

ABORIGINAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

LESSONS LEARNED SUMMARY REPORT

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This study summarizes lessons learned from the involvement that Canadian governments have had in the areas of Aboriginal economic and social development. It is based on the technical reports produced by Prairie Research Associates (PRA) and Martin Spigelman Research Associates for, and under, the direction of the Evaluation and Data Development Branch of HRDC.

The two studies benefited from the contribution of numerous participants. In particular, the work of Rita Gunn, Greg Mason, and Anna Sicoli of Prairie Research Associates (PRA) [who also prepared this synthesis]; the work of Martin Spigelman and Dena Carroll of Martin Spigelman Research Associates; the Aboriginal Relations Office (ARO) within Human Resources Development Canada, along with 8 other federal departments; numerous provincial organizations; and most importantly, the time and effort of the many Aboriginal organizations that made this project possible, including 6 National Organizations, along with numerous other regional organizations. Without their involvement and commitment to this project, it would never have been possible.

The two technical papers produced for HRDC as part of this study are available upon request.

Series

Canadian governments are trying to achieve the most productive and cost-effective results from human resource programs and policies. Professionally-conducted evaluations can help them reach that goal. They document our experiences with policies and programs that have had similar goals. They add to the "corporate memory" that helps us make still better decisions in the future.

At Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC), we have a strong commitment to continuous learning and improvement. Over the past decade, we have invested time and money in evaluating many of our programs and policies covering a wide range of human resources development issues. These have been complemented by our reviews of evaluations conducted by other governments, in Canada and internationally, in the area of human resource initiatives.

HRDC developed the "Lessons Learned" series to make this wealth of information and insight available to more people more easily. The Lessons Learned studies are a series of documents and supporting videos that synthesize what evaluations in Canada and other countries have taught us about a range of high-profile human resource policy priorities. They summarize what we know about the effectiveness of policy initiatives, programs, services and funding mechanisms.

Lessons Learned are of interest to senior managers and policy analysts in Canada's governments. Program managers, public policy researchers and stakeholders such as Aboriginal authorities and organizations, can also benefit from understanding the lessons we have learned from past and present programs.

HRDC is pleased to present the latest study in this series, which is a synthesis of two companion documents related to Aboriginal social and economic development issues. This particular document focuses on the lessons learned from past experience with economic and social development programs that are applicable to Canada's Aboriginal population. This study was conducted in support of the Regional Bilateral Agreements (RBAs) which have devolved control and responsibility for the design and delivering of programs directly to local Aboriginal organizations. These same RBAs will end in March 1999, and will be replaced by new agreements signed under the new Aboriginal Human Resource Development Strategy. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the development of policies and programs that will be part of this new approach.

As a learning organization, HRDC will continue to experiment with new approaches and evaluate their effectiveness. HRDC recognizes the vital importance of the evaluation process and is committed to continuing its work in this area.

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Aboriginal Social and Economic Development: Lessons Learned

1.0 Introduction

The bleak social conditions experienced by many Aboriginal people across Canada are matched by their impoverished economic circumstances. Aboriginal communities face chronically higher rates of unemployment and social assistance receipt than other Canadians. Over the past three decades, governments, communities, and organizations have attempted, through a myriad of policies and programs, to improve the social and economic circumstances of Aboriginal people. These measures have met with only limited success. Part of the problem with previous approaches has been their tendency to address the symptoms, rather than the causes, of problems. Another problem has been the constraints imposed on individual communities by existing legislation and guidelines for program development. Today there is growing recognition that the achievement of social and economic well-being for Aboriginal communities requires not only a more comprehensive approach than has so far been the norm, but also greater flexibility for individual communities in designing policies and programs best suited to their particular needs.

This report summarizes the results of two Lessons Learned studies commissioned by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) on Aboriginal human resources development. Both studies relied on key informant interviews, examinations of best practices in a number of communities, and reviews of academic and evaluation literature from Canada, Australia, and the United States. One of the studies focused on social and community development, while the other emphasized community economic and labour market development. In fact, social and economic well-being are closely interrelated. The goal of this report is to provide an overview of the general lessons learned that should guide an integrated approach to the social and economic development in Aboriginal communities.

