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**The Power and Promise of Culture in Economic
Development: Drawing on Language for Healing, Nation
Building, Sovereignty and Development Practices in the
Hoopa Nation**

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Societal Issues

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This paper examines language, language programs, and language projects to explore their power and potential for informing, guiding, and improving economic development efforts in the Hoopa Nation of Northern California. Studies have shown that when economic development projects conflict with cultural norms and values, they have either limited success, struggle to remain viable, or simply fail. Despite the crucial role that culture plays in economic development on reservations, scholars have developed neither the theory nor the research to help tribes, practitioners, foundation staff, and policymakers understand and manage the relationship between culture and economic development in order to pursue culturally sustainable projects. This article attempts to fill this gap by offering a new approach for understanding the key role of culture, as well as the power and potential of culture for shaping viable and broadly supported development projects and practices. This study examines the relationship between culture and economic development by drawing from a series of interviews with tribal leaders, development practitioners, business leaders, and tribal officials. It explores the ways in which the conceptualizations, discourses, and practices of Hoopa culture have the potential to inform and shape development projects and the ways in which they provide for greater efficacy. Language provides a medium by which critical cultural information can be accessed in support of self-determined economic development on the reservation. This self-determined, culturally informed development is understood as contributing to larger projects of community healing, nation building, and tribal sovereignty.

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- Photograph of community mural project organized and designed by Sonya Fe, Youth Center Building, Hoopa Indian Reservation

Introduction

Tribal Governments are unique in that they function mostly based on a blend of tradition as well as "modern" approaches to exercising sovereign powers. The traditional unwritten systems have been used since time immemorial to help the Tribe meet challenges, adapt to changing environments, and progress and survive.

-The Hoopa Nation

In 2010 a major controversy unfolded on the Hoopa Reservation, one that would involve accusations of corruption against tribal officials and tribal agency directors. The controversy that unfolded demonstrates the challenges associated with pursuing economic development in a way that preserves the community's culture. Beginning in about 2008, the Trinity River had a significant and rapid increase in the number of salmon swimming upstream to spawn. In June of 2011 tribal members discovered several fishing nets set up by Mike Orcutt, who was at the time director of the Tribal Fisheries Department, and Daniel Jordan, director of the Tribal Self-Governance Office. Orcutt and Jordan, along with some of their family members and other

employees at the fisheries department, were accused of having concealed their fishing practices and the off-reservation sales that were generating a substantial personal profit.

Before June, tensions in the community had been rising both because so few people on the reservation were benefitting from commercial fishing, and because some tribal members simply opposed commercial fishing on cultural grounds. According to one source, by 2009 almost 75 percent of the fish caught on the reservation was being sold to people off the reservation, and only a total of 27 people were fishing commercially, in part because the fishing in the gorge area of the river requires powerful boats, which are prohibitively expensive for most tribal members (Jenkins, 2011).

The controversy divided the community and quickly became a source of heated debates and efforts to set regulations for commercial fishing. Dania Rose Colegrove, a Hoopa tribal member and an activist with Klamath Justice Coalition, wrote the local newspaper to advocate the position and concerns of many tribal members:

We believe commercial fishing is not compatible with the cultural and environmental traditions of the Hoopa Valley People. We want to protect our river for cultural and subsistence purposes only! We do not approve of the harvesting of salmon for sale for individual financial gain without regard to the subsistence and cultural ways of the Hupa people. We believe in order to preserve our way of life in the Hupa way we need to protect our environment, our river, and our fish (Colegrove, 2011).

Three months later, tribal leaders responded to the community's concerns and anger by calling a special session of the tribal council. After the council met, a referendum on the issue was put forth for a vote in the next election, and in June of 2011 the tribe voted to ban commercial fishing.

This dispute over commercial fishing on the Hoopa reservation illustrates one of the key challenges facing economic development in Native American nations: How can Native

American nations pursue successful economic development in contemporary regional, state, national, and international contexts in a way that not only avoids loss of culture and sovereignty, but also preserves and promotes the integrity of tribal culture and sovereignty? Due to the high unemployment and poverty rates on the Hoopa reservation, from a conventional planning perspective, it is difficult to understand how the tribe could forgo the opportunity to engage in what promised to be an exceptionally lucrative business enterprise, especially given the record number of salmon in the river that year and the expected high numbers in years to come. But from the perspective of members of the Hoopa tribe, there are other matters to consider as well. Some see commercial fishing as an opportunity for the tribe to adapt and change in order to survive, as has been the case with other development efforts that were once highly criticized by the community, including forestry, the tribal casino and tribal hotel. Others, however, emphasize that the salmon has an exceptional place in Hoopa culture and spirituality; it should be treated with the utmost respect, and not converted into a commodity.

Cornell and Kalt (1990, 1992a, 1992b, 2007) have shown that when economic development projects conflict with cultural norms and values, they have either limited success, struggle to remain viable, or simply fail. Despite the crucial role that culture plays in economic development, scholars, including scholars associated with the Harvard Project on American Indian Development, the leading center in the field, have developed neither the theory nor the research to help tribes, practitioners, foundations and policy makers navigate the relationship between culture and economic development in order to pursue culturally sustainable projects. This paper attempts to fill this gap by offering a new approach for understanding the key role of culture, as well as the power and potential of culture for shaping viable and broadly-supported development projects and practices.

Using the case of the Hoopa Nation of Northern California, this paper examines the broad question, what is the role of culture in economic development? More specifically, I ask: 1) What are the approaches and tools needed to identify the links between culture and economic development in a Native American context? And where is this information found? 2) How do the conceptualizations, discourses, and practices of culture inform and support economic development efforts? 3) What is the potential for culture to be a source of power and development? 4) How are cultural programs, projects, and practices envisioned and experienced as part of economic development efforts? To get at these questions, I examine language projects and efforts undertaken by the Hoopa Nation and tribal members, including in-school instruction, community-based instruction, and informal instruction, along with the cultural spaces and institutions that serve as contexts for the language instruction. My analysis will show that in the Native American context, culture, which in this case assumes the form of language, is both a means and an outcome of successful economic development.

The paper has five sections. Following the introduction, in Section II, I offer a brief description of the data and methods used to inform the study's findings. In Section III, I review existing literature, both to introduce the theoretical framework I use to analyze the data, and to define and explain how I am using the key concepts that inform the analysis presented in this paper: culture, language and development. In Section IV, I examine the Hoopa Nation's various language efforts, both formal and informal, to demonstrate the ways in which language informs the values and practices of the community, as well as the ways in which language is perceived as having the potential to greatly improve and inform development practices and principles. I also use the findings presented in the paper to offer a framework for a culturally-informed development approach. In Section V, I offer a brief conclusion and a caveat.

