

Administrative Work In Aboriginal Governments

by

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**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the School of Public Administration

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to the required standard**

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Abstract

Aboriginal governments are organizations like any other, but they have some important differences that stem from the cultures of aboriginal peoples and the history and construction of aboriginal governments in Canada. Colonization brought particular conceptions of work and administration that are not always compatible with aboriginal cultures. Aboriginal governments are grounded in their respective communities and cultures and at the same time exist within a Canadian political system that reflects the values of a western, non-aboriginal society. The practice of administrative work in aboriginal governments is therefore complex and internally conflictual for the organization as well as for administrators. The institutional and financial arrangements of aboriginal governments in Canada only further complicate the work. Understanding the distinctiveness of administrative work in aboriginal governments is important for both aboriginal and non-aboriginal governments and administrators as a new relationship between Canadian and aboriginal governments is forged.

This study explores the work of aboriginal administrators working in aboriginal governments. It considers the administrative environment of aboriginal

government, particularly the complexities of accountability and the interrelatedness of culture, politics and administration. It suggests that aboriginal governments are expressions of the cultures, politics, spirituality, economics, values and emotions of aboriginal peoples. These governments are social movements as well as ruling bureaucracies. Government in this context is a complex and holistic notion as it does not necessarily separate church from state, politics from bureaucracy, or the personal from the professional.

Within this context, the study examines the actual work of particular administrators and thereby develops a distinct picture of administration as it is practised in aboriginal governments. While such administrative practice is found to be more holistic in this context, the study further suggests that the construction of the actual work is influenced by key factors of accountability demands, cultural relevance and integrity, and the need for education of all people engaged with issues of governance. Given the dilemmas found in each of these factors, aboriginal administrators face the unique challenge of integrating the discordant demands of their communities, organizations and professions.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank each of the aboriginal people who took the time to teach me by participating in this research. Their generosity was humbling. Their commitment to their communities was inspiring. Their humour gave me hope for us all.

I want to extend a warm thanks to Frank Cassidy, my supervisor in this doctoral journey. His guidance was invaluable and engaging, especially when it came in the form of star trek metaphors.

A hug goes to my mom, whose support came in so many ways but whose love is the most wonderful support of all. Another hug goes to Bruce, my love, whose commitment to and pride in his people and in me inspire my work. Finally, a hug to my son Drew who has not resented that he has had to share his mother with the demands of academia. Rather, he insists it makes me the most interesting mom he knows. I thank and love you all!

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Aboriginal Governments

Aboriginal governments are a growing reality in Canada. The notion of a small band administering funds from the Department of Indian Affairs for people living on their reserve has shifted and grown dramatically over the past few years. Aboriginal governments now also include large, complex organizations that represent aboriginal people living on and off reserves, with and without status under the Indian Act. They are political as well as administrative organizations. They continue to grow and change as they respond to the changing social, political and economic environment of aboriginal communities and Canadian policies and behaviours.

The term aboriginal government is used throughout this paper to describe the organizations used by aboriginal people to conduct the policy, actions and affairs of their communities. The meanings of the terms aboriginal government and self-government are synonymous in that they are viewed as the organizations and efforts used to realize the goals that aboriginal people have determined for

themselves.

Aboriginal government is an emerging field of study. As First Nations develop their own versions of government, the similarities and differences with mainstream governments and organizations becomes increasingly apparent. Similarly, the nature of administrative work in aboriginal governments is coming under investigation.

In undertaking this study, I wanted to find out about the experience of administering aboriginal governments. There is an accumulation of enough experience with aboriginal governments now, to see that they face their own challenges. The time is therefore opportune to consider this experience. Understanding the reality of administration in aboriginal governments will be useful to the people who do the work in these organizations, to those who direct the organizations and to those who provide administrative training as they all work to address the challenges faced by these emerging governments.

A word about language. Under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, 'aboriginal people' are defined as Indian, Inuit and Metis. Unless I am specifically referring to the legal category of 'Indian' or I want to particularly speak about Inuit or Metis peoples or governments, I use the generic term 'aboriginal', as in aboriginal people or aboriginal government. I use the term 'First Nation' on occasion to refer to Nations or governments, as in the Shubenacadie First Nation,

rather than individual people.

A Standpoint and Value Base

I think it is important to explain who I am and my role as author of this work so that the reader of this dissertation will understand my perspective on the research topic, the data and the analysis. In order for readers to determine the validity of the information presented in the dissertation, it is important that the reader understand the eyes through which I see the world and therefore interpret the data that is presented.

I am a white, middle-class woman. I am a social worker by training and practice, a public administrator by subsequent training and practice, and currently an educator. I am a wife and mother. While it is not usual to speak of personal roles in a research paper, I believe it is relevant as I live in a family with two cultures, Euro-Canadian and aboriginal. Therefore, I have experience with how two cultures coincide and reinterpret the world to make a family organization work. While I have remained keenly interested in the practice of social work and public administration in aboriginal communities, my personal experiences in aboriginal organizations and communities and in particular my study of administration, contributed to my interest in researching the topic of

administration within aboriginal governments.

As a female student of public administration, I felt somewhat marginalized by the knowledge, skills and values presented to me by that discipline. Public administration seemed to be a world created by men. I did not see women, or women's ways of knowing and behaving, being included in what was taught or how this knowledge was taught. This feeling of being marginal to the field of public administration, in part, spurred me on to question, as well as empathize with, how public administration is perceived by aboriginal people. It has prompted me to go beyond a gender critique of public administration as a discipline to a critique based on race and culture. As a woman and a feminist, I hope to use this dissertation as a means of understanding administration from the standpoint of another group of outsiders to the field of Canadian public administration, that of aboriginal people.

What is administration in the context of aboriginal government? How is the work of administration constructed? My interest was in exploring these questions. I wanted to engage in a research process that would be useful to aboriginal people and conducted in a manner consistent with my research values. These include respect, openness, empowerment of participants and utility of the research to First Nations. With that motivation and overriding ethic, I embarked on my research journey.

Outline of Chapters

Aboriginal governments are organizations like any other, but they have some important differences that stem from the cultures of aboriginal peoples and the history and construction of aboriginal governments in Canada. Colonization brought particular conceptions of work and administration that are not always compatible with aboriginal cultures. Aboriginal governments are grounded in their respective communities and cultures and at the same time exist within a Canadian political system that reflects the values of a western, non-aboriginal society. The practice of administrative work in aboriginal governments is therefore complex and internally conflictual for the organization as well as for administrators. The institutional and financial arrangements of aboriginal governments in Canada only further complicate the work. Understanding the distinctiveness of administrative work in aboriginal governments is important for both aboriginal and non-aboriginal governments and administrators as a new relationship between Canadian and aboriginal governments is forged. The chapters in this thesis pursue these ideas.

Chapter 2, Aboriginal Governments in Canada, reviews the existing literature in the field to see what can be learned about aboriginal governments as organizations and the practice of administration within them. The literature review explores the diversity of aboriginal governments that exist in Canada. It

considers the origins of aboriginal governments as organizations and the fractured basis for their authority. Issues around financing of aboriginal governance are explored. Generally, the literature creates an impression of aboriginal governments as dynamic organizations experiencing great and rapid change.

Chapter 3, The Research Journey, outlines the methodologies employed in the research. The purpose of the research was to explore the work of aboriginal administrators in aboriginal governments. This qualitative research took a feminist cooperative approach to the conduct of an ethnographic inquiry. The chapter explains the process used for collecting and analyzing data and how the experiences of four particular administrators working in aboriginal governments provided the entry point for examining administrative work as characterized by the existing literature and analysis of data collected from fourteen aboriginal communities and organizations.

Chapter 4, The Complexity of Accountability, explores the demand for administrative accountability and how it constructs much of the work of aboriginal administrators. The reality of aboriginal governments is that they are accountable to many. They have external (e.g. federal government) as well as internal (e.g. community) accountability demands and these are not always compatible. Additionally, because they depend to such a high degree on so many outside sources of funds, the complexity of aboriginal governments may be higher than

other organizations. Moreover, accountability is affected by institutions and cultures which are different from the mainstream.

Further complicating accountability for aboriginal governments is the issue of constituency. In order to be accountable to one's membership, an organization requires a sense of who constitutes their organizational community. The issue of what constitutes the public in aboriginal public administration is examined. Also central to accountability is the relationship between a government and a community. This relationship can be fettered by the professionalization of aboriginal bureaucracies. The chapter explores issues related to the demand for professional organizations and administrators.

This chapter generally explores the unduly complicated nature of accountability in aboriginal governments. It explains how this complexity contributes to the construction of administrative work and may begin to indicate how administration in aboriginal governments differs from that in mainstream governments.

Chapter 5, Culture, Politics and Administration, highlights the interrelatedness of culture and politics in aboriginal communities and examines the role of culture in the development of aboriginal governments. Subsequently, some of the challenges for aboriginal administrators to work in a culturally relevant way are identified.

Chapter 6, Work, explores the concepts of work and subsequently the conception of administrative work. The issues that aboriginal governments face are rooted in the juxtaposition of deep patterns of work in western society with aboriginal cultures. This chapter traces the historical development of western thought around the concept of work and then considers how this may run counter to aboriginal cultures and practices.

Chapter 7, The Work of Four Administrators, explores the actual work of four particular administrators in order to see if and how the understanding of administration in aboriginal governments, characterized in earlier chapters, was evidenced in their lived experience. In addition, this chapter provides insight into what aboriginal administrators actually do; what their work entails. The chapter discusses how the construction of the work is influenced by key factors of accountability demands, cultural relevance and integrity, and the need for education of all people engaged with issues of governance.

Chapter 8, Summary and Emerging Questions, provides a summation of the argument presented in the thesis. It concludes that, in as much as administrative practice in aboriginal governments has many parallels with non-aboriginal governments, the experience of administrative practice in aboriginal governments is unique. It leaves the reader with some thoughts on the applicability of the findings of the research and raises questions, emerging from the research, that deserve

further research attention.

CHAPTER 2

ABORIGINAL GOVERNMENTS IN CANADA

Reviewing the Literature

Aboriginal governments in Canada are a diverse group of complex organizations. They come in various sizes, shapes and structures as well as locations and jurisdictions all serving a vast array of people. Issues related to aboriginal peoples and self-government have been studied by many people. Some of this work provides insight into the complexities of aboriginal organizations and governments. The purpose of this chapter is to review the existing literature to see what can be learned about aboriginal organizations and governments.

There are very few works that specifically examine the organizational aspects of aboriginal government. Frank Cassidy and Robert Bish (1989) in their important book, Indian Government: Its Meaning in Practice, provide an analysis of aboriginal governance that encompasses a breadth of related issues. Their insights into the diversity of aboriginal governments, the origins, authority and financing of such governments and the dynamic activity of aboriginal governance provide a framework for organizing the literature in the field.

Cassidy and Bish bring to light the great diversity among aboriginal governments in Canada and the challenges that these governments face as they emerge within an uncertain and multifarious environment. Through the use of case examples from nineteen different aboriginal governments across Canada, they illustrate the uniqueness of each First Nation, its government and the challenges each faces.

These authors emphasize that aboriginal peoples in Canada have always had their own governments and have asserted their right to self-government since contact with Europeans. The development of today's aboriginal governments has been influenced by the Indian Act's creation of bands and band governments and the political agendas of such organizations as the National Indian Brotherhood. A critical part of Cassidy and Bish's thesis is their exploration of the lack of clarity and agreement around the basis of authority for aboriginal government and the affect of such debate on the development of these governments.

The various jurisdictional powers of a government may be understood in terms of three parameters: the range of actions to which these powers extend, the citizens and subjects of the government, and the intergovernmental setting in which the government operates. When Indian governments in Canada are considered, there is not overall consensus on any of these elements of jurisdiction. This is true when the powers of Indian governments themselves are considered, and it is true as far as the powers of the federal and provincial governments in relation to Indian peoples and their governments are concerned. One result is that the practical, day-to-day operations of Indian governments are sometimes

problematic, and the governing needs of Indian peoples are sometimes improperly met. (p.29)

Further, they note that key organizational issues such as citizenship, policy-making, service delivery and finance are complicated in the context of aboriginal government, affected by organizational size, structural arrangements, culture and politics. With regard to the financing of aboriginal governments, Cassidy and Bish reiterate the findings of the Penner Report (1983) that dependent contracting from DIAND is not conducive to self-government or to efficient administrative practice. They highlight the importance of diversity of funding relationships to aboriginal governance.

Generally, Cassidy and Bish relay the sense of rapid change and activity that surrounds aboriginal governance. They view these governments as emerging organizations within a changing political environment. "[W]hile seeking a change in the basic design of Canadian federalism, Indian peoples and their governments have taken advantage of the possibilities in the current federal-provincial framework to realize and extend their vision of Indian government (p.156)."

Diversity

The variety of aboriginal governments reflects the various cultures,

environments and aboriginal peoples across Canada. The large number of authors whose specific study of certain peoples and organizations reflects this diversity. For example, Purich (1992) writes about the Inuit and the development of Nunavut. The Cree peoples of northern Quebec have been subject of several observers (see for example Salisbury, 1986). Alfred (1995) explored the uniqueness of the Mohawks of Kahnawake, particularly their political culture. The distinct history and organization of the Metis people has been documented (see for example the Metis National Council, 1983 and Siggins, 1994). The list and variety of works is extensive.

The different issues communities face also shapes their organizations. The Fort Good Hope Council (1992) explained their struggles for self-government and the affect of oil and gas exploration on their development. This contrasts with Braul's (1992) description of the Ingenika people in British Columbia who have had to rebuild their community after it was flooded for hydro-electric development. These examples illustrate that the issues across the country are as diverse as the peoples and communities.

Frideres (1993) emphasizes the diversity of goals that exist among aboriginal organizations. Some have local objectives rather than regional or national. Goals can be political, social, religious or economic. He suggests that this has impeded coalitions among organizations. He also examines political

organizations by contrasting Metis associations with national status Indian organizations (like the Assembly of First Nations) and what he terms "red power" or radical organizations. The great differences between such organizations reflect their membership and the powers and abilities of the membership to create change.

Mitchell and Tennant (1994) reiterate that, in the case of British Columbia, it is not surprising that one unifying aboriginal organization has not emerged. The tremendous diversity of peoples and cultures as well as concerns within the province mitigate against the utility and practicality of an all-inclusive organization.

Cassidy and Bish (1989) explain that tremendous diversity is found not only in the different cultures, origins and communities of the organizations, but in their size, location (i.e. degree of isolation), structural arrangements and economies. As Wotherspoon and Satzewich (1993) point out, national political organizations have emerged from one aspect of difference among aboriginal peoples, that of citizenship.¹ While the distinction between Indian, Metis and Inuit (a distinction incorporated into the Canadian Constitution) is invariably critical, it is not the only factor that contributes to the diversity found in aboriginal governments.

¹ For example, the Assembly of First Nations represents status Indians, the Metis National Council represents Metis peoples, the Native Council of Canada represents non-status and off-reserve Indians.

What the literature demonstrates is that unlike Canadian government organizations, there exists a vast diversity of aboriginal governmental organizations. Therefore, understanding aboriginal governments is not a study of a singular entity, model or practice. Rather, the history, culture and construction within a Canadian context of each aboriginal government make it somewhat distinct from other aboriginal governments. Understanding aboriginal governance and administrative practice becomes extraordinarily complicated for all those engaged with it.

Origins

Tennant's work (1990) on the political development of aboriginal organizations in B.C., documents the origins of these organizations. He observes that many tribal councils emerged as political forms which reflected the identities of tribal groupings rather than any construction of the Indian Act or DIAND administration. Yet, as they became governing bodies, these indigenous based organizations began to reflect the DIAND colonial system due to their financial and administrative interactions with this system.

Wotherspoon and Satzewich (1993) further assert that the emergence, development and activities of aboriginal organizations are rooted in the problem of

citizenship definitions and rights. Yet they too remark on the bureaucratization of aboriginal organizations that has occurred since that time and blame disagreements seen between aboriginal leaders and the grassroots on this bureaucratizing process that enmeshes state agencies and their client groups. "Thus, while it appears that state and aboriginal organization representatives are in perpetual conflict, there is in reality a degree of mutual interdependence between the two parties (p.239)."

Boldt and Long (1988) argue that institutional assimilation remains the agenda of the federal government. They note that cultural assimilation goals, as evidenced by residential schools and the outlawing of cultural practices, are no longer an interest of the federal government. However, the economic, legal and political assimilation of aboriginal peoples into the federalist Canadian system is still being pursued. They explain that federal government initiatives in this regard are gradually removing the exclusivity of ties between aboriginal governments and the federal government. Aboriginal collectivities are being incorporated into provincial government structures and federal line departments. "Canada's Indian policy of institutional assimilation is so deeply entrenched and has such a momentum that emerging Indian self-government is sure to be profoundly shaped by it (p.49)."

Haddad and Spivey (1992) assert that even the development of private sector aboriginal businesses is a part of this assimilation. Using a case example as

their base, they study the modern development models being used to shape economic development in reserve communities. They conclude that assimilation through economic development strategies is a primary governmental objective.

Harold Cardinal (1969) speaks to the work of aboriginal peoples to organize from the 1920's until the late 1960's in his defining book, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians. Leaders made attempts to organize their people in the 1920's, however transportation and communication problems mitigated their attempts. Cardinal maintains that their biggest obstacle was convincing individuals that organizing was a worthwhile activity. "Such social structures were alien to the Indian way. The older Indians, often those with influence in their communities, saw such organizations as a waste of time. The majority were illiterate and could not be convinced with printed material (p.98)." By the 1940's, provincial organizations were established. The first attempts to link such organizations and to develop a national organization were seen. Cardinal describes the postwar period as a time of strengthening for aboriginal organizations and increasing pressure for more aboriginal control, better educational opportunities, resources and settling land claims.

The 1950's were a setback for aboriginal organizations. The exposure of the problems associated with church-operated residential schools resulted in the withdrawal of support for aboriginal organizations by religious groups. In fact, the

Catholic church established a competitive organization, the Catholic Indian League. Such activities created divisions in organizations along religious lines.

At the same time, DIAND forbade the use of band funds to support aboriginal organizations. Monies for delegates to travel to meetings and conferences was therefore limited. DIAND did cover expenses to attend the conferences they organized. Naturally, these paid conferences competed with the voluntary ones put on by aboriginal organizations.

Unwittingly, non-aboriginal organizations that were supportive of aboriginal peoples also contributed to the decline experienced by aboriginal organizations at this time. They competed successfully for funds needed by aboriginal groups. Cardinal also explains how a federal government strategy to address issues of poverty (the Company of Young Canadians), resulted in non-aboriginal people "bumbling and stumbling through community after community with little or no sensitivity to the feelings of the people they were going to help if it killed them (p.105)." Such initiatives weakened aboriginal organizing.

Howard Adams, a Metis observer, (1989) analyses the development of aboriginal organizations within the colonialist agenda of the federal government. He relays how the "red awakening" that occurred in the mid 1960's spawned the revitalization of some aboriginal organizations and the creation of several new ones. He describes how these organizations prospered with government grants, and

notes how conditions attached to these funds shaped the structures and functioning of the organizations. For instance, he illustrates how the need for a legal constitution as prerequisite for organizational funding in fact inhibits political debate on native issues as annual meetings are spent debating constitutional bylaws.

The native groups were structured along the same lines as white bureaucratic institutions. All have a president - in Indian organizations he is called a chief - several vice-presidents, a board of directors and sometimes a senate. They have an executive that is the decision-making body of the organization. Meetings are held in accordance with parliamentary rules and great emphasis is placed on rules and procedures. At a native brotherhood meeting I attended in 1974, I was struck by this tremendous faith in proper procedure -the meeting was more a ritualistic ceremony in praise of *Robert's Rules of Order* than a forum for debate. The natives were so preoccupied with procedure and ritual that discussion on serious social and political issues never arose. They could not relate to each other as people. This is the result of counseling by white advisers and by those native collaborators who want to imitate sophisticated white leaders. Such meetings are useless because they smother rather than develop political and national consciousness. Native people must be perceptive enough to recognize when they are being led down blind alleys by their oppressors, red or white. (p.157)

Adams discusses the internalized racism of aboriginal peoples and warns of the "neo-colonial oppressors"; that is, the replacement of "white bureaucrats" with "red bureaucrats".

James Frideres (1993) brings to light the large numbers of aboriginal organizations that have been formed over the years and their impact on Canada's

development. He notes that up until the 1980's most aboriginal organizations were formed in crisis situations to respond to specific issues and were therefore generally short-lived.

Murray Angus (1991) maintains that the major changes experienced by aboriginal organizations in the last two decades can be generally attributed to "bungling" on the part of the federal government. The White Paper of 1969 awakened aboriginal young people to the need to defend themselves against assimilation. The resulting organizations, quickly formed, produced leaders who were skilled in "working the system".

By the end of the 1980's, the limits of playing by the rules were being recognized. Communities were encouraged to be more self-sufficient yet at the same time the government was reducing their access to resources. Angus says that because of the frustrations experienced in political negotiations and legal wranglings, there is now a trend toward direct action. Aboriginal organizations are clearly becoming more radical in their approach.

Snow (1991) asserts that the foundation of aboriginal societies is spiritual and from this flows aboriginal rights and government. He attributes the conflicts experienced between aboriginal governments and mainstream governments as being rooted fundamentally in different spiritual perspectives.

The specific origins and development of various aboriginal organizations

are explored by several writers. A sampling of these illustrates the diversity of their histories. Coates and Morrison (1992) consider the beginnings of the Yukon Native Brotherhood (later known as the Council of Yukon Indians) as a response to the need for an organization to present a common aboriginal front to government and non-aboriginal people in the Yukon. This united front emerged in 1968 and began its political agenda by launching land claims in their publication "Together Today for our Children Tomorrow" in 1973. The YNB gave a voice to aboriginal peoples living in the Yukon.

In contrast, the history of Six Nations (or the Iroquois Confederacy) is explored by Titley (1986) in his chronicling of Duncan Campbell Scott and the Department of Indian Affairs. Titley maintains that the relationship of Six Nations with Europeans was unique in that they did not experience military subjugation and removal from their homelands. Rather, because of their skills in warring, diplomacy and politics they maintained an alliance with the British. They maintained their political structures and system of governance and utilized this organizing confederacy to politically challenge the federal government.

In Enough is Enough (Silman, 1987) the story of the Tobique Women's Political Action Group and their fight as non-status Indians for their birthright, is an example of how political aboriginal organizations grew from political necessity within cultural groupings and have built strong coalitions with other aboriginal

organizations in order to create change.

Brotherhood to Nationhood (McFarlane, 1993) chronicles the political life of George Manuel of the Shuswap nation and his participation in the evolution of national aboriginal political organizations. McFarlane explains that the restructuring of the National Indian Brotherhood into the Assembly of First Nations contributed to the rise of tribal councils seen in the 1980's. The AFN membership is composed of bands rather than provincial or territorial organizations - such as the B.C. Union of Indian Chiefs - making such provincial bodies redundant. The need for local leadership contributed to the formation of tribal councils. While the Union has attempted to expand its mandate to include tribal councils they have had limited success.

The literature documenting the origins of modern aboriginal governments, paints a picture of organizations that are caught between their cultural or indigenous roots and the colonial systems of Canada. Their development has been influenced at different times by traditional teachings and tribal identity. At other times, the actions of the Canadian government towards aboriginal peoples and organizations has co-opted their development and at other times incited an oppositional stance. The origins of aboriginal governments are fractured and the foundations of these governments are complicated.

Authority

Just as the origins for currently emerging aboriginal governments are unclear, the foundations of these governments are complicated. Hawkes (1985) noted that controversy surrounds the means by which aboriginal self-government is, or may be, established. He delineates the numerous methods through which aboriginal governments may derive their authority (constitutional entrenchment, treaties, recognition of powers, legislation, intergovernmental agreements and administrative arrangements). Whether the authority stems from a devolved or inherent method, intimates a different organization response.

Clark (1990) argues that there exists constitutional authority for self-government but that federal practice is not consistent with this right. He maintains that the tensions felt around authority reflect a larger tension in Canada's liberal democratic ethos, that of both an ethic of integration as well as self-determination. He feels the two are irreconcilable. Aboriginal organizations are left therefore between a rock and a hard place, between asserting sovereignty and working within the structure of federalism for self-governance arrangements.

Mercredi and Turpel (1993) discuss some of the problems of authority arising from the Indian Act. They note that the Assembly of First Nations is an organization of chiefs and status Indians, not of non-status people or those who are

not registered with a band. Yet, such people are relatives and "neat distinctions derived from the Indian Act are not thicker than water (p.83)." They note that because of the Indian Act, many First Nations peoples mistrust their local governments "because the Indian Act has allowed a situation to occur where some Band Councils make arbitrary decisions and are not fully accountable to the people. They are accountable instead to the Minister of Indian Affairs (p.84)." They point to the tension that can exist within aboriginal organizations resulting from a split authority (community and Indian Act).

Boldt (1993) considers the affect of the issue of authority on aboriginal organizations and personnel, noting that aboriginal governments are the recipients of devolved authority and are not governments 'of the people'. He relays how the colonial structures of governments imposed on aboriginal communities have shaped how aboriginal leaders perform their roles and have created a new kind of ruling class within aboriginal communities that was not found in pre-Indian Act communities. He further posits that political and bureaucratic structures have evolved within this process of colonization in order to control aboriginal people. This legacy still exists, often through administration professionals trained and indoctrinated within this colonial-authoritarian paradigm.

Franks (1987) recognized the tension between political and administrative authority. Political authority arises from the tribalism observed by Tennant (1990)

and administrative authority is received through the receipt of grants. He observes that in aboriginal governments these two realms overlap and compete, thereby confusing and diffusing tasks of accountability.

The literature reflects the controversy that exists around the authority of aboriginal governments. The existence of such debate around such a fundamental issue for a governmental organization foreshadows the administrative uncertainty that resultantly exists within these organizations.

Financing

The lack of clarity around authority is reflected in issues of financing aboriginal governments. Franks (1987) stresses that aboriginal governments are highly dependent on government support. They usually have a small tax base and are often in remote areas where costs are higher. He argues that having enough resources to finance government is critical to emerging aboriginal governments.

Maslove and Dittburner (1995) discuss this issue and point out the effect of conditional versus unconditional fiscal transfers. While conditional grants may provide limited assurance that future governments will provide certain services at minimum levels, they diminish the ability of these governments to strengthen their accountability to their communities. They also note that such conditional grants

may be more readily available for programs and services valued by the federal or provincial governments (e.g. health, education). Therefore, while they reduce the budgetary flexibility of an aboriginal government they can also potentially increase its overall funding base.

Frideres (1993) observes that the establishment of formal aboriginal organizations has legitimized discussions with the federal government around treaties, claims and other resource issues. He notes that money really only became available to aboriginal communities around the mid 1960's with the provision of small grants by federal departments other than DIAND (like Secretary of State) to some aboriginal organizations. He concludes that the government funding of most aboriginal political organizations has made them more vulnerable to government control.

Angus (1991) explores the vulnerability of aboriginal communities in the context of fiscal restraint policies of the federal government. He notes that they have not only experienced cuts in program dollars, like post-secondary education, but have had their resources affected through activities such as increased logging, oil and gas development, hydro-electric development and militarization. These activities are fuelled by the state of the economy.

Wotherspoon and Satzewich (1993) explain that even aboriginal businesses are highly dependent on government dollars. They note that in 1984-5, only 12

percent of capital funds and 12.5 percent of operating funds for aboriginal businesses came from private sector lending institutions. They emphasize that most of the private sector loans have also been guaranteed by the federal government. Public and private organizational dependence on government is clear.

Generally, the literature describes the unusual financial circumstances of a form of government in Canada. Aboriginal governments are in the awkward position of having to rely on federal, provincial and territorial governments for their funds. The legal and historical construction of aboriginal governments has created a dependency and vulnerability that mitigates against aboriginal governments being self-determining and ultimately accountable to their own people.

Dynamic Organizations

What the literature illustrates is that aboriginal governments have a split authority. They have indigenous origins and inherent rights as well as a devolved authority from a colonial system. Aboriginal organizations and the individuals within them are put in roles where they have divided and often contradictory goals and values.

Aboriginal governments are attempting to rethink the coexistence of

indigenous culture with modern governance demands. A case study of the political journey of the Mohawks of Kahnawake by Alfred (1995) illustrates the struggles that are a part of achieving a community understanding of traditional values and the integration of such values into the practice of a community governance system.

As Alfred as well as Cassidy and Bish point out, aboriginal governments are not only complex, they are highly dynamic organizations that are experiencing great challenges and much change. Chartier's (1995) story of the evolution of the Metis Society of Saskatchewan from a non-profit organization to a government in the past few years, exemplifies the great speed of change that is occurring in aboriginal governments.

Mercredi and Turpel (1993) conclude their popular book by offering six different ideas for immediate change. They identify the areas of inherent right of self-government; treaties; culture, language and spirituality; land, resources and environment; health; and, fiscal and economic arrangements. The breadth of these areas is an indicator of the complexities of the issues related to aboriginal governance that organizations must understand and grapple with. Their discussion and challenge points to the rapid change that has been occurring recently and the incredible amount of activity and change that will be seen in aboriginal governments in the near future.

Generally, the literature creates a picture of aboriginal governments that is

full of contradictions and dynamic activity. The origins of the organizations are split between indigenous groupings and DIAND creations and the authority from which these governments work, is similarly fractured. The people within these organizations experience tension due to this fracture and find themselves working to be accountable to both the community and the external authorities. Finally, change is happening quickly, which in and of itself creates an environment of excitement, concern and confusion.

While many aspects relevant to aboriginal governance have been studied, like authority and financing, little attention has been given to the actual organizations themselves and the practice of administration. By exploring the administrative reality of aboriginal governments, the impressions indicated by the existing research on aboriginal governments as complex and contradictory can be further understood.

CHAPTER 3

THE RESEARCH JOURNEY

Developing An Approach

The purpose of the research is to explore the work of aboriginal administrators in aboriginal governments. Explorative research attempts to provide a beginning familiarity with the topic of study (Rubin and Babbie, 1993:107). As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a growing body of literature in the area of aboriginal government. However, very little has been done on the actual work of aboriginal administrators in these governments. An exploratory study of this work was therefore determined to be the most helpful contribution to the field.

Within this exploratory purpose, I wanted to develop an approach to the conduct of the research that would satisfy the following criteria:

1. facilitate the voices of aboriginal peoples,
2. share control over the research process between researcher and participants, and,
3. be flexible and open enough to reflect its purpose.

Finding an approach that would facilitate the voices of aboriginal peoples

was important because relaying their interpretations of their reality can more authentically make their experiences visible to the reader. Much of the research in the field of aboriginal governments and issues has been conducted by non-aboriginal people like myself. This has often meant that the experiences of aboriginal people have been told through the eyes and words of the non-aboriginal researcher. I wanted to find a research approach that would facilitate the ability of aboriginal people to speak to the reader of the research, not only to the researcher.

