OUTSIDES-IN INSIDES-OUT:

A LEADERSHIP SYSTEM CASE STUDY OF ONE CANADIAN INDIAN RESERVE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

of

The University of Guelph

by

RYAN MCDONALD

In partial fulfillment of requirements

for the degree of

Master of Science

February 2001

© Ryan McDonald, 2001

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-58360-0

Canada

ABSTRACT

OUTSIDES-IN INSIDES-OUT: A LEADERSHIP SYSTEM
CASE STUDY OF ONE CANADIAN INDIAN RESERVE

Ryan McDonald
University of Guelph, 2001

Advisor:
Professor J. Wolfe-Keddie

This thesis is an investigation of the environment in which First Nation community leadership takes place. Leadership is held to be central to development, change and self-determination. Literature is examined and broken down into five thematic areas incorporating Leadership Systems, Rights and Responsibilities, Cultural Resonance, Bureaucratic Encapsulation and Economic Determinism. Case Study data relating to leadership in one Canadian Indian Reserve is then analyzed independently and with reference to the categories from the literature. Analysis reveals difficulties in the leadership system relating to a lack of opportunity for community involvement and participation in the decision-making process; the appearance of authoritarian rule; the small size and scale of the face-to-face community; and strong group identity in relation to the "outside world." An expectation for inclusion in band decision-making that cannot be accommodated by the imposed leadership system is prevalent within the community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Deepest appreciation is extended to those who accommodated me in the community where fieldwork was conducted. To those who took the time to entertain my questions, and who directed me to better lines of questioning, I extend my thanks and appreciation. Without such kindness, generosity and openness, a case study of First Nation leadership issues would not have formed part of this thesis.

Aspects of this research were informed by fellow students, who openly offered their ideas and criticisms to keep the researcher's head from being in orbit. Thank you Charlie, Jeff, Alan and Geoff for grounding me when I most needed it.

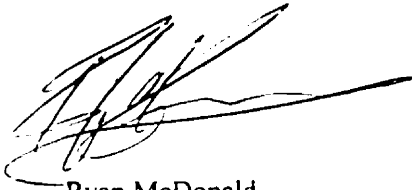
The assistance of Dr. Bruce Morito, whose keen observations assisted during the initial phases of the writing, is acknowledged. Thank you for the dialogue and for the insightful comments on the first few chapters.

To my departmental committee members, Dr. Donald Reid and Dr. Anthony Fuller, I express great thanks for your hard work in reviewing this project, and for your reflections, influence and support.

This project would not have been possible without the encouragement and insight of Dr. Jackie Wolfe-Keddie, whose dedication and patience are unsurpassed in academia. Thank you, Jackie, for always keeping me on track. Even though the train seems to have taken the scenic route, it has arrived at the station. Your interests, demeanor and character constituted the reasoning for

pursuing studies at Guelph, and I am honoured to have had you as my academic mentor and advisor.

Finally, thank you, Susan, for editing this thesis, but most of all for your love, support, encouragement and patience.



Ryan McDonald

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION 1

2.0 THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP 7

2.1 WHY INDIAN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP? 8

2.2 WHAT IS DIFFERENT ABOUT ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES? 11

2.3 OPERATIONALIZING TERMS: FIRST PEOPLES, LEADERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP SYSTEMS 15

2.4 PUBLISHED RESEARCH IN THE AREA 21

2.5 PARAMETERS OF THIS CASE STUDY 24

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN 27

3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 29

3.2 RESEARCH METHODS 31

3.3 COMMUNITY ENTRY 35

3.4 RESPECT AND RESEARCH 38

3.5 APPROACH TO ANALYSIS 41

3.6 ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE METHODOLOGY 43

4. THE LEADERSHIP ENVIRONMENT: WHAT THE LITERATURE SPEAKS TO ... 49

4.1 LEADERSHIP SYSTEMS 50

4.2 RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES 56

4.3 CULTURAL RESONANCE 68

4.4 BUREAUCRATIC ENCAPSULATION: ADMINISTRATIVE DETERMINISM 78

4.5 ECONOMIC DETERMINISM 90

5.0 CASE STUDY **99**

5.1 DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY 100

5.2 DATA CATEGORIES AND ROUNDS OF ANALYSIS 108

5.3 DATA PRESENTATION 110

5.4 ANALYZING THE BIG PICTURE 146

5.5 ANALYZING PERSPECTIVES 150

6.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS **171**

6.1 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH 171

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE 173

6.3 PROSPECTS AND CAVEATS 200

REFERENCES AND WORKS CITED **206**

ANNEX 1 GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR PHASE I OF FIELDWORK **224**

ANNEX 2 FRAMING QUESTIONS FOR THE RESEARCH **226**

ANNEX 3 THE CORBIERE DECISION **229**

TABLE OF FIGURES

FIGURE 3.2.1 RESEARCH METHODS 33

FIGURE 3.5.1 APPROACH TO ANALYSIS 42

FIGURE 3.6.1 THEMATIC CATEGORIES FROM THE LITERATURE 43

FIGURE 3.6.2 ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF METHODOLOGY 48

FIGURE 4.1.1 LEADERSHIP SYSTEMS 51

FIGURE 4.1.2 SUMMARY: LEADERSHIP SYSTEM FACETS AND ASPECTS 55

FIGURE 4.2.1 SOCIAL COMPACT AND SOCIAL CONTRACT VALUES 59

FIGURE 4.2.2 SUMMARY: RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FACETS AND ASPECTS 68

FIGURE 4.3.1 CONTRADICTIONS OF SYSTEMS 76

FIGURE 4.3.2 SUMMARY: CULTURAL RESONANCE FACETS AND ASPECTS 77

FIGURE 4.4.1 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND SELF-CONCEPT 79

FIGURE 4.4.2 SUMMARY: BUREAUCRATIC ENCAPSULATION FACETS AND ASPECTS 89

FIGURE 4.5.1 SUMMARY: ECONOMIC DETERMINISM FACETS AND ASPECTS 98

TABLE 5.1.1 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS OF COMMUNITY 103

FIGURE 5.1.2 COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MODEL 107

FIGURE 5.2.1 DATA CATEGORIES OF REPEATED ANALYSIS 108

FIGURE 5.2.2 GROUPING LIKE CATEGORIES FROM DIFFERENT ANALYSIS 109

FIGURE 5.3.1 CATEGORIES FROM ROUND ONE OF ANALYSIS 113

FIGURE 5.3.2 CATEGORIES FROM ROUND TWO OF ANALYSIS 127

FIGURE 5.3.3 CATEGORIES FROM ROUND THREE OF ANALYSIS 139

FIGURE 5.3.3A POLITICAL POWER STRUCTURE 141

FIGURE 5.4.1 PERSPECTIVES PROVIDED BY REPEATED ANALYSIS 150

FIGURE 5.5.1 LOOKING OUTSIDE-IN CYCLE OF CATEGORIES 160

FIGURE 6.2.1 LITERATURE AND CASE STUDY 176

FIGURE 6.3.1 PHASES OF FIRST NATION COLONIAL LEADERSHIP 202

Outsides-In . . .

The existing system is one that was imposed upon our societies as a way of destroying the existing political system, and as a way of controlling our people. Contrary to our traditional systems, the *Indian Act* system provides a political voice only to the elected chiefs and councillors normally resident on reserves, and usually male. The *Indian Act* system silences the voice of elders, women, youth and off-reserve citizens of First Nations.

Marilyn Fontaine in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Vol. II. Part 1. 1996.

Insides-Out . . .

Fortunately, the life you whites had to offer us was a fuller and richer one than our old life of hunting and fishing. We have been provided with reserves of land on which to live. We are taking hold of this new life; we are tilling the soil as you do; our homes are like your homes; our life today is like your life. For 400 years our young people have been marrying your young people, and there is now little difference between us. Together with you we are striving to build up a new Canada.

An Aboriginal person from the reserve where the case study was conducted, quoted during a CBC interview. 1930's.

1.0 Introduction

The process of decolonization has left many nations and regions of the world with unique challenges of development. Relatively young sovereign governments struggle with problems of the human environment, the built environment and the natural environment. Often addressing these challenges is made more difficult by a lack of capital and by problems created by foreign debt-servicing. Recent changes in development theory and practice have seen a movement away from large scale (modernization) and direct aid, and toward capacity building and self-determination. This trend toward generating local control and decision-making capacities is applicable to First Nations development issues in Canada. However, there are many provisos on the direct transferability of such approaches. Cultural differences affect the way in which successful development can occur from sources that are both indigenous and exogenous to Aboriginal communities. Regardless of the trend in devolution with regard to programs for Aboriginal peoples, many programs initiated at the community level fail to generate legitimacy. The effectiveness of such programs can suffer as a result.