Central to the context of Native American capitalism is the concept and practice of “culture.” If it is true, as I argue, that culture plays a critical and identifiable role in the envisioning, experience, and discourses surrounding development projects on the Hoopa reservation, these findings help to legitimize a view of development embedded in culture. This paper will show that while some tribal members articulate a very clear awareness of the value of culture in development, others live their culture without reflecting on these connections in specific ways. Sharing the stories, histories, experiences, and teachings associated with cultural projects allows tribal members to see the opportunities that culturally-relevant development promises. Showing the ways in which culture is linked to development also establishes the legitimacy of culturally-relevant economic practices for the various kinds of professionals who are directly and indirectly involved in the wide range of community and economic development efforts on the reservation, including both tribal development practitioners and tribal leaders, and off-reservation policy-makers, foundation staff, planning practitioners, state and federal agency staff, and development scholars, among others. Once viewed as legitimate, culturally-relevant sustainable development practices can greatly improve the chances for success in community-based economic development.

Methodology

The data for this study are drawn from in-depth, semi-structured in-person interviews with 12 Hoopa tribal members and more than three weeks of participant observation. From January to March of 2012 I made four visits to the Hoopa Reservation in Northern California. Each visit lasted from 4 to 7 days. The interviews were planned for 45 minutes to an hour each but many lasted 90 to 120 minutes. Most interviews were recorded and transcribed. I interviewed

tribal officials, administrators and managers, and community leaders – all public figures, including such key figures as the tribal Vice-Chair, who is also the premier tribal historian, the Self-Governance Director, the Tribal Archives Director, the Planning Director, the Grants Manager, the Museum Director, and language teachers, among others. In addition to conducting interviews, I spent time observing a variety of spaces on the reservation including community events (such as an athletic field clean-up, see Figure 1); spaces of tribal economic development (the tribal supermarket, museum/cultural center, pre-fabricated housing factory, hotel, gas station); spaces of tribal community development (tribal housing, the clinic, schools, newspaper, and the library); and spaces of tribal governance (tribal headquarters, planning department, and the archives department).

I have tried to represent the information that was shared with me in the most accurate and respectful way possible. I am, however, very aware of the shortcomings of the medium of the written word and the English language to communicate the depth, richness, and vastness of a language about whose full nature I have only a minute understanding.



Figure 1: Hoopa athletic field clean-up, February, 2012.

The Literature

In the dominant model of development, useful knowledge was only generated in central places – in universities, on research stations, in laboratories, then to be transferred to ignorant peasants and other poor people.

-Chambers and Richards, 1995

Indigenous knowledge – the local knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society – [...] is important as it forms the information base for a society which facilitates communication and decision-making. By taking the time and effort to document these systems, they become accessible to change agents and client groups.

-Warren, Slikkerveer and Brokensha, 1995

The literature on Native American economic development has clearly shown that successful development on the reservation requires improved governance structures and processes. It also argues for culturally-informed development practices and approaches, but it does not provide approaches, tools, nor sufficient examination of the cultural aspects of development to be useful for development practice. In other work, I examine issues related to governance and sovereignty. This paper examines the role and potential role of culture in economic development on Native American reservations, a topic that remains absent in the planning literature, and has received only limited attention even in the Native American development literature that privileges cultural considerations. I begin with a brief review of the planning literature to demonstrate how culture has been largely ignored. Then I turn to a review of recent literature that begins to explore the role of culture in development, albeit on a limited and narrow basis.

Historically, the city and regional planning literature has not examined the relationship between culture and economic development. Stemming from the experiences of earlier planning periods, the old industrial-based economy, and the experiences of the social policies and politics of the post-World War II period, much of the literature is grounded in an orientation that

emphasizes the business base and economic growth of cities and communities while trying to account for contemporary economic changes, political complexities, and the emergence of theories and practices, such as sustainable development, that challenge conventional approaches. Some works examine economic development by explaining the series of development theories that have informed planning practices (neoclassical economic theory, economic base theories, product cycle theories, new markets theories, location theories, and central place theory), the history of federal economic development policy, and the rise and role of community based institutions (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002; Levy, 2012), without examining the role of culture in these processes and histories. Instead, most of these works focus on conventional development models based on neoclassical economic theory, emphasizing top-down pro-business local development strategies such as sales and promotion, subsidization, special small area financing, revolving fund financing, and providing reduced-rate infrastructure for businesses (Levy, 2012; Fulton and Shigley, 2005).

Other literature emphasizes a community development approach and favors capacity-building that is focused on the role of community development corporations in securing gains in key areas such as resources, organization, political mobilizing, networking, and programs (Glickman and Servon, 1998). Yet in this literature culture remains absent even though it is clear that the local culture would inform approaches to *community* development. Even those scholars who take a broader approach by accounting for the role of communities within such concepts as “community participation” – generally understood as residents being brought into a specific development project by practitioners – do not consider the role of culture in these developments (Forester, 1999; Wiewel et. al., 1993). Similarly, communicative planning theorists, who argue for an inclusive approach to addressing economic development by bringing stakeholders to the

table through a consensus building model (Innes and Booher, 2010), do not account for the ways in which culture supports or hinders development. Nor do they explain how planners might manage that information for the benefit of economic development.

Part of the difficulty in understanding the relationship between culture and economic development is that this field and its guiding concepts are still being developed and debated. Blakely and Bradshaw (2002) note that “local economic development is an emerging field, and currently more of a *movement* rather than a strict economic development model specifying a uniform approach” (55). As a result, they argue, “no theory or set of theories adequately explains regional or local economic development” and “existing development theories are inadequate to describe and direct local economic development activities” (55, 66). This inability either to explain development or to provide reliable guidance for development leaves the field far from accounting for the complexity produced by adding cultural considerations to the mix of inputs and variables that shape economic development. Adding to the problems raised by these limitations is the fact that economic development planning models based on neoclassical economic theory and neoliberalism have been increasingly questioned by a wide range of theorists from a variety of disciplines (Escobar, 1995; Peet and Hartwick, 1999; Harvey, 2009).