I further wanted to find an approach that would incorporate a sharing of control between the researcher and participants over the research process. Much of the research done in the area of aboriginal peoples and government has been done on aboriginal peoples, not with them. This necessarily results in the constructs of the researcher, usually non-aboriginal, being imposed on the data. The history of aboriginal and non-aboriginal relations in Canada parallels such imposition of mainstream thinking on aboriginal peoples. Colonization and assimilation processes reflect this power relationship. I wanted to try to grow out of this patriarchal stance towards aboriginal peoples and research, and attempt to work in solidarity with aboriginal peoples in this endeavor.

A collaborative approach to the research was felt to be a fundamental starting point to working in this way. It was hoped that such an approach would illicit different ways of seeing and interpreting the data, thus gaining insights that

I would not necessarily be able to achieve on my own. Also, it was hoped that such insights would have greater relevance and validity to the reality of aboriginal peoples if they were able to share in the shaping of the research process.

Michael Quin Patton (1986) notes that if a researcher wants her work to be utilized, it is critical to involve the stakeholders in every stage of the research. Token involvement would not shift the fundamental power relationship between researcher and participants. I therefore did not only want to involve aboriginal peoples in the research, but wanted to share control of the outcome of the research with them to maximize its utility to their communities.

Finally, I wanted to develop an approach to the conduct of the research that would be flexible and open enough to reflect its exploratory purpose. I was not testing a theory or looking to confirm previously held beliefs. Rather, I wanted to truly explore the work of aboriginal administrators in aboriginal governments. I did not know where my exploratory investigation would lead me and therefore wanted a research approach that would allow the greatest flexibility to follow whatever direction the data would indicate.

This chapter relays the research journey that I experienced. It begins by explaining the theory and values that underpin the feminist approach taken to the research.. The research methodologies that inform the approach are then considered. Given this base, the design and data collection strategies of the study

are described in a way that reflects the phases of the journey taken. The analytic approaches taken to the data collected are illustrated. Finally, the chapter considers the effectiveness of the design in relation to the three criteria that were articulated for the development of a research approach.

Feminist Epistemology

Feminist epistemology is critical of the assumptions that have informed western science. At the root of positivist philosophy are some assumptions about knowledge and reality, lioned by Rene Descartes in the seventeenth century, that feminist scholars have challenged (Jaggar and Bordo, 1989).

1. Reality is an objective construction, independent of human understanding.
2. This construction of reality is accessible to human understanding.
3. Humans approach the task of gaining knowledge as individuals, rather than as members of a group.
4. The way in which humans attain knowledge is primarily through reason (rationalism), sometimes in conjunction with the senses (empiricism).
5. The faculties of reason and senses are the same for all human

beings, regardless of culture, class, gender, race (universalism).

6. Reliable knowledge is built from simple components through inference from certain premises.

Feminism borrows from the insights of other traditions, such as Marxism and the sociology of knowledge, in its criticism of these assumptions and the positivistic framework for understanding nature and knowledge that has been built on these assumptions. However, feminism is distinguished from these other approaches by its recognition that the assumptions that shape epistemology are not gender neutral. This is common among the various feminist theories of knowledge, from feminist empiricism to feminist postmodernism.

The gendered sociality of their existence gives women a different perspective, and the place at which they stand -- their activity within the world and how they are esteemed in a gender-stratified society -- will make them practitioners of a different kind of science.
(Farganis, 1989:208)

Feminist critiques of research methodologies have not only arisen from a philosophical analysis, but also from the negative personal experiences women have had with traditional research and the concern that such methodologies support sexist, racist, and elitist attitudes and practices and therefore negatively affects peoples' lives (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991).

I would argue then that feminism is a standpoint. It is not simply a philosophical view, a stance or a doctrine, but rather a location in the political/cultural world (Winant, 1987). This standpoint is based in political experience. Feminism believes that sexism distorts the world, therefore it adopts an emancipatory standpoint. Its interest in human emancipation also makes it anti-racist. "Every feminist works from a standpoint that is just as likely to be anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-militarist as it is anti-sexist (Winant, 1987:145). Anti-racism means noticing and respecting difference and the knowledge related to the experience of people of colour. It simultaneously rejects the oppressive treatment of any race of people by another as well as the universality notion of "colour blindness" or treating all people the same.

Hartsock (1983) sets out five criteria for identifying an emancipatory standpoint. These assumptions are inherent in a feminist epistemology.

1. Our lives structure our understanding. (For example, the fact that I am a mother makes me see the world differently than my spouse does.)
2. Understandings between groups (e.g. men and women; ruling and working class; aboriginal and non-aboriginal people) are not only different, but oppositional.
3. Understanding of dominant groups cannot be simply dismissed as

irrelevant or false. (For example, patriarchy is not irrelevant to women, we participate in it.)

4. Standpoints are won through theoretical analysis and political struggle. (The women's movement exemplifies the struggles to be managed, both theoretically and practically, and the differences among women's experiences of oppression.)
5. A standpoint can be a starting point for a liberation struggle. (Taking a feminist standpoint makes patriarchal oppression obvious and, as Hartsock notes, once it is unmasked it will not be tolerated.)

Being grounded in a feminist epistemology means that an emancipatory standpoint is taken in approaching this research study.

A Qualitative, Feminist, Cooperative Approach

The research approach is qualitative in its design. Qualitative research produces descriptive data based upon spoken or written words and observable behaviours (Sherman and Reid, 1994:1). Qualitative methods are based on inductive logic and emphasize the subjective meanings of events to those involved in them. Qualitative research is contrasted with quantitative research which is used to count and correlate phenomena. Quantitative research has its basis in logical

positivism which requires that all propositions have to be objectively tested by observations and experiment (Epstein in Grinnell, 1988:185). Some qualitative methods are also based in logical positivism.

Deciding whether to pursue a qualitative or a quantitative methodology is influenced by the nature and context of the information sought by the research question as well as the beliefs and values of the researcher and her subsequent perspective on the question (Chambers, 1987). Given that the current research is exploratory in purpose and wishes to facilitate the voices of aboriginal peoples, a qualitative design was determined to be most appropriate. Further, as the research approach is grounded in a feminist, or emancipatory, standpoint, the qualitative design is not framed within a positivistic paradigm.

I then searched for an approach that would address the issues of power between researcher and participants. Critical approaches are attentive to issues of power and oppression. Critical approaches assume that an inquiry is transactional, that the researcher and researched are interactively linked (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Therefore they enter into a dialogue aimed at the conscientization of both researcher and participant. I had come to understand critical approaches through my personal feminist development. As my feminism was a driving force and crucial link to the topic of this research, I chose to term my approach feminist rather than use the more generic term of critical. My use of the term 'feminist

research' does not imply a particular method, rather feminism is a perspective that informs a multiplicity of research methods (Reinharz, 1992:241). As discussed earlier, this perspective, generally speaking, critiques the power relations constructed in society.

One of the criteria for developing a research approach, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, was the need to share control of the research process between researcher and participants. While feminism attends to power relations, it does not necessarily demand the cooperative relationship evident in cooperative inquiries. As Reason (1994) explains, cooperative methodologies are a form of critical approach. Cooperative inquiry rests on the notion of co-researchers and a collaborative engagement with the topic of the inquiry. The first step in a cooperative study is for the co-researchers to jointly develop the research study. From the beginning of the development of the design, to the analysis and conclusions, researchers and participants act in a collaborative way.

Fundamentally, what adopting a cooperative approach means to this research is that my relationship to the participants was one of co-researcher. Together, a participant and I engage in a process to understand the work and environment. Freire (1970) talked about education for liberation and the role of the teacher as one in which the teacher must come to know with them. This is the task of the researcher in a cooperative inquiry.

This approach is consistent with the feminist research ethic that holds that the researcher should be more than some objective being that collects data from subjects and then removes it for analysis (Kirby and McKenna, 1989). Good research practice dictates that I leave participants "better off" than when I found them. For aboriginal people this ethic is particularly heightened given the dismal history of predominantly white researchers entering their communities to "study them".

Finally, a cooperative inquiry increases the validity of the research. I am aware that what I "know" and how I come to know things is derived from my perspective (developed through my socialization). "Researchers' understandings are necessarily temporally, intellectually, politically and emotionally grounded and are thus as contextually specific as those of 'the researched'(Stanley and Wise, 1990:23)." Each of us sees the world through our own subjective experience. A cooperative inquiry necessitates that co-researchers be aware of our perspectives, our biases and that we articulate these in our discussions (Reason, 1994).

Feminist research similarly acknowledges the subjectivity of the researcher and strives to deal with the researcher's views and beliefs as part of the process, rather than denying their potential affect on the research. As Reinharz (1992:240) notes, feminist research frequently includes the researcher as a person. This means that I come to the research with my own ideas about the subject and that these

ideas need to be acknowledged and critically examined as part of the research process. Treating my thoughts as data allows them to be examined and assessed for their influence on the research. By so doing, the ability of the reader of the research to assess its validity is enhanced. While acknowledging my own ideas as data is helpful, feminism also requires that I do not use my ideas to silence the voices of the people involved in the research. As Ellen Stone noted (as quoted by Reinharz, 1992:242),

We need a different stance in relation to the voices of subordinated cultures - one I call, for the moment, 'feminist belief'. Feminist belief means putting aside our conditioned responses and allowing ourselves to experience total receptivity to 'the other'. It means before subjecting previously silenced voices to our critical faculties, we need to take them in to find out how they resonate and what their truth might mean for us.

Feminist research therefore necessitates both an acknowledgment of my perspective and subjectivity and a respect of the standpoint of others.

Feminist qualitative research further makes the assumption of intersubjectivity between researcher and participant (Olesen, 1994). That is, the researcher and participants "'share experiences' such that we recognize ourselves in others and they in us and can speak of 'common experiences'. (Stanley and Wise, 1990:23)." The researcher-participant relationship is therefore a critical element, not only in the data collection, but during the analysis and critique.

Feminist research recognizes that research is a political act (Stanley and Wise, 1990). What this means is that such research is concerned with social change. It is not an objective act, but rather seeks to create change in the power relations of society. As my intent in conducting this research is to support the self-determination actions of aboriginal peoples, an approach that would allow me to explicitly commit to such social change was felt appropriate and empowering.

Feminist research is sometimes thought of as only having to do with women and our issues. While my research generally includes both women and men as participants, the fact is that I am a woman and a feminist and therefore am conscious of gender issues. In most of the mainstream management literature reviewed, issues of gender are ignored. In fact, most administrators studied appear to have been men, yet this has generally gone unexamined. A feminist approach to the field would broaden our general understanding of administrative practice. As Spender (in Reinharz, 1992:7) explains,

at the core of feminist ideas is the crucial insight that there is no one truth, no one authority, no one objective method which leads to the production of pure knowledge. This insight is as applicable to feminist knowledge as it is to patriarchal knowledge, but there is a significant difference between the two: feminist knowledge is based on the premise that the experience of all human beings is valid and must not be excluded from our understandings, whereas patriarchal knowledge is based on the premise that the experience of only half the human population needs to be taken into account and the resulting version can be imposed on the other hand.

In embracing a feminist approach, I am conscious however of the warning given to "western" feminists like me by Uma Narayan (1989). Her work demonstrates how western feminists have often been ethnocentric in their interpretations, especially in making generalizations about supposedly masculine and feminine ways of knowing and being that, do not hold with other cultures.

An Ethnographic Methodology

Within a qualitative, feminist, cooperative perspective, I wanted to find a methodology that reflected the exploratory nature of this research. The term methodology should not be confused with method. Methodology refers to the framework, informed by theory, that orients the research that may or may not specify appropriate methods or techniques (Stanley and Wise, 1990:26). Methods refers to the processes, techniques and research practices such as surveys, interviews and observation. Critical ethnography was identified as a methodology that would satisfy the aims of the research and which could be compatible with a feminist cooperative approach.

Ethnography simply means writing about a way of life. It is sometimes referred to as field research (McNeill, 1990). Its primary emphasis is to explore the nature of a particular social phenomenon. It is a qualitative approach in that it

does not test hypotheses about the phenomenon, but seeks to explicate it. Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people. The essential core of ethnography is the concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people involved (Spradley, 1980). Critical ethnography goes beyond simple description to open up power centres and assumptions to questioning. Critical ethnography then is ethnography with a political, or emancipatory, purpose.

The notion of ethnography is introduced to commit us to an exploration, description and analysis of such a complex of relations, not conceived in the abstract but from the entry point of some particular person or persons whose everyday world of working is organized thereby. Ethnography does not here mean, as it sometimes does in sociology, restriction to methods of observation and interviewing. It is rather a commitment to an investigation and explication of how "it" actually is, of how "it" actually works, of actual practices and relations. Questions of validity involve reference back to those processes themselves as issues of "does it indeed work in that way?" "is it indeed so?" (Smith, 1987. p. 160)

Ethnographic research is concerned with predictable patterns of thought and behaviour. This implies the use of inductive empirical procedures (Osborne, 1994).

Ethnography uses a form of triangulation. That is, because several individuals within a studied group or culture are asked to describe the phenomenon under study, multiple perspectives on the experience are obtained. "Findings are valid to the extent that they resonate with the experiences of others who have experienced the phenomenon in question (Osborne, 1994:180)".

Ethnography depends upon a number of data collection methods and often mixes various methods together.

The field researcher is a methodological pragmatist. He sees any method of inquiry as a system of strategies and operations designed -at any time- for getting answers to certain questions about events which interest him. (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973:7)

Ethnography tends to work with unstructured data. That is, data is not coded at the point of collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories (Atkinson and Hammersly, 1994). Generally, ethnographic studies involve very small numbers of cases, however, these cases are investigated in detail.

The process of collecting data and interpreting the data is a "respiralling pattern where interpretation of extant data may influence subsequent data collection and analysis (Osborne, 1994:179)." Analysis is ongoing and involves receiving feedback from people in the field of study.

The analysis of data in ethnographic studies involves explicit interpretation of the meaning of human actions. Feminist ethnography seeks to conceptualize behaviour as an expression of social contexts (Reinharz, 1992:51).

Ethnographic methods utilize a variety of possible techniques in which to describe human behaviour. It was therefore determined that an ethnographic approach would be appropriate for my research.

While ethnography does not include a standard set of research stages like

survey or experimental methods do, it does have three phases that can be broadly identified (McNeill, 1990). *Phase One* is entered after the researcher has gained access to the group or institution being studied. This is an initial exploratory phase in which the research follows very broad lines of action, attempting to be as open as possible to all types of data. The researcher makes general observations and begins to see patterns emerge.

Phase Two is where ideas start to crystallize. Certain individuals, or types of individuals, are identified as key participants. This stage has been characterized by Barker (1984) as the 'interactive stage' as the researcher and participants work towards developing an authentic understanding of the setting or phenomenon. This stage often consists of unstructured interviews or guided conversations that provide a focus for interactions and data gathering.

Phase Three is the final stage in which the researcher identifies patterns and conclusions. While data analysis occurs in each stage, it predominates in the final stage. Finally, the writing of the report and consultation with participants on the findings are critical parts of this phase.

Study Design

The purpose of the study was to explore the work of administration in the

context of aboriginal governments. The study was designed to examine two aspects of this work, the organizational environment of administration and the daily practice of administrative work. As noted earlier in this chapter, ethnography uses a form of triangulation or multiple perspectives to understand the experience under study (Osborne, 1994). This means that different types and sources of data related to the same focus of study are collected in order to more accurately depict the reality of the experience.

In this study, multiple perspectives on the organizational environment of administration as well as the daily practice of administrative work were sought. Four major perspectives, or data sources, were studied,

1. Community and organizational members engaged in governance activities;
2. Aboriginal administrators working in aboriginal governments;
3. Hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; and,
4. Existing research and literature on aboriginal governments.

Participants

This section describes the participants that comprised each of the perspectives, or data sources described above. First, the research endeavoured to

get a wide range of community and organizational members engaged in aboriginal governance activities. It sought to include people from a variety of types, sizes and locations of organizations and communities. In total, people from 14 communities and organizations provided information regarding the organizational environment of aboriginal administration.

Snowball techniques were used to develop contacts for participation. That is, personal relationships with people in aboriginal communities and organizations were used to identify some of the participants and these people often suggested other possible participants. The number of communities, organizations and individuals spoken to in this first phase of data collection was limited by the time available for the conduct of the research.² An attempt was made to include a broad range of data sources, from all areas of the country, from differing types of organizations and from men and women of differing ages and roles in their communities or organizations. Specifically, the study sought to research politicians, administrators, service providers and community people.

The communities and organizations that participated were:

Algonquin of Golden Lake Band, Ontario
(a status Indian, band government)

²Data collection for phase one occurred over a two month summer period.

Champagne Aishihik, Yukon
 (a status Indian, band government)

Fort Simpson Band, Ontario
 (a status Indian, band government)

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
 (one of 4 corporations created to receive and manage the
 benefits of the Inuvialuit Settlement Agreement in the
 western Arctic)

Metis Society of Saskatchewan
 (a non-profit corporation representing Metis people)

MicMac Child and Family Services, Nova Scotia
 (a service organization for status Indians)

Missanabie Cree, Ontario
 (a status Indian, band government, with no land base)

Mowachaht Band, B.C.
 (a status Indian, band government)

New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council
 (a society representing people of aboriginal ancestry who do
 not live on a reserve)

Shubenacadie First Nation, New Brunswick
 (a status Indian, band government)

Southeast Child and Family Services, Manitoba
 (a service organization serving 9 status Indian, band
 governments)

Spallumcheen Band, B.C.
 (a status Indian, band government)

Tikinagan Child and Family Services, Ontario
 (a service organization for status Indian, band governments)

**Vancouver Island Bandworkers Association, B.C.
(an association of employees of status Indian, band
governments)**

The research design also attempted to gather data on the actual work of administration from those who are practicing it daily (comprising the second perspective, or data source, on the topic). In this regard, four aboriginal administrators working in aboriginal governments participated in the research. Selection of participating administrators was based on personal contacts and word of mouth. The four were:

**Verna Ambers, Economic Development Officer, Musgamagw
Tsawataineuk Tribal Council, Alert Bay, B.C.**

**Debbie Foxcroft, Senior Manager, Nuw-Chah-Nulth Community and
Human Services Board, Port Alberni, B.C.**

**Diane Modeste, Tribal Administrator, Cowichan Tribes,
Duncan, B.C.**

**Jackie Quoksister, Band Administrator, Songhees Band,
Victoria, B.C.**

All four of the administrators were employed by bands or tribal councils on Vancouver Island. As participants were from only three different Nations (Coast Salish, Nuw-Chah-Nulth and Kwagwilt) and were all from on-reserve governments, the reader is cautioned about the nature of generalizations of the results to other groups. However, the intent was not to find a representative group of administrators, but rather through investigating the work of selected participants to

develop some insight into the nature of administrative work and how this work is constructed.

The participation of administrators was completely voluntary. In some situations, permission for participation was required by the organization employing the administrator. The level of confidentiality of data was determined by each participant. None of the participants wished to keep their identity confidential, however all of them identified some data that was to be held in confidence. (Appendix 6 contains the consent to participate form signed by participants.)

The third perspective identified in the research design was the hearings to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The Commissioners conducted three rounds of hearing across Canada. These extensive hearings were transcribed and made available to me on computer disk by the Royal Commission.

The fourth perspective identified was research and literature pertaining to aboriginal governments. An exhaustive search of existing literature was conducted.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred in two phases. The first phase was an initial exploration of the organizational environment of aboriginal governments. I was afforded the opportunity by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)

to conduct research on administration in aboriginal governments. The purpose of this RCAP research was to develop a beginning understanding of the administrative environment within which aboriginal administrators work. The data collection in this research focused on providing insight into the organizational environment of aboriginal governments from the standpoint of those engaged in the daily practice of governance. This RCAP research made up phase one of the overall study for the dissertation.

As my general research approach emphasized the sharing of control of the research with aboriginal peoples and on facilitating the utility of the research to them, I began by establishing a guiding committee of aboriginal people to advise me on the methodology for this phase (see Appendix 2 for a list of committee members).

In consultation with the guiding committee, research questions were designed that were to guide the collection of data in this initial phase. The questions were focused on administration and the community, that is, the environment of aboriginal governments.

This focus was premised on the recognition that aboriginal governments are shaped by, and in turn shape the communities in which they are created and operate. Aboriginal governments and their communities are reciprocally defined through dialogue and the daily practice of governance and community organization.

Effective dialogue is not easily attained. As an illustration, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples heard members of aboriginal governments express their difficulties in engaging community members in discussion about self-government when so many people in their communities are struggling with basic needs and significant social problems. The research questions developed in this area were concerned with the mechanisms used by governments to facilitate communication and accountability with their communities.

1. How are aboriginal organizations defining their membership or communities? How are communities defining themselves?
2. How do aboriginal governments facilitate communication with their communities? How do they keep their communities informed and how do communities express their ideas to government?
3. Who in the organizations is involved in implementing communication strategies? What kinds of issues and information forms the basis of the communication?
4. How are the administrative functions of planning, controlling and service delivery affected by community interaction with the administrative processes of aboriginal government?
5. What difficulties do aboriginal governments experience in effectively involving particular sectors of their membership (women, youth,

elders)?

6. What difficulties do aboriginal governments experience in communicating effectively with other governments? How does this affect the communication strategy of an aboriginal government with its community?

A theme repeated from every quarter was the worry that, if the inquiry was constructed as an examination of the administrative accountability of aboriginal governments, then the research would "find" difficulties or problems in the organizations and communities involved. The purpose of the research was to support the efforts of aboriginal governments, not to construct problems.

Evaluating or judging the effectiveness of these governments was not the intent of the research and the guiding committee and participants wanted to ensure that the results would not be used as such.

Understandably, there is caution that if the reality of aboriginal governments is constructed as problematic, then judgement and blame can be thrust upon them by others. This is a particularly sensitive concern in these times when many communities are in the process of negotiating land claims, self-government or other agreements with the federal, provincial and territorial governments. The approach to the research questions therefore was not evaluative, but rather explorative of the issues, tensions and dilemmas of governance.

This phase of data collection was focussed on the perspective, or data source, of the community members, the leadership, and the administrators, professionals and staff of the 14 aboriginal organizations described earlier.

The research techniques used in each community and organization were primarily derived from a general focus on people. Participants were given the opportunity to shape the content and form of the information they provided. That is, they were given the general research questions for the study and then they developed a focus and strategy that was relevant to them and their communities or organizations. Practically, this resulted in some communities collecting their own data and in other communities the data collection was completed by the researcher. In some organizations, they decided to participate as an entire community (e.g. the New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council) while at the other end of the spectrum, some organizations participated by having people participate in focus groups facilitated by the researcher. Thus, the research was participant driven rather than researcher controlled.

This approach to data collection gave control to individuals and communities, rather than centralizing control with the researcher. It was viewed as the most respectful way to conduct the research and the most appropriate and methodologically valid means to garner information from the standpoint of people involved in governance. Having each participating community and organization

develop their own research strategy meant that there was little consistency in the data gathered from the various participating individuals, communities and organizations. However, the utility of the research to the participants was increased through such an approach.

Further, the validity of the findings is strengthened in that the participants developed their own constructs for the data and did not rely on the constructs of the researcher. Therefore, the chances that the findings more closely represented the realities of the aboriginal people who participated were enhanced.

Generally, the research relied heavily on personal interviews with administrators in aboriginal governments and tele-conferenced focus group discussions. Three focus groups of aboriginal people across the country were established. One consisted of administrators employed by aboriginal governments, one of service providers (e.g. social workers, health representatives), and one of educators in aboriginal programs.

Other data was collected from aboriginal organizations and communities through:

- o forms and documents (e.g. annual reports, newsletters),
- o surveys (conducted by organizations),
- o interviews with organization and community members,
- o observations of meetings and events (e.g. band meetings),

- o group discussions,
- o informal interaction at social events, and
- o analysis of pre-existing research data.

Organizations determined what information they wished to provide to the researcher and how they wanted the data collected. Generally, organization or community members conducted any data collection activities themselves.

A literature review was completed to assist in providing a framework for analysis. Finally, the transcripts of the Royal Commission On Aboriginal People (RCAP) hearings were analyzed to determine the reliability of the themes and conclusions evidenced in the data received from the individuals, communities and organization participants.

As the first phase of the data collection explored the administrative environment, the intent of the second phase was to look in greater detail at the actual *work* of particular aboriginal administrators.

This phase of the research aimed to describe the work and explore the question, what do aboriginal administrators in aboriginal governments do? In addition, the research explored the impact of the administrative environment (as considered in phase one) on their work. As part of the process of understanding the work, the descriptions and analysis of administration found in the mainstream literature were considered.

The primary method for data collection in this phase was interviews. An interview schedule was developed and pretested with an aboriginal person formally employed in an administrative capacity. The questions included in the interview schedule were:

1. Describe a working day - from start to finish. What do you do at work?
2. How do you know when you are doing good work?
Can you give me some examples of successes or triumphs? What is important about these successes for you?
3. What parts of your job are easiest for you? (Describe)
What is it about these aspects of your work or about you that makes them easy?
4. What parts of your job are the most difficult for you? What is it that makes them difficult? (Give examples)
5. What is your vision of the direction for your organization?
How explicit is this vision in your work? (Describe how it looks.)
6. How do you maintain external relations (e.g. federal government, community)? (Describe how it looks.)
7. How do you blend your personal and professional responsibilities? (Describe)
8. Who do you spend your time with in your work?
What do you do together?
9. Are there routine forms/documents, formats or processes which you come into contact with in your work?
How do you use these in your work?
10. What policies do you work with? (e.g. band membership criteria)
How do you work with them?

11. What knowledge and skills are necessary to do your job?

The approach to the interviews was informal. The questions formed the basis for a guided dialogue between myself and the participant. For example, the initial question 'what do you do?' often inspired a conversation that took two or three hours. Imbedded in this question were queries about the use of technology to assist their work, how incoming mail was handled and mutual scrutiny of their daybook or schedule.

Often, questions initiated the participant demonstrating their work. For example, when asking about forms used participants often walked me through the various steps of gathering information, collating and analysing the information and translating it for the purpose of the form.

Organizational documents relevant to both the context and the duties of the work of the participants were collected (e.g. job descriptions, day calendars, policies.) Participants were visited and interviewed at their work site in order to observe context, invisible work, busyness, etc. Wherever appropriate and possible, I also observed the actual work of the participants. Both observational and documentary data were collected to assist the participant and the researcher in the development of an understanding of their work.

Analysis

Analysis of the first phase data involved the building of themes. Kirby and McKenna (1989) describe a process wherein one constantly reflects on both the data and the process of analysing it. By organizing and re-organizing bits of data, termed "bibbits", into categories with identifiable properties and then using techniques such as cross-referencing between categories and hurricane thinking, one can begin to identify connections between categories and the assumptions upon which these connections are based. A simplified illustration may be helpful.

Among one pile of bibbits, I had a quote from a participant about a professional worker in the community who was "uppity". I also had several references by participants to the "brown bureaucracy" and one about the problems of getting community people to sit on child welfare committees. This pile of bibbits had several properties. They all concerned bureaucrats or professionals and reflected the relations between such people and the community. I eventually identified this as a category of data that I labelled professionalism. Through continually re-examining the data and my process of determining the properties and category, I eventually postulated that the increasing professionalism of aboriginal organizations in effect distances it from the community. This is a theme discussed in Chapter 4.

As noted earlier, data was collected from community members, the leadership, and the administrators, professionals and staff of 14 aboriginal organizations about their experience with the process of aboriginal governance. The research then considered the issues arising out of the relationships among the people taking part in the process of governance. Further, it considered issues arising from relationships between these people and others external to their governments, such as those associated with federal, provincial and territorial governments as well as other aboriginal organizations.

As this relationship-centred analysis was done, a focus was developed on the activities and related issues, tensions and dilemmas that make the practice of administration, particularly administrative accountability, in aboriginal governments complex. The concept of accountability is generally equated with that of responsibility. Kernaghan and Langford (1991) define accountability as "the obligation to answer for the fulfilment of assigned and accepted duties within the framework of the authority and resources provided (p.160)". For the particular purposes of this inquiry, the focus on accountability referred to those administrative practices that influence a government's ability to explain and take responsibility for its actions.

The intent of the research in this phase of data collection was to provide a framework for understanding the issues, tensions and dilemmas from the

perspective of those involved in governance. The research therefore was not a comprehensive survey of all aboriginal administrations or administrators. The experiences of participating individuals or organizations are not necessarily examples of good or bad administrative practices, or even of representative practices. Many examples from participants and the hearings are used in this paper to illustrate the various issues, tensions and dilemmas identified.

It should be noted that wherever possible in this research paper, data and quotations are attributed to an identified participant. However, as a good deal of the ideas and data were either offered anonymously to the researcher, or collected by a community itself and given to the researcher without identifiers, the data is often only attributed to "a participant" or "some participants". Also, the reader is cautioned that quantification of ideas was not done (i.e. how many people identified a particular issue) mainly because communities who provided data often did so by themes, noting that in their communities, a few or some or many people noted a particular idea.

What resulted from this initial phase of the research was an identification of the critical tensions and dilemmas that contribute to the complexity of the task of administering aboriginal governments. Participating organizations and the guiding committee were sent copies of the report generated by this first phase and consulted regarding the validity of its findings.

The analysis of the data collected in the second phase was of two orders. First, the data was queried as to the themes identified in the first phase of data analysis. To what extent were the findings of the first phase evident in this other perspective? Secondly, examples of particular administrative work were explicated in order to understand how their existence came to be.

The research was more than just the collection of observable, accountable features of their work. It attempted to contextualize their work in the distinct political, social and economic environment of aboriginal governments, to thereby understand it within the context of the organizational tensions that exist in aboriginal governments. As I wanted to understand the work of administration by listening to the language used by administrators to describe it, their organization of concepts and ideas was critical.

I engaged the participant, wherever possible, in analyzing the data they were providing to me. By offering the findings of the research from the first phase as well as data from other participants, a participant and I were able to develop new insights into the nature and construct of their work.

The method of analyzing the data collected in the second phase was inductive, explicative and reflexive. It is inductive in that the analysis is grounded in the experience of the administrators rather than a theory of administration. It attempts to go beyond asking what their work is to asking how their work is

constructed. The analysis is reflexive through the researcher's ongoing engagement with participants around the development of an understanding of administrative work. In summary, the actual experience of aboriginal administrators is the entry point for the researcher and the administrators to examine how and why administrative work is constructed. As such, the data in the second phase provided a new entry point to re-analyse all the accumulated data in the study.

An example may be helpful to demonstrate how this second phase analysis was done. One administrator described practices of reviewing letters, consulting with staff on how to engage the community and other activities that were intended to ensure that activities were relevant to the particular community. The questions then asked were why does she do this and how did it come to pass that this was necessary? Examination led to the issue of the use of non-aboriginal people in aboriginal governments. Why did this happen and what were the consequences, positive and negative, for aboriginal governments in using non-aboriginal people? Through investigating these questions, such issues as academic qualifications, professionalism, external expectations, internalized racism and accountability could be identified and explored. The discussion was brought back to the particular in explicating how all these factors could be seen to construct the role of a cultural watchdog for the aboriginal administrator.

