, a review,"  
```canadian museums association Gazette, Volume 11, Number 1, pp. 40-48.```  
1981  
```
```  
Harris, Marvin  
1968  
```
```  
Hawthorn, Audrey  
1975  
"A History of the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia,"  
1979  
```
```  
Hawthorn, Harry  
1944  
```
```  
1966-1967  
```
```  
1976  
"Recollections of a Talk Given at the Banquet of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Ethnological Society,"  
```The History of Canadian Anthropology. Proceedings```

Hawthorn, H.B., C.S. Belshaw, S.M. Jamieson

Hymes, Dell (editor)

Inglis, G.B.

The Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation

Koppelman, Kent L.

Kuhn, Thomas S

Loseke, Donileen R.

McCarty, T.L.

Malinowski, Bronislaw


Native Indian Youth Advisory Society
1989 Draft of funding solicitation statement of objectives and purpose, and Spirit Song brochure.

Native Youth Project
1979 to Project Reports and files at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology.
1989

Patton, Michael Quinn

Pelto, Pertti J. and Gretel H. Pelto

Peshkin, Alan

Redfield, Robert, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits

Rich, Robert F.

Rowan, Madeline Bronsdon


1984 Cedar: Tree of Life to the Northwest Coast Indians. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.


Weaver, Sally M.


Weaver, Thomas (editor)

Weiss, Carol H.

Wilson, Stephen

Wolf, Robert L.
APPENDIX

NATIVE YOUTH PROJECT MEMBERS AND MANAGERS

All of the participants in the NYP deserve to be acknowledged for each left a mark on the development of the programme. This case study is built on my own involvement with the NYP which spans eight years. It is difficult to properly recognize all those who have contributed to the descriptions, understandings and explanations contained herein.

During the NYP summer programme in 1988, my participation centred on recording the project activities and relationships. A special thank you for the support offered by the project manager, Debbie Jeffrey, the members, Don Bain, Dena Klashinsky, Shelan Kuypers, Dayna Mussell, Lara Mussell, Marina Prince, Desiree Sparrow and Lori Speck, and the museum staff supervisors, Anne-Marie Fenger and Moya Waters. They were all curious about the process and willing to endure the questioning and note taking.

My work with the NYP the previous summer, 1987, had convinced me that the project was a worthy subject for a thesis. Deeply moving memories of the field trip to the United Native Nations Annual General Assembly in Prince George will be with me forever. The senior members, Don Bain, Eileen Joe and Lori Speck, were dedicated and caring, and the new members, Sadie Morris and Vernon Mulvahill, exemplified the hopes and exasperations inherent in a youth work/study project. That summer, Gloria George, the project manager, and Dolly Watts organized a traditional Naming Ceremony to be held at the museum co-hosted by the NYP. This event stands out as a highlight and a turning point in the history of the NYP.

Marcia Crosby became the project manager in 1989, and I am indebted to her for the fresh insight and different perspective she brought to the project, as well as the personal interest she showed in this thesis. Greg Brass, a former NYP member, returned to MOA as a UBC Anthropology student, and provided valuable insights as he articulated his own experiences.