More recent trends in the literature show that scholars have begun to examine the relationship between culture and economic development, although in somewhat narrow and limited ways. Much of the recent literature conceptualizes culture by following sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986) formulation of the three fundamental forms of capital; economic, social, and cultural. Planners who think about culture and economic development tend to understand culture as “cultural capital” which “represents forces such as family background and educational qualifications that can be converted into economic capital and help to explain the structure and

function of a community” (Green and Haines, 2012, 256). These planners and development practitioners adopt a business and growth orientation when considering the role of culture in development, rather than a community-centered, bottom-up, and self-determined orientation. Consequently, in this planning approach, the concept of cultural capital is used to inform top-down planning strategies.

According to scholars who write about culture in these terms, local neighborhood culture can be harnessed by outsiders (city planners, developers, the tourism sector) to primarily benefit the economic growth of the city and consequently the local neighborhood. The best example of this literature is from one of the most influential authors on the question of culture and development in planning, Richard Florida (2002). According to Florida’s controversial argument, “regional economic growth is powered by creative people” (249). As a result, cities need to develop strategies and quality of life amenities that will attract the “creative class,” which includes architects, engineers, scientists, educators, artists, musicians, and entertainers, as well as people in business, finance, law, and health care, among others. Following a “cultural capital” approach, adherents to this model understand culture as those aspects of the region that will attract the creative class: museums, art galleries, historical sites, the arts (performing, visual, literary), as well as shape the neighborhood’s characteristics (diverse, tolerant, Bohemian) and lifestyles (hiking and running trails, outdoor recreation opportunities). Informed by Florida’s work and other studies showing the positive economic impact of arts programming, some planners and practitioners continue to focus on the arts in the development of a local “culture” that links empowerment zones, arts districts and entertainment businesses. Yet these conceptualizations of culture are limited and do not fit the Native American context, nor can they

be used to inform our understanding of Native American-centered strategies for achieving culturally-sensitive and sustainable economic development.

The literature on Native American economic development highlights the critical role of cultural considerations in development, but it does not provide detailed examinations of the relationship between culture and development. This literature is dominated by scholars of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED) (Cornell and Kalt, 1992b, 2000, 2007; Jorgensen, 2007a, 2007b). In their seminal work, *What Can Tribes Do?*, Cornell and Kalt (1993) provide a compelling comparative analysis of several tribes to show the key institutional and development strategies necessary for self-determined Native American economic development. Their ground-breaking research shows that contrary to conventional wisdom, the problem of underdevelopment on the reservation is primarily political, not economic. Native American tribes that undertook changes to their governance institutions, such as rewriting constitutions and revising elections in order to adhere to the rule of law, were able to achieve significant economic gains. While these scholars emphasize the idea of needing to have governance and development strategies that are a “cultural match” with traditional governance and cultural sensibilities, their research does not provide detailed examination of the critical areas of concern, including the relationship between culture and development, the ways in which culture can and has informed and supported development, the potential for culture to be a source of power and development, and how and where the kind of critical cultural information needed for culturally-relevant development can be found.

Outside of both the planning and Native American economic development literatures, there is a growing body of interdisciplinary work focused on the role played by indigenous knowledge in development (Sillitoe et al., 2005; Warren et al., 1995; Pottier et al., 2003; Schech

and Haggis, 2000; Blaser et al., 2004). Emerging largely from social anthropologists and agricultural scientists in the 1970s and 1980s, these works emphasize the value of working and learning with rural people to address development needs, reflecting a “sea-change in the paradigms that structure conceptions of development” (Sillitoe et al., 2005, 8). Until about the mid-1990s, the dominant paradigms in international rural development were modernization theory and dependency theory (Peet and Hartwick, 1999; Sillitoe et al., 2005). Both rejected indigenous knowledge and consider it part of the development problem. Modernization theory, which is associated with the political right, emphasizes technology transfer approaches. Dependency theory, a Marxist model of the left, focuses on class analysis.

More recently, development approaches, such as market-liberalism and neo-populism, recognize the value of indigenous knowledge. The approach taken by market-liberals emphasizes the benefits of indigenous knowledge for shaping market-oriented strategies, while the neo-populists give local knowledge priority throughout the development process, including research and planning. The market-liberalism approach takes local knowledge into account, however, it uses this knowledge “largely as market information relating to available technical options, how it will influence choice and the appropriateness of various options to farmer’s environments and households” (Sillitoe et al., 2005, 3). The neo-populist approach, emphasizing participation, does incorporate local knowledge and prioritize local contexts in its development schemes, however it “does not necessarily accommodate cultural diversity but may rather encourage people to enter the contemporary capitalist world...sharing modernization’s assumptions” (Sillitoe et al., 2005, 4). These models represent efforts in a number of disciplines, especially anthropology, to move the field in a more inclusive, progressive direction, but the efforts remain contradictory and complicated. In response, Bicker, Sillitoe and Pottier (2004) have called for a “new third way” –

an “action approach” to indigenous knowledge. This approach, they argue, can be used to “facilitate others’ expression of their understanding of the rapidly changing world, while informing them about our thoughts.” Doing so makes room for “others’ culturally conditioned knowledge and expectations...not forcing our view or understanding down their throats but trying to advance mutual comprehension and allowing them to speak effectively for themselves.” It also responds to the need “to evolve new collaborative research arrangements” (5).

Despite the recent recognition of the relevance of indigenous knowledge for development in some of the literature, development practitioners as a whole have not fully integrated indigenous knowledge, or practices that prioritize this knowledge, into their development initiatives. Chambers and Richards (1995) write:

The awareness, attitudes and behaviour of many development practitioners have changed less than the language they have learnt to use. Many have acquired the easy skill of using words like ‘participation’ and even ‘empowerment’ but without changing the way they see poor people or the way they feel development should be undertaken. The language has become bottom-up but the inclination remains top-down (xiii).

The development literature is moving in the right direction by attempting to privilege indigenous knowledge in development and showing the ways in which this knowledge is useful and necessary for successful development practices, as well as for bolstering development that is self-determined and culturally-relevant. However, the literature remains inadequate and incomplete with regard to the Native American context. There remains a need for research that identifies, locates and documents the ways in which indigenous knowledge provides a basis for sustainable, self-determined, and culturally relevant development. There is also a need for an analysis of these practices in the context of a Global North country.