In order to increase the validity of the analysis, the initial draft of this paper

was submitted to the four participants for discussion. This offered participants the opportunity to verify the conclusions and to consider the implications of the research for their work and the work of their organization. In one community, the draft paper initiated organizational actions around issues identified in the research.

In the subsequent rewriting of the paper, it became evident that further literature review on the construction of administration work would assist in strengthening the analytic framework for understanding the data. Such theoretical development and subsequent re-examination of the data predominated the final stage of the data analysis.

Reliability, Validity and Generalizability

In positivistic approaches to research, one attempts to test ideas and theories through the implementation of a research method. One speculates about the truthfulness of her ideas and therefore is concerned with any methodological limitations that may detract from her ability to accurately test them. Normally, in a positivistic piece of research, a chapter like this one would contain a section on the limitations of the research methodology.

My research tries to describe and explicate, or account for, peoples experiences in the world. It does not test theory, rather it accepts the accuracy of

peoples experience and attempts to explain how and why it happens this way. My approach is theoretical (in that it is based in such theories as feminism and the social organization of work) but it is not theory building. It rather makes actual connections (the how and why) between people and their experiences. As it is not speculative, the traditional notions of limitations of the approach are not applicable. However, an assessment of the extent to which the research was able to satisfy the three criteria for an appropriate research approach to this topic is desirable. In addition, a discussion of the validity, reliability and general applicability of the findings are relevant to its credibility.

At the beginning of this chapter, I set out three criteria for the research approach chosen for this study. The approach should:

1. facilitate the voices of aboriginal peoples,
2. share control over the research process between researcher and participants, and,
3. be flexible and open enough to reflect its purpose.

There were aspects of the design that encouraged the first criteria and others that proved to be barriers to its realization. The access to the transcripts of the Royal Commission hearings allowed me to provide actual voices. These excerpts were often used as illustrations for findings from the data collected from people in the 14 organizations and communities. As most of these communities

determined for themselves what data would be collected and how it would be collected and recorded, I was occasionally left with summaries of research collected. The voices of individuals from those organizations and communities was not always available, however the findings do represent the common voice expressed by a community. As focus group discussions were recorded, I was better able to ensure that the voices of those individuals who participated were represented. Similarly, as the interviews with the four administrators were recorded, I was able to share voice with them in the chapter on their work.

The second criteria pertained to the sharing of control. In the first phase of the data collection, control over the research process was firmly shared with the organizations and communities who participated. They were able to determine how the research would be manifested in their organization. For those, however, who chose to participate in the focus group discussion there was a lesser degree of shared control. I set the questions that guided the focus group and facilitated their discussion. Therefore, I maintained control over this process. Similarly, in the interviews and general data collection in the second phase, I controlled the process. While the interview schedule only guided our discussions together, ultimately I guided this process.

Generally, however the research analysis was turned back to participants at every possible stage. During the collection of data, participants were engaged in

discussion of the meaning of their data. Upon completion of the multitude of drafts of various sections, the paper was sent to the guiding committee for the first phase, or other participants to check out the accuracy of the data and its analysis. The draft of the final paper was submitted to the four administrators for review and in one case, the data was re-analysed given her input and the views of people in her organization. In this way, the research was very much a cooperative effort between myself and the aboriginal people, organizations and communities who participated.

Finally, the research approach was to be flexible. In that it succeeded, however its great flexibility contributed to its complexity. Because there was great variety in the data collected and the manner in which it was collected, I was able to develop a broad and multiple perspective on administration in the context of aboriginal government. While this study was never intended to be quantitative in any way, the inconsistency of data that facilitated the breadth meant that I was unable to assess the extent to which any of the tensions or issues identified exist across participating individuals, organizations or communities. In fact, because organizations and communities had control over their own research process in the first phase of data collection, I am not able to determine the exact numbers of people who actually participated in this phase of the research. Rather, I know that they represent 14 organizations and communities. Precision appears to be the cost

of flexibility and extensiveness its benefit.

Feminist research, as earlier discussed, acknowledges that the researcher is not some objective being; that she comes to the research with her own values and beliefs. This does not mean however that the research does not strive to be objective. Objectivity does not mean the absence of bias or a researcher's perspective, rather it means taking the risk of being proven wrong (Thomas, 1993). "Objectivity is the simultaneous realization of as much reliability and validity as possible (Kirk and Miller, 1986:20)."

The term reliability refers to the extent to which a measure or procedure yields the same answer however or wherever it is carried out. Reliability is more difficult to obtain in qualitative research than in quantitative research. Attention of the researcher to the process of the research through the use of field notes is most commonly cited as the most effective way to identify reliability problems (Kirk and Miller, 1986).

In this research project, a journal (field notes) was kept by the researcher. In addition, people who were collecting data in their communities as part of this research were also asked to keep field notes. While few did so, their experience of collecting the data was discussed and recorded in the researcher's notes. The utility of the field notes was that they enabled the researcher to spot threats to reliability.

Two critical issues of reliability were identified during the research. First, as each community shaped the research design to meet their needs, there was great diversity within the data collected. While the guiding research questions were standard (which facilitated reliability) the methods of pursuing these questions varied. Second, the rate of change in aboriginal communities and governments is rapid. Therefore it is uncertain that the data offered by individuals and organizations is reliable over time. In fact, in some instances by the time the research paper was sent back to the communities for comments, basic organizational data had changed. The data then reflects a particular snapshot in time for each participant and organization.

The term validity refers to the extent to which a measure or procedure gives a correct or true answer. There were several strategies used in the research to ensure its validity. As noted earlier, I made my biases and perspective known to participants. Doing so allowed my opinions and experiences to be treated openly as topics of discussion to be challenged or modified.

Further, the ongoing analysis was done in consultation with participants. Not only were ongoing findings discussed with others but draft copies of the research paper were repeatedly sent to participants to ensure that the findings reflected their experiences.

Also, a wide array of people were engaged as participants, thus increasing

the chance that the findings were accurate and did not, for instance, reflect the particular interview style of one person conducting the research in one community. (This was referred to earlier as a type of triangulation.)

Finally, the preliminary findings indicated by the data were reviewed in light of existing research and theoretical understandings of aboriginal governance and administration. The ability to logically make connections between the research findings and other research also contributes to its validity.

While the research design has stressed the validity of the findings and noted the issues related to reliability, it does not support unquestioned generalization of results to all aboriginal administrations and administrators in Canada. This does not imply that the findings are idiosyncratic. Rather, the research illuminates peoples experiences as personal responses to a general effect. It provides a beginning insight into some of the key issues of administration in aboriginal governments and how these issues have been constructed.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMPLEXITY OF ACCOUNTABILITY

The Issue of Accountability

The research journey described in Chapter 3 consisted of three major phases. The intention of the first phase of the research was to explore the organizational environment of aboriginal governments. As reflected by the research questions³, designed by the guiding committee, the issue of accountability was a critical part of this exploration. In addition to accountability being identified by the guiding committee as important, it arose as a sensitive issue for those communities, organizations and individuals involved in the research.⁴

The tables that follow present data related to issues of accountability collected from people in these organizations. Table 1 relays the comments of service providers, administrators, leaders and community members that pertain to general accountability issues. Table 2 presents data related to community membership, or constituency. The defining of a constituency was identified as a

³These questions, introduced in the last chapter, are also listed in Appendix 3.

⁴Appendix 1 contains the list of participating communities and organizations.

key theme in the data as it is fundamental to issues of accountability. Another key theme is identified in Table 3, presenting data on the professionalization of aboriginal governments.

TABLE 1 - INTERVIEW DATA REGARDING ACCOUNTABILITY

SERVICE PROVIDERS	ADMINISTRATORS	LEADERS	COMMUNITY MEMBERS
- "politics", <u>Indian Act</u>, election process, competition and feuds interferes with community input - elections and election time interferes with service delivery - front line workers are the ones responsible for getting community input - would like more community input but "we've had no more meetings lately, politics put an end to that." - social workers get authority for child apprehensions from the province, not band council	- traditional values must be known by workers - confusion around who's in charge - chief, communities, workers? - respectful chiefs makes for good working relationships - "accountable six different ways", to and from "everywhere", is time consuming - more work in keeping federal government happy than there is in work on own organization - have an annual meeting that is well attended, as well as broadcasted live on television and radio	- feel pushed by the federal government to adopt a municipal model - current models value a strong relationship with provincial and federal governments - need a governance model that will construct internal systems - organization experiences difficulty because of not being recognized on occasion as "a political native organization" - community members are confused as to their legal, treaty and aboriginal rights	- the direction of the organization changes with the leadership - the people voice their opinions at the AGM - the biggest problem is that "the white man's government holds the purse strings" - administrators need a deep feeling for aboriginal people and an historical and social knowledge of the people - government is hindered by apathy on the part of many communities

...Table 1 continued

-programs "designed in Ottawa" don't do so well at the band level -band gets funds for administering programs but not program operating dollars -land claims issues and politics affecting the work of developing the programs -problems exist between band council and the agency who delivers service because leaders "are busy with land claims" and are therefore not giving guidance to other programs -fear of decreasing funding for service delivery	-shortage of funds for administration causes band to use federal job creation programs to finance key administrative positions -accountability is a tense area with self-government and the expansion of services -computer and information systems training needed -an open door policy facilitates accountability -"anyone can see the books" -"I keep a daily journal of time and dollar expenditures" -band has received no help, aboriginal or non-aboriginal, in development of their organization -although mandate for child welfare, for example, comes from the province, the organization	-we are looking at a restructuring to present more of a legislative approach	-"many aboriginal organizations" distrust and miscommunicate with others -federal government forms its own policies and aboriginal people have little or no say in these policies which impact daily on their lives -there are difficulties to be recognized in both levels of government -lack of effective leadership within the aboriginal community -there is a collective bias of other governments against the aboriginal community -non-aboriginal funding bodies have defined our accountability
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....Table 1 continued

	-lot of time spent looking for \$ -funds are "thrown into the village" and makes everyone "fight like a pack of dogs" -shortage of funds for administrative positions affects turnover and expertise -lack of \$ means they can't set up or maintain financial management systems - this hinders accountability -responsibility and accountability are missing from agencies dealing with governance of aboriginal peoples. "Our communities are governed for us so that things will stay the same." -proving our worth in dollars, not in the quality of life. "We turn lives into dollars. This is wrong."		-a government can be set up on a reserve whether it involves chief and council or not. "We must redefine away from the colonialist setup" -lack of childcare and transportation impedes involvement of mothers and elders
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TABLE 2 - INTERVIEW DATA REGARDING CONSTITUENCY

SERVICE PROVIDERS	ADMINISTRATORS	LEADERS	COMMUNITY MEMBERS
-community has some non-status off-reserve people who are band members, as well as some who just recently got status -although not explicit, workers provide service to everyone, regardless of status -band management are "puppets of the Department", DIAND definitions reign over traditional ways -started a newsletter for youth as a means to begin to build the community	-3/4 of people "in the community" are band members -funding for a communications officer important for community building -receive funding by population and treaty, but community consists of status, non-status, on and off reserve -non-status people in the community have no input, treated as visitors -Bill C31 had a "big impact", but the community is adjusting	-land settlement to set out beneficiaries -three criteria for membership: self-defined, community acceptance, proof of ancestry -have a membership code -organization is a community of interest -important to know the community you represent	-a community is self-defining, they will tell you what communities they belong to -community definition doesn't have to be cut and dried -getting equality in a community is difficult -lack of pride among our youth makes it hard to maintain their membership and interest -traditional teachings forgotten or intimidated out of elders, alienates them from government system

....Table 2 continued

-not able to find one model for community involvement that works -don't service off-reserve	-no land base for the community -no funds to facilitate contact with people spread over large region -newsletters, radio, television help maintain community contact -women members may also belong to a women's organization that has conflicting ideas on self-government -band members are all over the province, this makes it hard to develop a community -while Bill C31 people have a say in elections and services, its not a "home community" to many of them		
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TABLE 3 - INTERVIEW DATA REGARDING PROFESSIONALIZATION

SERVICE PROVIDERS	ADMINISTRATORS	LEADERS	COMMUNITY MEMBERS
-can't hire own people because DIAND expects "qualified" people and an expansion of services; training dollars don't meet this increasing need -need the political and communication skills to work with provincial, federal and First Nations governments -as their education increases, their critical awareness of DIAND and its influence in their community becomes more obvious -increasing demand for training, dollars shrinking -on the job training common because of lack of education \$	-we need effective training programs -community members don't want to be seen as part of the "system" -professional qualifications needed so that they aren't seen as "second rate" -have to use non-natives due to lack of educated natives -need for management skills to relate to other professions -programs growing, need more and more qualified staff -hard to get training in the north	-standards are rising -pressure from DIAND to hire formally educated people -"the work is not more complex" -local services, like health and resource management, becoming more professional -new workers don't know the local situation -education is the key to the future	-inadequate training dollars because "government is afraid of the self-government issue: -no education dollars -problems are encountered with non-aboriginals who do not understand the administrative process within an aboriginal framework -have to be grounded in native customs, beliefs -non-aboriginals need cultural and historical education -need for management training

....Table 3 continued

-workers try to use a teamwork or holistic approach to the work, which they see as a cultural context for professional work -training and education needs to integrate personal and social (community) issues and needs -community want cultural relevance to be a part of the work of band workers -First Nations need to be "healthy", education is a part of this	-many bands don't have the experience to handle self-government, they are scrambling like mad to get qualified people -"how can we do self-government without management training?" -low wages means high staff turnover		-non-native people get hired and carry through on their own agenda -the brown bureaucracy can be no more trusted than DIAND -aboriginal governments have taken on many aspects of white bureaucratic systems -education alone won't get self-government, need control
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Accountability refers to "the obligation to answer for the fulfilment of assigned and accepted duties within the framework of the authority and resources provided (Kernaghan and Langford, 1991:160)." For the most part, the research concentrated on "dependent" accountability. Laframboise (1983) contrasts being accountable to others (dependent accountability) with being accountable to one's self through one's conscience and integrity (independent accountability). He suggests that elaborate systems designed to facilitate dependent accountability actually impede independent accountability and ultimately good administrative practice. Such a perspective resonates with aboriginal administrations who are inundated with accountability systems, leaving little time and attention for the fostering of independent accountability mores.

The review of the literature in Chapter 2 highlighted that the authority for aboriginal governments is fractured. People within these organizations experience tension due to this fracture and find themselves working to be accountable to both the community and external authorities. The inordinate complexity, and subsequent stress on organizations, of the requirements of accountability was repeatedly expressed by research participants as a key administrative issue, one that is experienced somewhat differently in aboriginal governments than in other governments. The institutional and financial arrangements of aboriginal governments as well as the cultures of aboriginal communities may partly explain

why this occurs.

The nature of accountability in aboriginal governments is unduly complex. The reality is that they are accountable to many. Aboriginal governments face external (e.g. federal government) as well as internal (e.g. community) demands for accountability and these are not always compatible. The relationship between First Nations and the federal government, via the Indian Act, is an established line of accountability that flows upwards to the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Federal Parliament. This external line of accountability overshadows the development of systems by which aboriginal administrators account to their communities. Beyond this though, the complexity of aboriginal governments may be higher than other organizations because they depend to such a high degree on so many outside sources of funds. The internal resource base of aboriginal governments is often minimal at best and this compounds the importance of external relations.

The identification of accountability as a critical issue for aboriginal governments reflects not so much a problem of a lack of accountability, but rather the reality that there is a plethora of sources to which they must account. Being answerable to so many forms of governments as well as to community members is a central part of the work of administrators.

Moreover, accountability is affected by institutions and cultures which are different from the mainstream. This means that different ways of providing

accountability are experienced. External accountability, a thick and multifaceted task of aboriginal governments, can clash with the values and culture of the community to a higher degree than in other organizations. For example, Health and Welfare Canada requires a community health survey be conducted as part of the transfer of health services to aboriginal communities. The survey is based on a random selection of community members. Such a technique runs counter to aboriginal values of involving key community members such as elders, of community participation and consensus, and of collective, rather than individual, conceptions of health.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the unduly complicated nature of accountability in aboriginal governments. This complexity contributes to the construction of administrative work and may begin to indicate how administration in aboriginal governments differs from that in mainstream governments. In its exploration of accountability, this chapter presents related findings from the fourteen organizations involved in the research, quotations from presentations made by aboriginal people to the Royal Commission hearings and existing studies and literature.

External Accountability

The Indian Act establishes a formal line of accountability for First Nations governments to the Minister of Indian Affairs and the federal Parliament. The Indian Act recognizes bands as the instrument for First Nations governance. Band governments are seen as agents of the federal government with delegated authority from the federal Parliament. The relationship between First Nations and the federal governments established by the Indian Act means that First Nations governments are accountable to the federal government for a spectrum of governance activities, including such aspects as the system of government used (e.g. elected or traditional councils), the membership criteria for a band, the making of bylaws, the expenditures of funds, and even the administration of deaths, funerals and estates.

Aboriginal organizations that are off-reserve are limited to incorporation under federal or provincial legislation. Thus, such organizations usually become regulated by provincial legislation and standards. For such aboriginal governments, like the Metis Society of Saskatchewan which is a non-profit corporation, the relationship with the federal government is most often experienced through funding arrangements rather than by legislated dependence. For all aboriginal governments however, on as well as off-reserve, the funding arrangements under which

aboriginal governments operate are a major influencing factor on administrative effectiveness and accountability.

Clearly, funding arrangements, including the strings attached, the structure and form of negotiations, the clarity, objectivity and fairness of the funding formula, and the arbitrariness of the federal government in giving or withholding funds, will have a crucial effect on the success or failure of aboriginal self-government. (Franks, 1987:70)

An aboriginal government may receive funding from several different federal, provincial and territorial government departments. A band government may receive, for example, base funding from the Department of Indian Affairs, funding for job creation through the Pathways program of Human Resource Development Canada, fisheries development dollars from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, child welfare services funding from provincial Social Services, and so on. Funding arrangements need to be continually and frequently negotiated as long-term funding is not readily available. Thus the acquisition of financing and the resultant tasks required for accountability to funders, forms the basis for the continued relationship with government funding agencies (Franks, 1987:91).

The resources of aboriginal administrations are already stretched by the activities necessary to attain funds. For example, band leaders are estimated to

spend 30-40% of their time in negotiating financing and jurisdiction with the Department of Indian Affairs in land claims and service transfer agreements (Franks, 1987:91). Accountability to the Department for the funding received takes another 30-40% of their time leaving little time left for the other activities of governance and administration demanded of band leaders and administrators. Dealing with the complexity of funding arrangements is a time consuming and expensive activity. Most non-profit organizations similarly experience this reliance on external funds and the heavy demand of accounting for those funds. However, financing governments as opposed to non-profit organizations provides a different perspective on the problem. The Penner Report (1983) noted that accountability was a time-consuming and frustrating business. The report concluded that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) systems for accountability of aboriginal governments was appropriate for agents, not for self-governments.

There are similar issues in the Northwest Territories in financial relations of accountability between local governments and territorial governments. Franks (1987) cited the Drury Study and its report of how most communities in the North West Territories were unable to raise sufficient revenue from a local tax base and were dominated by the budget process of the Territorial government. Budget negotiations usually occurred between local and territorial administrative officials,

and not between elected representatives. Therefore the ability to hold local politicians accountable for financial decisions was difficult. "The Drury report concluded that the complex amalgam of political and administrative institutions tended to diffuse accountability and hide real authority, which was vested in appointed officials in Yellowknife. (Franks, 1987:52)"

The complexity of financing aboriginal governments and its affect on accountability has been recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs as well as aboriginal governments themselves. In preparing for the implementation of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA), the Department noted, "the complex financial arrangements for implementing the IFA have militated against clear lines of financial accountability. (DIAND, May 1988)"

The reality of aboriginal governments is that they do not have sufficient sources of funds such as taxes or resource development to finance governance activities. They are therefore highly dependent on federal, provincial and territorial program funding for their activities.

Part of the overall issue of funding is lack of coordinated funding efforts; it is not just a problem of insufficient funds but also of funding transfer delays. There is confusion over who is responsible (from other governments) for funding which aspect of self-government programming.

An example of how confusion around jurisdiction creates problems for

administrators of aboriginal governments was identified from the data collected from the members of the Vancouver Island Bandworkers Association. Workers discussed some of their difficulties in the area of planning and controlling services, one of which was jurisdiction. Workers had a tough time planning for delivery of services to band members, when they were uncertain of the jurisdictional responsibility for providing services for on-reserve band members. It was unclear which levels of government were responsible for such things as daycare and family support services. The responsibility seemed to fall to band social workers to untangle the jurisdictional confusion around some social service areas.

Federal and provincial agencies may both point to each other as responsible for funding and supporting different services since the federal government sees itself as responsible only for status Indians on-reserve but the provincial government is responsible generally for some social services off-reserve. The province is normally responsible for daycare services, therefore the federal government will not provide on-reserve daycare. The federal government is seen as responsible for Indians⁵ living on-reserve, therefore the provincial government does not want to fund or support on-reserve services. This bureaucratic wrangling leads to jurisdictional confusion. Social workers must try to attain needed services

⁵The term Indian refers to aboriginal persons who are considered as having status as "Indians" under the Indian Act.

for their band members and figure out the jurisdictional problem in order to provide these services for their community. These workers noted that this detracted from their ability to effectively communicate with band members.

In a sense, maintaining rigid, confusing and numerous rules for funding accountability is one way in which the federal government can maintain its agenda of social control while appearing to make the progressive gesture of allowing First Nations some self-determination through a limited form of self-government (Angus,1991).

Malone (1986) notes that funding in the form of specific purpose grants further maintains aboriginal governments to a subordinate role in interactions with federal, provincial and territorial governments. Grants are conditional upon the meeting of federal funding guidelines, often for purposes determined and/or approved by federal and provincial governments. An example is seen in the Cree-Naskapi settlement where disbursement of settlement funds was continually dependent on approval of the Department of Indian Affairs. Also, some aboriginal governments are required to constantly negotiate for specific purpose grants with senior governments who may have their own priorities for discretionary funding.

For many aboriginal governments and their communities, a delegated form of self-government does not seem to represent substantial degrees of compensation and autonomy. No matter how much legislation is passed or how many

settlements are arranged, the reality of limited resources and authority does not change. Despite the fact that aboriginal governments need adequate resources for self-government to work effectively (Angus, 1991 and Cozzetto, 1990), the provision of funding by external governments seems to place First Nations in a situation where they are accounting to others for their autonomy.

Aboriginal governments are obviously experiencing great difficulties in attempting to establish a relationship with federal and provincial governments in which those governments recognize and respect aboriginal rights to autonomy and resources. In Canada, and the U.S. as well, aboriginal communities lack the resource base to make their visions for self-government a reality (Hawkes, 1985:18) and are thus forced into settling for limited versions of self-government dependent on the visions of the funders.

Stuart notes that the fundamental problem in funding is not only that it restricts autonomy but also in the lack of adequate provision for the "indirect" costs of devolution. The overhead costs and capital starting costs of aboriginal governments will be larger than those of established governments. His examination comes from the study of self-determination efforts in the United States where tribes struggle with the same issues of monitored devolution (called "termination"), inadequate resourcing and effective communication with aboriginal administrators (Stuart, 1990: 4-14). An example of these unanticipated costs is the

cost of facilitating better processes for community input into the decision making of aboriginal governments and in developing more effective mechanisms for accountability to aboriginal communities.

Research participants involved in aboriginal governance spoke of the need for adequate funding to fulfil their objectives. Whether it was the settling of land claims in order to provide a tax or resource base (e.g. the Shubenacadie First Nation) or receiving adequate dollars to finance the infrastructure of the organization (e.g. the New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council), the issues of financing aboriginal government was identified. One organization studied emphasized the ramifications of the fact that it had had the funding for its newsletter cut. This means of communication between the organization and the community was seen as a vital component of their ability to be responsive and accountable. Such financial restraints had far reaching implications for overall administrative effectiveness.

More commonly however, people spoke of the need to control their own finances. As one person noted, in a survey done of members of the New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council as part of this research, "the biggest problem is that the white man's governments holds the purse strings and we are not fully able to self govern ourselves because the Government does not want us to!" Running programs and services on grants and contracts from federal and provincial

governments smacked of 'work for welfare' to several participants in the research.

Clarence Daniels, in his submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples commented,

We want to manage the money, not administer the misery that is currently there. We want the ability to manage in its true definition. That is why I say, give us the dollars and let us prioritize our own needs at the community and design our own procedures and controls that should be designed.(RCAP transcripts, October, 1992)

The inability to engage in long term planning that would effectively respond to the needs of constituents was a commonly expressed frustration of participating administrators. A good deal of the energy was spent by administrators, jockeying with one another, both within and between organizations, for resources.

Even when federal government programs are devolved to an aboriginal government in order to increase aboriginal control of dollars, the amount of program funds transferred to aboriginal authority may be lower than when administered by the federal government. This is especially true if the cost of administering the program is included. For example, at issue in the current negotiations around devolving responsibility for the Pathways program of Human Resource Development Canada is whether, and how much, administrative costs for the program will be transferred to aboriginal control along with program dollars.

In summary, external accountability demands are a significant aspect of the administrative functioning of aboriginal governments. Aboriginal governments are generally highly dependent on external governmental funding, reinforcing the importance of dependent accountability in the actions of aboriginal administrators.

Further, the effectiveness of external relations affects funding levels. Funding levels are often insufficient for the purposes of establishing aboriginal governments as governments. The systems for funding are often inappropriate as well, impacting on the ability of aboriginal governments to engage in long term planning and establish effective management systems.

Finally, the demands of external accountability take up an inordinate amount of time and resources in aboriginal governments. These demands can compete with the need for aboriginal governments to develop and maintain accountability to their communities. As well, the structure of authority and jurisdiction within which aboriginal governments exist is complicated.

Internal Accountability

Aboriginal governments are not only accountable to external agencies. They also exist to govern their communities and the need for accountability to their communities is immediately felt.

There are a lot of people already on the healing path and they are demanding accountability back to them. They are no longer accepting decisions made on their own behalf. (Lorraine Dennis, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

Aboriginal administrators in the first phase of the research spoke of various mechanisms their governments used to maintain community accountability including holding regular community meetings, having open council meetings, establishing regular reporting systems and community advisory groups to name a few. In addition, several participants noted that the immediacy of community accountability is felt as they live in and are a part of the community to which they are accountable.

Community accountability is not easy to achieve. There are demands on aboriginal governments to facilitate social development (e.g. housing, child protection, health, education), political development (e.g. treaty negotiation, land claims), economic development (e.g. business ventures) and cultural development (e.g. language training).

Some communities have established priorities for their activities (e.g. the Shubenacadie First Nations has established the pursuit of land claims as their priority). While in some arenas, the priorities of political, economic, social and cultural development are constructed as polarities. In such communities, tension can exist between people committed to different priorities. Interview data

included complaints from some front line service workers that their politicians are out of touch with the basic need in their communities for food, housing and health. Conversely, some politicians expressed frustration that their community members are unable to comprehend and engage in the legal, political and policy making efforts that would shift the structural foundation of their organizations. Balancing the expenditure of energy among such priorities is a difficult organizational decision.

Constitutional debates, treaty negotiations, land claims, and so on are activities that characterize a political-economic path to self-government. A considerable amount of energy and resources are invested by First Nations in political activities aimed at developing new relationships with federal and provincial governments. Some communities are putting their efforts into negotiating self-government arrangements based on their inherent right to self-government. Many communities feel self-government is not possible without a land and resource base. As Chief George Watts told the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples:

[Y]ou cannot separate self-government negotiation from land claims negotiation, because once we put our signature on that paper in terms of our land and resources, we will no longer have power, other than the power that we have agreed to in that document. And if you do not have power, what reason would governments come to you and talk to you about self-government for? (Chief George Watts, RCAP transcripts, May, 1992)

For some then, pursuing land claims is seen as the first step necessary:

I think with the land claims process, if we can get it moving again, eventually self government, I think that's where our opportunity lies.
(Tim McNeill, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

For the people of the Shubenacadie First Nation, the development of a consensus among the community that settling land claims was their primary goal was an important step and has tremendous impact on how the administration organizes their work over the next while. It will impact who they employ, the job tasks of those employees and on what basis they will be held accountable by the community. Fundamentally, it will affect the nature of the dialogue within the organization and with their community as well as with external bodies.

Generally speaking, the political-economic path characterized by self-government and land claims is a highly visible one that captures much of the public's (non-aboriginal and aboriginal) attention. Yet, for many aboriginal communities, the take-over of social services has been the beginning step in developing self-governing communities. There are many examples across the country where bands and tribal councils have taken over responsibility for child welfare services (for example, the Spallumcheen in B.C., the Tlikinagan Child and Family Services in Ontario, the Champagne-Aishihik in the Yukon). Such child welfare transfers have been increasing over the past fifteen years. The development of aboriginal controlled child welfare agencies is providing the

opportunity for aboriginal communities to develop expertise in managing services, and developing leadership and administrative capability within their communities.

Those who are pursuing a social development path, especially in the areas of health, child welfare, family services and education, are not just interested in administering someone else's programs, but are particularly concerned with community jurisdiction and community control over policy decisions. In many of these arrangements aboriginal governments are ending up administering programs and policies as set out by provincial and federal governments. For instance, Usma, the Nuw-Chah-Nulth child welfare agency, was set up as an agent of the province to deliver services. Therefore they had to wrestle with how to balance their own policies and procedures with the provincial law. Such agencies continue to pursue the development of their own policies and jurisdictional rights to enforcement. Take-overs such as child welfare are pioneering critical aspects of self-government.

Another example of this is the Spallumcheen Band in B.C. The federal government entered into an agreement for funding the band's child welfare service in 1981. The provincial government also entered into a memorandum of understanding wherein the B.C. government respects the band's authority in child welfare matters. The Spallumcheen have developed policies and a service delivery system that fits their community's needs. For instance, there is particular attention given to placing children at risk with extended family. Spallumcheen also invests

Chief and Council with authority in making child welfare decisions. This approach is significantly different than that seen in provincially controlled child welfare arrangements. They also take care to integrate their child welfare program with other programs they offer such as culture, health and education services.

Responsibility for education and health services are also areas where many aboriginal communities have decided it is important to have community control. The high level of activity in these community social service fields is reflected in the high numbers of aboriginal people who are choosing to take social work, education, nursing and other human service training at universities and colleges across the country.

One important aspect to note in understanding the path of social-cultural development and community healing is the important role that women have played in pursuing this path to self-government. The call in aboriginal communities to deal with social problems has often come from the women. Women's organizations have brought the need for services for families to the attention of community leaders and provincial and federal governments.

The Saskatchewan Native Women's organization in the 1970's, for example, brought to light the need for transition homes. The women on southern Vancouver Island who were distressed by the justice system's response to abuse, have established an organization called Women of our People to train aboriginal women

to offer services to abused women and children in their communities. This path of community healing is one that is close to women's reality within their families. The health of their families is paramount in their everyday lives and therefore it is understandable that the leaders of this path are women. Debbie Foxcroft of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth is an example of such a woman. She was part of the organization set up to take over child welfare and through her leadership has inspired other aboriginal people to be involved in self-government initiatives.