This Lessons Learned study is timely. Aboriginal communities are experiencing profound changes, and the need to identify viable strategies for community and human resources development is now more critical than ever before. Increasingly, self-government is becoming a reality on and off reserves. In cities such as Saskatoon and Winnipeg, urban reserves are emerging; in British Columbia, there is a movement toward new, modern treaties; and in the north, the Inuit territory of Nunavut will soon be established. This Lessons Learned study is intended to help define future directions for Aboriginal human resources and community development policy.

2.0 Lessons Learned

2.1 Governance

Governance requires that those most directly affected have control over key policy and program decisions.

The government of Canada, in its response to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, has recognized the right of Aboriginal communities to exercise genuine control over their own affairs, and to be responsible for the design, delivery, and management of social and economic development policy. In fact, sound governance is a fundamental prerequisite to successful social and economic development. At issue is who controls the substance, nature, and pace of development. Governance of the community development model requires that those most directly affected have control over key policy and program decisions. Progress is not possible unless the policy process enjoys both the trust of community residents and their continuous involvement.

The principles of sound governance must inform all aspects of the policy process, including:

- ◆ planning and policy development
- ◆ resource base and funding arrangements
- ◆ program delivery and management
- ◆ accountability mechanisms.

2.1.1 Planning and policy development

Planning and policy development must begin with a comprehensive vision.

In developing an effective strategy, it is critical to begin with a comprehensive vision which can serve to inspire communities and attract those people who are willing to invest of themselves. Having such a vision helps to avoid the "add-on" approach to government whereby communities simply add whatever new program is offered to them on to their existing services. Possessing the rights and powers implied by self-governance allows communities to plan according to their own priorities and interests.

Stable institutions for rule enforcement are needed.

The American scholar Cornell (1997), however, stresses that having these rights and powers is not enough. In order for community development to occur, stable institutions for rule enforcement, as well as processes to adjudicate disputes and enforce contracts, are needed. In the first instance, this implies that:

- ◆ Politics is separated from the process of managing business. Every successful Aboriginal community we could find separated business from politics by creating a development corporation with an independent board. Band councils deal with longer-term planning, but

leave the conduct of business to the board. When community decisions reflect the interests of a small group, the risk associated with business rises sharply and chokes entrepreneurship and growth.

- ◆ The adjudication of disputes is also separated from the political process. If the courts and tribunal processes are controlled politically, risk-taking is discouraged and joint ventures with outside firms will be constrained.
- ◆ Aboriginal community development needs an effective, professional public service.
- ◆ Stability in funding is important in order to develop programs for the longer term. At the same time, funding levels need to be sufficiently large to establish legitimacy, to generate excitement, to provide leverage, and to bring community leaders to the table and keep them there.

Second, to be successful, Aboriginal institutions of governance must be consistent with the cultural traditions of the individual band or community. This may imply a hierarchical political process, such as adopted by the White Mountain Apache Tribe, or a less centralized one such as the Sioux of the Pine Ridge reservation. Each band needs to develop its own governance mechanisms that win the allegiance of the people governed.

Institutions of governance must be consistent with the cultural traditions of the community.

Third, effective institutions of governance must possess strong and capable leadership. Leadership must be:

Strong and capable leadership is required.

- ◆ visionary, motivational, and committed;
- ◆ capable of articulating the community's vision, building the necessary consensus, managing the change process and continually refining and redesigning the effort without losing the community's support;
- ◆ capable of addressing barriers and developing alternatives when necessary, of handling failures and setbacks, and of taking advantage of opportunities that present themselves; and
- ◆ convinced that the existing systems are badly flawed and require fundamental change.

2.1.2 Control over resources and funding arrangements

Many American studies on self-governance, and to a lesser extent the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, have confirmed that resource control is essential for local economic development. Control over land is common to all the success stories of Aboriginal development in Canada and the United States. A land base allows a community to develop resources and raise

Control over land and resources is essential.

capital that can be used to create employment. In Canada this is achieved through treaty land entitlements, specific and comprehensive land claims, and access to natural resources.

Flexible funding arrangements are necessary.