Understanding how indigenous knowledge is transmitted underscores the critical role that language plays in culturally-sensitive development. Indigenous knowledge, conveyed in indigenous communication, is increasingly threatened, “eroded by exogenous systems – the mass media, schools, agricultural extension, bureaucracies – endangering the survival of much valuable information” (Mundy and Compton, 1995, 122). Mundy and Compton argue that, much of the existing research on indigenous communication has “concentrated on using indigenous channels to promote exogenous innovations” (122), as in the typical development case of outside planners using communication channels to gain “buy-in” for a given project. They conclude that, “development efforts are likely to be less effective if we continue to ignore the communication of information on indigenous knowledge” and that, “it is necessary to study communication patterns to design interventions that benefit from this knowledge” (122).

Mundy and Compton’s (1995) work on indigenous communication offers six key findings that help frame the analysis presented in this paper, in addition to highlighting the value of studying language as a component of culture and as a resource for self-determined sustainable development. These are: “[1] Indigenous communication as value in its own right. [2] Exogenous channels have limited range. [3] Indigenous channels have high credibility. [4] Indigenous channels are important conduits of change. [5] Development programs can use indigenous communication. [6] Indigenous channels offer opportunities for participation” (133-114). If we ignore indigenous communication, they warn us, we get inappropriate development. Moreover, they argue, “to ignore existing knowledge is not only to ignore a potential major development resource. To ignore it is to ignore local people themselves” (122).

In this section, I have discussed the literature on culture and economic development and the ways in which these works help frame a broader understanding of what development can

mean to Native American communities. What remains to be examined are case studies that illustrate the links between the cultural context and economic development. While indigenist scholars, like those of the Harvard Project, have identified culture as an asset rather than an obstacle to development, there is a need for scholarship that draws out the specific ways in which culture can and has played a role in the ways communities have envisioned, structured, and implemented development projects. This, of course, is a complex and somewhat messy project given the often intangible and evolving nature and definition of “culture” and the ways in which economic development has been narrowly defined and imposed from the outside. Some scholars have looked to outcomes and institutions to find “native capitalism,” noting for example that profits from tribal enterprises and corporations are redistributed to the membership and invested in tribal infrastructure and institutions not directly related to the businesses (Champagne, 2007). This study takes a different approach. It begins to fill the gap in the literature by providing evidence and analysis of the everyday practices, discourses, and assumptions that draw on cultural aspects to inform existing, emerging, and future development efforts.

Language and Economic Development: The Power and Potential of Culture

In this section, I present the findings from an examination of language projects and efforts undertaken by the Hoopa Nation and tribal members, including in-school instruction, community-based instruction, and informal instruction, along with the cultural spaces and institutions that serve as contexts for language instruction. I argue that in the Native American context, culture, which in this study is examined through language teaching and learning, is both a means and an outcome of successful economic development. Language informs the values,

norms, and practices of the community, and language is perceived as having the potential to shape and greatly improve development practices and principles. This section also describes some of the key opportunities and challenges that Hoopa interviewees identified in development and the ways in which they see language teaching, learning and fluency, along with related cultural practices and revival efforts, as being part of a larger project of addressing the challenges of poverty and disempowerment with much greater success than would be possible without these cultural components.

The section begins with a brief description of language programs and efforts on the Hoopa Reservation. It then provides a two-part discussion of key functions performed by language as it pertains to development preconditions, knowledge, impacts and practices. The first part focuses on preconditions and knowledge necessary for development by examining the role of language in engaging identity, direction, and healing. The second part considers the impacts and practices of language in shaping development, especially with regard to social change, development theory, and development practices.

Teaching and Learning the Hoopa Language

“I work for ancestors and descendants”

-Salis Jackson, Director of the Hoopa Tribal Museum

On the reservation, there have been a number of formal and informal initiatives to document and teach the Hoopa language. Official initiatives have included formal language teaching as well as informal language gatherings, which, respondents lamented, lack an efficient learning structure. These informal language gatherings have often been organized by tribal

government officials, given meeting space by the tribe, and attended by tribal elders who try to teach the language to younger tribal members. Various approaches to formal language instruction have been developed by and offered to tribal members at different times, beginning in the mid-1900s. However, the tribe's current formal language program is offered through the local elementary and high school. The program dates back to the 1970s when the bilingual education program at Humboldt State University began to work with Hoopa college students who were interested in teaching the Hoopa language on the reservation. Among the first and most involved of these students was Jackie Martins, who has been teaching Hoopa language for over 20 years. Over the years, this official language program has come to include classes at both the elementary and high school. At the latter, students now have the option of choosing Hoopa to fulfill their "foreign language" requirement.

Since the 1970s the tribe has been active in supporting a number of language efforts including sponsoring classes, workshops, and the production of language material, such as the Hoopa dictionary. One of these programs, the Tribal Language Project, is administered by Salis Jackson, Director of the Tribal Museum. There are important distinctions between the formal programs at the school, the formal official language project at the museum (which includes learning the language but also recording fluent speakers and building their knowledge of the language), and long-standing informal community efforts to teach the Hoopa language. There is not a single language program; rather, there are multiple and diverse efforts that reflect the broad interest of the community and show how deeply the desire to rescue and revive the language runs throughout the community.

Salis Jackson is working with tribal elders, the tribal historian, university linguists and others on a number of projects including: making audio recordings of elders to preserve stories

and songs; revising historical records and historical studies to more accurately translate the documents; and developing Hoopa language courses. Despite the fact that native fluent speakers of Hoopa are estimated to number less than a dozen, these tribal efforts have resulted in a good number of people reaching fluency in Hoopa as a second language (Golla, 2011).

Fortunately for the tribe and those interested in preserving and promoting the language, there is a significant amount of resources to support these efforts, as Hoopa is one of the most studied California Native American languages. In 1905 a University of California at Berkeley linguistics student earned the first Ph.D. in linguistics awarded by a US university for a dissertation on Hoopa grammar. Since then Berkeley continues to play a role in Hoopa language efforts, including compiling a 19,000 vocabulary index and producing a forthcoming multimedia language resource with both texts and recordings to facilitate Hoopa language learning.

Language and Identity: Accessing Hoopa Knowledge, Values and Norms

“For you, he is connected” -- The Hoopa translation for “ceremonial dance leader”

One of the key themes that emerged in the interviews was the idea that language was an invaluable tool with which to access a number of key knowledge bases that respondents strongly felt the tribe had been losing and which the tribe was beginning to slowly regain over the last few decades through their language programs and efforts. In other work I discuss the ways in which language provides access to knowledge that can inform economic practices for greater efficiency and a better cultural match, as with the case of tribal forestry. Here the focus is on how language is understood as a key component of identity. The Hoopa language allows its speakers (both

fluent and to a lesser degree non-fluent) to access, understand, and express Hoopa identity, awareness, knowledge and cosmology.