There are a growing number of governments, communities, and individuals who are taking a second look at their priorities and working toward an integrated approach to development. The following is an illustration of one community's efforts to regroup:

I want to give you an idea of the confusion that exists in our communities. A recent survey conducted in one of our communities was asking a question and the question was: 'What is most important to you in your lives right now in this community?' ... employment was the most important thing in our communities because, the fact is in our communities, at this time we have upwards of 85 to 95 per cent unemployment and the welfare rate is as high.

The second most important concern of people who responded to that particular survey was that recreation was important and what is significant to me about the response to that particular questionnaire is that ...self-government ...was second to last in importance in their lives.

...land claims, rounded out in the end as being the least important, but I think the significance of the way the people responded to the question is that people in our communities are in a desperate situation. We have been pushed so far away from the

Canadian status quo that we exist in our communities on welfare and even though our people know that we are the original owners of this land and even though they know that we have and practice our inherent form of self-government, but the most pressing thing in their minds is the need to have a job so that they can take care of their families. That is the state of life in most of our communities, but fortunately we have a lot of people, a lot of good people throughout the First Nations of this country who have made the issue of our title to our lands and our inherent right to self-government as their priority in terms of their lives. (Herb George, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

The various developmental paths; political, economic, social and cultural, may appear to be different but rather are interdependent and mutually reinforcing routes to effective self-determination. As a research participant noted, an approach that would be consistent with the traditional healing circle familiar to her community would not dictate that one path necessarily precede the other (Valerie Galley). Governments, aboriginal and non-aboriginal, are struggling with how to come to grips with this reality. Once realized, it will affect how policies and administrative practice will be pursued. As Hudson and Taylor-Henley (1993) point out, "No further progress seems possible unless the federal government, or at least its agent, (DIAND), begins to connect and understand the community-level interrelationships between the constitutional process and service development (p.55)." Devolution procedures, claims negotiations, resourcing agreements etc., which are to apply to all aboriginal governments, will be affected by the recognition that not all aboriginal peoples wish to move to self-government in the

same way.

Administrators in aboriginal governments have the task of translating the perceived organizational mission into program planning and implementation. They must therefore attempt to address both healing and autonomy to be seen as effectively advancing the entire community's goals. Despite the rhetoric, administrators and organizations are working hard to advance goals in both areas. An administrator of a child and family service organization for example, must be concerned with family and community healing as well as with degrees of autonomy and community jurisdiction over policy decisions. Thus, political autonomy as well as community health and well-being are both concerns for administrators who want to increase aboriginal decision making power. They need aboriginal community members healthy enough to offer input and participation in effective planning.

The research questions formulated for the first stage of the data collection reflected an acknowledgement that communications is a critical aspect of community accountability. The New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council explicitly identified communication with its membership as critical to its functioning. They have an established position of "communications worker", but additionally "the NBAPC facilitates its communication with their membership by endorsing the fact that all employees are communications workers" (G. Gagnon,

Communications Worker, NBAPC).

There were four factors that were identified in the data collected that influence the ability of an aboriginal government to communicate effectively with the community. First, communication with federal and provincial governments has been constructed by the bureaucracy through the use of memos, forms and manuals. This means of communication does not necessarily work effectively for communication with communities.

Second, the size and complexity of an aboriginal government also can influence its ability to engage in dialogue with community members.

Third, intergovernmental relations can affect how administrators are viewed in the community. An example of this factor was relayed by Dave Rundle of Southeast Child and Family Services in Manitoba. He noted that he related differently with each of the nine communities he worked in because they each have a different relationship with the tribal council. He defined a good relationship as clarity from political leadership. Such clarity establishes a good communication climate for providing service.

Fourth, the type of program involved may factor into the abilities of administrators and professionals to involve the community in planning and decision making. Joan Glode, executive director of the MicMac Family and Child Services, relayed the following illustration of this factor. Because child welfare services are

stigmatized as traditional social control mechanisms run rather punitively by other governments (e.g. residential schools, large-scale child apprehensions), this negative reputation was somehow transferred to First Nations run child welfare services. As a result she was unable to find community people willing to sit on their committees. This has a circular effect on communication as the community then becomes out of touch with the service and issues.

An administrator suggested that along with critical skills in analyzing continued federal influence, aboriginal governments must try to weave cultural communication traditions of seeking wide input and involvement into contemporary forms of communication to increase the effectiveness of accountability efforts.

One participant in the research commented that communities should also take some responsibility in improving communications. He noted that there should be different approaches used in the way people treat each other which lessens division and derision and opens up lines of communication.

There were several strategies offered by participants for improving communications between governments and communities.

1. **Newsletters and Community Reports.** Donna Felix, Director of the Spallumcheen Child Welfare Program, noted that one way her band had attempted to implement a mechanism to give as well as solicit information was through a newsletter to aboriginal youth of the area. The newsletter informed youth of

community events, attempting to stimulate greater youth involvement.

Hazel Mills from Tikinagan Child and Family Services commented that newsletters and regular reports were distributed to all area band offices. Items reported included types of programs, offered, expenses, etc. As this agency was responsible for serving many different band communities, regular contact regarding services was important.

2. Advisory Boards and Councils. "We started to involve the community in decision making. An elders' council was formed and this year, on July 1, they will take over the leadership of the community from the government council (Chief Peter Quaw, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)."

A liaison worker noted that elders' advisory boards were good ways to stimulate interactions between elders and band councils or service agencies. This was also a way to incorporate the customary value of elder wisdom into accountability and communications mechanisms. He lamented that elders were not as involved as much as they should be in these boards. When he needed consultation, he would take the responsibility for initiating contact with elders (Ron Missyabit, Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre).

3. Surveys. Barbara Hume, of the Champagne Aishihik, revealed how she utilized a survey approach in stimulating wide community input for the development of social service programs. A survey was conducted of the

community in a way which she felt captured the impressions of community members on service needs and recommendations for service implementation.

4. **Community Meetings.** The Ehattesaht hold regular breakfast meetings for community members where guest speakers respond to the needs of the members.

Workshops and conferences were also identified in the data as other popular and effective forms of communication and community education.

5. **Media.** Hazel Mills, Tikinagan Child and Family Services, reported that cable television and radio broadcasting were occasionally used to report on agency activities to aboriginal communities throughout the large Northwestern area of Ontario being served by the agency. On Vancouver Island, the Mowachaht have enjoyed success in operating their own cable channel, The Wheel, to which all community members can contribute.

6. **Community Workers.** The Shubenacadie First Nation has decided to hire community education workers to "spend time" in the community, house to house, to talk about governance issues, claims and so on.

7. **Social Events.** Community "camp outs" and other recreational, social and spiritual events were also identified as activities that can positively influence communications.

Despite the myriad of efforts made to broaden communications, such efforts are hindered by large scale funding cuts to aboriginal communications. This has

resulted in the loss of newsletters, radio shows, language programs and other news sources (International Pen, Toronto, 1991).

Effective participation of special groups of constituents is a challenge for aboriginal administrations just as it is for all organizations. The particular needs of aboriginal women, youth and elders requires their participation in the administrative structures. While some aboriginal governments have taken steps to involve special groups, others have not. The Metis Society of Saskatchewan, for example, have established a Metis Youth Committee designed to "represent the voice of young people [and] ..build up a talent pool for possible Metis leaders of tomorrow" (New Breed, May 1993). Finding resources for such ventures and developing mechanisms for youth, for example, to meaningfully participate in administration is difficult. A youth in one B.C. community complained that there were no role models in his community that displayed their administrative work. He commented that chief and council met behind closed doors as did most administration and therefore the youth of that community were uninformed and uninvolved.

One participant in the research suggested that because the stories of aboriginal women were not being adequately told by others, they did not have a means of expression of their own. She suggested that aboriginal women have been required to start their own newsletters and radio programs in order to see their

issues addressed in a way which accurately portrayed their experience. While identification of this issue did not dominate the data, it was identified by several women across different communities. The validity of this issue was reinforced by several submissions to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. In fact, issues of marginalization were not only felt by women, but by youth and elders as well. As Patrick Polchies explained to the Commission, part of the problem may be an internalization of "Eurocanadian" paradigms of "patriarchy":

Because our present form of administration was created by and for, quote, white society, the elders, the women and the youth of our membership do not play a significant role in forming community policies and they're often overlooked by our administration which is formed largely by middle-aged men whose first responsibility is never conceived as being linked directly to the people they live with and supposedly provide services for. This is of great consequence to our elders, our women and our youth. The other segments of our population, which are most often directly affected by decisions made at the band level and because band policies are often produced without their input they do not feel they are part of any meaningful process and, therefore, our community suffers in all areas. I sometimes think that my chief and council do not feel they are accountable in any way at all to the people. In fact, sometimes I think they feel we all work for them and are accountable to such. (Patrick Polchies, RCAP transcripts, May, 1992)

Sharon McIvor of the Native Women's Association of Canada is concerned that the attitudinal shift necessary to better communicate with these sectors will not be accomplished in time to assure women's concerns will be addressed in planning for the implementation of self-government. Speaking in regard to First Nations

administered justice programs, she wonders:

...how will this impact upon Aboriginal women? This time is like an eclipse of the moon. It is a period of darkness. Native self-government means men keeping power and control over women, children and elders within the Native communities....There is no respect for Aboriginal women, culture, language, or traditions....There will be no returning back to Aboriginal matriarchies....This is a time for patriarchies. Male government. Male laws. Male power. Male control. And only men's voices It is not the women who want Native justice. It is not women who want a return to customary law. What is customary law? It is the law made up by Europeanized Native men who have an opportunity now to keep money, power and control in men's hands....In this time when we have access to justice, supposedly, and law enforcement in our communities, supposedly, Aboriginal women and children have never in our history been so systematically victimized and abused. What will happen when Native men have unfettered powers to dominate Native women not only in the home, but also in the community?" (Sharon McIvor, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

The issue of the involvement of elders in governance activities raised some concerns. There was a worry expressed by some that the involvement of elders, or other particular sectors, would be token. Examples of having elders attend meetings to conduct ceremonies but not to participate in the decision-making were heard in the data. Another concern expressed was that elders who had been through the residential school system had internalized the mainstream devaluation of aboriginal culture and sometimes conflicted with organizations who wanted to throw off the yoke of stigma of being "Indian".

Given the concern of special groups, aboriginal administrations must face

the challenge of not only finding educationally qualified people to employ, but of expanding the notion of qualified to include the knowledge of elders, youth and women.

The administrators involved in the research seem to be taking on the work of both generating community input into the operations of government and services as well as organizing output to communities in the form of accounting for activities undertaken through regular reporting. Communication, to be effective, runs both ways.

Internal accountability, or community accountability, is a fundamental demand on governments. These governments feel pressure to account for activities and progress towards political, economic, social and cultural goals. Integrating the interests of community members dedicated to different goals and balancing organizational energy towards these goals is a difficult organizational decision. Critical to achieving community accountability around such decisions and subsequent activities, is communication between government and community members. Finding ways to involve all sectors of the community that is culturally as well as administratively effective, is an ongoing challenge of accountability for aboriginal governments.

Defining Constituency

Further complicating accountability for aboriginal governments is the issue of constituency. In order to be accountable to one's membership, an organization requires a sense of who constitutes their organizational community.

The issue of what constitutes the public in aboriginal public administration involves many related but distinct factors, including culture, resources and ancestry and is critical to considerations of accountability. Identity as an aboriginal person is a founding element to any discussion of citizenship of a nation or membership of an organization. Membership is a defining ground rule for an organization. A clearly understood and accepted definition is necessary in order for people to effectively participate in the organization. Unduly complex membership status definitions affect the ability of an organization to act cohesively towards its goals. There is potential for sub-goals to be created when there are different ranks of membership within an organization.

The complex nature of membership poses several challenges for the people involved in the practice of governance. One woman participating in the research had recently become a band member through Bill C-31. She spoke of feeling marginalized within her community. Such feelings cause strains in relations with other community members and organizational employees. This is often

exacerbated by differential policies that affect the services they receive. For administrators attempting to be accountable to their community, the identification of these various groups of constituents affects how they are able to carry out their responsibilities. Identification of members and assimilation to the community becomes part of the administrative task.

There are two basic ways in which organizational membership is determined;

1. internal - membership is defined by the organization, and
2. external - membership is defined for the organization by others.

Whether or not an organizational membership is internally or externally determined is often decided by the purpose for which the membership is defined. A nation, for example, can normally decide who are members and who are not. However, if membership is tied to entitlement to payments from a federal or provincial government, the body making the payments has power over deciding who is going to receive them. As the Indian Act and its definitions of membership are left behind, new means for identifying constituents will have to be developed. Determining membership will no doubt be a part of treaty negotiations between First Nations and the federal government.

Although many organizations may be considered to be self-defining, this is

often within the construction of laws, conventions and paradigms manufactured from outside the organization; that is, the federal government still controls the mechanisms by which most communities and organizations can define themselves.

Under the Indian Act, as amended after Bill C-31, First Nations communities can now define their own terms of band membership within certain parameters. This is distinct from the listing of persons designated as having status as Indians maintained by the Department of Indian Affairs. The parameters require that bands inform the Department of their plan to define membership and that the majority of the band electorate votes for the criterion to determine membership. The Department of Indian Affairs must approve this application for a membership list and of the process by which bands choose to create it. This could mean that aboriginal band members may not be status Indians under the meaning of the Indian Act but could still be band members and therefore beneficiaries of band services (though not beneficiaries of services directly from the Department of Indian Affairs). Membership determination is further complicated by federal statutes concerning First Nations marriage, mobility and funding.

In addition to issues of status and non-status, on-reserve and off-reserve residency affects the definition of a First Nation constituency. Franks (1987) notes the potentially divergent interests of on-reserve and off-reserve aboriginal people. Because of different issues and interest, off-reserve people may require some form

of their own administration to meet their needs. In cases where off-reserve community members are not eligible to be beneficiaries of band services, like counselling or housing, off-reserve aboriginal people have to rely on whatever urban services they can locate. The New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council for example, is an off-reserve organization in that province. It was formed to represent those aboriginal people who had gone unrepresented by the band system. Such divisive definitions are sometimes bitter:

...no matter where an aboriginal person lives (on or off reserve) we are one, all brothers and sisters and should not be treated unjustly because of residency. (New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council member)

The control of funds is the mechanism through which the federal and provincial governments often try to construct or reframe aboriginal governments. Jockeying for scarce resources requires that organizations define their membership in ways acceptable to funders and which facilitate the administration of services. Organizations also try to define membership in terms of the needs of their community constituents. These are not always compatible. Such controlling practices of external governments, as can be seen in agreements between the federal government and First Nations communities, forces the development of internal membership criteria and resultant conflict:

I was finally accepted as a Labrador Inuit Association member on

May the 17th of 1990. I was elected to the Board of Directors in April, 1991. My membership was revoked on June the 6th, 1991. The reasons given for revoking my membership are, from the President, I do not fit the time frame. When I asked what time frame, he just said, "You don't fit the time frame." From the Vice President of LIA, my grandmother, Emiline Blake was not born in a recognized permanent community. And from a board member, I do not have a living connection in Rigolet. And I asked her if my relatives in Rigolet had died and if they had I should have been notified because it was important that I attended the funerals. They are still alive. ... It is ludicrous, ridiculous and downright stupid for anyone to maintain that one only has rights as an aboriginal person if they live within a claim zone. I can accept that certain restrictions may have to apply to those who have chosen to live in non-native towns and cities across this country. I believe that all native people should have equal status ... regarding basic rights and services throughout Canada. Any aboriginal person living outside claim area or areas and working for the benefit of aboriginal people should have the same rights, services and privileges that are applicable to the residents of the claim area that they associate with. (Doris Saunders, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

Though First Nations band governments struggle with inadequate resources to meet members needs and must cope with continued federal interference in membership determination, many bands have adopted membership codes and attempt to infuse some customary values and processes into them within the framework of federal guidelines. The Cumberland House Cree Nation of Saskatchewan has instituted an appeal process using an elders' council, for those denied membership. The Sarcee Nation of Alberta requires new members to have knowledge of local community history, language and traditions. Their appeal process involves committees of men, women and elders. A 75% vote of the band

electorate is required to admit new members since the collective rights of the community outweigh individual rights of applicants (Cassidy and Bish, 1989:56-58).

Negotiated agreements are another mechanism for establishing membership criteria. The allocation of resources, that accompanies such claims agreements, can heighten disputes around membership:

I also feel that it is very wrong to define our native blood in fractions. The Labrador Inuit Association application form states, "If you claim membership as a descendant of a person who was alive in March, 1975, and who had not less than one-quarter Inuit blood and who is not a person listed above, please attach complete details," end of quote. That implies that once you pass this magic number you can no longer consider yourself an Inuit, or a person of Inuit descent. This fractioning of blood was the white man's solution for assimilating aboriginal people into the white race. If fractioning of our blood continues and mixed marriages increase, as it is doing, aboriginal people will cease to exist. Surely the most important factor should be that we have aboriginal roots, that we identify with those roots and that we have pride in who we are. Individually we determine who we are and we will exist as long as the sun shines and the rivers flow. (Doris Saunders, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

There are significant administrative implications to membership for different groups. Community resentment of the new Bill C-31 members compounds the difficulty of allocating scarce resources and managing services to the new members. New members may not be aware of the culture or history of the community or may not know their rights or benefits. This may require the

administration to develop alternate communication strategies in order to enhance accountability to the entire community.

It is not always feasible to provide access to participation in decision making or social services to all constituents (e.g. those living off-reserve). As well, non-status persons have no opportunities to receive services from or give input to band governments (Dave Rundle, Director of Southeast Child and Family Services). Yet, this exclusionary process of determining membership and community involvement is contradictory to a traditional custom of wide community involvement. A representative of the Urban Treaty Indians Organization suggests:

It is not part of our custom to deny participation in the decision-making process to certain segments within our society. This is discriminatory and cannot be tolerated any longer. The fulfilment of self-government requires a vibrant and active participation of the people in determining their future. It cannot be a top-down driven process but one that emanates from the community itself and the community must be broadly defined to include those whose rights will be affected by any definition of self-government. (Margaret King, RCAP transcripts, October, 1992)

The task of administrative accountability is complicated by issues of membership which create tensions and challenges for the people engaged. Certainty of constituency and changes to that constituency are critical to effective planning. The Metis for example have the challenge of not only planning for their constituents, but of identifying who these constituents are and building a cohesive constituent community.

The scarcity of resources can intensify the issue of membership in an organization. The availability of funds, programs and services can position one group of constituents against another. The administrative task of effectively allocating resources and of accounting for those resources can be affected, daily, by issues of membership.

The Professionalization of Aboriginal Governments

As noted earlier, central to accountability is the relationship between a government and a community. This relationship can be fettered by the professionalization of aboriginal bureaucracies.

People involved in the research as well as those participants in RCAP hearings spoke passionately of the need for educated people to work in their governments.

Education is the key to the future and especially so in Indian Country. With the trend of self-government come many opportunities for our people. These job opportunities need training and bands cannot afford to wait much longer for the positions of authority. To me, this is what self-government is all about: Native people working for their own people in every capacity. (Clarence Fournier, RCAP transcripts, October, 1992)

On the other hand, people often spoke disparagingly about the behaviours of the highly trained people employed by their governments and the growing

administrative bureaucracies. Comments were heard that expressed distrust of the professionals and bureaucrats, even if they were aboriginal people from the community. Somehow, these neighbours were now viewed as part of the "system" that community people were reluctant to trust. Such divergent views, the need for professionalism and the mistrust of the professionalism, is indicative of a major tension existing in aboriginal governments that influences the ability of aboriginal governments to be accountable. As these governments get increasingly professionalised, they run the risk of being distanced from their constituents.

Assimilation and resultant mistrust in aboriginal persons becoming 'too professional' and 'too white' was stated by several research participants as a problem. Formal education for aboriginal people may be too far removed from local community contexts. After their academic immersion, they may experience difficulties in communicating effectively with their communities. Community members may not trust a professional white dominated paradigm as training may tend to change the dialogue of trainees. As this deviates from usual ways of relating in a particular community, it stimulates bureaucratic or professional styles of relating - through the use of government forms, formalized bureaucratic/professional language, etc. Students are in an awkward process of "indigenization" (Haveman, 1985).

This is a problematic situation as increasing professionalism in training

leads administrators away from more grass roots community associations. There is an emergent conflict of role and identity which must affect students, full-time or even part-time, who also work as administrators or front line service providers.

There is also a related irony in the necessity of acquiring mainstream professional and academic standards in preparing for aboriginal self-government processes. This is necessary for funding and credibility but can stymie other styles of working and relating which are customary in a local context and expected in workers and leaders, including those in-training.

There is a dual but conflictual expectation that service delivery workers and administrators must be twice as good as their non-aboriginal counterparts: familiar and versed in localized mores and values, as well as possessing technical and professional knowledge, expertise and work styles. This was identified as not only an issue for aboriginal governments to sort through, but also for representatives of mainstream governments and training institutions to consider. Further, as heard from administrators participating in the research, the existence of this dilemma should not be used to stop them from continuing their efforts to seek further education and still establish an effective dialogue with the community.

Professionalism implies an attainment of a level of education. It has certain associated behaviours, language and values. For an administrator or an administration, it means acting with responsibility. For some, it implies that up-to-

date knowledge or state-of-the-art techniques and skills are practised. For many, there is an illusion of objectivity and rationality towards professional systems. For most, professionalism is encouraged. It is a "good" thing, a progressive move, to be a professional person or a professional organization. An illustration of this is the credibility that accompanies the use of recognized techniques in decision-making. For example, the New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council took great care at their Annual General Meeting to use appropriate rules of order. Most everyone in the organization was thoroughly familiar with such processes and took pride in maintaining this system as it was not only effective for them in their work, but was affirming of their capability as an organization.

Professionals in aboriginal governments have a responsibility not only to their employing organizations, but also to the communities they serve and the professional body that sanctions their professional credentials. The expectations of these different bodies are not always compatible. Debbie Foxcroft spoke of the work of the child welfare agency called Usma:

This work is difficult, because I'm Nuu-chah-nulth too. If we've just apprehended their child, you don't know if they are going to say hello or punch you. I know the leaders, I know everybody and I know some things I don't want to know about people and what goes on. It's very tough sometimes. (Foxcroft, 1993.)

Usma and its workers were guided by, and accountable to, an all male council of chiefs who set expectations, provincial legislation, professional social work

standards including a code of ethics, and community expectations.

The professional education aboriginal people receive is not necessarily grounded in the experience of First Nations. Campbell and Ng (1988) expand on the work of Smith (1987:116-216) in analyzing how the knowledge, experience and interests of men is structurally reflected in academic and professional discourses and environments. Given the dominance of western thought in academia, their argument could be extended to acknowledge that this male standpoint, endemic to academia, is a western male vantage. Just as women's interests are subordinated, aboriginal knowledge and ways of knowing are even further marginalized within the construction of academic and professional education. Ruling relations are further reinforced by the imposition of mainstream professional qualifications as the requirements for attaining self-government.

George Erasmus, co-chair of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, commented in one of the hearings that education that does not attempt to link professional knowledge with culture will not serve aboriginal peoples well:

Yesterday the chief here and I had an interesting conversation. I asked him, 'What kind of teacher is it that, you know, we are looking at? Is it one where every aboriginal person is a doctor, a lawyer, a scientist, a professional? And if we did achieve that and we took all the aboriginal people on one side and all the non-native people on the other side -- and over there, too, we have the doctors, the lawyers and all the rest of it -- the scientists -- what would be different? What would be different between the two groups?'

Then he told me that what would be different would be what

is inside, the beliefs, the values, the understanding, the outlook at the world. And so, even though you perhaps became professional, similar to the non-native people, the difference would be that you continue to be an aboriginal person and that would probably mean that if you were going to maintain your culture, even though you were a social worker, even though you were a lawyer, even though you were a medical doctor, you are probably not going to do things exactly the same as the non-native person.

Erasmus notes that by explicitly taking the standpoint of an aboriginal person, new ideas and behaviours emerge.

You probably will start to challenge the way they do those things. If, for instance, you are a medical doctor you might, as an aboriginal person, decide also to look into the kind of herbal, holistic, spiritual medicine that existed in the past. And so, to also be able to combine the two and to treat the whole patient, not to treat the symptom of the problem. Likewise, if you were in any of the other professions, you would probably influence that culture in a way -- and that professional group -- in a way in which it would be different.

And so, it would be still possible for aboriginal people to maintain their culture, but it would mean that being professional would change over a period of time. You could not do things precisely the same because, if you did, you would be dropping your culture. If the school systems stay exactly the same, if all you are doing is, you are just transferring white people and you are putting Indian people in, it is exactly the same -- nothing changes, it is exactly the same -- then, what you have done is you have just shredded everything of the culture that existed in the past and you have just adopted a completely new culture.

There is danger that formal education may lead to assimilation of aboriginal peoples into the mainstream. Erasmus therefore concludes that,

I do not encourage young people just to go to university and just to become a professional like other people. That is not enough. That

is not the answer. The answer is not to have Indian teachers -- or First Nation teachers -- that simply do exactly the same thing that somebody could do from Europe that comes here. That is not the answer. (George Erasmus, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

Everyone does not agree on the kind of professional training that is best suited to the efficient administration of aboriginal governments. One participant stated emphatically that the best preparation for their organization was the experience and training one receives as an employee of the Department of Indian Affairs (Joan Glode, MicMac Family and Child Services). An opposing view was expressed by other participants. One woman felt that such training was the least useful to their government as it brought with it a particular, and unwelcome, perspective about the nature of how work should be organized, managed and accounted for. She stated that the ways in which western, male, professional and academic knowledge is organized, reinforces current aboriginal and Canadian relations by affirming the credibility and desirability of mainstream professional ideas and processes over aboriginal ideas and processes (C. Jamieson, Six Nations). The mainstream proponents therefore "rule" over aboriginal people in that aboriginal peoples are forced to attain mainstream ideas, processes and professionalism.

Examples of affirming mainstream knowledge as superior, more credible and necessary, were identified in data collected from aboriginal training programs.

While these examples were not evident in all programs, they were seen to occur in three main processes: first, the tendency of aboriginal training programs to offer more mainstream than aboriginal curricula; second, policies requiring aboriginal education workers to be accountable and report to federal funders and not aboriginal communities because of complex funding arrangements; and third, the tokenistic participation of aboriginal people on advisory committees for mainstream training programs. Several aboriginal people involved in the research felt forced to attain mainstream professionalism by ruling mainstream culture so that they can implement self-government.

Administrative systems are established to control the work of the organization. Administrative documents serve as another form of ruling, just as educational documents and processes do:

In the continuing search for efficiency in organizations, knowledge is being organized as subjectless and objective in order to create in documents a world known in common, which is thus actionable in the textual realities of administration, management, and professional discourse. (Campbell, 1988.)

Campbell's analysis of the use of documents as a technique for control or "ruling" (term described by Smith, 1987) is evident in the many experiences of bands under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act. For example, the first band manager for the Mowachaht was employed in 1971. This manager described how the band was faced with learning how to manage the band by being inundated with

"paper" from the Department of Indian Affairs. A steady stream of memos, directives, manuals, forms and so on were received that were intended to control their operation. The band was unaccustomed to this way of acting and everyone became overwhelmed. As a result, much of the DIAND paper went unread and unused until they began to learn how to use this form of direction. It reinforced feelings of inadequacy, but over time they developed a proficiency. The "paper" did more than simply instruct them in a new way of communicating however, it influenced how they organized their work. Previously there was little attention paid to documentation and correspondence, but with time they began to emulate the Department of Indian Affairs model of management expressed through the use of documents.

As their work becomes information-oriented, managers' understanding of their responsibilities get shaped by their practice. (Campbell, 1988:43.)

The professionalization of an organization brings with it a view of how organizations should be structured. The Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council for example, had developed a sophisticated bureaucracy to manage the number of programs devolved from the federal and provincial governments. In recent years they had to deal with criticism from member bands that the new bureaucracy was too centralized and out of touch with the communities it serves:

Of course we have to take these new government programs, but we

also have to make sure they become Nuu-chah-nulth. I firmly believe we are getting to be too much of a bureaucracy. White services with brown faces. We've got to start recognizing that none of these services or agencies is separate from the others. We've got to put them together so we work together, with the same policies and approaches. Our leaders are so very busy, but there's an element missing in all the work they're doing. They don't get the time to deal with it amid all that bureaucracy they're so busy building and dealing with. I think we are getting to the point now where there's a possibility to really begin to move toward adapting the basic philosophies and principles of who we are and were. (Roy Haiyupis as cited by Smith, 1993.)

As a result they restructured the organization to attempt to get their services to effectively engage with the community.

Individuals as well as organizations face the challenge of relating to the community.

Sometimes we tend to be so locked into the bureaucracy that we forget who we are working for. We are working for the students and that is why I would like to see some changes. I get caught by the bureaucracy that was created. (Paul Gull, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

Aboriginal administrators are faced with a bifurcated reality. They are expected to be "aboriginal", to be a community member, to be culturally aware and thereby retain close communication and relations with the community. At the same time, they are expected to be "professional", to behave in a way that is seen as credible to federal, provincial and territorial governments and agencies. The two are not always compatible. A person can be viewed as, or expected to be,

more of one than the other in different circumstances. The challenge is to attempt to adapt a professionalised bureaucracy in a way that respects tradition, culture and community values.

The cultural context of aboriginal administration affects its functioning. The Ehattesaht on Vancouver Island, for example, are working with their community members to discover the meaning of "traditional" for them and its implications for their administration. They realized that each person had his or her own sense of history, culture and tradition and that a community understanding was necessary in order for the administrative systems to effectively respond to the expressed need for cultural relevance. Knowledge of language, customs and history can be critical for administrators in aboriginal governments. The ability to reconcile this knowledge with professional management practices is an added challenge for aboriginal governments.

The distancing between administrators/professionals and community members is generated in part, by the necessity of administrators to account to other governments. It becomes exacerbated by the economic divisions between administrators/professionals and impoverished community members. Thus, the situation is problematic both in terms of attempts to implement effective communication strategies and by increased interference of other governments. This hampers the ability of administrators and professionals to work with and account to

community members. As professionals, aboriginal administrators and service workers are expected to facilitate effective communications. While their professional status gives them this facilitation responsibility, it also seems to diminish their ability to effectively do the job.

In order to facilitate community accountability, organizations need to have the trust of the community. The experience of many aboriginal people with the Department of Indian Affairs and non-aboriginal bureaucrats is a stumbling block in the establishment of a trusting relationship with an aboriginal bureaucracy constructed as being professional. Systems and techniques that are viewed as part of professional bureaucracy (for example, management by objectives, program evaluation, forms) can be seen as culturally foreign and thereby distancing from the community. Community members, disenchanted with First Nations governments and services which are perceived essentially as colonialist "western institutions", may disassociate themselves from those institutions. With the increased professionalization of aboriginal organizations, these organizations are faced with the possibility that they are distancing themselves from those whom they were established to serve.