Most Aboriginal communities face development problems that are similar to those confronted by rural peoples in developing countries. When compared to the general Canadian population, Aboriginal peoples face higher poverty, unemployment, fertility and mortality rates, and lower levels of education, inadequate housing and utilities. Many such communities are located within the peripheral zones of Canada, away from the centers of economic activity. While the parallels to international development seem quite evident, there are many factors that serve to differentiate between the two. First of all, most First Nations have a legal status as signatories to treaties with

the Crown. Certain individual and collective rights derive therefrom, and are protected in law. Second, these legal rights of Aboriginal peoples are protected constitutionally. Third, First Nation communities exist for the most part as ethnic enclaves within the Canadian state. As such, reserve communities possess certain political/jurisdictional powers permitting them to define membership and residency within each community. The fourth difference, and perhaps the most important between development contexts for First Nations and developing nations is that Aboriginal peoples in Canada are citizens of a modern industrialized country. Through Canadian citizenship, Aboriginal peoples share in the benefits of entitlement provided by the modern welfare state.

This last point is perhaps the most important, and the most intriguing. Despite the allocation of resources through various programs and transfers to confront the development problems of Aboriginal peoples, the reality for many such communities remains one that places Aboriginal peoples in a distinct developmental category in the Canadian polity. This distinctness has been fostered in part by the resistance of Aboriginal peoples to succumb to the forces of assimilation and acculturation placed upon them by the dominant colonial society. In spite of such forces, often institutionalized within their very communities, Aboriginal peoples in Canada have succeeded in maintaining a distinct identity.

This identity, born of local custom, tradition and language for each First Nation has developed a national character through colonial relations. Initially determined by shared "oppression" under the colonial umbrella, both the national and local identities of First Nations are now being redefined through "assertion." The climate of Indian affairs is undergoing a transformation marked by a resurgence of tradition and stronger notions of group identity. Along with greater

empowerment, First Nations are exercising both treaty and constitutional rights, forcing their clarification and definition in practice. Accompanying this movement toward empowerment are changes in political and administrative relations between First Nation communities and the federal government. Devolution has created the opportunity for local planning and delivery of programs and services in First Nation communities. The transfer of financial resources is accompanied by the conveyance of responsibility and accountability for both funding and programs. As a result, the mandate of First Nation community leaders has expanded substantially. Local First Nation leaders can have in their charge responsibilities of government, external government relations, local administration, management, planning and decision making, policy development, culture, treaty rights, land claims, resource management, education, health, economic development, social services, housing, and municipal works. All of these tasks are carried out in a climate of resource scarcity, often in communities that are rural and/or remote.

Much of the pressure for greater local control of such powers was born of discontent with culturally inappropriate programs that were centrally developed. These programs often aimed at assimilation, and left little room for community development and ownership of the outputs of governance. There is pressure on local leaders to bring about rapid change, make things better, make them Indian, and make them have meaning. Much of the environment in which First Nation community leaders must operate, however, is non-Indian. The position of local leadership is therefore challenging, yet perhaps the most important "institution" on the pathway to greater self-determination. The forms that local leadership assume and the values of both the leader and local institutions determine the possibilities and limitations of change.

Systems of First Nation community leadership have undergone radical transformations since the time of colonization and the signing of treaties. Three distinct phases of transformation have been identified. In the first phase, Indian agents were appointed as wardens over their First Nations. Indian agents acted as the representative of the federal government in dealings with each First Nation community, providing a channel of communication between First Nations and the federal government. The Indian agent system was highly paternal, and created racially based power divisions within First Nation communities. While traditional systems of leadership often continued in such communities, the newly created role for Indian administration created systems of social (cultural learning) and economic (entitlement) exchange that challenged traditional leadership.

In the second phase of colonial First Nation leadership, the function of the Indian agent was expanded and internalized through the creation of Indian Act local government. Through imposing a system of democratic leadership, the federal government furthered policies of assimilation while creating quasi-municipal structures in First Nation communities. As a system of leadership, Indian Act local government established the administrative apparatus necessary for the extension of citizenship and the franchise to First Nations people. The creation of standardized band government allowed the department of Indian Affairs to administer programs and services for First Nations in a comprehensive manner. While legislated local government can be described as being "maternal" in comparison to the paternal Indian Agent system, the imposition of the western democratic model of political leadership, coupled with entitlements that flow from citizenship created problems in many First Nation communities. The cultural values of the western democratic model were not easily adopted by First Nation people. In many regards, the imposed leadership system and the values entailed by it contradicted those of

tradition. The second phase of colonial First Nation leadership fostered reactionary movements rooted in a revival of traditional ways. These movements, witnessed at the local, regional and national levels had a divisive effect in many communities, resulting in the questioning of the legitimacy of band governments created under the Indian Act.

The third phase of First Nation colonial leadership is typified by the movement toward greater self-government and negotiated powers. Flowing from discontent with the failure of many centralized programs under Indian Act band government, many First Nations are seeking both decision-making powers and resources to implement locally designed programs and services. A crisis of legitimacy resulted in many communities from the imposition of external leadership systems and their corresponding values. Suspicion of the imposed system led to the continuation and/or formation of traditional councils that competed with local Indian Act government in many First Nation communities. For some bands, the third phase of colonial leadership is emerging within the system of Indian Act band government through program transfers and flexible funding arrangements. Others bands have negotiated self-government agreements that place them outside of the Indian Act altogether. Regardless of the context, the political reality for First Nations now includes the internalization of political powers and the inherent responsibilities that accompany such powers. As such, development in First Nations communities will be highly contingent upon local leadership.

The types of values held by local Indian leaders appear to be the key to change for most First Nation communities. Just as treaty and land rights are upheld based on arguments of cultural difference, the argument for self-determination is premised on similar grounds. What is being sought in decentralization of power is not simply greater localized control, but rather powers that

permit 'governing' in an Indian way through the reintegration of Indian values and processes into the role of leadership and the institution of government. Argued normatively, Alfred states that: "The kind of renewal we need cannot be accomplished under Robert's Rules of Order. Instead of mimicking the bad habits and selfish motives of mainstream politicians, Native leaders must aspire to embody traditional values." (Alfred 1999: xvi)

This research project explores the nature of First Nation community leadership in the context of the third phase of colonial relations. It has been designed to bring together existing research in the field from a broad theoretical perspective with data generated from a case study conducted in one community.

2.0 The Problem of Indian Community Leadership

Over the past three decades, pan-Indian leaders have been struggling to secure an environment for their people that advances self-determination. While the battle for constitutional recognition of Aboriginal rights has been and continues to be fought at the national level, it is at the local level where communities must grapple with the nuts and bolts of gradual change. For local Indian leaders, the pressure to initiate change and deliver a better package of goods and services to the people in their community must be an extreme challenge. As more powers become available to Indian communities either through demand or devolution, their leadership is placed in the position of assuming ever-increasing responsibility for the administration of a wider range of programs, projects and services. Such change can be overwhelming to a small community, as it often takes place in a climate of limited fiscal and human resources. Taking control for so much, so fast, with so little has resulted in what one researcher has called the "cascade and drowning effect." (Wolfe 1994)

In addition to coping with this wave of change, Indian community leaders are in some cases confronted with the challenge of tailoring these systems and programs to reflect community values. Years of leadership from the outside on the inside manifested through the Indian agent system and the subsequent bureaucratic encapsulation of local leadership have left their mark on Indian communities. This mark, or cultural imprint, came in the form of structures, programs and services that may not have been and still may not be in accord with the culture and values held by individuals or by the collective that forms a community.

The overall climate in which local Indian leadership operates is therefore typified by increasing administrative and political powers, justified by cultural distinctness, to manage the necessary yet often inappropriate programs and services from the dominant culture. First Nations leadership is therefore confronted with an inherent antilogy of self-determination: the right to self-govern is grounded in part by indigenous cultural distinctness, yet some of the structural and functional aspects of community leadership are exogenous by either origin or necessity. This is the problem of Indian community leadership, and once recognized, it is not surprising that leadership in First Nation communities is often a difficult and challenging task. It is the goal of this research to examine the environment of First Nation community leadership to better understand it as a system of community organization.

2.1 Why Indian Community Leadership?

First Nation communities across the country are confronted with both problems and opportunities regarding their future development. Much of the responsibility for planning and directing change at the community level is vested with local leadership. These local leadership roles, or the people charged with the responsibility of filling them, are often portrayed as part of the problem rather than as part of the solution. Stories documenting poor management, incompetence, nepotism, corruption and conflict of interest are common in reports of local Indian leadership. Such reports are often viewed by outsiders in terms of "racially based ineptness, incompetence, or laziness." (Boldt 1980: 20) Such judgments, however, are cast from outside of the context in which the these situations occur, and are further judged and assessed according to structures that subtend roles for leadership that do not necessarily exist within the First Nation reserve context. Further, the nature of reserve communities makes corruption more visible "because it is so close and everyone knows everyone else." (Crowfoot 1997: 302) While it is uncertain whether such

alleged abuses of power occur more often in the Indian context than in the non-Indian, it would appear that the leadership roles in First Nation communities are quite different, culturally, structurally and functionally from those at the local non-Indian level. If the future prospects for both cultural survival and local development of Indian communities across the country hinge upon local leadership, then analysis of these roles in relation to their environment is justified as part of the very development process that these roles are intended to direct.