According to some respondents, including tribal lawyer and non-profit executive Mary Jane Risling, part of the struggle of the Hoopa and a source of their social problems has been the inability of some tribal members to reconcile two opposing cultural paradigms – the mainstream and the traditional. The mainstream paradigm rejects tribal culture and encourages, even forces, people to embrace mainstream values and norms that privilege individualism and consumerism. The Hoopa traditional paradigm values and prioritizes tribal identity, community, and the local environment, and rejects commodification of culture, as seen in the banning of commercial fishing.

Hoopa people, whether or not they are fluent speakers or are “traditional,” continue to be informed and influenced by traditional Hoopa culture. Some aspects of Hoopa culture, however, including, for example, values and communication patterns, are in conflict with mainstream US culture, which has come to greatly influence the community since at least the establishment of the boarding schools. Often, assimilation has meant that mainstream US values and communication patterns, imposed on and dominant over Hoopa culture, create an incongruity. For example, a communication norm in mainstream culture is to wait for a pause before interjecting a comment. That norm includes the frequency of appropriate interruptions and the amount of time one waits before speaking at the pause. Hoopa communication patterns differ from the mainstream. It is permissible to interject sooner, as the language facilitates these kinds of quicker replies.

Mary Jane Risling, who lived and worked off the reservation for some time, then moved back to the reservation and was working as the tribal lawyer when I interviewed her, explained that Hoopa communication patterns are present when some Hoopa people speak English, creating the a perception among both community members and outsiders that Hoopa people are curt or impolite, and as Risling noted, leading to a stereotype of Hoopa women as difficult. Some Hoopa have concluded or have been told directly or indirectly that Hoopa norms are undesirable since they are incongruent with outside-world norms. But acceptance of outside-world norms undermines Hoopa identity, which is shaped by Hoopa values and norms, and the prospect for establishing culturally-appropriate development models and practices. Risling explained,

If we then move to label [these Hoopa norms] as inappropriate or un-cultural, or whatever, we actually undercut some of our cultural thought and interactive patterns and we may not be equipped to properly analyze that, but we reject it on some emotional level... We fail. It carries over to economic development and program development very much so...

For Risling, like others, the value of language, in a most urgent and fundamental way, is that it allows the community to access the knowledge needed to “properly analyze” the disjuncture in communication and come to the realization that there are two paradigms working from two different cultural contexts, both valuable and useful if understood and used appropriately. In providing the proper tools to analyze the disjuncture, language offers the potential to help the community rebuild cultural integrity and heal the wounds caused by the forcible imposition of mainstream culture and the subsequent rejection, denial or misunderstanding of Hoopa culture by the people themselves. Language is understood and envisioned as having the power to heal individuals, families and the community at large.

Language and Direction: The Hoopa Way of Being

Language provides information about traditional values and direction, which can serve as a foundation for community and economic development. In addition to having the power to heal at the individual, family and community level and to provide access to and understanding of underlying Hoopa values, language is also experienced as having the power to provide the community with “direction.” This is a term the interviewees often used when speaking about personal behavioral norms, community responsibility, and leadership, as well as guiding principles and values for what should (and should not) be done and what practices and efforts should (and should not) be pursued. One example came from Salis Jackson, the tribal language and museum director. Salis lived off the Hoopa reservation while growing up, but he spent all of his summers with his family on the reservation and moved back several years ago. Salis has been in what might be considered a language apprenticeship with Verdena Parker – the most fluent Hoopa speaker and a septuagenarian who now lives in Oregon but who has recently been working with the tribe on a number of language projects including recording pronunciations, improving the Hoopa dictionary, correcting early linguists’ records, and teaching the language. Salis tells the story of how, with Parker’s help, he came to understand the meaning and context of the Hoopa word for ceremonial “dance leaders”:

A lot of people lose things when they don't understand the language because the word... especially when it came to ceremonies, we've been having a lot of trouble in my opinion. Our dance leaders say that this is their dance and it belongs to them, that we got to do what they say and that type of thing... And then I remember sometime last summer the word for a dance leader... I always thought it had something to do with being good looking because [it was similar to] the word for good looking. Verdena, when we got a hold of her and asked her to break that down and... she said... what it really means is ‘for you, he is connected’. That's what the word means. So then, when people really realize what the word means, they wouldn't be saying that [the dance belongs to them], and that would relay what they're supposed to be doing for [the community] and not for themselves.

Here, the Hoopa language provides instruction in and imparts culturally-based values and direction. If, as Salis notes, the community and the dance leaders were aware of the meaning of the word, there would be a shift that privileges community values in the relationship and responsibilities between the leaders and the community. This, according to Salis and other interviewees, is fundamental to the tribe's short and long-term success. Additionally, in this case, language provides a way of experiencing and understanding a key leadership position – one that provides for and serves the community – that can serve as a model and inform other leadership positions in the community, from council members to fisheries department directors. This direction or orientation for leadership is modeled, reinforced and manifested through yearly ceremonial dances. Salis's example shows the ways in which, by clarifying the meaning of words through providing the context from where the word and its meaning are derived, Hoopa language provides values and direction.

Like healing and values-informed development, one of the fundamental elements of successful economic development is competent leadership. As in other reservation communities, the Hoopa continue to experience political and social discord with factions vying for resources and political power. As Cornell and Kalt have noted (1993, 2007), tribes who have experienced success in community and economic development have been able to work through these conflicts enough to have leadership that sees the importance of unbiased, transparent, stable governance adhering to the rule of law. In the case of the Hoopa, there is hope and the expectation that language efforts can promote responsive culturally-informed leadership models and practices that help the tribe set the foundation for greater economic success and cultural integrity.

Language and Healing: Spirituality, Reverence, and the Power of Being Hoopa

Development planning needs to acknowledge the connections between development, culture, and spirituality, and aim to reconcile the contradictions conventional planning brings to communities. For nearly all of the interviewees there was a clear and expressed spiritual and reverent aspect to their commitment to learning and teaching the language. Language provided guidance and awareness through a connection to the land, to loved ones who have passed, and to the long lineage of Hoopa people in the valley: ancestors. Throughout the interviews, the respondents frequently made reference to their own spiritual practice and beliefs, to Hoopa traditional spirituality, and to the ways in which they saw their work as linked to forbearers. In nearly every one of these interviews, there were moments that were emotional, moving, and even spiritual. It seemed impossible to talk about the power of the Hoopa language without acknowledging the ways in which contemporary language instruction efforts – from elementary school language classes to Salis’s language apprenticeship – are directly linked to traditional ways and knowledge, and to the parents, grandparents, relatives and mentors who deeply influenced the interviewees and continue to inspire and motivate them in their work. I was often deeply moved by these very personal stories of commitment and passion.