Some aboriginal governments are beginning to recognize that they have something to lose, and not only to gain, through greater organization effectiveness via technical and professional means. A necessary part of this recognition is the

affect of the expectations of federal and provincial bureaucracies on an organization's ability to reconcile professional and community values.

Accountability in aboriginal governments is complex, and ever present in the work of administrators. Issues of membership, professionalism and means to self-determination contribute to an understanding of how accountability is constructed and ultimately how it comes to pass that the issue of accountability was so prominent in the data collected for this research.

CHAPTER 5

CULTURE, POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

The Cultural is Political

The previous chapter noted that accountability is affected by the institutions and cultures which are different from the mainstream. In the interviews in the first stage of the research, people invariably talked about their culture and the importance of cultural relevance to their activities. Such recurring references to culture led to the identification of the cultural context of aboriginal governments as a key factor differentiating it from mainstream governments and administration that are grounded in a foreign culture to aboriginal peoples. This chapter explores further how culture affects the administrative work of aboriginal governments. It highlights the interrelatedness of culture and politics in aboriginal communities and examines the role of culture in the development of aboriginal governments. Subsequently, some of the challenges for aboriginal administrators to work in a culturally relevant way are identified.

A broad understanding of the term culture is used in this chapter. Often, culture is narrowly defined to include only traditional expressions such as eagle

feathers, songs, drums, buckskin and other less stereotypical yet limited constructs. In fact, expressions of aboriginal cultural identity are extremely diverse and go beyond tradition into art, employment, politics, economics, spirituality and all other aspects of life. In short, culture as referred to in this chapter is the collective expression and integration of knowledge, belief and behaviour as it reaches into every aspect of life.

Strong cultural practices are a means to political self-determination. Ensuring the cultural integrity of administrative practice is a key political activity. Moreover, as aboriginal administrators have a vested interest in the political development of their communities, the work of administration in support of these efforts is often overtly political.

To rework the feminist phrase the personal is the political, for aboriginal people and governments, the cultural is the political.

Self-government must be more than just self-administration, but must encompass our form of laws and policies based on our culture and way of life. (Frank McKay, Windigo First Nations Council, RCAP transcripts, December, 1992)

In the interviews of people in the fourteen aboriginal organizations, it was heard that culture is a part of their work for self-determination. From social workers speaking of the need to have aboriginal control over the upbringing of children to administrators struggling to find effective ways to communicate with

community members, it was observed that culture and politics are interrelated; that in addressing the cultural needs of a community, it is more than just an administrative reality. It is also a strong political tool.

At the time of data collection for this research, the New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council (NBAPC) were conducting workshops in preparation of a report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. They discussed the role of culture and its importance to their survival in a draft report.

In respect to existence or the continued existence of aboriginal cultures in Canada, the delegates strongly felt that in order to retain our unique culture we had to assure that we took advantage of all the opportunities that are open to us. Only by having a health and vibrantly strong knowledge and pride in oneself, can you have the ability to preserve one's culture. It was stated that aboriginal culture can exist in a dominant society, but in order to do so, we must undergo healing of ourselves and our nations. The role of elders was continuously raised by delegates in each workshop and it was recommended time and time again that they must once again, take their proper place of high respect in our societies. Their knowledge of traditions, culture, languages and ceremonies are interconnected to our ability to heal ourselves. (NBAPC)

The activities of the NBAPC reinforce their view that cultural strength is critical to their organizational development. They hold children's camps and community camp-outs where cultural instruction is a part of the activities. They recognize that cultural education is part of the task of building a community which in turn is a critical step towards self-determination.

Many of the research participants also noted that cultural strength was a key part of self-government. Benoit Sioui's statement to the Royal Commission sums up this feeling.

It seems quite clear to me that any people that wants to develop and create a major collective project must answer three questions: Who are we? Where did we come from? Where are we going? Because in some communities we have stopped passing on the basic elements of the culture, that is, language, history, values. Without answering these questions, which seem to me to be fundamental, it is difficult to develop a viable plan for self-government. (B. Sioui, RCAP transcripts, November, 1992)

Cultural Healing for Political Strength

To further understand the relationship between the cultural and the political, it is useful to examine the healing endeavours of aboriginal people to reconstruct healthy communities, families and individuals. Effectively helping people to reverse the devastating effects of colonization entails a two pronged approach. First, aboriginal people have begun to develop and disseminate a critical historical analysis of the effects of colonization and racism in their lives.⁶ This information is empowering in that it allows people, in their healing, to objectify the problems in their lives and helps them to realize that they are neither crazy nor the problem.

⁶See for example, the works of LaRoque, 1991 and Acoose, 1995.

It gives them a structural understanding of how problems such as alcoholism and sexual abuse have come to predominate their communities.

The second step is cultural revitalization. Values, beliefs and traditions are supported and taught through a multitude of facets of community life including: pedagogy, ritual, ceremony, celebration, work, community life, conflict resolution, songs, stories and key relationships. These values and beliefs are also espoused by, and fundamental to the institutions of the community which are the backbone of cultural expression. Cultural rejuvenation is a starting point to build collective esteem and self-determination; further, this cultural rejuvenation underlies and directs the political pursuits of the aboriginal people. To choose a culturally specific act or ceremony or process is a political act in this context as it is equivalent to a choice not to assimilate, not to accept the status quo of the mainstream even though there is immense pressure to conform to prescribed models of the dominant non-aboriginal culture.

There were six predominant mechanisms or political strategies that were identified in the data for strengthening culture and community;

1. organizational practices,
2. education,
3. social action,
4. aboriginal media,

5. community development, and,
6. language training.

First, organizational practices were observed that facilitated cultural engagement. For example, data collected through interviews with an employee of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs highlighted that the day-to-day operations of this organization revolve around a value base that is distinctly aboriginal.

The Union emphasizes individual and family health by making provision for parents to bring their children to work, by encouraging and allowing employees to hunt, fish and engage in traditional activities, by giving employees time off to go to cultural ceremonies or rites of passage in their communities, and by encouraging employees to take part in protests or political organizing. Finally, the Union acknowledges the important role of hereditary chiefs and supports Indigenous people internationally wherever possible.

Not all aboriginal organizations choose to operate on these principles but these are some illustrations of the relationship between culture and institutional development. As institutions operate with the integrity of representing the community they evolve from and by expressing a cultural perspective in the way they do things, they also support the ongoing development and strength of that community. With renewed strength, there is a subtle yet significant shift in the distribution of power with the dominant society as these actions serve to lift the

weight of historical oppression. Many participants spoke of the pride they have in their cultural practices and with this pride comes a different outlook on their relationship as aboriginal peoples with the dominant culture.

Second, education was commonly and forcefully heard as an important strategy for cultural and political autonomy. In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood issued a report that suggested that aboriginal control over education is a necessary requisite to an educational system that would fit the cultural and contextual needs of local communities. In this sense, the report, already familiar with the notions of self-determination associated with contemporary self-government discourse and concepts, appears to recognize and assert a growing articulation of the idea that the cultural is the political. Political jurisdiction ensures that addressing of the cultural is possible, and, as Cozzetto (1992) has implied, the cultural component is as necessary as the political, since without a distinct First Nations group there would not be a First Nations self-governing unit. They need each other to survive.

Aboriginal education institutions are one example of cultural revitalization that has immense political power. Mainstream curriculum, like media, has historically been used to diminish or destroy aboriginal cultural distinction. The residential schools are a tangible and, at times, violent example of the assimilative intentions of the Canadian government in its treatment of aboriginal people.

For a century or more, DIAND attempted to destroy the diversity of Aboriginal world-views, cultures, and languages. It defined education as transforming the mind of Aboriginal youth rather than educating it. Through ill-conceived government policies and plans, Aboriginal youths were subjected to a combination of powerful but profoundly distracting forces of cognitive imperialism and colonization. Various boarding schools, industrial schools, day schools, and Eurocentric educational practices ignored or rejected their world-views, languages, and values of Aboriginal parents in the education of their children. The outcome was the gradual loss of these world-views, languages, and cultures and the creation of widespread social and psychological upheaval in Aboriginal communities. (Marie Battiste, 1995:viii)

Though educational services for aboriginal peoples have evolved somewhat since the residential schools, the institutions are still, in large part, controlled by federal and provincial governments. Because this education system is based in Western culture, it is largely incapable of delivering curriculum and instruction that promotes culture and is relevant to the lives of aboriginal people.

Indian education recognizes the conflict, tensions, and struggle between itself and white education as well as with education generally. Western education is in content and structure hostile to Native people. It must be straightforwardly realized that education, as currently practiced, is cultural genocide. (Hampton, 1988:72)

One woman interviewed, who had worked and studied in the education system, noted that aboriginal students of mainstream schools in the past thirty years see little or no validation of their lives. Most report stories of blatant racism, stereotyping and ignorance. In short, she concluded that these institutions have

been a colossal failure.

In furthering the goals of self-determination aboriginal people have begun to develop their own education institutions based on the realization that their children will not develop culturally in mainstream schools. At times parents have made the decision to simply remove their children from mainstream schools and begin their own school with what little resources they had. These schools offer a curriculum that is tailored to the cultural needs of the community and, by so doing, advance a political agenda of self-determination and self-government (Archibald, 1995).

Such was the case at Mount Currie in 1973 when nine families withdrew their twenty-seven children from the public school in order to give them a chance to learn and develop an understanding of their culture and language which was not offered in the provincial school system. The parents began the school, with few resources or experience in order to insure the ongoing cultural survival of their nation. In the 1950's the community had a DIAND operated school (where speaking one's language was punishable). By the 1960's it was a federal school run by the Sisters of Christ the King and in the late sixties, the government began to phase out the school (one grade per year beginning with grade 8) and send the children to Pemberton school approximately 6 miles away. The parents wanted to keep their children in the community and provide them with language programs

and other culturally relevant curriculum they felt would offer their children a quality education. In the past, many aboriginal students were put together in "ungraded classrooms" where all the students worked at different levels and most did not graduate with grade twelve. Taking this path, the parents made a political statement by refusing to quietly assimilate into the mainstream where their culture was not supported.

In twenty years, the school has evolved significantly and now provides a daycare, a nursery, instruction for kindergarten to grade twelve, adult basic education and pre-employment programs. Graduates have entered a variety of post-secondary institutions including Simon Fraser University, the University of B.C. and the University of Victoria as well as community college programs such as Caribou College.

The third mechanism identified for strengthening culture and community was social action. The concerted reactions of aboriginal women to section 12(1)b of the Indian Act, which denied designation of status to women who married non-status Indian men, is a significant illustration of the close relationship between culture and politics. The women of Tobique and many others across the country, (based on their cultural birthright) undertook a massive campaign of political organizing and protest to overthrow these laws. In this specific case, women led the way for other aboriginal people to question the membership guidelines and the

overall impact of the Indian Act which had the effect of strengthening cultural resolve and self-determined political action. It also gave some power back to the people who had been alienated from their communities, their families, their heritage and parts of their cultural identity for many years due to Section 12(1)b.

Fourth, the development of aboriginal media institutions further illustrates the modern cultural development that is political in nature. For generations aboriginal peoples' reality was essentially omitted from all media. The information that was used for print and film was often based in racism and stereotypes that effectively sustained the marginalization and oppression of aboriginal people. More recently, aboriginal people have begun the work of validating their own lives by telling their own stories through their own media institutions.

One example is the proliferation of aboriginal controlled newspapers. There are regular national and regional publications distributed across the country that are staffed by aboriginal writers who write about aboriginal issues. The Native Voice, Windspeaker, Awkwesasne Notes, and Ha-Shilth-Sa (the Nuu-Chah-Nulth paper) are only a few examples of these publications which have become vital communication links for people across the country.

Additionally, there are a number of aboriginal novelists and playwrights who are presently publishing books, plays and movie scripts for North American audiences that portray an authentic view of aboriginal people's lives from their own

perspective. As well there are recent television, video and film productions by aboriginal people that present an alternative view of history and culture. For example, Alanis Obomsawin directed Kanesatake: 270 Years of Resistance which chronicles the events in the summer of 1990 during what the mainstream media termed "the OKA crisis". In contrast to the mainstream media which presented much of their story from the army's and government's side of the razor wire, this video is about life inside the blockade and the political and historical events leading up to and following the events. Its production is a poignant political act as it is highly critical of the way the federal and provincial governments dealt with the issue.

In the modern technological information age, the media holds immense political power as it produces knowledge, shaping our exposure to and perception of events around the world. This process is controlled by a core of business and political elites that represent the interests of a relatively privileged few (Chomsky, 1992). It is driven by the values of capitalism and democracy that have historically ensured aboriginal people remain politically, economically and socially marginalized. As aboriginal people gain some control over their own media institutions, they have access to a new set of tools to develop culturally and politically. In this way, their concerns are slowly able to gain authentic representation in the mainstream.

The fifth political strategy identified was community development. One of the communities involved in the research was the Mowachaht who have recognized the interrelatedness of cultural health with community development. They have been engaged in a community development process aimed at relocating their reserve and fostering community health. While they initially focussed on the political negotiations necessary to achieve the relocation, they have discovered that community health includes more than just moving to a more environmentally safe location. Through their community development process they have begun to re-learn their songs, dances and other cultural aspects and as a result are developing a stronger sense of community that facilitates their political goals.

Finally, the sixth mechanism or political strategy for cultural and community strength is language training. Language was identified by some participants as the foundation for a strong culture and ultimately for self-determination. Such a view was also repeatedly heard by the Royal Commission.

Language impacts on our cultural, educational, social, economic and political life, therefore language has a direct bearing on how we see ourselves as a people and our role in self-government, on land claims and our claim to a distinct society. (Dawna LeBlanc, RCAP transcripts, June, 1992)

Ms. LeBlanc further explained that if language is lost, aboriginal people will lose any gains made through the settling of land claims or treaties. They will only be,

in her words, "a nation of brown-skinned people" with rights but not culture to make them distinct.

The recent holding of the First Peoples' Language Conference in Vancouver (March, 1995) exemplifies this recognition of the importance of language and culture. Aboriginal people from around B.C. gathered to discuss the importance of aboriginal languages to the future of First Nations and to share strategies and initiatives to revitalize aboriginal languages and cultures. Bobbi Smith, a conference presenter, noted what many participants in the research expressed.

In the healing process it has been understood that one of the first steps is to identify our traumas and grieve them. It has also been taught by the Elders that the reclamation of our language and culture are our path to complete healing of the mental, physical, emotional and spiritual parts of Self. In healing individuals, it will then be possible to contribute positively to the social, political, economic and cultural well-being of our communities.

There are many examples of political expressions of aboriginal cultural self-determination that take place daily. Individuals may choose small acts of rebellion such as choosing to have a traditional marriage ceremony even though it is not recognized by provincial governments. Communities are using justice, child welfare, mental health, economic development, artistic or spiritual means to accomplish the same end. All of these actions are determined statements of ongoing cultural distinction, autonomy and development. In short, they echo the

same cultural self-sufficiency aboriginal people enjoyed as nations prior to their contact with Europeans. These acts of defiance continue to be played out within, or in reaction to, the same mainstream institutions that were used to advance the goals of assimilation. The changes are necessary for the ongoing survival and development of aboriginal cultures, and at the same time, they are political by nature in that they all resist the status quo that seeks continued assimilation into Canadian society.

Social Movement Communities

The effect of culture and politics on administrative work is not readily found in the mainstream administration literature. Hayes (1984) does note that good managers are consciously competent politically. However, he describes the political work as exercising power and influence within the organization.

Gowler and Legge (1983) posit an interesting observation about management work. They suggest that management is essentially an oral tradition. If management is about a communication, a language, a way of speaking and writing, then the implementation of management practices as dominant cultures define it in aboriginal organizations can, at minimum, create a cultural dissonance for the non-aboriginal employees. Beyond this, the imposition of mainstream

management practices in effect assimilates the aboriginal organization to the mainstream. Gowler and Legge note that some cultures and languages do not have an equivalent word for "achievement" (French) or "decision-making" (Japanese). The affect of mainstream administrative language on the construction of work in aboriginal governments highlights the additional responsibility that aboriginal administrators feel to bridge culture with administrative practice.

While culture and politics do not appear significantly in administrative literature, they do form the basis for the sociological concept of social movements. Taylor and Whittier (1992) define a social movement community as, "a network of individuals and groups loosely linked through an institutional base, multiple goals and actions, and a collective identity that affirms members' common interests in opposition to dominant groups." Carroll (1992) explains that new social movements are "viewed as instances of cultural and political praxis through which new identities are formed, new ways of life are tested, and new forms of community are prefigured."

Douglas West told the Royal Commission that "culture changes and culture is political" (RCAP transcripts, October, 1992.) He noted that aboriginal societies are changing and their membership and ways of life will change as their political and cultural reality shifts. Such social movement perspectives provide a different basis for understanding aboriginal administration than what is understood in

mainstream administrative literature.

For example, social movement communities consist of people with vested interests in the goals and activities of the organization. Vested interest is not a common concept in mainstream administrative literature (except in negative terms such as in conflict of interest). People with vested interests however are the reality of aboriginal governments.

Valerie Galley, a participant in the research, emphasized that "It's not 'just a job' for aboriginal workers." Aboriginal people have a great deal at stake in the work of their governments. It is their personal future and that of their families, as well as the future of the organization. Another participant saw her work in an aboriginal government as a community responsibility. She felt an obligation to her community and therefore to her work as an administrator.

Aboriginal governments are forming new ways of thinking about administration as they bring together their cultural perspective with their political goals. As such they are social movement communities who are forging new communities, with cultures and organizations that reflect their modern reality.

Challenges of Working in a Culturally Relevant Way

The ability of aboriginal governments to work in a culturally relevant way

is affected by issues of accountability, as discussed in the previous chapter, and by other realities of aboriginal governments and communities.

One issue identified by some participants was the lack of clarity that exists in some communities about what their cultural traditions actually entail. The Mowachaht, for example, had found their cultural practices diminished over the years so when they undertook to revitalize their cultural practices they had to recreate them from what information they could gather and from the practices of neighbouring communities. For instance, they borrowed songs and dances from other Nuu-Chah-Nulth groups.

The Ehattesaht, another Nuu-Chah-Nulth community, was interested in returning to traditional forms of governance and decision-making. They realized, however, that there were different recollections among the elders as to what these practices were. They therefore decided that they needed a process to develop community consensus around traditional ways of governance before they could undertake any "return" to traditional ways.

A major issue identified by many participants was the effect of non-aboriginal people working in their organizations on their ability to work in a culturally relevant way.

The 'Indian Industry' has proven to be a very lucrative business for many opportunistic non-natives for many years and, unfortunately, this still continues today. There are non-native parasitic consultants

waiting in the wings to seize the opportunity to move in on the misinformed aboriginal communities and dispense their own versions on the applicability of aboriginal self-government...There are, unfortunately, some aboriginal groups that have more non-native experts on staff than native people; so much for self-determination. (Carol Gauthier, RCAP transcripts, 1992)

Participants expressed the concern that the use of non-aboriginal people impeded aboriginal communities from developing leadership skills and prevented their participation in decision making. Further, this resulted in the continuing trend of culturally and community inappropriate services and programs that aboriginal communities have had to contend with since long before self-government initiatives.

Some participants noted that the use of qualified non-aboriginal staff is facilitating their self-government aspirations and the demands for external accountability. However, there was concern expressed that the corollary to this is a lack of opportunity for experiential learning for aboriginal people in government and service delivery as current leadership and consultation opportunities are occupied by non-aboriginal people. This means that although the use of non-aboriginal people facilitates self-government, it can impede their ability to work in a culturally relevant way and ultimately affects their ability to develop self-determining communities.

The cultural reality of administrative work in aboriginal governments is that

it is often practiced differently than in mainstream governments. The cultural and community foundation of aboriginal governments and administrations means that administrators have a vested interest in the organization, have community roles and responsibilities, and have a sense of community affiliation, all which are considered as a birthright and a lifetime obligation.

CHAPTER 6

WORK

Concepts of Work

This chapter explores the concepts of work and subsequently the conception of administrative work. Work is a cultural construct, informed by cultural values and beliefs. Western society and its constructs of work have dominated in Canada. Contact between this construct of work and with that of other cultures can lead to tension. The issues that aboriginal governments face are rooted in the juxtaposition of deep patterns of work in western society with aboriginal cultures. Therefore, in order to understand issues that aboriginal governments face, it is useful to understand how western society sees work and further how contradictory concepts of work have evolved and shaped the organization of governance activities. This chapter traces the historical development of western thought around the concept of work and then considers how this may run counter to aboriginal cultures and practises.

Work as a concept and as a practice is changing from the western idea of male paid employment to an understanding that work is an activity with a wider

societal function. It has taken on an increasingly broad definition as various disciplines undertake an examination of the social construct of work. Such analyses include a comparative perspective of what is done, how it is done, by whom it is done, how it is evaluated and by whom it is evaluated.

An illustration of this broadening definition is demonstrated by comparing child care undertaken by a mother and child care provided by a professional daycare. Using a comparative perspective, child care in the home includes such activities as bathing, feeding, playing, educating and homemaking. It is done privately, generally by women, evaluated by the family in terms of the health and well-being of the child. Professional daycares do similar work in a similar manner undertaken by trained professionals, evaluated in terms of the quality of the environment of care and any profit that may be generated. It is evaluated by families and government authorities. This changing value in the understanding of child care has broadened the definition of work and increased the value of child rearing as an activity in our society.

In western thought, work is a distinct concept, often contrasted with the concepts of leisure and non-work. Several writers have evaluated work by contrasting it with non-work (e.g. Sahlins, 1974). Marx saw non-work as enjoyment, reconciling man and nature by providing relief from the struggle to provide for basic needs (Lefebvre, 1966). Lefebvre posited that work is part of a

dialectical process of "need-work-enjoyment" (p.43). He explained the contradiction between work and non-work as between human effort to meet needs and the desire to eventually eliminate such effort.

Applebaum (1992) noted that the Greeks promoted the leisure ethic (versus the work ethic) as an activity that brings self-fulfilment. Aristotle believed that the release from work allowed the use of the mind for contemplation and associated it with freedom.

freedom ruled out all ways of life chiefly devoted to keeping one's self alive - not only labor, which was the way of life of the slave, who was coerced by the necessity to stay alive and by the rule of his master, but also the working life of the free craftsman and acquisitive life of the merchant. In short, it excluded everybody who involuntarily or voluntarily, for his whole life or temporarily, had lost the free disposition of his movements and activities.
(Arendt, 1958:12)

Ancient Greek philosophers were able to follow this idea because their physical needs were met by others (slaves and women) who worked to satisfy their basic needs.

Grint (1991) has argued that we cannot always clearly distinguish between work and non-work on the basis of leisure because non-work does not always imply enjoyment. For example, forced unemployment is non-work but it is not necessarily a leisure activity. If work is perceived as a response to unsatisfied needs, it is not necessarily a corollary that the availability of leisure means that all

needs have been satisfied.

Some futurists define the difference between work and leisure as being interdependent concepts in which the work ethic of the future is based on the leisure ethic. Applebaum (1992) sees work as being a means to an end, done under compulsion in which you give your time to others. It is an activity that is socially useful, fulfils an obligation to society and is generally organized by others. Leisure on the other hand, is seen by Applebaum as an end in itself, which is unenforced, a freedom from routine and schedules, providing for time for self and individual enjoyment.

Artists and football players for instance, may not find such distinctions useful to their reality. They do not necessarily delineate between work and leisure as these terms could equally apply to their activities. Wallman (1979) indicates that in some cultures there are different distinctions between work and non-work. She observed that the Paez people of Bolivia, for instance, did not view going to the high plains to feed their cattle as work, but rather as visiting their animals. Conceptions of work and non-work were less relevant to their lives. Such ambiguity around work, non-work and leisure is also highlighted in aboriginal activities such as attending a potlatch ceremony in which such activity facilitates both leisure and economic, social, spiritual and political 'work'.

Some conceptions of work reflect a belief that humans are naturally

labouring creatures, self-fulfilling, inherently territorial and also cooperative, as is appropriate to their situation (Watson, 1980). Because humans have the capacity for language, we are able to conceive of alternatives to work and to some extent determine for ourselves when and whether we are working. The delineating of work in a particular culture depends on the variable socio-economic perceptions of what constitutes work. As Ortiz (1979) identified, work is a subjective cultural term indicating labour input to particular activities. When measuring the use of human labour, different realities determine whether or not this use of energy resources is work. Therefore, work as a concept is determined through the eyes of the beholder, refracted by the social, economic, political and cultural reality of the society.

Given this however, there is general agreement within the humanities that work is about the control of nature. According to Marx, work is not a natural activity in itself but requires effort and discipline to serve human needs by modifying nature (Lefebvre, 1966). Firth (1979) notes that work is an expenditure of human energy to accomplish specific ends, but requiring some sacrifices of comfort and leisure. The Marxian concept of work is not just about production and satisfying needs but also involves a relationship between the worker and the owner of the means of production (ie. the tools, machines and resources).

For a society based on the production of commodities in which the

producers in general enter into social relations with one another by treating their products as commodities and values. (Marx, 1961:119)

Marx thus presented the idea that through the relations of a marketplace, work took on a specific economic value.

In our world there are a variety of economies which place different values on different activities. Wallman (1979) noted that the value of work will be determined by the culture within which it is performed.

Classical Sociology

The first documented analyses of social evolutionary patterns of work were undertaken by Europeans who imposed their values on the constructs of the nature of work. German sociologist Ferdinand Toennies (1855-1936) described two kinds of societies, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. *Gemeinschaft* societies were based on communal and kinship relationships and ascribed to pre-industrial societies. *Gesellschaft* were societies based on association and individualism in which organizations performed functions once provided within a communal network. These societies were generally industrial and post-industrial and are characterized by divisions of labour and concentrations of power and wealth (Ford, 1988). It was *Gesellschaft* societies that were the foundation for the evolution of a common

understanding of work in the western world.

As western societies moved to being *Gesellschaft* in nature, aboriginal societies were, and to some extent remain, closer to the *Gemeinschaft* descriptor. The development of economies, and ultimately the nature of work, within aboriginal societies therefore did not develop in the same manner as in western societies.

The most influential contribution to the western discussion on the nature of work was developed by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and resulted in his analysis of the class structure of industrialized societies (Watson, 1980; Thompson, 1983). Marx identified the capitalist labour process in which the owner of the means of production must secure capital in order to procure the tools and materials necessary for production. The worker sells his labour in return for the means to consume the goods and services necessary to sustain life. Marx postulated that capital extracts surplus value from the application of labour to the tools and materials necessary for production. This ascribes a value to work.

Reflecting the emerging patterns of capitalist society, Marx's theories equated the labour process with the production of commodities having value. It was the surplus value that determined the profitability of the means of production owned by the capitalist and served by the workers. Labour therefore became a commodity in and of itself, and its value contributed to the profitability of

production. Thus work as a sociological construct was identified as paid employment.

Max Weber (1864-1920) augmented Marx's ideas by suggesting that work did not just have economic value but was also based in religious and cultural values (Bendix, 1966). Weber identified the Spirit of Capitalism and the Protestant Work Ethic as the values that underpin paid employment. Weber saw the Spirit of Capitalism as the rational alternative to the traditional and magical criteria from which workers developed their means of livelihood. He saw the increasing division of labour, the development of rules and regulations, and technological advances as resulting from an increased rationality in the thought processes of religious leaders of the Protestant revolution like, Luther and Calvin. The Judeo-Christian value system placed a strong emphasis on paid employment as a moral duty, thus marrying the idea of work to religious morality. They believed the rewards for work would not only be in this life, but also in the next.

The work of Weber, even today, is considered a framework for understanding capitalism as a philosophy, organization and foundation of bureaucracy. Editorial Weberianism (Rose, 1985) as an approach embraces the classical capitalist values. These include an individualistic striving for success, a willingness to postpone immediate pleasures in order to build up a store of virtue and money (deferred gratification), a dutiful compliance with the just orders of the

employer, an acceptance of a moral obligation to work diligently however menial the task (moral commitment), and the importance of work in a person's life as an indication of personal worth (work-centred).

Such values jar with those of aboriginal cultures where community, rather than the individual, is the fundamental basis for the development of work values.

The concept of rationalism, developed by Weber, determined the need for the organization of work and the creation of a legitimized hierarchical order. The moral commitments to work, identified by Weber, facilitated an environment in which the worker believed and conformed to the regulations established by bureaucracy.

Sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) acknowledged the fundamental influence of community that is associated with aboriginal cultures and values. He saw that work illuminated the organic integration of various roles within society. He looked at patterns and structures which create the social world in which people live. Durkheim viewed the community as having primacy over the individual. The community determined the consideration of values, norms and obligations of the individual. He perceived that unfettered individual ambition and a lack of communal discipline, principle or guiding norms threatened, through anomie, the organic solidarity of any given society (Watson, 1980).

Pareto (1848-1923) presented the notion of society as an organic system

which displayed interrelated patterns, structures and institutions. Later, the Interactionism school talked about mutual interdependence of the individual and their society (see Parks 1864-1944). The interactionists focussed on the primacy of the individual or small groups. This analysis shows the evolving views of classical sociologists who acknowledged the systemic nature of society yet differed on their view on the relationship between an individual's work and her role in community. The Durkheim/Pareto/Interactionism schools of thought however, did not pay attention to the historical processes and structures of power and material interest which provide the context within which work takes place (Watson, 1980).

Industrial Sociology

Classical notions of the division of labour were augmented by F.W. Taylor and the school of Scientific Management he founded. Taylor advocated the increasing rationalization of the division of tasks and the mechanization of work (Williams, 1992; Watson, 1980). Tasks were to be analyzed scientifically to maximize task specialization in order to increase productivity and to prevent work-avoidance behaviour like soldiering. Taylor saw soldiering as "the natural instinct of man to take it easy" (Williams, 1992). This view of humans contrasted with the Marxian perspective of humans as essentially labouring creatures. The dominance

of this concept of humans as naturally idle and lazy implies a need for tight control of workers.

Taylor identified specific management tasks undertaken to control the actions and output of workers. This identification of management tasks included the concentration of knowledge, skills and control in the hands of the planners thus increasing the division of labour into mental and physical realms. Taylorism is seen by many as promoting the deskilling of labour and creating a workforce in which the worker was attached to the machine and required to work in deference to the machine, unlike the traditional craftsman who worked in harmony with his machine (Braverman, 1974).

Fordism, which dominated post-war economic systems took scientific management one step further by applying a flow line principle to the machine. This created the assembly line and facilitated greater mechanical control of work (Williams, 1992). The assembly line required a large unskilled labour force undertaking highly specific, routine, repetitive tasks, thereby increasing deskilling and increasing managerial control over work. However, Fordism stimulated the creation of large labour unions of unskilled workers whose bargaining power increased the affluence of employees to the point where they could afford to buy the products of their labour. Thus the concept of work was solidified within the economic perspective of consumerism.