Several scholars have acknowledged the importance of Indian leadership for the future development of First Nation communities. Boldt has suggested that "In the present situation of acculturation and confrontation, the direction of evolution, perhaps even the survival, of Indians as distinct cultural groups depends significantly on what is happening within the leadership." (Boldt 1980: 15) Similarly, Carstens has noted that "There is room for extensive comparative research in the whole area of leadership among Canadian native peoples. Much of it will have to be quite theoretical, but the results could be of some practical value to native people themselves for a variety of reasons." (Carstens 1987: 16) Such ideas from academics and researchers are not new to some Indian people. Strater Crowfoot, a former chief of the Siksika Nation stated that "If First Nations do not experience a drastic shift in leadership and followership...our very future as First Nations will be jeopardized." (Crowfoot in Doerr 1997: 286)

Regardless of how important leadership may be to the future of First Nations, leadership in this context as the focus of academic research remains relatively unexplored. Referring to formal systems of government and administration, Long and Boldt have observed that "there is a virtual absence of research on the performance of current band government systems in the political and administrative spheres." (Long and Boldt 1987: 103). If leadership is crucial to the future

prosperity of Indian people in Canada, then the question remains as to why it is so little studied among those who engage in research on Aboriginal issues. While there is probably no definitive answer to such a question, some possible explanations may be useful. The first is that leadership directly affecting the lives of Aboriginal people on a daily basis is leadership in the small community. Indian communities aside, "small-town politics are not the subject of intense academic scrutiny." (Seigel: 1984: 218) Seigel argues that small-town politics are not often studied by academics because of insufficient documentation of events. In such face-to-face communities (Frankenberg in Rayside 1991: 287), politics and decision-making are more a function of social protocol than of insular institutional structures. The second possible explanation is that given the aforementioned face-to-face aspect of small towns, researchers experience particular problems as "outsiders" attempting to tap knowledge that is inherently "inside" the social, political and kinship network of the community. To obtain data, researchers have to access this network, and in so doing run the risk of being viewed as intruders. The third explanation being offered for the current lack of research into leadership in First Nation communities hinges upon the aspect of culture and values that is necessarily entailed by leadership. The cross-cultural context poses problems for both the researcher and those who are the subjects of study. For researchers, examining leadership in First Nation communities involves asking questions about values and about culture, in a context where community members are often divided over these very issues. For the community itself, exploring the cultural aspect of leadership is difficult because it necessitates a self-examination, a process that has the potential to lead to further division. Not only is there often division within a community regarding values and tradition, but there can be confusion and uncertainty at an individual level as well.

Given these layers of confusion, it is not surprising that dynamics of First Nation community leadership are rarely the object of academic research. Switching the focus to the toolkit of the researcher, it becomes evident that it is difficult to defend the application of existing methodologies to the study of First Nation communities. Given cultural differences, ethnography would seem to be the most appropriate methodology, yet the cultures being studied are part of the dominant culture, interact directly with it, and are therefore affected by it. Perhaps the lack of research of First Nation communities is due not only to the scalar and cultural problems presented to the researcher, but also due to a lack of accepted methodology that would facilitate such research projects.

2.2 What is Different about Aboriginal Communities?

If leadership is essential to the development of First Nation communities, questions arise as to why leadership in this context ought to be studied on its own terms. Electoral provisions under Section 74 of the Indian Act are structurally and procedurally similar to those followed by non-Indian local governments. Given this, is it not possible that the challenges faced by Indian leaders are similar to those that reeves and councillors confront in municipal organizations across the country? While there are similarities between municipal and Indian reserve government, the operating environments for these two forms of community organization differ greatly. As such, comparison between the two forms of local government is problematic. Regardless of this, the normal benchmark for comparing Indian local government and leadership is non-Indian government (See Long and Boldt 1987; Miller 1994). Is such a form of comparison adequate? In other words, in comparing Aboriginal reserve communities to municipalities, are features of the municipal imposed upon the First Nation community? Further, if this is the case, could it

result in descriptions of leadership in the Indian community context in terms of what it is not, rather than in terms of what it is?

Aboriginal rights and title have come to be treated as sui generis by Canadian courts. Perhaps First Nation communities ought to be examined and understood from a similar starting point -- that they are unique in and of themselves. Culture aside, what differentiates First Nation communities from other forms of community or state organization? Answers to this question will be presented here briefly by outlining the geographic, socio-demographic, legal, and political/administrative environments that create both opportunities and limitations for reserve communities across the country. These unique attributes common to most Indian communities probably have substantial impact on the nature of local leadership. It will be argued in this subsection that while reserve community leadership may often appear to be municipal, the operating environment, general scope of powers, and responsibilities conferred thereon are of a very different and complex nature.

Geographic features of reserve communities vary substantially across the country. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development estimates that roughly half of such communities are located in urban areas, roughly one third in rural areas and the remaining proportion is considered remote (restricted/seasonal road access) (INAC 1996). Location of a community will probably impact upon its leadership system with regard to the general level of acculturation, as well as issues such as climate, access to natural resources and reliance on bush economy, opportunities for associative or joint planning and resource management, challenges of transportation, and access to services or opportunities not usually available on-reserve because of

economies of scale. This geographic diversity of Indian communities in Canada indicates that there will be substantial variation in the challenges faced by local leadership.

First Nation communities are also unique in terms of their socio-demographic characteristics. While difficult to generalize, reserve communities are characterized by rapid population growth, a high proportion of youth, small size, and development challenges according to standardized indicators such as level of education, income, employment and housing. Each of these characteristics probably affects leadership and decision-making at the community level. For example, consider planning and budgeting for a growing population with short-term (two to five years) project-based funding. Or consider the impact that population size can have upon planning and administering community services. It has been estimated for 1996 that approximately 50 percent of bands had total membership of fewer than 500 people (Siggner 1986). Given this statistic, it is reasonable that the percentage of bands whose on-reserve population is fewer than 500 would be higher. Imagine planning, budgeting and staffing for primary education in a scalar context in which the size of a primary school class could double or halve depending on the mobility of a few families into or out of the community.

The legal environment in which First Nation communities operate is distinct at both macro and micro levels. At the macro level, First Nation reserve communities derive their political and legal powers from legislative acts of the federal government such as the Indian Act, or other legislative self-government agreements such as the Cree-Naskapi Act, the Sechelt Act, or the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The current legal environment allowing negotiations for self-government, devolution and alternative funding arrangements with the federal government provide some First Nation communities with the opportunity to play a greater

role in determining what powers they will exercise, what services they will deliver to residents, and what those services will look like. As such, local First Nation leaders have the possible option of assuming policy and decision-making powers that are outside of the jurisdiction of normal municipal governments. The macro legal environment therefore permits, but does not necessitate, a highly directive role for Indian community leaders. At the micro level, bands operating under the Indian Act have authority to pass by-laws pertaining to issues set out in Section 81 of the Act, but these are subject to approval and ratification of the Minister. Section 81 powers are essentially local, dealing with such issues as land use, zoning and taxation. There are, however, two unique powers vested in local leadership in the Indian community context that fundamentally amount to determining "citizenship" in the ethnic corporation that is an Indian band. These are the power to determine residency, and in some cases the power to establish rules and criteria for band membership.

Within the legal environment outlined above, community leaders are charged with the political and administrative responsibilities associated with planning and managing the human, built and natural environments in their community. Operating within the guidelines of what is considered by many to be an imposed system of government, such leaders work in an environment that demands their accountability to both their constituents and the Department of Indian Affairs. As argued above, many bands have political powers that far exceed those of non-Indian local government, yet the exercise of these powers is usually under the scrutiny of the minister and departmental staff. Accountability links to the department have the effect of transforming what is political on paper into what is bureaucratic in practice, thereby blurring the boundaries of responsibility in government. Such leaders also operate in an environment where there is little opportunity for local taxation. Project funds are often short-term, and secured through the art of

grantsmanship -- pitting reserve community against reserve community in a competition for resources. Further, in a climate of scarce resources, local leaders must make decisions regarding their allocation. In a small community, where social and kinship ties extend in all directions like a web. the political becomes personal when decisions are made regarding who gets what, and in what order.

2.3 Operationalizing Terms: First Peoples, Leadership and Leadership Systems

Language can be a powerful tool. It can be either inclusive or exclusive of an audience. In addition to the potential power of language, words can have etymologies that become obscured as their usage becomes more common in multiple contexts. Getting at the root of word meanings can therefore be useful in the search for language that is respectful toward its object(s). In the context of discussing issues relating to first peoples, language used ought to be precise, and further it ought to be respectful (empowering rather than disempowering). In this subsection, some common language used to discuss issues will be explored so that meanings can be unpacked and terms can be operationalized for use in this disquisition. In addition, different perspectives on the term "leadership" will be presented to define how it will be used herein.