These conceptualizations and understandings about how language instructors see their work directly influences the nature, the values, and the goals of language efforts. For language instructors, the work of teaching and learning the language is directly related to the production and expression of Hoopa culture, to the retention and reclamation of Hoopa values, to their relationships with ancestors and the Hoopa Valley, as well as to the tribe’s effort to continue to build the Hoopa Indian Nation in culturally-grounded ways. Moreover, people experience the language as providing personal and community awareness, both in the form of individual

vocations to the community and as instructions for how to be Hoopa in a communal and ecological orientation.

One example of how learning and teaching the language is experienced and understood in spiritual and reverential terms comes from Jackie Martins, who was raised on the reservation, left to study at Humboldt State and returned to the reservation to teach. She has been the Hoopa language teacher at the elementary school since 1991. In my interview I asked her how she came to teach Hoopa. She would return to the question throughout the conversation, each time going further back in time and revealing deeper motivations. She began by explaining that she was a student at Humboldt State University in the Indian bilingual education program and that during her time there, there was an effort to have Hoopa taught in the schools. She and another student were asked to teach, and she has been at the school ever since. But later she explained that she drew her inspiration and her passion for the language from her grandmother who was fluent, her mother who was not, and her mentor Raymond Baldy.

For many, language offers a spiritual connection with and a means to honor those who have passed as well as a way to preserve this connection so that others can also experience what it means to be Hoopa, in that specific place. Martins explains,

So I have a commitment that I will sustain, as long as I am alive, to my mother who brought me into this world that gave me my connection here; that is like a salmon who at some point swam away but vowed to come back, and we do, we all come back, just like salmon, we got that calming effect and we all come home. And I am home and this is my mission and there are other people like me here that have a need to be connected and where else, where best to do that is right here. So it's my contribution and it's my responsibility and it's because I love my people.

Martins also explained that part of her commitment to teaching Hoopa comes from her spirituality. While living off the reservation, a friend introduced her to Native American spiritual practice. She began to understand the value of language in Native American spirituality:

Not all things of the heart can be expressed in English, and that really in the native language there is just so much more of a connection in our language that can't be explained in English, and so that had a big impact on me. I thought, 'I need to learn to pray in my language and I need to be able to communicate' ... It's a responsibility, in my time on this earth to share with others and especially youth.

These examples illustrate the ways in which the Hoopa language is conceived, perceived, and experienced as providing some of the fundamental first steps toward a Hoopa-defined sense of development: healing, reclaiming values, and pursuing a culturally-appropriate direction. The Hoopa language is not only a form of communication. It facilitates approaches to community healing, provides a context for understanding and reclaiming Hoopa values, and offers a means to use those values to build a collective vision around the direction the tribe can take in development.

A major challenge to teaching the Hoopa language is to overcome the long-standing stigma associated with speaking Hoopa. The healing needed to do this is both a pre-condition and a contributing factor to tribally-defined economic development. Part of this healing includes coming to terms with and overcoming the deep harm caused by various federal Indian laws and policies. The experience that came up in nearly all the interviews was the terrible impact that the boarding school experience had on a generation of Hoopa tribal members and the ways in which many of the problems and challenges the tribe faces today have to do with the violence of forced assimilation. For example, one of the most destructive forces against the Hoopa language was the experience of being abused, teased, and harassed at boarding school by teachers and other students for speaking the language. Many elders have been reluctant to speak Hoopa even though

they understand it and could speak it, even if not with ease and fluency. Many have terrible memories of being punished for *speaking* Hoopa and being made to feel shame for *being* Hoopa.

The Hoopa people share this experience with other tribal nations. In their case, many community leaders, officials, and tribal members are convinced of the power of language as one component that can bring about healing in response to these experiences. They see language efforts as part of a reclamation and revival of Hoopa culture that can lead to a cultural shift among tribal members, especially young people, to view Hoopa identity as desirable, valuable, and something they can embrace. Responding to a question about what it would mean if the Hoopa people regained the language with general fluency and comfort in speaking, Salis Jackson noted the following,

If we would do that, it would be a big jump away from basically vestiges of oppression and genocide, in my mind, because those are things that took away the language and took these things away from us. And in my mind they would bring these things that we lost back... we will have connections back to where we're from and [understand] why we're from here and [understand the accounts of] 'this is what's going to happen when the world ends', or, 'this is how the world was created', or 'this is why we dance the way we do', and to look at time and to look at each other and to look at yourself differently than we do now.

Language is experienced as having the potential to significantly contribute to the rebuilding of cultural integrity and to address the wounds of forced assimilation. Reclaiming the Hoopa language is part of the necessary healing that the tribe must do in order to build a solid foundation from which more desirable, culturally-appropriate development can take place.

What these and other respondents make clear is that what is at stake in the concern for community and economic development on the Hoopa reservation is whether or not the Hoopa Nation will be able to maintain the integrity of their indigenous identity. Language is perceived as being closely linked to and having the potential to help with reclaiming identity, healing, and

provide values and direction; language also holds the promise of being able to “fully experience what it is to be Hoopa.” Jackie Martin states,

You can't separate culture from religion and when you go to the dances if you don't understand the language, if you don't really understand the core of what's happening there, and feel it, and feel it resonating within you, and have that ability to discuss it with people around you, then you're not fully experiencing what it is to be Hoopa.

For many, the Hoopa language and the Hoopa culture continue to inform the lives of people, even those who are not fluent or only know a few words. That, they say, is possible because most adults on the reservation were raised hearing the language either at home, at dances or ceremonies. However, as the years pass and fewer people are exposed to the language, the Hoopa people may become not “fully” Hoopa, unable to access the healing, values and direction the language offers. It is possible to have economic development without community development and cultural integrity, and the tribe may someday achieve economic success as defined by the outside world. But for some, if the language and culture – “what it is to be Hoopa” – were not part of it, this would not be *Hoopa* economic development.