Looking back to my first experience with the NYP in 1982, the group established my commitment to the programme. Problems and possibilities were analyzed and action planned with the supervising curator, Madeline Bronsdon Rowan, the project manager, Sylvia Boucher and museum intern, Deborah Doxtator. The members are remembered affectionately for their efforts, achievements and disappointments: Denise Boudreau, Philip Boudreau, Barney Edwards, Trudy Grant, Harriet Isnardy, Ron (Mura) Joseph, Vivian Mearns, Norman Point and Moses Woods. Hiring, payroll and other administrative activities were directly handled with the Native Indian Youth Advisory Society that year, building an appreciation and respect for Brenda Taylor and the organization she had been instrumental in establishing.
Following is basic information about the NYP participants.
This summary is based on project records which are not complete.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ethnic Division</th>
<th>Birth year/Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barnes, Dawn</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Campbell, Angela</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Edwards, Leslie</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone, Bernadine</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill, Sheila</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isbister, Curtis</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Joseph, Ron (Mura)</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point, Aaron</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Point, Norman</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point, Ricky</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, Geraldine</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Cindy</td>
<td>Kwakiutl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1980
Project Manager: Hanuse, Teresa Coast Salish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ethnic Division</th>
<th>Birth year/Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boudreau, Denise</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Campbell, Angela</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell, Eddie</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell, Lorna</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell, Rhonda</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+George, Alvin</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isbister, Curtis</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^+Isnardy, Harriet</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Joseph, Ron (Mura)</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morton, Paul</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point, Aaron</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point, Norman</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1981
Project Manager: McIntosh, Jean not First Nations UBC Anth. post-grad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ethnic Division</th>
<th>Birth year/Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+Boudreau, Denise</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Campbell, Angela</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Grant, Trudy</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Guerin, Kim</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph, Ron (Mura)</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Point, Norman</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Spathelfer, Jackie</td>
<td>Coast Salish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1982
Project Manager: Boucher, Sylvia
Interior Salish UBC Education NITEP

Boudreau, Denise
Boudreau, Philip
Edwards, Barney
Grant, Trudy
Isnardy, Harriet
Joseph, Ron (Mura)
Mearns, Vivian
Point, Norman
Woods, Moses

1983
Project Manager: Boucher, Sylvia
Interior Salish UBC Education NITEP

Grant, Anita
Mearns, Vivian
Nyce, Harry
Paul, Edmund
Smith, Rodney
West, Alexandria

1984
Project Manager: Saunders, Barb
? Bella Coola UBC Education/Arts NITEP

Casey, Rosanna
Graydon, Timi
Joseph, Roman (Mura)
Lawson, Kimberly
Nyce, Harry
Smith, Rodney
Trottier, Jason

1985
Project Manager: Tait, Larry E.
Tsimshian UBC Education NITEP

Brass, Greg
Graydon, Timi
Holmes, Debbie
Martin, Johnna
Sawan, Shannon
Sparrow, Willard

Cree Coast Salish Interior Salish Iroquois Cree Coast Salish

Page 247
1986
Project Manager: Tait, Larry E. Tsimshian UBC Education NITEP

+Bain, Don Carrier b. 1971 college
Bourke, Dominic Interior Salish/Cree b. 1968
+Brass, Greg Cree b. 1968 college
+Holmes, Debbie Interior Salish b. 1967 college
+Jeffrey, Monica Tsimshian b. 1969
+Joe, Eileen Coast Salish b. 1971 college
McLean, Marquita Tsimshian b. 1969
+Speck, Lori Kwakiutl b. 1971

1987
Project Manager: George, Gloria Tsimshian Law
George, Margaret (winter session)

+Bain, Don Carrier b. 1971 college
+Joe, Eileen Coast Salish b. 1971 college
+Morris, Sadie Nuuchanulth b. 1970
Mulvahill, Vernon Cree b. ?1971
+Speck, Lori Kwakiutl b. 1971

1988
Project Manager: Jeffrey, Debbie Tsimshian UBC Education post-grad

+Bain, Don Carrier b. 1971 college
+Klashinsky, Dena Kwakiutl/Coast Salish b. 1974
+Kuypers, Shelan Haida b. 1970
Mussell, Dayna Coast Salish b. 1974
+Mussell, Lara Coast Salish b. 1974
^Prince, Marina Carrier b. 1971
+Sparrow, Desiree Coast Salish/Haida b. ?1974
Speck, Lori

1989
Project Manager: Crosby, Marcia Haida/Tsimshian UBC Fine Arts

+Klashinsky, Dena Kwakiutl/Coast Salish b. 1974
Mussell, Lara Coast Salish b. 1974
+Sparrow, Desiree Coast Salish/Haida b. ?1974
(and four new members)

+ Also participated in the winter programme.
^ Participated for only part of the summer programme.