Perhaps the most important assessment of language in the field of Aboriginal studies has to do with the words we use to describe the very people whose interests are the object of discussion. Should they be referred to as "Indians," "Native peoples," "Native Americans," "Native Canadians," "Aboriginal peoples," "Autochthons," "First Nations peoples," "First people," or "Indigenous people?" Should we reject an all-encompassing term altogether, and refer to them according to their nation or language such as Innu, Miq'mac, Iroquois, Cree, Ojibway, Blackfoot, Salish or Haida? Obviously, the most appropriate term will depend upon the context in which it

is being used. Some of these meanings and their appropriate contexts will be outlined below through the categorization of these terms into three broad groups emphasizing ideas of law, time and place, and bloodline-kinship.

The first category is legal and administrative in nature, and is depicted by the term "Indian." It is believed by some that the term Indian is disrespectful in that it is a misnomer of the Columbus legacy. According to common myth, Columbus believed that he had reached the Indian sub-continent, and thus termed the inhabitants "Indians." Alfred argues that this is unlikely, given that India was referred to as Hindustan in the fifteenth century. He claims that "the term 'Indian' as applied to indigenous Americans is derived form Columbus's original name for the Taino people he first encountered, 'una gente in Dios', or 'Indios', meaning 'a people in God.'" (Alfred 1999: xxvi) Administratively, in the Canadian context, the term "Indian" means "a person who . . . is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian." (Indian Act: s(2) ss(1)). The word "Indian" therefore connotes a special relationship between an individual and the federal government, or a special status. This status however does not apply to all Aboriginal people in Canada, as groups such as the Metis and Inuit are excluded from the definition. Where the term "Indian" is used herein, it is meant to have this legal and administrative connotation referring to a special relationship between individual and state.

The second category seems to emphasize time and place, and includes Aboriginal, Autochthon, Indigenous and Native. While Webster's dictionary describes these terms as synonymous, there are some subtle differences between them. While Aboriginal, Autochthon and Indigenous all have definitions including both time ("first, original") and place ("not exotic or imported, living naturally in a country or climate"), Native seems to have only a connotation of place. For

example, the dictionary definition of Native is "conferred by birth; born in a particular place, region or country; derived from origin; not acquired." According to this definition, I am a Native of Canada, although non-Aboriginal. The word Native is obviously vague for use in such contexts. There are problems, however, with the other three terms that have connotations of time and place. Aboriginal, Autochthon and Indigenous all imply that a person or group of people occur naturally, are non-migrant, and non-immigrant. This definition is obviously problematic for some pre-historians, who theorize that *homo americanus* migrated to North America through Beringia. Perhaps these terms are best suited to describe such people in a global or macro context. Because of the general vagueness of these terms, their use will be eschewed in this research.

The third category emphasizes genotype, kinship and culture, and is perhaps the most useful general term for referring to collectivities of Indians in the contemporary context. The term "First Nation" connotes a time element, but couples it with "nation," a word that implies shared or common attributes of bloodline, kinship and culture. Webster's offers two definitions of "nation," both of which emphasize collective attributes in relation to some other group: "A people connected by ties of blood generally manifested by more or less a community of language, religion, and customs, and by a greater sense of common interest and interrelation than exists between them and others." And "...any group or aggregation of people having like institutions and customs and a sense of social homogeneity and mutual interest."

The description of "nation" provided by the dictionary needs to be taken further to define "First Nation." As given, it could be argued that countries such as Canada or the United States constitute a nation. Such countries, however, are referred to as "nation-states," a particular form

of state social and political organization. Anthropologists have sought to define and re-define terms relating to the historical development of modern systems of political organization such as tribe, band, chieftaincy, state and nation-state. Colson argues that these forms of organization can be distinguished by both political institutions and by particular modes of production. (Colson 1986) This typology is often reduced to a primary distinction between kinship versus territory. Such a distinction is problematic, as territory and kinship are not mutually exclusive. (Sahlins 1968: 5) This is particularly true in the context of First Nations, as Indian people are defined as such according to bloodline, and they collectively have certain rights over territories. For the purposes of this research, the distinguishing difference between nation and nation-state has to do with the political doctrine of the sovereign: nation-states are sovereign, whereas nations are not.

The expression "First Nation" therefore implies the original inhabitants of an area, but further defines them as collectivities with social and kinship ties that set them apart from other forms of social organization. In this case, the distinction that makes such communities unique is not based on ideas of scalar social and political development juxtaposed against Western civilization, but rather according to particular relations, customs and values coupled with political and legal history. Thus the expression "First Nation" entails a notion of culture that is dynamic rather than static. Use of such an expression moves away from describing Aboriginal groups as primitive in relation to the encapsulating colonial social and political system, and moves toward describing such people according to their contemporary ways, beliefs and systems. "First Nation" therefore defines a group of people in *relation* to the Canadian nation-state, rather than in *contrast* to it. In effect, "First Nation" implies a nation within a nation-state.

The second term that requires definition for this project is "leadership." As a field of general study, leadership is multi-disciplinary. What is meant by this term depends heavily upon the discipline in which the study is based. Kellerman (1984) has stated that there are as many definitions of leadership as there are theories of leadership. Leadership has been the focus of study in such disciplines as political science, sociology, anthropology, social psychology, organizational studies and business management. Each discipline seems to emphasize a particular aspect of leadership. Political scientists tend to focus on political leadership, including policy and process; sociologists emphasize power, authority and social values; political and social anthropologists study leadership cultural systems of kinship and exchange; social psychologists tend to focus on attributes of leaders; organizational theorists study social relations in the small group setting; and finally those studying business management seem to emphasize leaders as motivators. Kellerman lists ten definitions extracted from literature in the field of leadership studies. These definitions describe leadership as the focus of group process; personality and its effects; the art of inducing compliance; the exercise of influence; behaviours; a form of persuasion; a power relation; an instrument of goal achievement; a differentiated role; and as the initiation of structure. (Kellerman 1984: 70) From these collected definitions, Kellerman defines leadership as a process "by which one individual consistently exerts more impact than others on the nature and direction of group activity." (Kellerman 1984: 70) Definitions from different disciplines seem to emphasize different aspects of leadership, such as leadership roles, structures and objectives. Kellerman, a political scientist, defines leadership as *process*, whereas Rosen, an anthropologist, defines leadership as *role* "understood in terms of the social and cultural context within which it is embedded and which shapes the particular forms it takes in any society." (Rosen 1984: 39)

Given the plethora of perspectives and definitions of leadership, how ought one seek to define the term for use in the study of First Nation communities? Further, one may ask whether the term is even appropriate for use in such cross-cultural context. Upon contact with European civilization, some of the First Nations were extremely egalitarian -- so much so that they didn't have people appointed as "leaders" that could speak on behalf others in the collective. (Satzewich and Mahood 1994) One definition of leadership from sociology claims that leadership is a manifestation of values present in a society at a given point in time. (Hunt 1984) This social constructionist perspective is problematic in situations that involve(d) the colonization of Aboriginal peoples. It is problematic because a system of leadership and its corresponding value baggage was imposed upon most First Nations. This system or the act of its imposition can be interpreted to represent the values of the colonial society, but not the values of the colonized. As such, the academic literature presents definitions and studies of leadership that "are cast at a level of abstraction that does not take into account important features of the social context . . . in which [First Nations] leaders operate."(Crowfoot 1997: 301)

In discussing the use of the term leadership in relation to First Nation communities, Carstens states that "The term "leadership" is both confusing and complex. While there is a considerable literature in sociology and social psychology dealing with the subject, anthropologists have tended to ignore this work because so few of the concepts and ideas seem to fit their kind of data." (Carstens 1987: 8) The "kind of data" to which Carstens makes reference in this statement are data that are diasynchronous -- data obtained to understand change in relations over time within and between groups of differing cultures. To get around this problem, or rather to get *at* the problem, it is necessary to step back from the study of individual leaders or leadership in a narrowly defined sense and examine the environment in which the act of First Nation community

leadership occurs. The network of social and kin relations, customs, values, institutions, laws and government interrelationships form the framework for leadership.

This "framework" in which leadership roles are carried out has been called a "leadership system" by Rosen (1986), who defines it in the following manner: "Both leadership roles as well as the specific institutional supports and constraints within which leadership roles function constitute what I term the *leadership system*." (Rosen: 1986: 40) Through modeling leadership systems using ideal types, Rosen presents a framework for analyzing this phenomenon that is appropriate to the study of leadership in First Nation communities. Because the model is theoretically based on ideal types, it facilitates "the comparison of differences and similarities between leadership systems both cross-culturally and historically." (Rosen 1986: 40) Put in other words, the leadership systems model assists in overcoming the above-noted problem of working with diasynchronous data. For this reason, Rosen's term "leadership system" will be used herein to refer to the social, cultural and institutional environments that serve to both determine and subtend leadership roles. This theory and model will be expanded upon in Chapter Four.