Contemporary Sociology

Harry Braverman posited that technological developments and the labour process, including the adaptations of Taylorism and Fordism, effected the wider social structure (1974). His Marxist analysis indicated that the economic surplus produced by capitalism allowed for the development of a new range of commodities and turned Western society into a gigantic marketplace. He believes that there has been a penetration of the entire social structure by the commodification of social life in which all services have an economic value ascribed to them. In other cultures, and perhaps historically, these services may not have been considered paid work. This commodification is supported by the new socio-economic functions of corporate and governmental systems (e.g., welfare, health and pensions).

Braverman undertook a feminist critique and included a gender composition of the labour force within his analysis. He saw that women were a crucial component of the expanding working class, especially in retail and clerical occupations. He observed that previous analyses of work were indifferent to gender. Such acknowledgments of women as an industrial reserve army broadened the view of work from male paid employment. Subsequent theorists have discussed the availability of women to undertake paid employment during different

periods of their lives (Thompson, 1980; Pahl, 1989; Grint, 1991) and acknowledged that domestic labour has been all but ignored in discussions about work. The debates on women and the labour process opened up the understanding of work as a process which differentiates between public and private activity, requires financial recompense and may be determined by the gender of the worker (Daniels, 1987).

R.E. Pahl (1984) identified three forms of work which included household provisioning (housework, woodchopping, canning), communal work (volunteer work, caregiving) and formal work (paid employment). He focussed on the household rather than the individual as the basic economic unit (Williams, 1992). Even though such academics have developed a broader perspective on work, common understanding of work still focusses on paid individual employment. Sociological thought has not sufficiently penetrated mainstream notions of work to account for the communal basis of other cultures.

Writers such as Rose (1985) have identified the last thirty years as the period of post-capitalism in which management was performed by professionals, not owners, and economic performance is dependent on consumption. The sustainability of our economic system reinforces an ethic of consumption which enshrines the right of pleasure through the ownership of possessions. This has resulted in a new values strand evidenced by the "hedonistic" socio-economic

movements of the 1960's and 70's. These values espoused the rights of individuals to receive "just" treatment at work, the establishment of humanely rational economic organizations, the systematic suspicion of anyone claiming authority (anti-authoritarianism) and the belief that an individual's work life was a recognition of their most valuable abilities (self-actualization).

The evolution of social and economic values has influenced the concept of work. Also the inclusion of women and minorities has meant that sections of the population have not only defined their work ethic in terms of personal prestige, but also in terms of economic benefit.

As Rose (1985) has commented, for many women and youth the commitment to work gave proof of "full social adulthood". The integration of women and minorities has realigned relationships in society, including those in the workplace, home and community. This change in the social and cultural structure contrasts with the still present values that underlie the Indian Act in which aboriginal peoples are seen as children requiring care and direction.

Cultural Perspectives

"Any adjustment in work meanings and values modifies the nature of a given society (Rose, 1985: 22)." A society is based on structural organization

(which can be a biological imperative as seen in insects). A culture may be defined as the "social, technical and ideological resources" which establish the values under which a society operates (Rose, 1985). Ergo, it is the culture that determines the nature of work.

Wallman (1979), a social anthropologist, explains that work is made up of the components of physical transformation, social transactions, economic activities and personal identities. That is, when ore is turned into metal, the human labour required to physically transform the ore is considered work. The social interaction in the transformation of the ore takes place between the miner, the metal worker and the owners of the resources. The added value to the ore once it has been transformed represents the economic worth of the work. The physical and psychic energy a miner or metal worker puts into the producing, maintaining or transforming of the ore represents their personal involvement in the work.

Wallman (1979) goes on to emphasize that these components of work appear in varying combinations in different cultures. For instance, in any given culture, the personal investment of the labourer in the work may not have the same degree of recognized value as the outcome of the work (i.e. the transformed product). Work may be considered as a multi-dimensional activity that is defined by culture and exists as part of the organic nature of community. This broadens the classic western paradigm and lays the foundation for a better understanding of

the evolution of perceptions of work in dynamic communal societies such as aboriginal communities.

Aboriginal Societies

Community in aboriginal societies is largely seen in ecological rather than purely human terms. Therefore, natural resources are viewed not only in terms of their utility in satisfying community subsistence needs and cultural values, but also their place on a continuum which includes humans, animals and spirits. Such a view is evidenced by the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en who have not subscribed to the western view that essential primary interactions are only those between human beings (Delgam Uukw and Gisday Wa: 1989).

Prior to European contact, aboriginal peoples lived under a system of sustainable economic harmony with nature. For some aboriginal societies, their major forms of work were household provisioning and communal responsibilities. As White and Jacobs (1992) explain,

Our people (aboriginal) lived in harmony with their environment and received sustenance from it through fishing, hunting, trapping and gatherings. We share many cultural values to a people who share that relationship with their environment. This is diametrically opposite to the cultural values shared by a people who derive their basic sustenance from their environment through agriculture. The agriculturally based society views nature as something to be changed and manipulated to meet the needs of its people.(p.6)

White and Jacobs also identify that for such non-aboriginal agricultural societies, "nature is something to be changed, altered and tailored to fulfil human desires (p.6)." Aboriginal peoples view nature as something with which they have a much deeper and intimate relationship. It is not only something that is used to fulfil human needs, but is part of themselves in the organic matrix of living things. It should be noted that there did exist aboriginal agricultural societies, but the values of these societies differed from the capitalist view of the commodification of land. As Cronon (1983) presented in his historical discourse regarding colonial New England, the colonists saw North America as a commodity and,

the essential lessons for the Indians was that certain things began to have prices that had not had them before. In particular one could buy personal prestige by killing animals and exchanging their skins for wampum or high-status European goods. (p.97)

In this way, the communal use of nature was usurped by the material reward of the application of work to individually owned resources. Consequently, material acquisition became a symbol of prestige rather than prestige being acquired through particular roles and skills.

Not every aboriginal society found the association of wealth with prestige as new. The aboriginal peoples in the Northwest Coast similarly related wealth to prestige. However, as Cole and Chaikin (1990) point out, there was a significant difference in how this association was manifested.

In western society prestige rests on accumulation, on 'making money', or on its mere possession, on being a 'millionaire'; in Northwest Coast society prestige was enhanced not by accumulation or possession alone but by the distribution, even the destruction, of wealth. (p.11)

In these aboriginal communities, wealth was not perceived as an end in itself, as their values and economies did not view the accumulation and hoarding of wealth as a congruent goal.

Values that have been generally attributed to aboriginal cultures, such as the harmonization of humans with nature (Hoebel, 1960; Hendry, 1969; Miller, 1979; Couture, 1978), the significance of community in relation to the individual (Couture, 1978; Hendry, 1969), the establishment of status through such things as birthright, role, responsibility, wealth but not in the hoarding of accumulated wealth (Cronon, 1983; Cole and Chaikin, 1990), and the constancy of time (Dockstator, 1993), are in contradiction to Western views of work and human nature.

The law of cultural dominance (Sahlins and Service, 1960) states that the cultural system that more effectively exploits energy resources of a given environment will tend to spread into that environment at the expense of less effective systems. Effective in this case means achieving a higher value added return per unit of human labour engaged in work activities. Ergo, the

technologically advanced colonial culture became the dominant culture of North America.

Early contact between aboriginal peoples and Europeans resulted in a conflict of values, ethics and economies. The traditional societies of the aboriginal peoples were subjugated both physically, ethically and morally.

What happened, and why did this system stop? Largely it stopped because Europeans brought with them a system based on materialism. On 'contact' with North America, this new system based on greed and power was introduced to the people living in North America. In order to give credibility to this system of material values, the native value system based on spiritual values had to be discredited and the people declared incompetent. (George in Jensen and Brooks, 1991:165)

The imposition of the protestant work ethic, the concept of paid labour, principles of scientific management, and the patriarchy of the economic system ran contrary to the nature and configuration of aboriginal societies. The colonization of aboriginal peoples and the conversion to Christianity superimposed western concepts of work on traditional values.

As Cole and Chaikin (1990) note about the demise of the potlatch system of the Northwest Coast peoples, colonization measures such as outlawing the potlatch reflected the threat of such systems on capitalism.

Condemnation of the potlatch's demoralization of the Indians was much less on ethical grounds than on economic. Far the most

frequent and serious arguments against the potlatch were those that touched on the system's incompatibility with settled habits of labour and industry: the loss of time from agriculture, ranching and even fishing, and the potlatch's destructiveness of the accumulation of savings. (p.20)

The impact of colonization on the economies and cultures of aboriginal peoples created a contradiction and confusion in which they had their traditional rights to the old ways usurped and were enculturated into the European spirit of capitalism and work ethic.

Bureaucracy and Administration

The thread throughout the development and analysis of work in western societies has been the focus on rationalization. As previously stated, rationalism is a process by which traditional or magical criteria are replaced by technical, calculative or scientific criteria. Rationalism separated work life from other social activities. This compartmentalization enhanced the development of technical and scientific criteria and diminished the importance of home, kinship and community. Knight (1978) noted that such compartmentalization was not apart of aboriginal societies.

Subsistence and other labour was inextricably meshed with other spheres of life. A specific undertaking (such as salmon netting on a particular site) might involve elements of productive economy, of

kinship regulations and roles, of the sexual division of labour, of inheritance rights, or ritual prescriptions, as well as taboos and magical considerations. Most work was not easily separable from other aspects of life. (p. 215)

While some aspects of the work ethic have shifted with changing socio-economic structures, many of the governmental institutions retain their Weberian characteristics. The goal of bureaucracy is to maximize the rationalization of social action. On such a foundation, notions of administration were developed. What is seen in bureaucracies is a structural authority and a process having traits identified by Weber as a complex rational division of labour, with fixed duties and jurisdiction, stable rule governed authority channels, a horizontal division of graded authority or hierarchy, with supervision from above, based on scientific procedures to increase control and predictable standardized management procedures following general rules (Ferguson, 1984).

As Ferguson observes, the rules of the organization do not include the interests of the bureaucrat as a whole person. This separation of person and position runs counter to the aboriginal perspective of the organic nature of their lives. What they do as administrators does not differ, but how they approach the activities of administration is shaped by the cultural context within which they work.

The duality of value systems can obviously lead to confusion and tension

within aboriginal communities. This is seen in the compartmentalizing of work by some administrators into paid employment and communal responsibilities, while others see work as a seamless responsibility to their community.

Generally speaking, administration refers to the management of the efforts of organizations. The process of administration is typically described as engaging in the functions of planning, organizing, leading and controlling (Robbins and Stuart-Kotze, 1994). Federal and provincial governments tend to follow the Weberian hierarchical model based on the rationalization of functions. Aboriginal administrators interacting with this model can find themselves in a value conflict as the rational model does not fit well with a holistic perspective.

Further, the colonization of aboriginal peoples has included the imposition of the Weberian hierarchical bureaucracy on aboriginal governance systems. Ferguson (1984) notes that such bureaucracies have been created and sustained by white middle-class men. She notes that bureaucracies are constructed by men who "produce themselves in their own image." This 'homosexual reproduction' often makes organizations foreign places for women, people of colour, working class people, etc. The imposition of such foreign systems on aboriginal governance may therefore create inherent tension for aboriginal peoples who are a part of these systems.

In addition, some of the actual functions of management are at odds with

the values and concepts of aboriginal peoples. Dockstator (1993) in his study of the jurisprudence of aboriginal-Canadian treaties notes that aboriginal concepts of time and space differ from those in mainstream society. In western conceptualization, time is a constant that proceeds at an unflagging and uniform rate. "In Aboriginal philosophy, time does not possess the same characteristics as in Western philosophy. Aboriginal society considers space to be the constant, and space then defines events in time. (p.28)" Dockstator goes further to explain that in aboriginal societies,

it is not important to know the time destination of the person, whether he or she is travelling into the future or into the past. Rather, it is important to understand the process - that is, the route chosen by that person - in order to travel from any one point to another. (p.28)

In other words, Dockstator asserts that aboriginal people do not distinguish past, present and future in the same way as the mainstream. They make determinations of action on the basis of spatial criteria. When the fish are plentiful in a particular place, one goes fishing. The date that opens the "fishing season" is irrelevant to the physical reality of where the fish are located.

This view of time does not imply that aboriginal peoples do not have the same commitment to work as other cultures, only that how work is organized in their societies may appear different than in the mainstream.

Work was not lackadaisical or unconstrained by certain pressures. The pace set by tidal currents, by fish runs, by the responses of game animals, etc. was demanding..... indigenous labour patterns were more fluctuating and more geared to individual capacity than much of the wage labour which was to follow. Not only did tasks and locations change by season, but cycles of intense activity alternated with periods of rest and sociability. (Knight: 215)

Different conceptions of time may affect the planning function of administration in significant ways. (In fact, the Mowachaht administrators who participated in the first phase of this research commented that the most significant factor affecting their ability to engage in planning was their traditional notion of time.) Planning, as conceptualized in mainstream administrative thought, is a view down a linear time horizon to the future, where time is the measurable constant and space is the dependent variable. The plan, or route, is relative to time. In aboriginal conceptions, as described by Dockstator, the journey in and of itself is what is important.

The conflicts that can occur as a result of different concepts related to work were evident in the review conducted by Haddad and Spivey (1992) of a reserve economic development project. In analyzing a conversation between a young aboriginal worker and a band counsellor they comment,

There is an emerging struggle over the meaning of Native culture in these voices. Despite the Councillor's attempts to downplay these conflicts, they are starkly evident: [the young worker] on the one hand is utilizing his understanding of Native culture to critique a

foreign work ethic, one that is antithetical to Native notions of work; on the other hand, the Councillor is arguing in support of the economic development plan (of which he is one of the founders). Again, for those with a vested interest in the economic development model, Native cultural values are relegated to the margins. (p.222)

These authors illustrate how mainstream concepts, internalized by many aboriginal people, co-exist in tense relation to aboriginal conceptions.

There have been efforts to rethink management and administration beyond the basic functions of planning, organizing, leading and controlling. Writers such as Boettinger (1979) reframe management as an art, rather than science, by identifying the two qualities of artists: competence (technical skill) and imagination (vision). Such a perspective contradicts the delineation of work and non-work activities and facilitates a view of work, posited by Wallman (1979), as a social cultural embroidery.

A few writers have examined how administrators approach what they do in their work (Horne and Lupton, 1965; Kotter, 1982; Hayes, 1984; Ninomiya, 1988). There is a growing understanding that bureaucracy is not a structured mechanical process but requires personal abilities in order to function. Mintzberg (1979), for example, identified ten different roles that contribute to the 'gestalt' of managerial work: interpersonal roles (figurehead, leader, liaison), information roles (monitor, disseminator, spokesman) and decisional roles (entrepreneur, disturbance handler, resource allocator, negotiator). These reconceptions of management however, still

generally focus on what they do, not the approach to the work that is influenced by cultural values.

Aboriginal Administrative Work

While aboriginal governments share much of these characterizations of administrative work with their mainstream counterparts, there is an emerging awareness that there exist some differences in how administration is practiced in aboriginal governments. Chapmen, McCaskill and Newhouse (1991) for instance advance the thesis that group orientation, consensual decision-making and holistic employee development characterize management in aboriginal organizations. Such behaviours contrast with western bureaucratic tenets of isolated individualism, hierarchical authoritarian decision-making, and the organizational utility of employee development.

Given the historical development of bureaucracy and the western understanding of the work ethic, it is reasonable to suppose that the imposition of this would cause tension within aboriginal communities whose historical values and governance systems may more closely resembled a *Gemeinschaft* society than a *Gesellschaft* society.

The reality of colonization and the dominance of western values in Canada

means that the inherent conflict in values between aboriginal and mainstream cultures goes largely unnoticed by mainstream Canadians and administrative systems. Aboriginal people and governments are the ones who are left to live with the apparent conflicts and tensions.

CHAPTER 7

THE WORK OF FOUR ADMINISTRATORS

Exploring Particular Work

The review of the literature in Chapter 2 painted a picture of aboriginal governments that is full of contradictions and dynamic activity. The origins of the organizations are split between indigenous groupings and DIAND creations. The authority from which these governments work is similarly fractured. The people within these organizations experience tension owing to this fracture and find themselves working to be accountable to both the community and the external authorities. Additionally, the literature indicates that change is happening quickly in aboriginal organizations, which in and of itself creates an environment of excitement, concern and confusion.

The first stage of the data collection for this research further illuminated key factors that may contribute to a aboriginal administrative practice that is different than mainstream administration. The institutional and financial arrangements of aboriginal governments as well as the cultures of aboriginal communities may partly explain some of the differences. The interaction between

mainstream and aboriginal institutions and cultures can add to the tension that people in aboriginal organizations experience. As the previous chapter explained, even the fundamental concept of work, a culturally based term, is a part of this tension.

The research then explored the actual work of four particular administrators in order to see if and how this understanding of administration in aboriginal governments was evidenced in their lived experience. This second stage of the research also aimed to get insight into what aboriginal administrators actually do, what their work entails. This chapter then, introduces the four aboriginal administrators who participated and subsequently explores the key features of their work.

Each of the administrators was recommended to the researcher by several people within the aboriginal community and external governments as respected administrators. All are employed by aboriginal governments on Vancouver Island in British Columbia. Verna Ambers is a Kwagwiltl woman who works for the Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council (MTTC). Debbie Foxcroft is the Senior Manager of the Nuw-Chah-Nulth Community and Human Services Board. Diane Modeste is the tribal administrator for the Cowichan Tribes. Jackie Quoksister is the band administrator for the Songhees Band.

There are several key factors that are contextual to their actual work and

which may contribute to any differences and similarities found in their work.

1) Size of the organization:

Two of the administrators, Verna Ambers and Jackie Quoksister, worked in relatively small organizations. Resultantly, they were more generalist in their work than the administrators in the larger organizations. This is understandable and is consistent with findings in other types of organizations (Robbins and Stuart-Kotze, 1994:26). Those administrators in small organizations combine the work activities of their counterparts in larger organizations with the activities of front line workers. As such, they are more inclined to attempt to be "all things to all people".

2) Degree of organizational autonomy:

The relationship of the aboriginal governments to the federal government affects the nature of the work of administrators. The degree of autonomy of an aboriginal government affects the extent to which the work of administrators is in response to and constructed by federal government policies, procedures, documents and forms. For instance, the Nuuchah-Nulth Tribal Council (NTC) receives block funding from DIAND via an Alternate Funding Arrangement (AFA) agreement. This enables them to have

relatively more control over how funds are spent within their organization and communities than if their funding was received program by program. In turn, such block funding gives aboriginal administrations more control over how their work is constructed. The Songhees by comparison, receive funds from DIAND on a program by program basis that is usually driven by the profile of band members. Much of the administration work is spent both in maintaining an information data base used as the basis for funding, and in responding to DIAND requests for information relative to securing funds and accounting for their use. Such work feeds the DIAND funding and monitoring bureaucracy.

3) Training and orientation:

The career path that an administrator has taken may be a factor in how they approach their administrative work. Debbie Foxcroft, for example, comes to administration via the social work profession. Her administrative style is very much people focused and takes a problem-solving approach. Jackie Quoksister learned about band government by watching her father who was chief for many years. Her emphasis on community relationship reflects her father's commitment to the community. Her administrative training has

taken place on-the-job and has been enhanced by DIAND workshops and courses on particular DIAND programs. Her work style understandably imitates the document-centred control focus of DIAND. Diane Modeste has learned along with her organization, moving up over the years to her current job. Her work style reflects this long term intimate relationship. She is like a proud parent in how she manages her organizational family.

4) Role in the community:

For each of the administrators, they are not only employees of the organization but are members of the local and cultural community. Their role in the community may influence how they are involved in community governance and no doubt affects the manner in which they integrate their administrative work with their political and cultural roles and activities. To illustrate, Debbie Foxcroft was elected as a treaty negotiator as well as being employed as an administrator. Neither of these facts negates her responsibility to serve food, for example, at community events. The complexity of her roles and of her "work" is not easily distinguished into separate functions of being a mother, Nuu-Chah-Nulth, an employee and an elected representative.

5) Gender:

While all four of the administrators involved in this part of the research are female, it is important to raise the question of the effect of gender on the nature of the work of administrators. It is interesting to note that when seeking participants for the research, women administrators were the ones recommended. As someone commented, the 'best' administrators in aboriginal governments tend to be female. This view was supported by several people, both male and female, encountered during the course of the research. Whether or not there is any truth to this perception is not addressed in this research. However, it should be noted that there was a predominance of female administrators participating in this research and a predominance for these administrators to have female colleagues. Women, at least in this particular research, seem to be surrounded and supported in the administrative environment by other women.

Given this context, the work of the four administrators can be introduced.

Verna Ambers

Verna Ambers is a Kwaguitl woman who works for the Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council (MTTC). Her job title is Economic Development Officer but her role with the MTTC is much broader than her title intimates. Verna is the mainstay of the MTTC. As one observer commented, Verna IS the MTTC. She is the person the community relates with the work of the MTTC. Community members come to Verna with their problems, ideas and opinions regardless of the relationship of these ideas to her formal role, economic development, or even the role of the overall Tribal Council. She is the organization's generalist front line worker as well as a major management impetus for economic, social and political development.

The Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council, whose office is located in Alert Bay, has four member bands; Nimpkish (Alert Bay), Kwicksutaineuk (Gilford Island), Tsawataineuk (Kingcome Inlet) and Kwa Wa Aineuk (Hopetown). The Nimpkish band is by far the largest and is located in Alert Bay. The other reserves are isolated communities with relatively small memberships. There are fourteen living at Hopetown, about forty-six on Gilford Island and approximately hundred and fifty members living on reserve at Kingcome Inlet. In total, there are

over 1000 on-reserve band members that the Tribal Council services⁷.

The number of staff the MTTC employs has fluctuated over the years depending on the special projects (e.g. fisheries) that they may be involved in. Currently, the number of staff is small with the office consisting of the general manager, the economic development officer, one assistant economic development officer, a bookkeeper and a secretary/receptionist. The MTTC appears to primarily function as the safety net for its constituent bands. The bands may or may not have their own economic development officer or someone to coordinate their education programs, for instance. The MTTC picks up whatever functions and activities that are not handled by band staff. For example, Gilford Island does not have anyone to handle their post-secondary education program. Therefore, Verna manages this for them. This entails soliciting requests from band members for education funds, preparing priority recommendations for council, collecting receipts from students, reviewing student transcripts, liaising with counsellors at universities and colleges, visiting students at school at least once a year, preparing pay schedules for students.

Access is a central feature of Verna's style of work. Several observers

⁷In practice however, Verna does not distinguish on and off reserve members. Any requests for service are accommodated. "If somebody comes from Victoria, Vancouver or they are living in Campbell River and they need help, we help them do proposals and get the information to them and that kind of thing."

corroborated her view that, "this office is known, well my office is specifically known, if there's something you need, just go see Verna." She's a safety net. Often people do not use band staff.

..He told me that the people take so long to do things and they don't seem like they want to help. So they just come here because Verna will do it right away. Anything they can't do or they don't know how to do, they just send them here. Or just phone Verna, Verna will do it. And it's my own fault, too. It's not really that I believe that that's what we're here for. If we can help in any way that we can, we help people. If you've got a skill and you know how to use it and you can help someone, do it.

A part of Verna being everything to everyone is self-reliance.

..we do all our own typing. We do everything. We don't hand anything to anyone else to type for us or to file for us. My office is set up and I do the filing and typing and updating of all the drawers and everything. I don't know why it's like this. Before we used to have a central area where you could go access things. But I think it's because over the years so many people come all the time, it was just simpler for me to have this system. You get people coming in here for anything and everything, from whatever to whatever. Our filing system is exhaustive and this was one of our goals in 1986 to have a resource centre for our membership.

As Verna said, she is "supposed to be an economic development officer actually, but you don't just do one job in here, you do many." Verna therefore adopts a broad look at what economic development means. This can be seen in her advocacy work for community members. For example, she spends a good deal of time assisting people with their income tax.

They come in. They have a problem because they are getting

garnisheed or [Revenue Canada] are saying that they owe a lot of money. And actually what they haven't done is that they haven't filed income tax returns for years because they don't think they have to because they're status.I just take a look at their papers. Read them. Ask them questions. And then I write a letter to Revenue Canada explaining the situation and ask for copies of these returns for all those years and then they send them back and I have to redo the whole thing because generally what happens is that Revenue Canada has assessed the returns for them because they haven't sent them in. ...Send it back off and usually after about anywhere from three to six months they get a big cheque in the mail. The biggest one has been about ninety-six thousand [dollars].

Verna's reputation in the community as someone who can help with understanding Revenue Canada has grown over the years and consequently so has the demand on her time for this type of service. At one point, the MTTC told her not to do that kind of work any more as they did not see it as economic development. Her response to them typifies the nature of her work.

But what I perceive it to be is helping a person. We have the skills to do it. So I kind of argued with [MTTC] that I continue to do it because it brings money into the community, number one. A couple of guys have got boats out of it. It has had an impact on the economy and job creation that way.

In much of Verna's work, she has interpreted economic development work to be inextricably tied to other developmental activities such as social, educational and political. As such, her work takes a broad community development approach.

A large part of Verna's work involves helping people start businesses or other economic development projects. This requires her to be knowledgeable about

the various funding opportunities (usually federal or provincial government) for economic development. A critical part of her job is to maintain a resource base of information on funding sources, training programs and things like that for the band members. She not only has to be aware of the different programs but needs to know enough about how they work so she can answer questions about them. There are stacks of reading on new or revised programs on her desk and she expressed concern that she is not able to keep as current and knowledgeable as she feels is necessary to do a good job.

In addition to helping people get monies to begin businesses, she provides other support services in terms of follow-up. If someone requests it, Verna will assist people in their businesses to help them get established. Usually, this is in the form of helping people with bookkeeping. She therefore provides an education function for these people.

We usually sit down with them and set up a bookkeeping system and help them on a monitoring basis. ... A young lady who started up a store...came at the end of each month for three months with all her bills and everything and I showed her how to do her books and she has done it on her own ever since.

Also, in most federal economic development programs there are monies held back for a while. Verna helps people put in their final claim so that they can get their holdback.

Verna is responsible for assisting with the capital, housing and

infrastructure for the Kwicksutaineuk First Nation. What this work looks like for Verna is preparing proposals for various committees for the expenditure of funds on such things as water, sewer, house building and renovation and so on. She works within the budget allocated for the MTTC by Indian Affairs. However, for each proposal submitted Verna tries to incorporate it as part of other requests for funds. For example, a proposal for wharf construction would be coupled with a proposal to Human Resources Development Canada for job training/labour costs to build it. "We try to get as much mileage as we can from each one." For all projects, Verna monitors monthly financial reporting to various government funders, purchasing, accounting, preparing written reports and any other administrative work necessary to the project.

Verna is the electoral officer for all the bands in the tribal council. "And then outside bands as well come up and ask if I can do them (elections) for them. And I can't turn anyone down." This is a considerable job, requiring a good deal of time. She puts out calls for nominations, runs all-candidates meetings, counts votes and even has to break ties as part of her duties as electoral officer.

Another part of her job came to her in an odd way. She was a volunteer for the Native Brotherhood of B.C. and acted as the membership person for the area. This includes such things as signing up fishers as members, submitting claims for their dental and hospital benefits, sick benefits and so on. It also

involves handling funeral claims and estates (although this is DIAND's job, the families often request that Verna handle it instead). When this volunteer work became so time consuming and unruly (the fishers would come over to her house any time of day or night or weekends) she decided to stop volunteering. When nobody volunteered to replace her, the MTTC just added this responsibility to the expectations of her job.

She does research into specific project related things (e.g. when trying for funds to rebuild a breakwater she collected and compiled data related to the existing breakwater and funding over a 20 year time frame. Another research project involved her interviewing elders about the use of the Alert Bay graveyard when there was a dispute about the road built through it⁸.

She sits on many committees and boards (e.g., the planning committee for the new school in Alert Bay and the cultural committee) usually because she is aware of funding sources and government contacts, and has skill in proposal writing. She also sits on a fisheries and forest management group for the Aweena'Kola Management Project and is an advisor to a major Aweena'Kola

⁸ Verna noted that this project "consisted of a teamwork approach with the MTTC staff and occurred as a direct result of the 'Oka Crisis'. "Many of us collected information for the Namgis First Nation about whose graves were under the road. The information was used as a negotiating tool for the Namgis First Nation and the government. Another road was constructed around the existing road and the Namgis First Nation received funds for the wrongful doings of the government at that time."

project funded by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. She is a resource to other organizations in the area besides the bands (e.g., the health centre). For example, she found out about a program that matches retired professionals with projects to act as volunteer consultants for the health centre. Also, other bands may even utilize her services, like the Whe-La-La-U Area Council. "They're all new people up there..it's basically just a team of rookies working up there..I've told them that they can access information...so they call me quite often to give them a hand."

As Verna says, her work involves "anything and everything that comes my way." As she rattled off examples of things the MTTC does, the wide range of complexity of each function was staggering. "...funeral pamphlets...someone will walk in off the street and say, well gee I need a letter for this...I go to appeals too for different people on reserves because sometimes they get cut off from social assistance...I sit on the North Island College Advisory Board...land claims..." She also completes government and other forms for people (e.g., unemployment insurance claims) as many are illiterate.

Verna says she stays out of politics and yet there are aspects of her work where the line between her job and her membership in the community is blurred and political activity is the grey area. For example, she was assigned to the "technical working group" of the land claims project, a joint project with the

Kwakiutl District Council (KDC). The technical working group was to help develop plans and ideas to take to the communities on how the money that they would be borrowing through the BC Treaty Commission would be spent.

I didn't agree with the concept of borrowing money which would have to be paid back to the government of the day by our children, grandchildren, etc. I discussed this with the Kwicksutaineuk Chief who consulted her lawyer about the concept of borrowing money for land claims. The MTTC Executive met and it was decided by our leaders that they would not enter into this agreement at that time. There were too many issues which had to be addressed.

She went further with her political agenda however than to just advise the MTTC chiefs.

And then I instigated a mission to the B.C. Treaty Commission about the fact that people (of the Tlowitsis Mumtagila First Nation) weren't being consulted, people were signing on the line. I did it for my own band. I couldn't do it for others, but for our own band...so I just did that on my own...

The blurring between her job and personal responsibilities is evident as her actions in one forum influence her actions in the other.

Verna is often frustrated with how the MTTC is run. "There's just so much [we could do] if we had a chance to change things, too, like in terms of the accountability." She noted that she hears comments about the staff.

That we don't do enough for people, that we are never at work, that we do too much work for one individual First Nation. There is no happy medium. We try to do what we can to assist with each and every concern but it is never enough, or it is too much.

Part of the problem Verna thinks is that, "I've no reporting mechanism. There's no evaluation process. ...I guess if you didn't take the ball and run with it, a lot wouldn't be done."

Debbie Foxcroft

Debbie Foxcroft is the Senior Manager of the Nuuchah-Nulth Community and Human Services Board. The Nuuchah-Nulth Tribal Council (NTC) consists of 14 tribes on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The NTC has about 5000 members living in communities ranging in size from 70 at Toquat to over 1100 at Ahousaht. The Community and Human Services Board, which has representation from all the tribes, oversees the education, health, family and child services and social development programs for the NTC. The Board employs about 80 staff persons.