Like control over land and resources, flexible funding arrangements are necessary to support social and economic development. A flexible arrangement allows community organizations to allocate funding to their own priorities without fitting the spending into categories determined elsewhere. Most First nations have used Alternate Funding Arrangements to design and implement appropriate interventions. HRDC has recently introduced a similar multi-year instrument called the *Aboriginal Flexible Funding Agreement*.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada's (INAC) recently conducted review of its evaluations dealing with funding arrangements over the past decade identified several important lessons:

- ◆ local flexibility over fund allocation increases as reliance on contribution agreements decreases;
- ◆ Ministerial accountability decreases;
- ◆ a simple funding process with less red tape reduces workload for government and Aboriginal administrators;
- ◆ recent arrangements have evolved and had a positive effect on band management capacity; and
- ◆ quality and quantity of services also increases with more flexible arrangements.

Other departmental studies (Health Canada, Canadian Heritage) confirm these findings.

Flexible funding allows Aboriginal communities to identify needs, design programs, and fashion funding according to their particular requirements. At the same time, flexible funding encourages and obliges leaders to be more accountable to community members.

2.1.3 Program delivery and management

Effective program delivery relies on capacity and skills.

The Lessons Learned studies revealed that no one model of program delivery stood out above others. Rather, successful program delivery is dependent on capacity and skills. These include:

- ◆ leadership and management skills;
- ◆ strong administrative institutions;
- ◆ reporting mechanisms to monitor results and make innovations;
- ◆ access to other funds and resources;

- ◆ flexibility to adapt programs and allocate funds according to need; and
- ◆ separation of politics and business development.

Effective program delivery relies on many of the same factors that underlie successful planning and policy development. In particular, program delivery is dependent on a stable infrastructure and a set of skills that are capable of adapting to continually changing circumstances. In effect, in successful communities, stability exists to manage future growth. Many Aboriginal communities are just now developing such institutions and procedures. It will take several years to achieve the structures that underpin social and economic development.

The notion of governance for Aboriginal communities does not mean that other orders of government should be excluded from the process of designing and delivering programs. On the contrary, relationships with various orders of government will continue to be crucial throughout program design and delivery. As soon as change is contemplated, a consultation process with governments should begin. The process should include both a full sharing of relevant information and the participation of all community stakeholders and political leaders. Consultations should be based on mutual understanding, good faith and respect, and should be sufficiently flexible to permit the partners to consider new issues as they arise. At the same time, however, the commitment to consultation can pose a challenge to governments. In their attempt to act in the overall public interest, they may continue to determine a program's fiscal and policy boundaries unilaterally. This approach defies community development principles and the commitment to partnership. It contributes to communities' frustration by sending the message that government is willing to transfer only service responsibility rather than real authority.

Partnerships with other orders of government are necessary.

Effective partnerships with other governments imply shared authority and responsibility, joint investment of resources, shared liability and risk-taking, and mutual benefit. The *Eagle Project* is one example of such a partnership. Initiated by Health Canada and the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), its purpose is to understand the effects of environmental contamination on the health and well-being of Aboriginal people living in the Great Lakes Basin. The project was jointly designed by the two partners and its Steering Committee including a majority of First Nations representatives. The AFN administers the project for Health Canada and there are four project representatives in the First Nations offices within the region who are all Aboriginal people employed by the AFN. Data which are gathered remain the property of the communities. On a more general level, the Government of Canada and individual Aboriginal communities have made some progress toward coordinating and integrating their efforts through strategies such as the *Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy* and the *Regional Bilateral Agreements*.

Effective partnerships with government imply shared authority and responsibility, joint investment of resources, shared liability and risk-taking, and mutual benefit.

Partnerships with the private sector are also required.

Partnerships with the private sector are equally important to developing economic opportunities. Successful business development initiatives in Aboriginal communities are often joint ventures with the private sector. For example:

- ◆ the Mikisew in Alberta entered into a workforce agreement with Syncrude;
- ◆ nine northern First Nations are working with Manitoba Hydro to develop electrical power in the province; and
- ◆ the development corporation of Skidgate in British Columbia engaged financial lending institutions and other investors to develop a commercial centre.

2.1.4 Accountability

Accountability requires leaders to be responsible for expenditures made and actions taken.

Accountability is a critical component of governance. It is the obligation of leaders to account for responsibilities conferred, to justify, to be answerable, and to be responsible for expenditures made and actions taken. It is based upon the right of citizens to know what their governments intend to achieve and what they actually accomplish.