2.4 Published Research in the Area

First Nation community leadership is liable to be quite different from community to community as culture, history, and level of assimilation will vary. Much of the published research in the field has been theoretical. Action research aside, the diversity of culture, history and geography necessitate theoretical analysis of issues relating to leadership in First Nation communities. Such analysis can provide better and newer ways of understanding and describing the operating environment for leadership systems. A substantial review of the primarily Canadian literature has revealed several articles that either focus on First Nations leadership exclusively, or that include

an analysis of leadership as it relates to some other issue such as political process, economic development, recreation and sport, or cultural brokerage. While these articles are by no means definitive of research in the area, they will be treated as representative of what has been done. Of these articles, only a few involved case studies at the community level (Carstens 1991, 1987; Crowfoot 1997; Hedican 1986; Long 1990; Long & Boldt 1987; Miller 1994; Nagata 1987). Further, the literature is dominated by scholars in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, while some contributions have been made by academics in political science and law. As a sub-set of "Aboriginal issues," research on First Nations leadership is relatively recent. Much of the work commenced in the 1980's and was doubtless inspired by changes in the growing power of provincial and federal Indian organizations (pan-Indian movement), and by federal policy changes such as devolution and self-government that no doubt turned the focus of some scholars to local community issues.

This limited volume of research will be outlined here in brief. For purposes of organization, these papers have been categorized into thematic areas. These categories and the research that fits into each will be listed here, along with a brief summary of the focus of each category. The first and largest "category" of research on Indian leadership emphasizes ways in which leadership is culturally determined. There is a substantial volume of research in anthropology describing "traditional" forms of pre-colonial leadership among First Nations (Colson 1986; Fenton 1986; Schusky 1986; Trigger 1981). In addition, and perhaps more useful to the contemporary context, there is a growing field of research emphasizing cultural differences of the colonized and the colonizers, and the ways in which these two world views have been fused in the contemporary political, administrative and social life-worlds of Indian people (Barsh 1995, 1986; Carstens 1987; Hanson 1985; Hosmer 1997; Kupferer, 1966; Long 1990; Long & Boldt 1984; Nagata

1987; Oestrich 1986). Mainly from a theoretical perspective, these papers analyze cultural differences in the ways in which each world-view accommodates concepts such as authority, hierarchy, sovereignty, money, resources, responsibility, accountability, kinship and the role of the individual as part of the collective. In essence, much of this literature dealing with contemporary First Nation leadership hinges upon two ideal types of political leadership systems -- Indian and western-European. Through such theoretical analysis, language has emerged for discussing cultural concepts that is fundamentally polarizing such as tradition and modernity, or Indian and non-Indian. Within this polar environment, Indian leaders have been described as cultural "brokers", striving to accommodate the conflicting demands of two very different life-worlds.

The second category of research involves the study of Indian politics. This category includes research centered on leadership at the pan-Indian level (Boldt 1981, 1980), and research of Indian Act political and electoral processes at the First Nation community level (Long and Boldt 1987; Miller 1994). Boldt conducted a reputational/positional study of pan-Indian leaders, and descriptively analyzed leaders according to socio-economic and demographic characteristics (1980). Using the same data-set, he further examined (Boldt 1981) the relationship between characteristics of leaders and romanticism (the regeneration of traditional First Nation philosophy). Long and Boldt researched the Indian Act electoral process, and its impact upon traditional political systems in the communities of the Blood and Peigan Reserves in Alberta. They examined how the process differed from neighbouring non-Indian municipalities through comparison of electoral data, and concluded that the band governments in these First Nation communities were insufficiently "responsive to the needs and demands of their constituents." (Long and Boldt 1987: 113) Similarly, Miller studied the participation of women in tribal

politics among the Upper Skagit Tribe of Washington State by examining electoral data and by studying the characteristics of candidates who ran for office. Miller concluded that the most successful women politicians in the community were technocrats as opposed to heads of families or family candidates, and that "women have several electoral advantages over men due to features of social organization and demography in a small community." (Miller 1994: 26)

Much of the above-mentioned research focuses on formal Indian leadership roles, structures or processes in political and organizational settings. Some research examines Indian leadership outside of this context. Hedican studied informal leadership for economic development in the village of Collins Ontario. What is particularly unique about Collins is that it is an unorganized northern settlement with a majority population of Ojibwa people. As a non-reserve community, the people of Collins as a community have existed outside of the Indian Act since the village was established as a trading center along the C.N.R. in 1911. The absence of a band council and its corresponding hierarchy, authority and ruling elite has allowed informal leadership to emerge in the village, and according to Hedican, has prevented factionalism that impedes progress on many reserves. Similarly, Malloy and Nilson (1991) examined preferences for leadership in the non-community context of athletics. They concluded that the "professed preferences for leadership behaviour are distinct" among Indian athletes when compared to a stronger preference for "democratic, autocratic, and social support behaviour revealed by non-Indians.

2.5 Parameters of this Case Study

To summarize the argument thus far, it is apparent that First Nation leadership is vital to the future of both Indian people and their communities. First Nation communities are unique and diverse and cannot be examined as though they were municipal organizations. Although many

agree on the importance of leadership in this context, the phenomenon remains relatively understudied. What becomes apparent, however, is that such study requires an applied approach, informed by theory that permits the collection and analysis of diasynchronous data -- data that accommodate both culture and history. Approaching the study of leadership from a systems perspective can assist in overcoming this barrier. The literature reveals that Indian leadership has been studied from a variety of perspectives and in a number of contexts. It has been researched as local politics, as characteristics of leaders at the pan-Indian level, as a cultural system, and as a fusion of cultural systems. The study of First Nations community leadership, however, as a social role determined by its context and environment appears to be lacking. In essence, this is the research problem being addressed herein.

This research project was initially hypothesis driven, and sought to investigate the way in which cultural values were manifest in local Indian leadership. It was soon realized that this approach was inadequate. The characteristics of the community in which the research was carried out, coupled with further development of the research problem, necessitated the adoption of a broader perspective. Issues of culture and values and their relationship to community Indian leadership still form a necessary component of the research herein, but they are not the exclusive object of the study.

The goal of this research project is therefore ***to identify and analyze factors that influence and constitute a system of leadership in a First Nation community***. While this goal is relatively broad, it is being justified as necessary based on the fact that so little research has been conducted in the field to date. Further, as the research involves a cross-cultural dynamic, a broad system approach is necessary so that the "environment' in which leadership roles function can be

understood in their differential context. This research is intended to provide better understandings of the role of leadership as it pertains to the development or planned change in reserve communities. To accomplish this respective goal and purpose, existing theories that may help explain leadership in the local Indian context will be described and analyzed. Data collected during field work in a reserve community will be analyzed and presented, and issues arising from the field data will be explored with reference to the theoretical data. This approach is primarily exploratory, and will be elaborated upon in the chapter on research design.

This research is intended to appeal to those who may, as academics, professionals or government agents, have interactions with leaders of First Nation communities. For academics and researchers alike, this project may be useful as a background study, or as a point of reference for the various theories contained herein. For those engaged in formulating, negotiating or analyzing policy, particularly with regard to self-government, this research may be useful for the descriptions of problems and contradictions that are explored. For outsiders working on reserves, and for others in private, non-profit, and government departments that have interactions with leaders of First Nation communities, the research could be of assistance in understanding the behaviours of leaders as functions of the context within which they operate. And finally, this research may be welcomed by those people in First Nation communities who may tolerate or even appreciate an outsider's attempt at unpacking and explaining to other outsiders some of that which is no doubt already familiar to them.

3.0 Research Design

This research project was born of curiosity about the differences between Indian and non-Indian culture. While much was gleaned from diving into this body of literature, it became evident that theorizing based on ideal types formed only a small part of a much larger picture – a picture that incorporates culture as a dynamic rather than as a static aspect of society. Given that there is great diversity in the values enshrined by First Nation communities throughout Canada, it became apparent that what these values may be at a given point in time is a secondary issue to the forms of community organization that exist to give such values legitimacy. As such, community leadership became the immediate focus of the research. First Nation community leaders often function as a bridge between life-worlds. Referred to as "culture brokers," local leaders necessarily function in a dual environment in which programs and resources for the community are negotiated with external governments and agencies. Problems and opportunities arising from cultural differences will be reflected in the local leadership environment, as will other problems that are unique to the special nature of reserve communities in Canada. Further, as a research topic for a thesis in the discipline of planning, leadership appeared to be a natural fit. Planners specialize in group process, communications, decision-making, and community development -- all crucial aspects of First Nation community leadership.