The vision of Community and Human Services is also Debbie's vision and is evident in how she approaches her work. "...to heal individuals, families and communities. Because if we don't have healthy people, we aren't going to have self-government."

The job of Senior Manager is fairly new to Debbie. For several years she

has managed the family and child services program known as Usma⁹. The NTC has undergone a major reorganization and the Community and Human Services Board was a product of that reorganization. Debbie was selected to oversee this new organizational arrangement.

Debbie's work has been focused on the transition to the new structure. "...it's taken us a year just to restructure. Because we had to amalgamate our administration for health and social. And so that means training and staffing. We've just been going through a lot of changes in our organization. Lots of meetings. And lots of personnel issues because it's causing a lot of grief." Personnel issues have dominated this work including tasks related to hiring and orienting new staff, directing and supporting program supervisors, and most critically, getting people to work effectively as a team.

Trying to get everybody on board, everybody understanding, everybody communicating. I have to get the people at this level, first of all, working as a team, and then we're going to work out into the communities, because that's the big challenge. We have fourteen tribes that are all different and the staff in these communities aren't all working together.

Debbie's background in social work influences her approach to her work. She says her job is still social work really..."problem solving. You know, when

⁹ *Usma* means 'the most precious ones'.

there's something that's happening in the community or within the office...people call me a lot or talk to me a lot about their personal issues." She says she is still doing social work, except "my staff is my client."

As manager, Debbie is liaison to the Board. This entails setting the agenda, supplying information to Board members, writing reports, organizing meetings.

Finance and budgeting is part of her work. This entails proposal writing and lobbying as critical elements.

I've learned..that you have to lobby chief and council. You have to lobby. And I never did that before because I was always avoiding politics. I didn't like politics. I thought it was corrupt and I didn't like it. But what I did learn was that if you want to get something, you have to lobby the leadership. Because now we have government here and you have to go to the table with these proposals. And they need to know some background about it, and some of the issues.

A part of Debbie's daily work involves information and financial control. All mail for the community and human services program areas comes first to Debbie who then farms it out to the appropriate person. In this way, she can keep informed as to what is happening with the various program areas. "I review all the mail and the bills...like there's the phone bill which is about this thick and I just skim it to see if there's any (irregularities)." A part of her day is spent signing cheques. "I sign all of our cheques for payroll, maintenance, for children in care, travel forms, and any kind of bills."

Debbie acts as back up to front line staff and vacant positions. For example, the social development program has been without a supervisor so Debbie has taken on that role. Also, they went six months without a suicide prevention worker and again, Debbie took on the critical functions of this position until someone was hired.

Debbie still maintains close links with the Usma family and child services program that she calls "my baby". "...if anything becomes political and most of it does in child welfare, they come to me. I get copies of all the minutes of their meetings, but I try to attend at least once a month, so that I'm just updated." As much as she has found it difficult to leave Usma, "I actually feel less stressed from the day to day stuff because I heard all that crap everyday about who was abused, who was sexually abused."

An important part of Debbie's work is showcasing NTC and Usma to visitors. "We get people from Cowichan, Squamish, Alberta....to talk about our health transfer, to talk about our child welfare program....There are always lots of people who want to know about what we are doing." She is well known for her work in child welfare. (For example, the Ministry of Social Services held an appreciation dinner in her honour recently.)

In addition, Debbie is active outside the organization. She is president of the Association of Family and Child Care Workers. She sits on the First Nations

Summit health committee and child and family services committee. She considers her work with the Summit as important preparation for treaty making. Debbie is involved in the treaty making process at her tribal level. She was elected as a negotiator for her band. "I go to band meetings to talk about any issues in my own tribe, but as a band member. ..But also I'm on the self-government committee." Her roles as negotiator and as NTC manager sometimes blur. "It all kind of mixes together. At tribal council meetings, we talk about treaties and, as a manager, I have to attend all the tribal council meetings." The NTC supports staff who are involved in treaty negotiations by ensuring they get the necessary time off.

Debbie is considered by several people to be a role model, both within the NTC and for other First Nations. "I think not only am I seen as an administrator and manager, I'm also seen as a leader in the community. We have that other work."

Diane Modeste

Diane Modeste is the tribal administrator for the Cowichan Tribes in the Duncan area of British Columbia. She began working for the Tribes in the 1960's as a clerk-typist when band management first was initiated at Cowichan. She and the organization have grown and developed together over the years until today she

oversees a large complex and sophisticated organization. She is very proud of the organization's development over the years.

She has not only changed positions within the organization over time, but has found that her role as administrator has changed with the ever changing organizational structure and mandate.

I think my primary role here is to support, direct and support the program delivery that the Cowichan Tribe does here. In our structure, we have departmental managers like for education, health, membership, lands. ... it's really grown these last five years with the takeover of health, the takeover of child and family service, that I have had to do some restructuring and managers assume more responsibility, because my time is just spent mainly talking now. Meeting with managers, meeting with the public, meeting with government officials....Where before it was doing the actual work, but I don't have time for that anymore. And, I guess, to ensure that activities that happen within our community actually reflect the Cowichan way of doing things.

Cowichan employs about 140 employees to service a population of 3000 band members plus an additional 400 people from other First Nations who reside in the community. A good part of Diane's time is spent on personnel issues, ranging from hiring and leave approvals to mediating disputes between employees. Cowichan has a comprehensive personnel policy and supporting computerized system that provides a basis for personnel practices.

Another key part of Diane's job is cheque signing. This activity takes up a half a day per week of her time. She signs all payroll cheques as well as cheques to contractors. This is just part of the financial control systems in place. Diane

takes great pride in the how finances are controlled. "(Council) lets me know that I have done exceptionally well with my audit...We have had a very good record since I have been the tribes' administrator."

She is a politically astute administrator. People in the organization recognize her ability to read a situation and advise on how to get things done. Her managers regularly bring her drafts of letters or other documents to review before they are forwarded to chief and council or to outsiders to "make sure it is politically accurate..to make sure that it's not offensive and politically astute." She spends a good deal of time with the Chief, acting as the lynch pin between the organization and the political domain. To do so effectively, Diane stresses that she has to know what's going on in the organization. She therefore spends a lot of time reading reports and attending formal and informal meetings.

I like to just walk through my departments, or go visit the child and family service, or go visit my health centre, because we are not all in the same building. So I like to spend that time, at least once a month, to go and visit my staff. That's the informal. See how they are doing. It makes me feel good and makes them feel good, too.

Everyone is expected to keep her informed. She feels it critical to being the link between politics and administration.

If I don't go to meetings, then my managers are expected to apprise me. So, if they go to a meeting on specific land claims, or if they go to a provincial meeting on First Nations health, or if they travel to Quebec on another matter, reports are given to me. And I like it because it is not only done by my staff, but it is also done by

Council. So they keep me abreast also of the political arena.

Just as others keep her informed, she sees it as part of her job to keep others informed.

My role is to be just part of the link in informing. Because the staff likes to be informed what's happening at the political level. I attend every council meeting and I inform them of what happens there. The community likes to know what's going on and we inform them through our monthly newsletter what's happening within the tribes. ...I have to proofread everything that goes through [the newsletter] to maintain control.

Diane is well organized and expects that of others. As one of her managers noted, one has to be prepared to come to a meeting with Diane.

Communication is important to Diane, particularly the effective communication with Cowichan peoples. She spends time, particularly with non-Cowichan people, in ensuring that their way of working and communicating is consistent with a Cowichan way of doing things and is otherwise appropriate for community members.

Whenever my managers write something that is for the information of our people, we instruct them to use the language that our people can understand, not these ten-letter words or really technical words. For that reason..I read them. Because when we have a mixture of staff of Indian and non-Indian, they have to learn how to relate to my people. So there's checks and monitoring that I do.

Diane has a calm manner that she attributes to her Cowichan culture and

that she credits for her success in communicating with all types of people.

My grandfather was a hereditary chief. And just observing how he handled himself too, meeting people with their problems. I think that probably had a lot to do with practical training...because I was taught not to let your emotions get away on you when you have to deal with something....there's no anger. There's no yelling. That's just not our culture, in the Cowichan culture.

Diane considers a lot of her work to be planning. Whether its planning a community celebration, a new financial computer system or a reinterment of remains found in an archaeological dig, she is involved in planning. "...a lot of my work is in planning and then my technical staff carry it through." Her planning work however is done with others. Teamwork with staff, politicians, community folks and elders permeates her planning activities.

Her personal vision is evident in how she communicates with others and how she organizes the work of the Cowichan Tribes.

To be able to control our own people, our own programs. People can govern themselves. Prior to this time, we have been governed by Indian agents and whatnot. And so this growth has taken place and, for the Cowichan, it looks like we've gone through a healing process. I feel quite comfortable this year in saying I think the community sees that we all have to work together as one in order to improve the community. I don't want to make it show like we're glowing. We have our social problems. We have poverty. Poverty from lack of education. If we work together as one team. We are all striving to work together to try and better the community that way. So, hopefully, that's my vision that we would try to continue that work. To try and in our language we call it lift up our people so that they are a healthy community. So my team tries to work together that way.

Jackie Quoksister

Jackie Quoksister is the band administrator for the Songhees Band located in the Greater Victoria area of British Columbia. The Songhees Band has just over 200 members, and has enjoyed great stability in its leadership over the years. The current chief is in his fourth year and the previous chief, Jackie's father, was chief for thirty-six years. Jackie transferred her band membership to her husband's band when she married several years ago. Now that she is back living and working on Songhees, she plans to request a transfer of band membership back to Songhees.

Jackie's approach to her work is that she is there to serve the band membership. Her "open door" policy is strictly adhered to. She shares a large office with other staff, the fax machine, filing cabinets and so on. The door is always open - during meetings, report writing, research interviews. People come and go, participating in what's going on in her office as they desire. To Jackie, this is one of the ways she is able to keep on top of what the community wants and also, ensures she remains accountable in all her work to the community. "...I take calls from band members. A lot of calls from band members and listening to what their needs are. Because this is what we are here for, is to look after the band members."

She acts as education coordinator for the band. This entails tracking all

students, mainly for purpose of informing DIAND about numbers so that it can transfer the appropriate amount of funds to the Provincial government to cover educational services to band members in public schools. She also manages the post-secondary funds, soliciting requests from band members to attend school, proposing allocation of funds to council, monitoring expenses. The band also runs a daycare centre, and Jackie maintains the data base for this. It is funded on a per capita basis from DIAND.

Lands management is a big area of work for Jackie. This means being involved in the conduct of surveys, appraisals, letting leases and so on. In addition she manages housing programs, maintaining an inventory of social housing needs in the community. A housing committee, on which she sits, determines priorities for spending the yearly funding allocation. She works with the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to secure mortgages for house building and participates in the development of housing plans, tendering and contracting and determining specifications for houses "because the specifications [determined by CMHC] sometimes don't meet the needs of First Nations people.." However, the final selection of contractor is done by CMHC. The most fun part of her work in the housing area is helping people choose their colour schemes....working with community members and actually being a part of helping them get something.

Jackie works very closely with the band bookkeeper. They work as a team

in most all activities. "I do all of the typing and the meeting side of things, and she does all the math when it comes to financial statements and stuff." With regard to budgeting, "I worry about how much is coming in and (the bookkeeper) worries about how much is going out."

Jackie maintains a close working relationship with the "funding services officer" in DIAND. A good deal of her time is spent responding to the requests for information from DIAND and other federal agencies. As most of the bands funding comes on a per capita basis, maintaining an information data base is essential. Jackie talks about "budget sheets" as key constructs of her work. For example, DIAND asks her to complete a budget sheet that outlines how much they are requesting for a year for post-secondary education.

A n important aspect of Jackie's work is what she calls community planning. This means working with engineers, etc. to build new subdivisions, planning a new administration building, long house, etc. Decisions on plans are made by the band members at bi-annual (twice a year) meetings. These meetings run six hours on occasion, but much gets accomplished. Jackie draws up the agenda for these meetings and ensures that all information needed for the meeting is available.

..it takes us about a good full day to prepare for. And we usually have to hold them in the evenings.... because of all this information. They question everything. And they have a right to because it's

their money. And we have to know the answers...that's why I said we have to prepare ahead of time.

In personnel, Jackie puts forward requests for positions, ensures that they are advertised in the aboriginal community and participates in interviewing, usually with the chief or someone from council. She also is responsible for supervising the staff. This entails "making sure they're here at work on time, doing their job. Making sure everything is done." What is obvious is that Jackie considers herself and the staff, particularly the bookkeeper, a team. When speaking about her work and responsibilities she continually referred to "we". It is often difficult to distinguish the particular work of Jackie in relation to others. Her attitude about team was evident in her explanation of why she considered a certain project a success. "It was not just myself. It was the whole office as a team, getting ideas."

A key part of her work is watching out for opportunities for the band and its members. This requires a lot of reading, keeping up to date on government programs, what's happening in the Victoria area and so on. "I have to keep up with it all, like with the treaty process that's happening." Self-education and awareness is critical to her job. She says its an ongoing process.

Jackie commented that she's getting increasingly interested and involved in politics.

Because there's been a great injustice done to our people and my

father was chief here for thirty-six years, so ...I've seen what can happen. I have seen how things can get twisted around. So I'm really interested in getting into the political of the land claims, the treaty process. I've actually been trying to restructure my position in this office where we could hire somebody else and then I could focus my attention on the political issues.

Her interest in the political and in keeping informed was further evidenced by her attendance, during the data collection period, of the court case involving the Nanaimo band and a housing development on an aboriginal burial site. She watches other bands activities and developments closely, particularly those who face similar issues as the Songhees¹⁰.

Communication with the community is the central part of Jackie's job and this is evident in what she does as well as how she approaches her work and her life in the Songhees community. She noted that everyone bounces their ideas off her first and she prides herself in this. Keeping in touch with people's lives and ideas is the foundation of her administrative practice.

And I also work part-time down at the Mac's convenience store on the weekends. So, I hate to say it, but it just keeps me up on what's happening everywhere. People think I'm nosy but it helps me out in my job better when I know what's happening. And getting the trust of the community. I think a lot of the people trust me and working at the store on the weekends helps out. People talk to me. I'm approachable. The bureaucrats, you can't even get them on the phone to talk to them on a personal basis...

¹⁰ For example, the Westband and Squamish bands who are also located in an urban area and therefore face particular intergovernmental issues.

Accountability

Many of the tasks and activities of Verna Ambers, Debbie Foxcroft, Diane Modeste and Jackie Quoksister revolve around the need for administrative accountability. The data analysis approach used in this research asked what administrators do and how and why they do them. In examining tasks such as reviewing and distributing incoming mail, cheque signing, maintaining demographic data bases for funding allotments, attending workshops on DIAND systems, research, proofreading community newsletters, organizing and attending community meetings and supervising staff it became evident that much of their work was in response to the demand for accountability.

The activity of cheque signing is illustrative of how a good part of the work of some administrators is created by the organization's system of financial accountability. Debbie Foxcroft is responsible for signing all cheques for payroll, maintenance, children in care, travel forms and bills. Diane Modeste spends approximately one-half day per week signing cheques. Their organizations have systems that facilitate the accountability of the administrators for expenditures in their organization. Routines developed (e.g., weekly cheque productions) give structure to the work of administrators around this accountability. The process also assists an administrator to know what is going on in her "shop". It acts as one

method of communication between an administrator and her staff. For example, Debbie knows through her cheque signing responsibility, which children are in care and which staff have travelled to a conference or a meeting. Further, her staff know that she is aware of the activities that create these expenditures.

Another illustration of activities that arise from accountability expectations is the work of education coordination. Jackie Quoksister takes a regular count of all children from kindergarten to grade 12 and transfers this data on to forms required by DIAND. Her work enables the federal government to pay the province for the education of status Indians from her band who are attending provincial schools. Her work is created by DIAND in the manner of forms to be filled in. The intergovernmental arrangements between the federal and provincial governments regarding education and status Indians constructs this work.

A final illustration further shows the variety and complexity of activities that are created by the demands of accountability. Verna Amber's work with land claims research highlights the demands of community for accountability. "I was thrown in there as a technical working crew to go in and help develop plans and ideas to take back to the communities...to go back into the communities to describe to them what it is we're trying to do."

My research examined how these administrators do such tasks of accountability. I discovered that a significant part of their accountability work was

done with the use of forms and other documents. An exchange with Jackie Quoksister about what the actual activities were, related to education coordination for the band, illustrates how the handling of a multitude of documents is what constitutes the work and that this work is created in response to external demands.

Leslie: So you act as the education coordinator for this band, as part of your job. Which means what? What do you have to do?

Jackie: Take a count on the number of children from K right up to grade 12. So that's every student that we have going into the provincial school system, we have to keep track because then DIA..... The federal governments sends the provincial system the block rate of whatever the taxpayers or whatever the cost is for non-native students. And just stuff like that...

Leslie: So what do you do in all this?

Jackie: I go around. I get the secretaries to type. I'll show you. It's better if I show you.

Leslie: Good. Also if there's any particular documents or things that you come across that I can have copies of. Not of personal things, but forms or things like that.

Jackie: We usually send these [a form] out at the beginning of August to all the households on the reserve. Just asking, getting the information on the children. And this [a summary sheet] is the outcome of that little paper.

Leslie: So do you do this?

Jackie: I have been doing it but I hired [an assistant] just about three or four months ago and I'm trying to, because there's so many more important things that this is just so easy now for me, after four years... and you have to make sure that every number on this form which is taken from this [another form] and put on their [DIA] data

sheets. This is DIA's data sheets here. And, as you can see, it's going school by school. And then we take a count. And this one [a report] is from the previous year from the previous nominal role that I did last year. So they send us that and then they have what they call new student or change of school form. So many kids that come out of our daycare next door and are going into the provincial system, we have to take them off our band lists or our band school list and put them on whatever school they are going to. So all that information. They need their band number, what grade they are in, financial responsibility. That's what all this is.

Leslie: And the purpose of this is for funding from DIA, right?

Jackie: To the province.

Jackie was not the only administrator who gave an example of the complexity of forms management and its use to satisfy the needs of the federal government. Verna Ambers, in describing the process for determining operating allocations from the DIAND, expressed a fairly typical attitude towards such processes. "I don't know why we have to do it, but I guess the Department of Indian Affairs requires papers on everything." As discussed in Chapter 4, the use of documents becomes the work. Dorothy Smith (1984) illuminated in her theorizing of textually-mediated processes how forms construct meaning by the inclusion or exclusion of certain information on a form. In the case of "education coordination", it is the counting of children for whom the federal government is obligated to assume financial responsibility for their education rather than any other possible aspect of education coordination.

In the work of the four administrators, accountability activities to external bodies was dominated by the use of documents and forms. The work of accountability to the community however, was a mixture of documents (e.g. audit reports) with community meetings and open door attitudes to the work. Generally, it was characterized as being visible, accessible and observable. Such work was not textually-mediated, but often oral and personal.

Having considered the questions of what accountability activities these administrators do and how they do them, the next aspect considered was why they do them. Clearly, the structure of the Indian Act and the financial dependence of aboriginal governments on external sources are the primary sources for the work of external accountability.

Additionally however, the work of accountability facilitates a professional image for an organization. Diane Modeste noted that their personnel policy requires a great deal of paperwork to monitor staff attendance, leaves, training and so on. She is proud of the policy developed, saying that she has been asked to speak on it at the university on occasion. She describes the reasoning behind the policy,

Before the policy was developed, we had a lot of problem with absenteeism in and around our long house culture. So, we developed this policy from the grassroots up where everybody had input into what they wanted in their policy. And, as I say, we had to try and find a common ground. We didn't want people to

think...you know. We really like our culture, but to find that common ground. To say, when can I go? So I feel it was a good policy.

The other motivating reason for accountability activities identified in the work of the four administrators was community involvement and education. All four women stressed the importance of keeping the community informed. Through such activities, community members could learn about the issues related to governance and self-determination. With the rapid pace of change, community accountability processes assisted individuals to be aware of the evolution of issues.

Just as accountability was a major theme in the first stage of the research, it predominated the work of the four administrators. Further, aspects of accountability discussed in Chapter 4 (such as community priorities, constituency and professionalism) were easily identified in the second stage data.

Debbie Foxcroft spoke of the struggles that the Nuuchahnulth Tribal Council (NTC) have experienced in achieving a balance between political, social, cultural and economic goals. The NTC's attempts to integrate and balance developmental priorities is reflected in her work. She has a strong commitment to the concept of healthy communities. The mission of the Nuuchahnulth Community Human Services Board is to heal individuals, families and communities. "Because if we don't have healthy people, we aren't going to have

self-government." NTC recognizes the importance of political development as well and therefore supports Debbie with paid time off, to participate as a treaty negotiator for her band.

The issue of organizational constituency arose with the four administrators. Jackie Quoksister, for instance, noted that the Songhees were revisiting their membership criteria as the existing members were worried that it was too easy to become a band member. She noted that they are leery of applications for membership "because we don't have enough land to service what we have."

Verna Ambers spoke of being accessible to all community members, whether they lived on-reserve or off, or even if they were a part of the MTTC. However, she noted that her services to off-reserve and non-members was restricted when it was tied to particular program funds with established target groups (e.g. post-secondary education). Further, it is restricted by the fact that she is accountable to the community people who are members in the MTTC, not such other folk.

The first stage of the research emphasized that the relationship between a government and a community is central to accountability. It noted that this relationship is fettered by the professionalization of aboriginal bureaucracies. Diane Modeste commented that with increased education comes a new language that is not always understandable to community members. Her activity of

proofreading the newsletter exemplifies this.

If I feel that a message is not clear enough, then I have to make sure that it's written in language that's understandable to our community. Because a while back we took a survey, an educational survey of our community. And a majority of our community have an education of grade six or grade seven reading level. So whenever my managers write something that is for the information of our people, we instruct them to use the language that our people can understand, not these ten-letter words or really technical words. For that reason, is another reason I read them.

Verna Ambers commented on the increasing professionalization of aboriginal organizations.

Like people are saying you have to have a degree, you have to have a certificate to work here. But my thing is you can have all the certificates, you can have all the degrees in the world, but unless you are a people person and you can work with people at any level, whatever level, it doesn't matter. You've got to be a grassroots person to be able to work with a lot of organizations. In the health centre, it's getting typical of that kind of a thing. They even want the people in recreation to have degrees in this and that. So, slowly, what you're seeing over there is the movement that our people aren't getting jobs over there any more.

Debbie Foxcroft, like Verna, discussed the struggle to balance professional knowledge with cultural knowledge.

When you are taking over your government, you have to have educated people doing that. If you don't, that's where you have the people burning out because of the lack of their skills because it puts a lot of pressure on them because they can't do it or can't do a very good job of it.One of the things they talk about in our interviews is about culture. What do you know about regional

culture? Do you know the language, and stuff like that? They want you to have some background in that. But not all of our Nuu-Chah-Nulth people do, if they were living in the cities.

The work of the four administrators supports the view that accountability in aboriginal governments is a dense and complex task, complicated by such issues as membership and increasing professionalization.

Culture and Politics

The activities of each of the four administrators were obviously influenced by the cultural demands of each of their First Nations. For example, Jackie Quoksister's work with the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) included advocating for unique housing standards that were more relevant for Songhees families than the standards developed by CMHC for the mainstream. Another illustration comes from the time sheets kept by staff at the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Community and Human Services. Staff are expected to spend time in the community, attending meetings and cultural events. Its inclusion in the time sheets recognizes cultural work as a central part of the work of all staff.

Diane Modeste acts as a cultural watchdog in her work at Cowichan ensuring,

that activities that happen within our community actually reflect the

Cowichan way of doing things. So, if I have a health manager that, for instance, is a non-Indian person, they have to make sure that things are done in our way. In one instance, when she first came on stream, she came to me and said, "Diane, a problem. A general meeting to review the health program and it was a flop. I don't know what to do so could you help me?" And I said, "Had you come to me first to ask how we do it in the Cowichan way, then it probably would have been a success." In our way, we have a way of inviting people. So if you want them to be involved with issues, whether it's health or child and family service, when we took over child and family service, in Cowichan we like to have the input of the community when we take over programs. So we have a traditional way of invitation. We not only do it by the written work, the white man work here, but in our tradition, it was custom to go visit the homeowner or band elector and invite them personally to a meeting. Say we're having a general meeting for such and such a purpose. In our custom, we invite them for dinner because in our traditional way, we all sit down to eat first and then we have a meeting after. So that's the kind of things when we do activities it has to reflect that part of our culture.

Ensuring the cultural integrity of administrative practice is a key political activity. As highlighted in Chapter 5, strong cultural practices are a means to political self-determination. The question that arises is, how has it come to pass that the role of cultural watchdog has become necessary in the administrative practices of aboriginal organizations?

In the organizations where the four administrators work, non-aboriginal persons are employed. As discussed in Chapter 5, the use of non-aboriginal staff is not unusual as aboriginal governments have an immediate need for qualified staff. In order to respond to the demands for accountability, particularly to federal

and provincial governments, staff require a certain type of knowledge and skill that is gained through formal education. The supply of aboriginal people with such education does not meet the demand of aboriginal governments. Therefore, educated non-aboriginal people are seen working in aboriginal organizations.

First Nations recognize the need for education of their own peoples. "Especially if self-government is coming!" one administrator in the first stage of the research noted (Barbara Hume, Champagne Aishihik). The need for education is often expressed in response to expectations of the federal government concerning their plans for devolution of program responsibility to First Nations governments. The educational needs of First Nations are commonly constructed in terms of the requested or required qualifications to manage devolution initiatives. Many First Nations communities feel a need to obtain formal and technical training in order to acquire funding or to maintain funding arrangements, and to avoid being regarded as a second rate service (Joan Glode, MicMac Child and Family Services). With such pressures, aboriginal governments employ non-aboriginal peoples.

The practice of employing non-aboriginal people is not only constructed by external expectations. It was seen in the first stage data that some aboriginal people share the stereotypical views of some caucasian people that aboriginal people are generally not as capable as their white counterparts. The socialization of many aboriginal people parallels that of others in society and therefore they too

have internalized racist assumptions. The residential school system for example instilled in many aboriginal people a devaluing of their peoples abilities.

While the use of qualified non-aboriginal staff facilitates the self-government aspirations of First Nations and accountability demands and mechanisms, it creates some unique issues for aboriginal governments and administrators. Several participants in the research noted that there is a lack of opportunity for experiential learning for aboriginal people in government and service delivery as current leadership and consultation opportunities are occupied by non-aboriginal people. This means that although the use of non-aboriginal people facilitates self-government, it can impede self-determination. Self-government systems are being developed but there is limited opportunity to train aboriginal peoples for implementation.

There is an additional issue that arises from the use of non-aboriginal people and is evidenced in Diane's watchdog role. These staff are not grounded in the experience of being aboriginal, let alone the knowledge of local cultural ways. The work of ensuring that the actions of these non-aboriginal staff are relevant to the communities falls to the aboriginal administrators. This work goes beyond simple translation between cultures. Aboriginal administrators find themselves advocates for their culture with the organizational bureaucracy.

It deserves mention that the role of watchdog is not only created by the

employment of non-aboriginal staff. Aboriginal employees who are not grounded in the local culture also contribute to this work. Aboriginal employees may come from another Nation where cultural practices are very different or they may have been raised outside the community and are therefore not knowledgeable of local practices. Further, as mentioned in Chapter 5, the increased professional education of aboriginal people can impede, as well as facilitate, the ability of aboriginal governments to be accountable to their communities. Several people interviewed in the first stage of the research noted that the professionals in their organizations were not viewed as also being a part of the community. They had been distanced from the grassroots through their education.

It is interesting to note that the work of ensuring cultural relevance, while often directed at non-aboriginal people, was not the only example of difference between working with aboriginal and non-aboriginal staff. Debbie Foxcroft commented that her work of supervision with aboriginal staff is different than that with non-aboriginal staff because of their cultural and political vested interests. She is more involved in the personal issues of aboriginal staff because the boundaries between their personal and work lives are intertwined. She is interested in them as whole people, community members and employees. Further, her Nuuchah-Nulth staff are part of the community to which she is ultimately accountable.

Hand in hand with culture is politics. Political activities were very evident

in the work of the four administrators. Verna Amber's research work in planning land claims led to her influencing the MTTC to withdraw their association with another tribal council and to her representing her band in a delegation to the B.C. Treaty Commission. Debbie Foxcroft has a overt political function as a treaty negotiator for her band.

One of the issues discussed earlier, in Chapter 5, was the vested interest that aboriginal administrators have in their work. Such vested interest politicizes their work. As Verna Ambers expressed, having a vested interest is critical to making self-governing initiatives work.

I would dream about things that could happen. Training programs and on-the-job related training for people. I would dream about things like the restaurant, the day care. I would dream about and just have visions about all these different things that could create employment for our people. Shipyards, you name it, it was all like dreams. And then they became realities. For different reasons, lack of trained personnel, key people, having outsiders coming in and running our organizations, it never worked. It had to come from us, from ourselves. We had to have a vested interest in our community. To really care about a business.

In analyzing the work of the four women, it was difficult to separate activities into discrete cultural and political categories. Work that engaged with the community, like potlatching for instance, was most often cultural as well as political. These women each have a vested interest, and therefore a political interest, in their culture and community.

Education

The key ideas of accountability and culture explored in the first stage of the research, resonated with the findings regarding the work of the four administrators. Additionally however, the function of educator emerged as an important part of their work.

The four women are all leaders in their communities and organizations. Debbie Foxcroft commented, "I think not only am I seen as an administrator and manager, I'm also seen as a leader in the community. We have that other work." That "other work" goes beyond leadership, often conceptualized in the mainstream literature as directing and motivating others. It is the responsibility of educating others through the offering of information, role modelling and mentoring.

Diane Modeste noted that her non-aboriginal staff have commented that they learn how to communicate more effectively with the Cowichan people by observing Diane in her work. Debbie Foxcroft is constantly pressured by outside organizations, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, for information, consultation and education regarding the take-over of child welfare services. Verna Ambers relayed instances of her teaching people skills in bookkeeping, for example, to help facilitate small business development.

All of the administrators, supported by the data collected in the first stage

of the research, made the point of noting the need for educated people in their communities. As professionals and leaders in their communities, they each take on the responsibility for sharing their expertise wherever possible. This work was seen by them to be in their own self-interest as aboriginal people.

Diane Modeste noted, "I see it as informing. My role is to be just part of the link in informing." She talked about informing staff, council members, community members and how keeping everyone informed was part of being accountable. Further, by having an informed community, staff and council the potential negative affects of professionalization of the organization can be countered. That is, if professionals and community members maintain a dialogue, they lessen the risk of being distanced from one another.

The education function is also related to culture. As Verna Ambers explained, she often has to act as a translator of sorts for outsiders who come to speak or work with community members. She gave the example of going into a small community with Department of Indian Affairs people. "And that was one of the things was to be able to sit up front and say something and then for me to say it in a way that they [the community] understand." She gave a further example of a survey they were to conduct in their communities. "It was eight pages. And I looked at the first page and I looked at the rest of them and I threw it in the garbage." She not only had to rewrite a more appropriate survey, but had to

educate those who originally sent out the survey about doing useful surveys.