An accountability framework requires communities and agencies:

- ◆ to set expectations, goals and objectives;
- ◆ to establish and maintain appropriate service standards;
- ◆ to monitor, evaluate and report on performance in a manner which is honest, accessible, and transparent; and
- ◆ to reconsider and improve their efforts as appropriate.

As Aboriginal communities develop stable institutions to oversee all aspects of policy design and program delivery, accountability mechanisms will be enhanced. Nevertheless, ensuring accountability poses a variety of challenges to Aboriginal communities. These challenges include the possibility of being accountable to different authorities at the same time, such as Parliament, the government funding agency, Chief and Council on reserve communities, and the community. Another challenge is the expectation that Aboriginal communities be accountable for programs, such as social assistance, over which they have no real policy control.

2.2 Capacity-building

Successful community development and program implementation depend on capacity.

The Lessons Learned studies found that successful community development and effective program implementation depend on capacity. Over the last five or six years, the term "capacity" has been used to refer to a broad range of administrative, business, and bureaucratic skills. Capacity-building includes the following elements:

- ◆ creating infrastructure (physical and human);
- ◆ designing political processes that focus on long-term planning for the community;
- ◆ nurturing an effective and progressive business community;
- ◆ developing business services (legal, research and accountancy) to support external relationships with off-reserve businesses and governments;
- ◆ creating a functional "civil service"; and
- ◆ fostering a community consensus on growth that is consistent with the historical values of the community.

It must be recognized that capacity varies among communities. Each community must therefore build on the skills, institutions, and other assets available to it, and must develop its own vision based on its own principles and cultural traditions. Capacity, in other words, cannot be imposed on communities by governments or other external actors. Instead, communities must identify and build on local resources and opportunities. An approach that builds on assets differs from the more traditional approaches to community development that tend to focus on solving problems. Whereas planning on the basis of deficits perpetuates feelings of dependency and is ultimately self-defeating, the very act of identifying community assets can change the orientation of the developmental process. Building on assets is a community organizing tool that can generate optimism and motivate participation, collaboration, and commitment.

Each community must build on local assets and opportunities.

An approach that builds on assets ensures that progress and actions remain consistent with the level of readiness existing within the community, and commands widespread community support and involvement.

2.3 Other requirements for development

In the most general terms, a shift away from the traditional approach to economic and social development in Aboriginal communities is required. Instead of merely "tinkering with the system", an explicit effort must be made to tackle the roots, rather than the manifestations, of the problems that face Aboriginal communities. A comprehensive approach that includes long-term community economic and social development strategies is most successful at producing sustainable results.

Long-term community economic development strategies are necessary.

2.3.1 Coordination across programs, agencies and jurisdictions

Historically there has been little coordination among the many federal, provincial, and community agencies involved in Aboriginal programming and community development. Most often, programs have been governed by separate

There must be coordination among federal, provincial, and community agencies.

bureaucracies having little commitment to coordination and seemingly lacking a full appreciation of the interrelatedness of problems in distressed communities.

Programs and policies must appreciate the interrelatedness of social and economic problems.

One of the main findings of the Lessons Learned study is the inadequacy of programs and policies that fail to appreciate the interrelatedness of social and economic problems. For example, short-term employment and training programs aimed at "kick-starting" an individual's career have been widely used. Yet these programs have typically met with limited success because they do not address the social and systemic barriers experienced by Aboriginal people. Because clients often face multiple barriers to employment, including literacy deficits, life skills and issues, health problems, and discrimination, programs that address all of these barriers are most effective in the long term. Ideally, social programs must be an integral part of preparing individuals for employment and training activities.

A comprehensive case management approach that addresses all aspects of an individual's social, health, and educational deficits, such as *Job Corps* in the United States, is one example of an effective integrated approach. The key elements of *Job Corps* include an in-house setting and a focus on core academic skills. The program worked best with males, as it removed them from poverty and adverse social conditions, and gave them the academic skills to hold a job as well as qualify for additional vocational training. Such a program would need to be totally within community control and respectful of cultural values. However, the financial costs associated with this approach are significant.

2.3.2 Combining human resource and economic development

Human resource development efforts must be accompanied by a broad program of community economic development

Human resource development efforts, such as education and training programs, must be complemented by a broad program of economic development at the regional and community levels. Without a supply of jobs, training makes little sense for the economically disadvantaged. Programs may place individuals in short-term employment positions, but this is not the same as long-term sustainable employment.