Having decided what to study and why, the more difficult question of "how?" remained. What avenues of research are available for a planner to study a question that is inherently multidisciplinary; is in its infancy as a topic of research; contains a cross-cultural element; and is informed/affected by a multiplicity of communities with vastly different characteristics across the

country? Within this mix of challenges, what options for research design, methodology and method are available and appropriate? Given the lack of prior research addressing the question, there is no template for research design. As such, the research design for this study became a product of the discipline of which it was born: planning. Reflecting planning process, the research developed in an emergent manner in incremental phases, each phase being reflected upon to inform the next step. This iterative process permitted a constant interplay between literature and research design, and permitted the incorporation of a case study when the opportunity arose.

While this research project was not designed to be an ethnographic study, it was conceptualized and carried out with careful attention to principles of ethnography. In situations where cultural differences may be involved in a research setting, it is vital that a researcher have a good understanding of his or her preconceptions, values and judgments surrounding the phenomenon being studied. Failure to be cognizant of such preconceptions can result in extreme bias in the research process. While no research inquiry is purely objective, non-recognized biases can "undermine the quality of ethnographic research" (Fetterman 1989: 11). Similarly, McCracken (1988) addresses the importance of "critical distance" in his qualitative research guide The Long Interview. By this, McCracken means that social scientists can often be blinded by their familiarity with their own culture to the point where "an invisible hand directs inquiry and forecloses the range and kind of thing the investigator can observe and understand." (McCracken 1988:22)

Both of the above cautions hint at the importance of objectivity in the way in which a researcher carries out the act of researching. For ethnography, the caution is that people ought to be aware

of their own cultural biases and the way they see the world, so that they do not impose this upon data derived from a different cultural context. McCracken advises that researchers investigating phenomenon in their own cultural context be aware that this very familiarity could prevent the researcher from making observations and discoveries that lie outside their particular world-view. Thus, objectivity in these situations is not a function of complete and unbiased scientific process, as some may interpret it, but rather a mechanism by which a researcher can learn more about things in the world by setting aside, evaluating and re-evaluating the way in which they interact with, understand and seek to explain phenomenon.

Given that the manufacture of distance can be crucial to research design, it was built into the methodology of this study. The field component of the research was designed to progress in three distinct phases, the first being a *scoping visit* to the community that lasted approximately two weeks. The second phase was a three-week *retreat* to the home of the researcher to evaluate data and observations from the scoping phase so that research design and aspects of the research problem could be modified if necessary. The third phase consisted of a three-week *return visit* to the community to gather data addressing the revised research.

3.1 Research Methodology

The conventional paradigm, based on realist ontology, assumes that there is an objective reality that can be broken down into parts (variables). These parts are researchable independently from the whole, and only through aggregate analysis are data treated as having meaning. Perhaps in social science research, this paradigm is best suited to study individuals as part of a greater whole, where the individual in a social and political context is construed as the basic unit of civil construction. This social and political emphasis on the individual allows researchers to

investigate phenomena and to analyze results using such concepts as averages, frequencies, medians and cross-tabulations. The conventional paradigm poses a unique set of problems for the study of Aboriginal peoples. As a methodology, it is inappropriate in a cross-cultural context, as the researcher and the subjects do not share similar outlooks. Further, the conventional paradigm is problematic when applied to First Nation society because the "individual" is socially constructed in a manner quite different from the rights-based model typified by Canadian law in which the individual is the basic unit of civil construction. In First Nation culture, language of individual rights is subordinated by language of responsibilities, duties and obligations. (Ross 1996, Barsh 1995) This Aboriginal "language" emphasizes the *relations* between individual and others in a positive rights context, as opposed to emphasizing the *individual* in relation to others and state in a negative rights context. As argued by Alfred (1999: xvi-xvii):

> To know indigenous people, those seeking knowledge must interact with indigenous communities, in all their past and present complexity. It is the dynamic interaction between the individual and the group that creates Native American cultures, and this interaction cannot be replicated or properly expressed by a single person 'objectively' studying isolated parts of the reality.

As the researcher is an outsider to the community and to the cultural context, a methodology that permits emergent design with researcher as instrument is required so that these relations can form part of the data.

A qualitative research paradigm was used to *guide* this study. It is an appropriate methodology to address questions surrounding leadership, organization and decision-making in the context of a small reserve community. This alternative paradigm, referred to as the "naturalist approach" by Guba and Lincoln (1985, 1988) is based on relativist ontology, and "stresses the importance of

context, setting, and subjects' frame of reference." (Marshall and Rossman 1989: 46). Similarly, Kirby and McKenna (1989) emphasize that the qualitative study of marginalized groups necessitates both inter-subjectivity (equal treatment of all voices through dialogue) and critical reflection of the social context. A naturalist approach seeks to determine how a respondent sees and interacts with his or her world (McCracken 1988). Given that culture and community are necessary factors in conducting research in Aboriginal communities, and that the research will focus on complexities and processes that are temporally and contextually bound, a qualitative research methodology is more appropriate for addressing questions relating to leadership in the First Nation community.

3.2 Research Methods

A case study method was used for this research as the overall strategy. Case studies are appropriate for both exploratory and explanatory research projects. (Marshall and Rossman 1989) While scrutinized by some disciplined social scientists, case study strategy is utilized widely in applied fields of study such as planning, public administration, policy studies and education. (Yin 1989) "Case studies stress the holistic examination of a phenomenon, and they seek to avoid the separation of components from the larger context to which these matters may be related." (Jorgensen 1989:19) In the context of this research, the "larger components" include everything from the unique history of the community to the administrative and legal environment in which a reserve community functions. Yin (p. 23, 1989) has defined case study research as "an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used." Given this definition, using a case study to research leadership in a reserve community is easily defended. First, leadership is a crucial and contemporary issue for

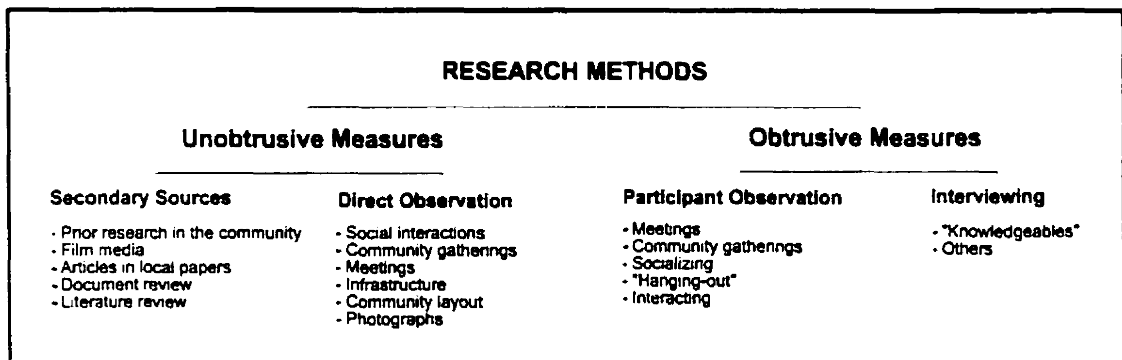
self-government and for development of reserve communities. Second, as evidenced from the literature on Indian leadership, the boundaries of leadership phenomena in the community context are neither self-evident, nor widely studied. Third, multiple sources of evidence are required for the study of such phenomena in a small community context where time is a limiting factor in the research.

Time was a limiting factor in the research, and it served to affect the type of case study methodology used. While a comparative case-method may have been a more useful strategy for investigating the field-work component of the research, it was not possible due to a number of limitations. Among these were time, resources, and a lack of research in the literature that would have directed informed hypothesis for comparative case method research. Further, obtaining entry into multiple community settings would have required some form of organizational/political affiliation so that biases encountered through community entry were consistent across settings. Such a vehicle for entry would have jeopardized the researcher's control of the research questions and process. (See Section 3.3 entitled Community Entry in this Chapter.)

As this research project is primarily exploratory, numerous methods were used to obtain data. A mixture of both obtrusive and unobtrusive measures was required to locate the "small picture" of leadership in one reserve community within the context of a "large frame" -- the legislation and policy that affect reserve communities and the theory and ideas that exist to explain various leadership phenomena. Unobtrusive measures were utilized to obtain a sense of history of the community and of the people, and to produce a data-set from the literature that permitted the categorization of theories related to the research question (secondary sources), and to familiarize the researcher with the current community context (direct observation). Unobtrusive measures

assisted the researcher in becoming familiar with the community in general, and also provided a means of verifying data obtained from primary sources. Obtrusive measures were used to develop an understanding of social relations in the community, administrative and organizational structures, roles and processes (interviewing and participant observation) and to reveal opinions, attitudes and judgments regarding leadership in the community (interviewing). Methods employed in all phases of the research have been listed in diagram form [see Figure 3.2.1 below]. All of the methods used employed researcher as instrument, and were utilized in no particular order, permitting the emergent design of the case study.