Leadership for these women extends from role model and mentor to communicator and educator. They each work to educate people in their organizations and communities. In addition, because they are the people on the boundary between their organization and external non-aboriginal organizations, they often find themselves in the position of having to educate non-aboriginal people about their cultures and organizations. Their key position as translators between community and organization as well as between aboriginal culture and non-aboriginal culture, means that part of their work is facilitating growth and learning. Such education is critical to the political work of developing self-determining communities. As bell hooks (1994) terms such activity, it is education for liberation.

A Holistic View of Work

The concept of work in the context of aboriginal governments is more expansive than in the white mainstream environment. The four aboriginal administrators have a vested interest in their work beyond the remuneration or recognition that they receive from their positions. They are all community members whose personal as well as professional lives are impacted by the actions

of the organization. Understandably they take a holistic perspective to determine what activities and responsibilities support their governments.

A passage from an interview with Debbie Foxcroft illustrates the blurred distinction between job responsibilities and community or home responsibilities. For aboriginal people doing administrative work, the distinction of work from home, church, recreation and community is not as defined as it is by non-aboriginal people. Debbie spoke of the different experience of aboriginal governments from mainstream governments.

Debbie: Because a lot of this stuff, at the community level, was always done informally or orally or it wasn't done in a written policy formula, it was done through the potlatch system which is a system of order and who had ranking. And it was taught from generation to generation about respect and listening to your elders, respecting your hereditary chief. Trying to work on consensus. The values of helping, trying to help each other.

And just because people are so closeknit in the community, you're one big family in the remote areas. It's not just everybody as separate families, it's all intertwined even in marriages and relationships. I think it's difficult for aboriginal people to have that clear line between being a professional and being native. In one sense, when you're doing your work in a professional way and you go out to the communities to have meetings or whatever. You always have to have that balance of socializing. I think that's really important in native communities. People want to see you as the native person that socializes, talks, jokes or whatever. It's not just coming in. They want you to spend time there, not just go in and out. Those are just some of the things they don't like to see. They want to see you at, if they have a community dinner or function and you're invited, that you come and stay. Being part of that, going to potlatches and cultural events. You still have to be involved in the community activities, like the band meetings or if they have a dinner

or a funeral or whatever, that you are involved in helping. Like at tribal council meetings, I'll help serve. Or if we're having a chiefs' meeting or something like that, I, as a band member, I'll serve dinner or tea. I go in there as a community member and not just as my job as a manager.

Leslie: So you have that dual role.

Debbie: Yeah. I'll help serve. I'll help cook. I'll help.

Leslie: That's really interesting. Because if you're expected to go to tribal council meetings as part of your job, and you go wearing that hat, and as a community member the notion in the non-native world of a manager coming and serving tea is just bizarre.

Debbie: That's our 'other related duties'. Before at annual assemblies our whole staff had to help set up, had to serve food, had to peel potatoes, had to do everything. Clean up garbage. We were all expected as staff to do that. They changed that and now each band is a sponsor and so it will be up to the tribe to do that. But before, we used to have to do everything.

Leslie: It didn't matter what your rank or position was, you were peeling potatoes.

Debbie: That's right. And even at this annual assembly we got a note saying: "All staff have to stay to the very end because they have to help clean up and put away tables."

Leslie: So that's very different. And also the expectations that you be at significant potlatches.

Debbie: We have a signing, at the annual assembly on the first day in the afternoon, there's a signing of our hereditary chiefs that are going to be signing a declaration for this treaty negotiation. So this is an historic event. The chiefs are going to be bringing out their masks and dances. And our staff have to stay there until the very bitter end. I mean, it could go on until midnight and we are expected to stay. Because that's part of the culture and our teaching

and you don't leave. Big difference. You're expected to stay.

Leslie: And that comes with the job or is it a particular onus on you because you are also a community member?

Debbie: No. All our staff.

Leslie: The non-native, everybody? That's an expectation.

Debbie: But even if there wasn't. If it was all Nuu-Chah-Nulth, I still would be expected to stay. In respect of the hereditary chiefs or the family who invited you or whatever.

Leslie: So that line between what you get paid for and overtime is kind of a moot point.

Debbie: Yes. You don't get paid overtime.

Leslie: Because what is work and what is personal?

Debbie: I mean our non-native staff would say that that was work, that was overtime. But we don't consider it overtime, it's part of being in the community.

The activities of the four administrators go beyond what would be considered administrative work in the mainstream society. Debbie Foxcroft's role as treaty negotiator, Diane Modeste's role as cultural watchdog and Verna Amber's experience cooking food for four days for the elder's conference help demonstrate this. For Jackie Quoksister, part of her 'work' is cashiering at the local convenience store. Being visible and accessible to the community, being a part of the community, is all a part of her responsibility to effectively take part in the

governance of the community. These administrators take a holistic view of their responsibilities and resultant work.

The use of the term holistic requires discussion. Its meaning as used is consistent with that offered by James Dumont (1993) in relation to the concept that aboriginal people have of wholeness, "Perception of the undivided entirety of things. A vision of the interconnectedness, and interdependence within life." This definition differs, in his opinion, from the Euro-Canadian view of wholeness, "as a totality where the sum of all the parts make the total picture; must determine and define parts to build the total picture. Must create the total picture by manipulating the parts. (p.62)"

A holistic view of work then does not make distinct boundaries between facets of life. As Debbie Foxcroft pointed out, how she lives her life both personally and professionally is part of her work. She noted that she is seen as a leader therefore certain behaviours are expected of her and her family. "The native staff is not only accountable to the tribal council, they're accountable to the fourteen tribes. Within the community they're accountable for their actions outside of the job, on the job, everywhere." While the four administrators did not always label certain activities, such as cooking or serving, as administrative work, they were seen as responsibilities that they carry.

An additional observation about their work is that a particular approach to

the work goes hand in hand with what their work entails. Debbie's comments above noted that they are expected to have a relationship with community members, that they do not just fly in and fly out of a community to do a task. Verna Ambers echoed this approach to the conduct of her work.

I had a man that came in yesterday and he said, Verna, just because I saw you today and I know I haven't seen you for a long time, it just makes me feel really good to see you. So he sat here, he's an elder man, he sat here for a long time. And we just talked and then I knew he had something for me to do... He's a Kwakwala speaking person. A letter from the Native Fishing Association saying they're going to seize his boat if he doesn't attempt to make a payment means nothing to him. He's got a grade two education. I told those guys before, you should have an interpreter or you have to sit down and really, not just get right to the point and say, hey, I'm here to get some money off you because you owe us some money, but talk to them and listen to them for a long time. You have to have a lot of patience with people who don't understand the world of banking and that. And so we spent about two hours just talking about trapping and things I know that interested him. And then I got to the point of the Native Fishing Association. "Oh yeah, he said, that guy came to see me. I don't understand what he's talking about." ...you've got to take time to listen to people. Like sometimes when people come in here, they're mad about something, but it's got nothing to do with whatever it is they're mad about. You don't get to that until later...

The interpersonal relations between administrators and community members is part of the holistic approach to working in an aboriginal government and community.

Overall, the work of the four administrators reinforced the finding in the

first stage of the research. For aboriginal peoples, their governments are expressions of their culture, politics, spirituality, economics, values and emotions. Aboriginal governments are social movements as well as ruling bureaucracies. Government in this context is a complex and holistic notion. It does not, as seen in mainstream society, separate church from state, politics from bureaucracy, or personal from the professional. The construction of the work of administrators is influenced by key factors of accountability demands, cultural relevance and integrity, and the need for education of all people engaged with issues of governance. Given the dilemmas found in each of these factors, aboriginal administrators struggle to integrate community, organizational and professional demands.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND EMERGING QUESTIONS

Summary of the Thesis Argument

Aboriginal governments in Canada are a diverse group of complex organizations. They come in various sizes, shapes and structures as well as locations and jurisdictions all to serve a vast array of people. Aboriginal governments are organizations like their mainstream counterparts but they also have some important differences that stem from the cultures of aboriginal peoples and the history and construction of aboriginal governments in Canada.

Issues related to aboriginal peoples and self-government have been studied by many people. Some of this work provided insight into the complexities of aboriginal organizations and governments. Cassidy and Bish (1989) brought to light the great diversity among aboriginal governments in Canada and the challenges that these governments face as they emerge within an uncertain and multifarious environment. They explored the lack of clarity and agreement around the basis of authority for aboriginal government and the affect of such debate on the development of aboriginal governments. Further, they noted that key

organizational issues such as citizenship, policy-making, service delivery and finance are complicated in the context of aboriginal government, affected by organizational size, structural arrangements, culture and politics.

Tennant's work (1990) on the political development of aboriginal organizations in B.C. documented the origins of these organizations. He observed that many tribal councils arose as political forms which reflected the identities of tribal groupings rather than any construction of the Indian Act or DIAND administration. Yet, as they emerged as governments, these indigenous based organizations began to reflect the DIAND colonial system due to their financial and administrative interactions with this system.

Just as the origins for currently emerging aboriginal governments are unclear, the foundations of these governments are complicated. Hawkes (1985) noted that controversy surrounds the means by which aboriginal self-government is, or may be, established. He delineated the numerous methods through which aboriginal governments may derive their authority (constitutional entrenchment, treaties, recognition of powers, legislation, intergovernmental agreements and administrative arrangements). Whether the authority stems from a devolved or inherent method intimates a different organizational response.

Boldt (1993) considered the affect of the issue of authority on aboriginal organizations and personnel, noting that aboriginal governments are the recipients

of devolved authority and are not governments "of the people". He relayed how the colonial structures of governments imposed on aboriginal communities have shaped how aboriginal leaders perform their roles and has created a new kind of ruling class within aboriginal communities that was not found in pre-Indian Act communities. He further posited that political and bureaucratic structures have evolved within this process of colonization in order to control aboriginal people. This legacy still exists, often through administration professionals trained and indoctrinated within this colonial-authoritarian paradigm.

The lack of clarity around authority is reflected in issues of financing aboriginal governments. Maslove and Dittburner (1995) discussed this issue and pointed out the effect of conditional versus unconditional fiscal transfers. While conditional grants may provide limited assurance that future governments will provide certain services at minimum levels, they diminish the ability of these governments to strengthen their accountability to their communities. They also noted that such conditional grants may be more readily available for programs and services valued by the federal or provincial governments (e.g., health and education). Therefore, while they reduce the budgetary flexibility of an aboriginal government, they also potentially increase its overall funding base.

Franks (1987) recognized the tension between political and administrative authority. Political authority arises from the tribalism observed by Tennant and

administrative authority is received through the receipt of grants. He observes that in aboriginal governments these two realms overlap and compete, thereby confusing and diffusing tasks of accountability.

Aboriginal governments are attempting to rethink the coexistence of indigenous culture with modern governance demands. As Alfred (1995) as well as Cassidy and Bish point out, aboriginal governments are not only complex, they are highly dynamic organizations that experience significant change and numerous challenges.

The literature reviewed created a picture of aboriginal governments that is full of contradictions and dynamic activity. The origins of the organizations are split between indigenous groupings and DIAND creations, the authority from which these governments work is similarly fractured. Aboriginal organizations and the individuals within them are put in roles where they have divided and often contradictory goals and values. The people working in these organizations experience tension due to this fracture and find themselves working to be accountable to both the community and the external authorities. Finally, change is happening quickly, which in and of itself creates an environment of excitement, concern and confusion.

While many aspects relevant to aboriginal governance have been studied, like authority and financing, little attention has been given to the actual

organizations themselves and the practice of administration. Generally speaking, administration refers to the management of the efforts of organizations. The process of administration is typically described as engaging in the functions of planning, organizing, leading and controlling (Robbins and Stuart-Kotze, 1994). A few writers have examined what administrators do in their work. Mintzberg (1979) identified ten different roles that contribute to the 'gestalt' of managerial work: interpersonal roles (figurehead, leader, liaison), informational roles (monitor, disseminator, spokesman) and decisional roles (entrepreneur, disturbance handler, resource allocator, negotiator). Kotter (1982) built on this work by analyzing the challenges and dilemmas associated with managers' jobs. He highlighted how the bulk of their work takes place in small conversational moments rather than formal meetings or activities.

While aboriginal governments share much of these characterizations of administrative work with their mainstream counterparts, there is a growing awareness that there exist some differences in how administration is practiced in aboriginal governments. Chapman, McCaskill and Newhouse (1991) for instance advanced the thesis that group orientation, consensual decision-making and holistic employee development characterize management in aboriginal organizations. Their findings reinforced the indications in the literature on aboriginal governments that there are some differences between aboriginal organizations and their mainstream

counterparts.

The data collected for this research further illuminated key factors that may contribute to an aboriginal administrative practice that is different than mainstream administration. The institutional and financial arrangements of aboriginal governments as well as the cultures of aboriginal communities may partly explain some of the differences experienced in the practice of administration in aboriginal governments. The interaction between mainstream and aboriginal institutions and cultures can add to the tension that people in aboriginal organizations experience.

The nature of accountability in aboriginal governments is unduly complex. Aboriginal governments face external (e.g., federal government) as well as internal (e.g., community) demands for accountability and these are not always compatible. The relationship between First Nations and the federal government, via the Indian Act, is an established line of accountability that flows upwards to the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Federal Parliament. This external line of accountability overshadows the development of systems by which aboriginal administrators account to their communities. Beyond this though, the complexity of aboriginal governments may be higher than other organizations because they depend to such a high degree on so many outside sources for funds. The internal resource base of aboriginal governments is often minimal at best and this compounds the importance of external relations.

Moreover, accountability is affected by the institutions and cultures which are different from the mainstream. This means that different ways of providing accountability are experienced. External accountability, a dense and complex task of aboriginal governments, can clash with the values and culture of the community to a higher degree than in other organizations. For example, Health and Welfare Canada requires a community health survey be conducted as part of the transfer of health services to aboriginal communities. The survey is based on a random selection of community members. Such a technique runs counter to aboriginal values of involving key community members such as elders, of community participation and consensus, and of collective, rather than individual, conceptions of health.

Culture not only makes the tasks of accountability different, it also affects the very nature of work as experienced in aboriginal governments. Work is a socially constructed term that in the western world intimates paid employment based production. De Grazia (1962) distinguished between work and leisure noting that work is effort done to make a living or keep a house while leisure is recreation or rest from work. Such distinctions are less useful in an aboriginal context.

As Wallman (1979) observed of the Paez people of Bolivia, this western concept of work may be irrelevant to the experience of other peoples. She

describes how some villagers did not view going to the high plains to feed their cattle as "work", but rather as "visiting" them. For aboriginal peoples in Canada who have been colonized to accept a western conception of work, they can experience a form of dissonance between such concepts and their everyday lived experiences. Helping prepare for a potlatch, for instance, is a responsibility that does not fit easily in the job description of an economic development officer conceived within the mainstream concept of work. What is observed then is that for many aboriginal administrators, their community responsibilities supersede or at least co-exist with any construction of their particular job duties. That is, they may have cultural, political and spiritual responsibilities that encompass their administrative work.

In fact, strong cultural practices are a means to political self-determination. Ensuring the cultural integrity of administrative practice is a key political activity. Moreover, as aboriginal administrators have a vested interest in the political development of their communities, the work of administration in support of these efforts is often overtly political.

The reality of administrative work in aboriginal governments is that it is often practiced differently than in mainstream governments. The cultural and community foundation of aboriginal governments and administrations means that administrators have a vested interest in the organization, have community roles and

responsibilities, and have a sense of community affiliation, all which are considered as a birthright and a lifetime obligation. Administrative work is a holistic activity that encompasses personal, cultural, political, spiritual and professional aspects of an administrator's life.

Aboriginal governments are grounded in their respective communities and at the same time exist within a Canadian political system that reflects the values of a western, non-aboriginal society. Colonization has created particular concepts of work and administration, but these notions are not always compatible with aboriginal cultures. The practice of administrative work in aboriginal governments is therefore complex and internally conflictual for both the organization and the administrators. The institutional and financial arrangements of aboriginal governments in Canada only further complicate the work. In as much as administrative practice in aboriginal governments has many parallels with non-aboriginal governments, the experience of administrative practice in aboriginal governments is unique.

Implications of the Findings

The purpose of this research was to explore the work of aboriginal administrators in aboriginal governments. I wanted to understand how their work

is constructed and why it is constructed as it is. By demystifying the nature of the work and the tensions that are left for administrators to deal with as a result, this research can foster a critical understanding of administrative practice in an aboriginal government.

This research has illuminated some of the tensions and dilemmas that make the practice of administration in aboriginal governments a complex set of tasks. In so doing, some emerging challenges for aboriginal administrators can be identified; namely, the development of a critical consciousness, fostering community education and creating an aboriginal conception of administration.

There is much debate among people engaged with governance and administration about what action needs to be taken in aboriginal communities. When the data for this thesis first began to be collected in 1993, I heard arguments for the entrenchment of self-government in the Canadian Constitution from some, while others argued passionately for alcohol treatment programs in their communities. The paths toward self-determination that these two examples illustrate were not unrelated or incompatible. Over the relatively short period of time since the research began, recognition of the interrelatedness of such issues has been increasingly seen. Treaty negotiations, take-overs of service delivery and community development activities are reflecting the interdependence of actions to promote self-determination. It is being realized that a community cannot heal

while the very basis for the abuse, the structures upon which the current Indian Act system is based, continue. People in aboriginal governments are becoming increasingly cognizant of the need to address structural remedies to colonization and oppression *as well as* the symptoms of these that are evidenced in the community.

As also mentioned in the chapter on culture and politics, aboriginal people are beginning to develop and disseminate a critical historical analysis of the effects of colonization and racism in their lives. This critical consciousness is a part of the development of healthy communities, governments and individuals. It is one of the emerging opportunities, or challenges, for aboriginal administrators.

Some of the qualities of critical consciousness are power awareness, critical literacy, desocialization and self-education (Shor, 1993). This means knowing how power is organized and used in society, understanding the social contexts and consequences of administrative practices, recognizing the myths, values, behaviours and language learned from the mass culture as well as examining the internalized values of racism, sexism and other regressive notions. It is hoped that this research can contribute to the critical discourse by making visible how mainstream knowledge regarding administrative work is encased in historical and institutional structures that privilege some voices, experiences and conceptions as well as exclude others.

One of the most common themes that arose from the interviews and discussions with people in both stages of the research was the importance of communication between aboriginal governments and their constituents. How can a community really practice self-government if its membership is unable to participate effectively in the systems of community governance? Much of the frustration expressed by administrators was that their community members were not aware of the complexity of administration and governance and further, that involving community members in a meaningful way in governance was a difficult challenge.

Community education is therefore identified as an emerging challenge of governance and administration. Not only will an informed community be better equipped to participate in governance, but the actual practice of community education can establish a means for dialogue, and thereby accountability with constituents. Therefore, when thinking of the education and training needs for self-government, aboriginal administrators have to consider not only the formal education of staff, but the education and healing of community members.

The unique challenges of administration in an aboriginal environment are often given short shift, by both aboriginal and non-aboriginal people. Yet the dissonance between the conceptualized version of the work and the lived experience of the work has to be dealt with by the aboriginal people who fill these

positions. Recognizing the existence of this dissonance and understanding how it has been created is an important part of learning to effectively deal with it. The emerging challenge is to construct a new conception of administration, a new language, that can explore the contradictions inherent in administrative practice for self-government.

While aboriginal administrators are faced with the emerging challenges of critical, structural thinking, communication and community education, and the creation of an aboriginal conception of administration, other people also have work to do. There needs to be an awareness among non-aboriginal governments and administrators, as well as aboriginal governments and administrators, that there are similarities and differences in their administrative realities. The differences affect the relationships and interactions between aboriginal governments and mainstream government organizations. Validating and understanding these differences will be important as a new relationship between Canadian governments and aboriginal governments is forged.

The reality of the distinctiveness of aboriginal governments has implications for the training and education of aboriginal administrators. This research presents a different paradigm for understanding administrative work, one that stresses the holistic consideration of work as it supports the developmental goals of aboriginal peoples. Aboriginal people in administrative roles are whole people, not just

administrators. They bring their responsibilities as parents, community members, professionals, leaders and managers to their administrative practices. They are grounded in their communities and have a vested interest in the development of their governments.

This reality has implications for the education and training of aboriginal administrators. Educational programs need to reflect a holistic perspective of administrative work. Education, like the administrative practice, has to be grounded in the community. As Verna Ambers commented, students do not only need to know the technical tasks of administrative work, they need to know the experience of life and work in the particular aboriginal community. Attention to cultural and political development and the interrelatedness of them with administration is central to learning about the nature of administration in an aboriginal context.

Consistent with the perspective of aboriginal administrators as whole people, aboriginal students of administration need to be treated as whole people. Their lives as students are complex, consisting of roles as parents, children, community members and employees, much like the reality of administrators. Administrative education, therefore, needs to be holistic in its approach to personal growth and professional development for aboriginal self-government.

Administrative training must be grounded in aboriginal cultures and experience so that the tensions between cultural and mainstream administrative

concepts and practices can be explored by aboriginal peoples. Through such exploration, conceptions of aboriginal administrative practices can emerge.

Further Research

As with most research endeavours, I am left with more questions at its completion than I was able to articulate when I started. There are three general areas for further research that particularly stand out for me.

First, the issue of gender and administrative practice begs for more investigation. As I noted in the beginning of the paper, I was motivated to study aboriginal administration in part because of my experience as a woman in the male dominated field of public administration. I postulated that aboriginal people might also feel marginalized within the field. This research has confirmed for me that administration in an aboriginal context has some unique aspects that are not found in mainstream conceptions of administration. My thirst to look at women's particular experience however has only increased.

As it happened, the four administrators who were involved in the second phase of this research were all women. However, I did not particularly consider the gender aspects of their work. These women had a holistic framework for their work and while such a perspective is consistent with aboriginal ways of thinking,

such a frame may also reflect women's ways of thinking and working. My conversations with Verna, Diane, Debbie and Jackie inevitably included some talk about our children, family life and household management. In this way it was similar to enumerable conversations between women. We laughed about being able to read papers, fix dinner and help kids with homework all at the same time. We shared funny stories about our kids, our work, our communities.

This current thesis did not investigate how the nature of their work was associated with their gender. While the data did not indicate that the holistic nature of administrative practice in an aboriginal environment was at all associated with the gender of the worker, the research did not explore how their work was in any way constructed because of their gender. How much of the blurring of the lines between work, home and community is a function of gender and how is this influenced by culture?

While there have been several feminist writers in public administration (e.g. Ferguson, 1984; Campbell, 1988), there still remains a predominance of male experience based thinking in the field. There appears to be a great need to consider the experience of women, in various cultures including my own, in administration. Is our work constructed differently because of our gender? How is our approach to the work affected by our gender, our experience as women, our ways of knowing?

The second area for further research that arises from this thesis is the ethnocentrism of mainstream administrative thinking and practice. In the course of doing the research for this thesis, I was confronted with how some of my dearly held beliefs were not so dearly held by aboriginal people and how my interpretations of concepts reflected my culture, and not necessarily an aboriginal culture.

For example, I value planning. I have been socialized to think ahead, plan for the future. In studying social work, I was taught a method of "planned change". In studying administration, planning was identified as a key function of administrators and various tools for planning were learned (e.g. strategic planning, management by objectives). This research however reinforced something that I have confronted in my own cross-cultural family. Planning in my world is linear and is valued differently than in some aboriginal people's lives. As Dockstator (1993) highlighted, for aboriginal people it is the journey itself that is important rather than the plan or outcome. In gathering data for the thesis, I had to follow the time flow of the participants rather than my own planned schedule. In some communities, I spent a good deal of time "having tea" before I could get down, if ever, to gathering the information that I thought I wanted. While I felt the task and time pressures, I was confronted with the fact such pressure is constructed by my culture.

Other examples of this felt disjunction between cultures were seen in the concepts of research and of community. An aboriginal man explained to me how we viewed even the notion of research somewhat differently. To his people, research is a way of knowing what they already know, but in a way that I, a non-aboriginal person, will be able to understand. In this way, research is identified as a creation of my culture that they are using as a tool of communication between our cultures.

In another community, I was confronted with the fact that I was only considering human beings in my conceptions of community. I talked at cross purposes with someone until we realized that his conception of community included the eco-system. Discussing strategies for community development take on a different meaning when including the watershed, the fish and the forests.

What angers me is that it is aboriginal people, and other marginalized people, who are left to struggle with these clashes. I am a part of a dominant culture and therefore do not continually face the contradictions and problems that arise daily for aboriginal people because of differing cultural views. Aboriginal people are becoming critically aware of how these clashes are affecting their lives.

I believe that such consciousness raising is not only the task of the oppressed. Several aboriginal people who I spoke to in this research made the point that non-aboriginal Canadians have a lot of work to do in becoming more

informed of the issues of aboriginal peoples and our role in these issues. This research has reinforced for me the need to redirect the focus of my curiosity to my own people. How are we, our ways of thinking and behaving, constructing barriers for aboriginal peoples in their pursuit of self-determination? Research that could assist mainstream administrators to understand how and why certain knowledge and practices are constructed could assist in reforming administrative practice to adapt to an ever changing world.

Finally, no matter whom I spoke to in the conduct of the research, the demand for education and training was mentioned. There is an increasing demand for qualified people in aboriginal governments. This demand is creating a new education industry. Established universities and colleges are designing programs for aboriginal peoples, private trainers are targeting aboriginal governments and aboriginal training organizations are being spawned. This is a very active field that deserves the attention of researchers.

For instance, to what extent do administration programs acknowledge the unique aspects of administration in an aboriginal environment? Do they and in what ways do they assist students to develop a critical consciousness about the work, or do they contribute to its mystification? There is no doubt that there is a need for research that can assist in the development of critical administrative training. This is a logical emerging direction for my research.

The content of education and training programs for aboriginal peoples deserves attention, but so too does the delivery method of education and training. Aboriginal people in this research noted that standard delivery mechanisms, such as classroom lectures at a university, are not always appropriate. Many educational institutions are trying new delivery methods, from community-based programs to computer-based programs. A variety of distance education approaches are possible. These current initiatives should be evaluated from the standpoint of aboriginal peoples and innovative responses to the needs of aboriginal governments and communities need to be developed and tested.

In conclusion, as Frank Cassidy (1991) has said, aboriginal government is an emerging field of study. It is my hope that this research contributes to that field and further, that it illuminates future directions for its emergence.

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APPENDIX 1

PARTICIPATING COMMUNITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN PHASE ONE

Algonquin of Golden Lake Band, Ontario
Champagne Aishihik, Yukon
Fort Simpson Band, Ontario
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
Metis Society of Saskatchewan
MicMac Child and Family Services, Nova Scotia
Missanabie Cree, Ontario
Mowachaht Band, B.C.
New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council
Shubenacadie First Nation, New Brunswick
Southeast Child and Family Services, Manitoba
Spallumcheen Band, B.C.
Tikinagan Child and Family Services, Ontario
Vancouver Island Bandworkers Association, B.C.

APPENDIX 2

GUIDING COMMITTEE FOR PHASE ONE DATA COLLECTION

Wendy Boies, New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council
Art Daniels, Metis Society of Saskatchewan
Valery Galley, Victoria, B.C.
Phyllis Gibson, Whitebear, Saskatchewan
Mavis Henry, Pauquachin, B.C.
Margarita James, Mowachaht, B.C.

APPENDIX 3

RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR PHASE ONE DATA COLLECTION

1. How are aboriginal organizations defining their membership or communities? How are communities defining themselves?
2. How do aboriginal government facilitate communication with their communities? How do they keep their communities informed and how do communities express their ideas to government?
3. Who in the organizations are involved in implementing communication strategies? What kinds of issues and information forms the basis of the communication?
4. How are the administrative functions of planning, controlling and service delivery affected by community interaction with the administrative processes of aboriginal governments?
5. What difficulties do aboriginal governments experience in effectively involving particular sectors of their memberships (women, youth, elders)?
6. What difficulties do aboriginal governments experience in communicating effectively with other governments? How does this affect the communication strategy of an aboriginal government with its community?

APPENDIX 4

PARTICIPANTS IN PHASE TWO

Verna Ambers, Economic Development Officer, Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council

Debbie Foxcroft, Senior Manager, Nuu-Chah-Nulth Community and Human Services

Diane Modeste, Tribal Administrator, Cowichan Tribes

Jackie Quoksister, Band Administrator, Songhees Band

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PHASE TWO

1. Describe a working day - from start to finish. What do you do at work?
2. How do you know when you are doing good work?
Can you give me some examples of successes or triumphs? What is important about these successes for you?
3. What parts of your job are easiest for you? (Describe)
What is it about these aspects of your work or about you that makes them easy?
4. What parts of your job are the most difficult for you? What is it that makes them difficult? (Give examples)
5. What is your vision of the direction for your organization?
How explicit is this vision in your work? (Describe how it looks.)
6. How do you maintain external relations (e.g. federal government, community)? (Describe how it looks.)
7. How do you blend your personal and professional responsibilities? (Describe)
8. Who do you spend your time with in your work?
What do you do together?
9. Are there routine forms/documents, formats or processes which you come into contact with in your work?
How do you use these in your work?
10. What policies do you work with? (e.g. band membership criteria)
How do you work with them?
11. What knowledge and skills are necessary to do your job?

APPENDIX 6

CONSENT FORM FOR PHASE TWO

In this research project I am interested in exploring the work of aboriginal administrators. If you agree to participate in this research, I would like to interview you for approximately two hours. The interview will focus on your experience of your work as an administrator. The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed by me. A copy of the interview/transcript will be available to you if you wish.

After completion of the interview, I may wish to conduct further interviews, observe you in your work or collect examples of the types of documents (memos, policies, etc.) that are a part of your work. The intention of this is to gain an understanding of what your work entails. Together, you and I will determine what further information beyond that obtained in the initial interview would be helpful to do this.

You may choose to keep your identity and all information confidential to the researcher. If you so choose, your name will never be used and you will not be identified by any means in any publications which result from the research. If you choose not to keep your identity confidential, you retain the ability to identify throughout the process any information that is to be kept confidential. All confidential data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet and will be destroyed at the completion of the research. As noted earlier, participation in this project is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw your consent to participate in the research at any time.

You will have the opportunity to meet with all other participants in the research prior to the writing of the final research paper to discuss the findings of the research. This would, of course, compromise your anonymity, therefore it is entirely optional. If you request, a copy of the final research paper will be sent to you upon completion.

Your signature below will indicate that you agree to have the interview audio-taped and that you understand and agree to the terms of the participation in the study. Further, it will indicate that any approvals necessary from your employer have been obtained by you (and appended to this consent form if appropriate). Please sign two copies and keep one for yourself. If you have any questions please call me, collect, at 721-6275 (UVic) or 383-6450.

NAME _____

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

WITNESS _____

Thank you for your involvement.

Copy A: research file
Copy B: participant

APPENDIX 7

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

AFN	Assembly of First Nations
CMHC	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
KDC	Kwakwiltl District Council
MSS	Metis Society of Saskatchewan
MTTC	Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council
NBAPC	New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council
NIB	National Indian Brotherhood
NTC	Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
YNB	Yukon Native Brotherhood