Language and Social Change: The Power to Shape Individuals

Anger: “Toward him my spirit is broken”

As a small nation, community cohesion among the Hoopa Indian Nation is critical in promoting an effective economic development agenda and development practices. In this section, I demonstrate the power of language to inform, direct, and promote development by shaping individual behavior and by orienting individuals toward the collective good, including community cohesion and cooperation. The first example comes from Salis Jackson who

described the language classes he was teaching and the impact they were having on his students. According to Salis, students began to notice that in the Hoopa language, because of its complexities, it is “hard to lie and harder yet to keep your lies in order.” After a while, the students began to mention to him that they all “seem[ed] to be nicer and better mannered in general.” Those students, like Salis and others I interviewed, were convinced that the knowledge and awareness they were gaining through learning and understanding the Hoopa language was very clearly and concretely having a positive effect on the ways they understood themselves in space (in relation to places in the Valley) and in relation to others in the community, including their classmates. Salis explained this key asset of the language:

I think the big thing is... this way of thinking that I'm trying to get across that changes the outlook. So when you think of time as a circular or seasonal... instead of a linear thing, it will really, that will change you... It's like a gradual thing. They don't notice it happening, only maybe every once in a while you'll notice... like, I don't like that [way of thinking] or I don't think that way no more. I don't say that anymore... I'm always surprised by those types of things but it's not only changed my language it has changed my thought process along the way.

The students in his class began to experience a shift in their awareness leading them to experience a noticeable and shared shift in behavior: They became better tribal citizens, aware of their connectedness and responsibilities. This aspect of the power of language is related to the idea of healing and values, but there is also a social dimension. It is clear that Salis and his students, like others, experience language learning as having a significant and positive effect on the way they interact socially. The language provides a knowledge base and a communal orientation that reinforces interdependent positive social relationships, instructing or reminding people of their role and responsibilities in social relations. As such, there is a clear connection between the power of language, the social change it has the potential to effect, and the preconditions and foundations needed for viable sustained community and economic

development. Language learning involves a re-socialization of the individual in a community-oriented, kinship-based, interdependent culture, in contrast to the tendencies of mainstream culture, which reinforce individual, insular, and independent orientation and behavior.

Just like his students, Salis has been experiencing similar changes in himself. In the Hoopa language, there is no word for “anger.” The Hoopa language is a verb and description based language, without the use of nouns. One often expresses action to communicate the idea of a noun. To say that one is angry at someone, the closest wording would be “toward him my spirit is broken.” Using the Hoopa language and the Hoopa cultural context to understand and name one’s experiences requires a shift in the way one perceives one’s relationships and, in this case, forces a shift from blame to shared burden. Salis explains, “Like... when I told you that when I'm mad at somebody, I don't think ‘I'm mad’ anymore, I think ‘my spirit is broken’. [And I think], ‘how do I fix that?’” The power of language here is that it frames the experiences of interpersonal relationships and provides guidance for behavior in such a way as to promote positive social change, grounded in a collective, connected, and shared Hoopa identity.

Language and Development Theory: Locating the Cultural Match

Cornell and Kalt have explained that tribes that pay close attention to the “cultural match” between the kinds of economic projects they pursue and the cultural context of the tribe have been more successful in identifying economic activities that would be best received by tribal members. An example of a poor match would be a tribal council’s efforts to get grants for developing tourism infrastructure when the tribe has traditionally preferred to remain insular and does not want strangers coming into the community. In cases like this, there might be initial buy-

in from the tribal members but the underlying values of the community are “at cross-purposes,” as Risling noted, and the project is likely to either repeatedly falter or simply fail. This was a concern expressed by a number of interviewees, described in different ways and from different perspectives but essentially sharing the concern for better development projects and better development practices that are informed by the cultural context, a process in which language would factor into and contribute to significantly. Without a cultural match tribes either continue to struggle with failed or limited development projects or they engage in development that eventually means assimilation: economic gains with loss of identity.

Examining the relationship between language and economic development offers the opportunity to build on Cornell and Kalt’s Nation Building Model by providing an approach to locating the cultural information needed to make culturally-informed development decisions and to better understand the ways in which cultural values and norms may be in conflict with a given development enterprise or practice. Mary Jane Risling addressed this issue of poorly matched development projects in the Hoopa context. Commenting on the possibility of gold mining as an economic development project, which had come up recently on the reservation, Risling stated,

Under some economic development models if we want to maximize our return, [we would have to] just lay it bare. Get those old water cannons out. It didn't have to be the miners, it can be us being successful with economic development and maximizing return by abusing and destroying our resources. [But] that is not most Indian people's definition of success, so if we set out to do that, we are going to fail because we really don't want that to happen. We've got to actually identify what are those basic principles that constrain and define what success means to us. Unless and until we do that, I just think we fail because success becomes assimilation. But we don't state it. We're out there, cutting down our own forests and mining and casino and whatever else.

For Risling, there is a need to identify underlying values and ways of being through the Hoopa language in order to know what will work in terms of economic activities on the

reservation and how these activities are grounded in a relationship to the environment. Of course, it is easy to say that communities don't want environmentally destructive economic development projects, but Risling is using this example to argue for a deeper understanding of the "basic principles that constrain and define" success for the tribe. Cornell and Kalt call for a cultural match, but they have not explained how and where to find the tribal knowledge that contains the information to evaluate and assess the cultural match. Language, as it is experienced and envisioned, can serve as one of the key resources for making such an assessment and thus for making better-informed development decisions. Language also provides information about how to improve development practices.

Language and Development Practices: Reorienting Tribal Economic Enterprises

The Hoopa Indian Nation has several modest economic enterprises including a mini-mart gas station, a tribal motel, a casino, leasing space to the reservation's only supermarket, as well as the moderately lucrative forestry department. The fisheries department is not presently a profit-making enterprise though it does employ scores of tribal members who are paid by grants that the tribe administers for the various monitoring and management projects involving fish, water, and riparian areas. Should the tribe reverse the recent ban on commercial fishing, this sector may provide much-needed income, but it is not likely to happen without the tribe first addressing the culturally-based conflict inherent in the commodification of a revered common good.

The fisheries department and the forestry department provide good examples of the potential power of language. According to the language teachers I interviewed, there is a role for

language to inform and improve fishing practices in ways that are reflective of traditional culture and thereby increase the chances that these economic development enterprises would receive broader, sustained, and even whole-hearted support from the community. While Cornell and Kalt have argued that this kind of support is critical to development on the reservation, this study provides the missing data regarding where and how we find the information that can inform development practices.