Figure 3.2.1 Research Methods



From the above diagram, methods used can be categorized into three distinct groupings that are more useful in this context than the conventional categories of obtrusive and unobtrusive. All of the data obtained were derived from *literary* (reading), *observational* (seeing and listening) or *discoursive* (conversational) methods. How discoursive methods were used as part of this study will be described briefly in the following paragraphs.

During both phases of the fieldwork, interviews were conducted with those regarded as "knowledgeables," and with other community members. During the scoping visit, community

leaders were identified using a reputational/positional approach. Discussions with respondents were not highly structured, and were, in most cases, protracted over the course of the fieldwork -- "interviews" usually consisted of strings of directed conversations. It became quite apparent to the researcher at an early stage in the fieldwork that structured and standard interview questions were inappropriate for both the nature of the research question and for the context of the research. For example, one prominent community member refused an "interview" as such, but availed himself to frequent brief discussions with the researcher in which he would make inquiry as to what the research was uncovering. In ending each discussion, this individual would often tell a story, followed by a statement that addressed the issues covered in the conversation.

While sampling for interviewing those holding prominent positions in the community was purposive, interactions and discussions with others were opportune rather than intentional. The general approach taken in gathering discoursive data in this study could be called "research by wandering around," (RBWA) a form of perambulation that permitted random exposure to people within the community. During the early 1980's, a tactic known as "management by walking around" (MBWA) gained popularity in both literature and practice in the discipline of management and organizational studies. This technique permitted the manager to mingle in the office with employees, and to make observations regarding interactions and productivity. In addition, the technique allowed the manager to be both visible and accessible to employees thereby eliminating the stigma associated with going to the manager's office. RBWA offered similar benefits to the researcher, allowing the opportunity for observations and social interactions while maintaining a visible presence in the community.

3.3 Community Entry

The way in which a researcher's presence is (or is not) legitimized by the community can affect the overall outcome of the research experience. This is particularly true in the context of First Nation communities, where control over information is becoming a vital part of self-determination. The value of partnerships between researcher and community is becoming more evident, and some have argued that research questions and research inquiry that utilize the naturalist paradigm must come from and be controlled by the community (Kowalsky et. al. 1996) (Kirby and McKenna 1989) (Guba & Lincoln 1988, 1985). In a generic sense, it is difficult to argue against such claims, for to do so would hint at paternalism. Could not, however, there be some categories of inquiry for which internal control of the research process is not advantageous to the overall research? If there is no interest in a community for the study of a given phenomenon, does this then mean that researching it is a futile endeavour? It is the belief of this researcher that different vehicles for community entry have associated implications for research outcomes. What follows is a description of the method of entry used by this researcher, its rationale, and a brief description of the implications that such a method could and probably did have upon both the research process and the research methodology used in this study.

Entry was obtained for this research through existing connections with a family in the community. This family hosted the researcher during his stay, and provided initial introductions to certain other members of the community. In essence, entry was obtained through legitimization initially by one family, and the researcher proceeded to become familiar with the community and its people simply by being present and by disclosing his rationale for being there. This vehicle for entry was used simply because it was available to the researcher -- it was an

opportunity for an outsider to enter a First Nation community with *some degree* of legitimacy, thereby allowing the researcher to conduct field work.

There are definite advantages and disadvantages to such an approach. On the positive side, entering the community in such a manner permitted flexibility of the research design and the research questions. The risk of not having organizational or overt political legitimacy for the research project is countered by the control of the research process retained by the researcher. Investigating issues of community organization and leadership without any particular alignment to an organization or political body gives the researcher a form of outside neutrality. As such, the researcher is removed from the community in the context of the research process. This could facilitate and expedite the generation of trust necessary to conduct research in a limited time-span as an outsider.

On the negative side, positing the locus of control solely in the hands of the researcher presents certain challenges to the naturalistic mode of inquiry utilized in this research. Guba and Lincoln (1988) have argued that "Inquiry Paradigms imply Inquiry Methodologies," and that negotiated and collaborative inquiry in both the weak (member checks) and strong (involvement) sense is a necessary condition of the methodology. They argue that "Inquiry always serves a value agenda, and the respondents' values deserve to be honored equally with those of the inquirer. On all these grounds, the posture of the naturalistic paradigm is that inquiry should be conducted collaboratively, in both the weak and strong senses of the term." (p. 100) Control of the research agenda affects the view ultimately reflected in the analysis of the data -- exogenous control of the research process can lead to etic perspectives. The problem arising in the context of this research project is that naturalistic inquiry seeks the emic.

As a result of breaking the rules in this manner. the view that results from this research project will tend to be a hybrid of both the emic and the etic perspectives. This may not be such a bad thing given that the research questions focus on the ways in which the values and systems of "insides" and "outsides" are incorporated into systems of leadership and community organization. Regardless of this. efforts were made to minimize the effect that a restricted locus of control would have on the research process. Regarding ethics, non-disclosure of the community has been incorporated into the research design of this study (see Section 3.4 entitled Respect and Research). As regards validation. emergent design permitted the data and ultimately the community members who contributed to the research to "steer" the inquiry.

Approaching the research without formal organizational/political collaboration is risky. for a researcher runs the risk of obtaining little useful data. Without a political or organizational affiliation within the community. a researcher may not be accepted by individuals with regard to their research interests -- people may welcome the researcher. but refuse to communicate around the research topic. Further. such an approach to entry aligns a researcher immediately with a family and thereby with the reputation and history of that family in the community. This point may be a necessary feature of conducting research in societies with a strong kinship legacy (Barsh: 1995). In this context, the reputation of the family categorizes the researcher within the context of the community. If there are divisions in the community. such alignment could bias the data obtained. as some may refuse to interact and converse with the researcher. or exercise a strong degree of self-censorship out of fear that information revealed may come back to haunt them. The family that hosted the researcher for this project is descendant of the hereditary life-chiefs for the band. The family name is associated with leadership in the community. The

researcher was studying aspects of leadership in the community. Regardless of intentional efforts to appear neutral while interacting with community members, the reputation of the host family no doubt categorized the researcher in a way that biased the data to some degree.

3.4 Respect and Research

All correspondence between community members and researcher was kept confidential. Field-notes were recorded during or after conversations with community members or after observations were made. These notes were entered into a research log on a computer, using a system of coding to identify each community member who shared his or her thoughts with the researcher. Such a system for recording information was used so that data remained "unacknowledged" with regard to its source to all but the researcher. It was important for the researcher to later identify particular respondents so that threads could be followed-up during subsequent conversations.

During field-work, the issue of respect for individual community members and their corresponding words, ideas and stories expanded into a broader category of respect for the community. If, in general, it is respectable to maintain confidentiality with regard to information conveyed to a researcher working in a small community, then could there be situations (depending upon the research question) where it would be appropriate for research findings to be reported in a way that respected anonymity of the community? A promise of confidentiality is intended to permit those sharing their thoughts with the researcher to speak without fear that their words will have repercussions. In such a context, it is necessary that there be or that there is perceived to be someone that would take offense to something said. The researcher has made observations related to the research question that could offend certain members of the community. How can a researcher discuss research findings that are necessarily associated with

specific people or positions, with socio-economic status, race or gender without appearing disrespectful? One possible way is to design the research reporting so that the community remains unknown to the reader.

Non-disclosure of a research location is an unconventional approach to reporting research findings. However unconventional such an approach may be, it has been used as part of the methodology for this research. There are definite strengths and weaknesses associated with not revealing the identity and location of the community. These strengths and weaknesses will be outlined here to demonstrate the rationale for not disclosing the identity of the community, and to briefly describe some of the conditions that such an approach place on the data.

This research emphasizes ideas of leadership as they relate to First Nation reserve communities. Although these ideas were explored using a case study method, the community in which the research was conducted was not specifically the subject of the research, nor was any particular characteristic or project of that community necessarily linked to the line of inquiry. One implication of this aspect of the research design is that *it is possible* to describe the research process and subsequent findings without specifically identifying the research context. The research could have been carried out in any such reserve community (where the researcher was welcomed). The community therefore provided a particular context for observation and inquiry regarding factors that affect leadership *in the context of that community*.

Non-disclosure of the research site permits the discussion of issues that would be regarded as "taboo" -- issues that would either upset some people from the community, or make the researcher feel disrespectful of the community and its people. A methodological approach using

non-disclosure can also permit the focus to remain on ideas of leadership in Aboriginal communities by preventing the data from being presented in a purely descriptive or journalistic manner. Further, non-disclosure of the community compensates somewhat in an ethical sense for the fact that the locus of control for the research was at the discretion of the researcher -- directed by understandings of the data as the research project emerged. As indicated previously, such control can be construed as a violation of research ethics in the naturalistic paradigm.

Such an approach is not, however, without certain drawbacks. Non-disclosure decontextualizes the research data from the community. By design, the research becomes non-replicable, and non-verifiable. This may only be a concern for those who argue that qualitative research findings *ought* to be replicable and verifiable. Regardless, non-disclosure will have little effect on the soundness of the research, and could actually improve the arguments put forth in the analysis of the data. Not identifying the community places the responsibility of extreme caution and clarity on the researcher. Caution must be exercised as to not distort the words of respondents. Clarity is required simply because some sources of information and data are not accessible for verification or follow-up examination.