Business development that includes a human resource component can be useful for economic development. Industry Canada's *Student Connection Program* is an example. Here the objective is to assist business, through wage subsidies, to offer a specific business service. However, *Student Connection* is more than a wage subsidy program. The student/trainees are engaged in activities of strategic value to the business. In assisting business to become Internet savvy, they acquire valuable skills in client service and managing a business.

2.3.3 Linking education and training to employment

Evidence from the Lessons Learned studies demonstrate that programs offered to economically disadvantaged persons that focus on short-term interventions have had only modest success. Intensive academic training, school-to-work transitions, and training that is linked to employment are the most promising approaches.

Education and training must be linked to employment.

The Lessons Learned studies clearly demonstrate that a sound academic education is the key to long-term employability. Studies show that short-term, skill-specific training and employment programs do not compensate for basic academic skills. Nevertheless, many young Aboriginal people are in precisely this situation, having left school without the necessary skills for employment. Efforts undertaken early to ensure that schools retain their students are an effective approach. The key is to prevent problems before they arise, rather than attempt to fix problems once they are full blown.

A sound academic education is key to long-term employability.

Most employment and training programs have three main weaknesses:

- ◆ They do not provide the sequential learning or the essential reading and writing skills acquired through years of schooling.
- ◆ Limited skills training qualifies the participant for a specific job, but does not support the "jump" to a higher level occupation that offers better pay and security.
- ◆ As a result, participants often cannot increase their wage earnings enough to remove the incentive to stay on social assistance.

Some programs such as the *Employability Improvement Program* offer a continuum of services to clients and are overcoming some of these weaknesses.

The Mid-Term Evaluation of the *DIAND Youth Strategy* (1997), produced by INAC, found that First Nations and Inuit communities are recognizing the importance of school-to-work programs, which are designed to bridge formal education with the workplace. The study identified several communities that had a well-defined, in-class curriculum and reflected provincial education standards. These communities were also successful in recruiting a large pool of employers on and off reserve to place their students. These programs are relatively new and it is too early to assess the results. However, students and educators in the study suggested that the programs build self-esteem and encourage youth to stay in school, thereby increasing their chances of long-term employability.

School-to-work programs and training that responds to employment are effective.

Finally, training that responds to employment requirements is effective. American studies show that training offered by the private sector has a higher success rate than training offered by the public sector. This is likely because the

private employer is training directly for positions within their operations. For the same reason, however, care is needed in design and delivery. Employers are focused on their business needs and not on the longer-term needs of the trainee.

2.4 Realistic Expectations

The Lessons Learned studies offer evidence of mixed success of programs and policies to foster community development. Expectations about what particular programs and policies can achieve must be realistic.

2.4.1 Short-term interventions are ineffective

Short-term interventions that fail to address all barriers are ineffective.

Short-term interventions, such as employment and training programs, have not met with great success. In many of these cases, the interventions are insignificant in comparison to the magnitude of the problem. Often individual clients, and sometimes entire communities, must overcome an array of barriers, such as differences in language and culture, deficiencies in education, health problems, poverty, and isolation from markets. Surmounting these problems requires a comprehensive, long-term community development approach rather than residual programming.

2.4.2 Success will be uneven

Some communities will fail, others will thrive. An economist, Thomas Courchene, notes, regional policy may interrupt the flow of investment and capital away from poor areas to communities with more economic opportunity. In general, however, economic growth favours those areas that have natural resources or access to large markets.

At the same time, new technology can redefine what constitutes a resource. A decade ago, who would have thought that natural scenery and abundant wildlife could support more than fishing or trapping. Now eco-tourism flourishes and can generate significant wealth for a few remote communities. An entrepreneurial attitude, imagination, and choosing the right activity can overcome a poor resource base and remote location. Care is needed, since picking those activities that will be winners is always difficult. Still, the general rule will hold. Few remote First Nations communities will grow, for the same reason that few remote communities in general will experience significant increased economic activity.