In addition to informing the cultural match question of what kinds of economic projects and activities will be best received by the tribe, language can also help to improve development practices at existing key enterprises. To understand how this works, it is important to note that, like other tribes, the Hoopa have a deep connection to their environment. The Hoopa language and Hoopa identity are intricately linked to the Hoopa Valley, including the forest (Baker, 2003)—a resource that has kept the tribe alive by providing both sustenance and a haven from whites—as well as the Trinity and Klamath rivers, and more specifically the salmon who swim in them. Predictably, then, forestry management, the timber industry, and fishing, as well as any economic development effort affecting the environment, are key areas of development that concern a large number of tribal members.

Over the years there have been a good number of struggles and controversies related to these tribal resources. These include ongoing disputes involving irrigation diversions of rivers waters and tribal sovereignty in fishing rights, as well as a recent referendum banning commercial fishing on the reservation. The latter, as I describe in the opening of this paper, entails a struggle between the opportunity for individuals with access to commercial boats and nets to benefit personally and the culturally-based value of salmon as a communal good: the fish

belong to everyone and it is against Hoopa cultural values and norms to sell salmon for personal gain.

Given these conflicts, Salis Jackson and others see the need to reintroduce Hoopa culture into these areas of tribal economic development. Explaining the long-term impacts he hopes will come from language efforts as they relate to economic activities on the reservation, Salis explains:

Our goal is, with these language classes, to go to each department and say, come do language classes for a while, we will teach your department what is important and how to say it in your department, like fisheries or forestry, or even administration, or the Head Start. These are things you would say... so they can get an appreciation for that aspect of Hoopa thought... beyond just vocabulary... aspects of fish runs, how the fish were treated, how to take care of them, restoration, about fresh salmon ceremony and the language that goes with it. There is a word that is part of the prayer in that first ceremony, it means 'when everything comes together.'

And then we're supposed to recite the origins of where salmon came from and who brought them... and how they're sacred and why are they sacred, and then it also teaches how the people are connected, how the villagers are connected... All these different aspects, I would like to see that. And, because now, especially this year, there's going to be a huge fish run, to see the fish taken care of properly, [based on the] language, [so] they don't throw away the heads or the tails or the spine or the back. Just if you say, a fish in general, you have to use all of those parts. To throw something away, it would sound like you're throwing away the fish. So, for fisheries, those types of things [would be useful] because I think they think too scientifically... Because once you have a respect for life, a respect for the fish, once you know where they come from and how they're supposed to be treated and the things you'd say to them or think to them, then I don't think you're going to treat them in the same way.

This is perhaps the strongest, clearest and most direct articulation of the ways in which culture, through language and cultural revival projects, is conceived, perceived, and beginning to be implemented as part of the broader community and economic development efforts of the Hoopa Nation. This example also demonstrates the multi-scaled, multi-faceted, and interconnected nature of development projects on the Hoopa reservation. Unlike their urban counterparts, these kinds of development projects and efforts cannot be easily separated from

other efforts and other aspects of Hoopa life and culture. This is both due to the scale of the community, and to Hoopa culture itself, which envisions the community and the space in which it lives as interconnected and inseparable. What happens at the small scale level of a small group of Hoopa language learners informs and shapes a number of other areas and scales, from the tribal council to language instruction in the school. Culture, and in this specific case language, and development are intimately connected. This fact is documented in the ways in which the interviewees describe these cultural components, their value, and their goals and hopes for influencing key economic activities, and in the conviction they have in the power of language and identity to be transformative at the personal, social, and tribal government level.

Conclusion: Expanding Knowledge and Sharing Best Practice

These findings, while in many ways quite solid and compelling, should also be read as preliminary and exploratory. One of the recurring discussions that came up early in the interviews centered on the fact that for nearly all of the interviewees, this was the first time they had taken a moment to reflect on “culture” in the ways I was asking, and it was certainly the first time they had examined their cultural practices, discourses and assumptions in relation to economic development. Anyone visiting the Hoopa Indian Nation, for example, will quickly get a clear sense of the very strong presence of Hoopa culture in the everyday lives of the community. It is evident physically in the signage (in Hoopa language and with Hoopa designs), the local institutions (the museum, the youth center), the visitor sites (the vista pullouts overlooking traditional village sites), and intangibly in the quotidian interactions with and between Hoopa tribal members (at the headquarters, at the supermarket, and at the local

restaurant). However, as in any community, the interviewees went about their work as tribal officials, educators, administrators, and managers without enumerating the ways in which Hoopa culture informed their work. It was not until they were asked about and given the chance to examine their work in this light that they were able to articulate some of the assumptions they make about the value of Hoopa culture, the benefits it has provided and can provide, and the ways it shapes their current work as well as their vision for where the tribe can and should be in the future. While there is great value in documenting what people said initially, we must also be cautious when assigning meaning to these responses, as they may change over time with further consideration.

In this paper I have shown the ways in which community leaders and tribal officials in the Hoopa Nation have located culture, cultural values, and ways of being in the Hoopa language. I have also shown that language has significant beneficial effects at both the individual and community level, and it has the potential to inform and direct development practices in several key areas. Language has the power to positively affect development efforts by allowing for a deeper understanding of the cultural match – one that expands the idea of the cultural match to include considerations of the ways in which language provides access to underlying identity, direction, healing, and ultimately serves as a force for social change. Language also informs practical approaches to improve development theory and practice.

This paper has shown that the idea of a cultural match, as articulated in the Nation Building model, can be better understood through approaches for locating and identifying cultural values, norms and practices that capture the depth, richness and complexity of cultural considerations. Culture should be understood as a component of development that offers a variety of critical support, knowledge and values for development. Language provides a medium

by which critical cultural information can be accessed in support of self-determined economic development on the reservation. This self-determined, culturally-informed development is understood as contributing to larger projects of community healing, nation building, and tribal sovereignty.

Explaining what it would mean to have the Hoopa people speaking Hoopa fluently, Salis Jackson provides a glimpse into the depth and gravity of the challenge of cultural revival, as well as the deep hope tribal members have in the power and potential of the Hoopa culture:

I would feel like we are more whole and more connected to these future aspects, like [the Hoopa word that translates as] 'I work for ancestors and descendants' [but which means] 'within they are born out through time, past and future': that we would see the connections between them, and we would use them, and we would be more spiritual that way when it comes to our everyday thinking about today and that we would act more as a people who [are] a self-governed people... that we would have this sense of self that's strong enough, that we would feel that way and we would act that way.

By identifying ways to locate the cultural information needed for self-determined development, which in this case is found in one's native language, this study contributes significantly to development theory and practice, offering an approach for how to connect development with indigenous knowledge.

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