2.4.3 Entrepreneurship versus self-employment

Many communities have created unique conditions for fostering economic development even where few apparent natural resources exist. These communi-

ties have successfully fostered entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs identify business opportunities, and mobilize personal and other resources. They take risks and have the imagination to visualize how a new product or service will fill a need. Entrepreneurs are business leaders that hire employees and create jobs. We should draw a distinction between an individual who becomes self-employed as a carpenter and someone who borrows money to create a construction company with employees. The former is a self-employed tradesperson, the latter is an entrepreneur.

It may be imprudent to provide economically disadvantaged persons possessing little experience or education with a small capital fund to set up a business. Such participants usually do not possess business skills before entering such programs, have no access to further capital, and often have extreme demands on any savings they may muster.

Entrepreneurial activity emerges when the conditions are right. Effective leadership, sound institutions with integrity, and strong business relations are needed to create these conditions. Without them, training will not create new business to employ people. With them, training courses to create entrepreneurs are redundant.

2.5 More research is needed

Further monitoring, research, and evaluation of programs and policies are needed in order to identify change. In particular, longitudinal tracking is urgently required. Programs specifically for Aboriginal people have tended to be fragmented in nature, constantly changing, and short-term. There is no longitudinal data to identify the results of these programs on or off the reserve. Reporting on performance allows communities, agencies, and governments to reconsider and improve their efforts as appropriate, and in the process, improve accountability.

In addition, further research is needed in specific areas such as programs affecting Aboriginal people living in urban areas. Because a large percentage of the Aboriginal population now lives in urban communities, it is important to understand the needs of these diverse communities and the results of programming.

An integrated examination of the links between education, training and employment is also required. A main lesson identified in the study is that education is the underlying factor in employment and community and economic development. However, it is not simply a matter of encouraging Aboriginal youth to stay in school. It is important to examine the links between education, training, and employment, as well as the impact of education systems in dealing with social problems that must be addressed before individuals can successfully enter employment as adults.

3.0 Living Lesson: the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree, Québec

Between 1927 and 1986, due to the continual destruction of their villages, the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree were evacuated from their settlements half a dozen times, becoming diasporic on their ancestral territory. They were left to live in shacks beside logging roads on the extreme margins of Canadian social, economic, and political life. They were the “forgotten Cree,” facing complete social disintegration and living conditions almost incomprehensible in a developed and affluent society.

In 1975 the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree began building on the assets within their community: the foundation laid by the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and their own commitment to self-determination. In 1989, after several years of negotiation with the Quebec government, the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree reached an agreement whereby the province agreed to contribute financially toward the construction of a new permanent village. With the Ouje-Bougoumou / Canada Agreement in May 1992, the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree obtained a similar financial commitment from the federal government. By 1995, the United Nations identified them as one of only fifty communities around the world best representing the ideals and objectives of that international organization. During this twenty-year period, the community:

- ◆ rebuilt its village using community labour and a design developed by the community itself in consultation with a leading Aboriginal architect;
- ◆ assumed responsibility for delivering its own health services and built a new healing centre;
- ◆ built its own youth centre, using the skills and commitment of its teenagers and young adults;
- ◆ developed an Elders’ residence, day care centre, school and cultural centre;
- ◆ developed a unique, centralized method for heating all the community’s homes using local resources; and
- ◆ is developing a sustainable local economy which incorporates not only wage labour but more traditional land-based activities.

The community building process in Ouje-Bougoumou incorporated all the lessons which have been identified in this report and can itself serve as a lesson for other communities about what needs to be done and what can be accomplished. First and foremost, residents refused to see themselves as victims and instead focused on their assets, strengths, and goals. With that foundation:

- ◆ community residents have planned everything that occurred and regularly host workshops to discuss the roles and responsibilities of community living, how they wish to organize their own affairs and by what values they wish to live. During one workshop residents discussed how traditional approaches for solving conflict could be integrated into a local law enforcement system. During another, they decided to include hunting breaks in the community's school and construction schedules so as to sustain their traditional ways;
- ◆ the community developed training programs to give people the specific skills they required for building their own homes. And the community developed an innovative home-ownership program which tied payments to income. The community gradually built a community housing fund to sustain further development; and
- ◆ the community made their school a centre of village life, serving as both a place of learning and of recreation.

The community acknowledges every achievement with a formal ceremony and holds frequent celebrations to allow people to know each other and to help.