As a result of this decision not to reveal the identity of the reserve, sources need to be referenced in a unique manner in this thesis. Ideas and expressions conveyed to the researcher by members of the community will be acknowledged as such. Direct quotations from personal communication will be presented in italics and parenthesis, without formal referencing. Secondary sources that would identify the community, its characteristics or its geographic location will be identified according to the type of document only and *will not* appear in the References and Works Cited section. Quotations from such sources will be referenced in the

following manner: (A document from research carried out in the community: 1996); (a historic biography: 1986); (film media: 1991); (community newspaper: 1994), a socio-demographic community profile: 1996).

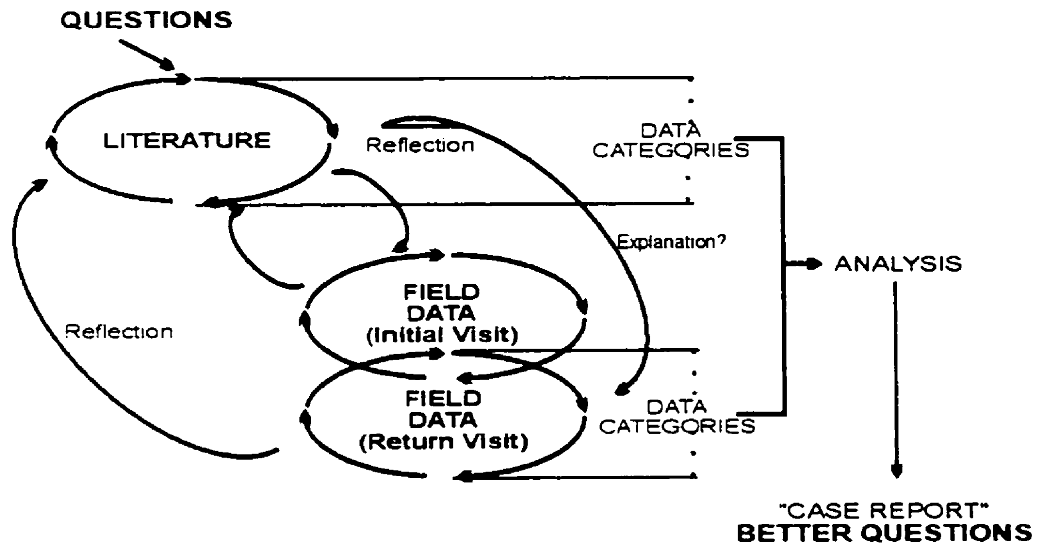
3.5 Approach to Analysis

Data analysis will be informed by the categories approach as described by Kirby and McKenna (1989) in Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods From the Margins. This approach allows data to be organized into similar thematic groups, permitting themes and categories to emerge from the data independent of a priori theory. Categories will be developed from two distinct data sets -- theoretical literature relating to First Nations' community leadership and field data from the case study. Through such an approach, issues and factors affecting leadership systems in general and in the community will emerge. Categories from the two data sets will then be discussed thematically (where possible). Categories will inevitably emerge from the field data that are not well reflected in the literature (and vice versa). Within this matrix of ideas, data will be critically analyzed in a search for contradiction and confirmation through reflection.

This overall approach to analysis is presented in Figure 3.5.1 entitled: "Approach to Analysis," which roughly outlines the flow of ideas, and how data will be analyzed. Where hypotheses originated in the literature, they were used as possible ways of framing inquiry in the collection of field data -- not as rigid presuppositions upon which the study was based. The literature provided useful frames of reference for the collection of field data, but the collection of field data was not bound by ideas present in the body of literature. This interplay between the a priori literature and the contextual nature of the field data permitted an emergent design culminating in

tacit knowledge within the researcher-as-instrument. It is this tacit knowledge that has been "unpacked" in the presentation and analysis of the data.

Figure 3.5.1 Approach to Analysis

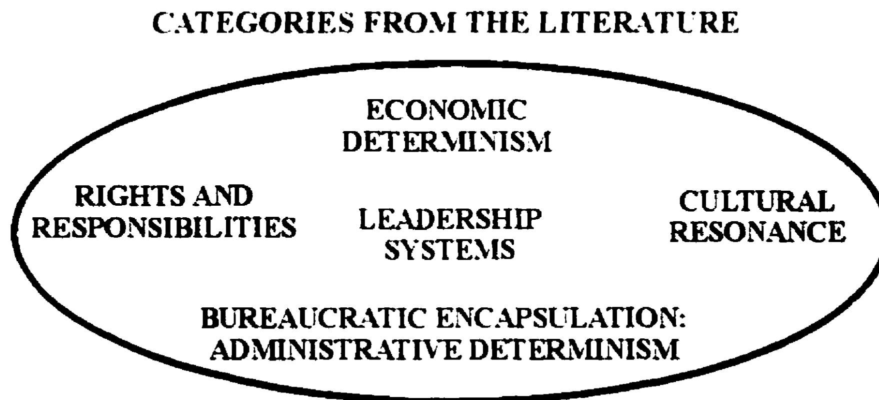


The anticipated outcome of this research is, as indicated in the above diagram, the posing of better questions regarding leadership and development of Aboriginal reserve communities. To do this, it is necessary to formulate a "big picture" of the multiplicity of dynamics that are present in such a context. These dynamics, coupled with leadership roles, constitute the leadership system of a community. In exploring new ways of thinking about such issues, the issues themselves become bound by both language and methodology. It is therefore within language that one must seek to find the most useful and meaningful ways of conveying ideas and concepts. For this reason, both word-play and metaphor have been used in the presentation of field data as tools -- vehicles to creatively capture the essence of the data as it speaks to the researcher.

3.6 Actual Implementation of the Methodology

The stated goal of the research is to examine both the environment in which First Nation leaders lead, and the system of leadership in one First Nation community. Understandings of the general leadership environment were greatly informed by the literature. Literature was reviewed and revisited throughout the entire research process. Eventually, central themes emerged to describe the overall leadership environment. These themes (listed in Figure 3.6.1) were developed, and the ideas, arguments and theories pertaining to each were packaged together and presented as Chapter Four. This information from the literature provides the framework for understanding the case study data in its broader context. The community and other First Nation reserves share a similar culture, tradition and history of colonization and assimilation. Further, they share in a common experience of legal and administrative relationships with the government of Canada.

Figure 3.6.1 Thematic Categories From the Literature



The actual implementation of the methodology is presented in figure 3.6.2. Consistent with a qualitative approach to analysis, data from the case study were read and reread so they could be

lived with and contemplated for some time. Living with the data in this manner also permitted some distance from the literature, and from the way in which existing research was analyzed and grouped according to theme. Review of the field data entailed a tacit data reduction, where certain data were returned to more frequently for comparison and contemplation. Through this process, general data categories emerged, however they did not appear to be permissive of the data speaking from the perspective of the community. What emerged from this approach were categories loosely typified by those identified in the literature. Exploration of the categories led to grouping of respondents according to likeness of characteristic, an approach that can serve to test existing paradigms by imposing them on the data, and consequently, eliminating the possibility of serendipitous findings. While such analysis may be useful in other contexts, it was not the intention of this research to determine similarity of opinion according to stakeholder group identity.

Moving on to a structured analysis, data judged by the researcher to be of a higher power were extracted from research notes, and copied onto cards. These data "bits" (called "bibbits" by Kirby and McKenna) consisted of observations, facts, quotations from personal correspondence and stories that were relayed to the researcher. Coding of the data as prescribed by Kirby and McKenna was considered, however it became evident that the nature of the data worked against this. Each data bit (a statement for example) could be assigned multiple codes. This is a result of the exploratory nature of the research in that data were obtained to determine the leadership system and its environment – a broad research mandate. At this point the analysis proceeded using a hybrid technique: the categories approach described by Kirby and McKenna, and a workshop technique for Planning and decision making developed by the Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA). The ICA technique involves idea formation and a process where these ideas are

grouped using open debate and discussion. The process is inter-subjective in that it weighs the input of each participant equally. (ICA Canada 1986)

Cards containing data-bits were spread out on a large table, and clustered together according to likeness of quality through comparison and evaluation. Data were then reviewed to search for similarity of meaning and theme, resulting in the development of categories. The ICA technique influenced category formation in that the overall properties of each data bit were evaluated, not on their own inherent qualities, but rather in relation to other data-bits. This "round" of analysis is identified in Figure 3.6.2 as "Analyze and Form Categories [R]." Some data bits seemed to have unique qualities that prevented them from being grouped without being forced (referred to as "satellites" by Kirby and McKenna). Further, it became evident that many data bits were subject to numerous interpretations of meaning across categories. As such, they could fit in multiple categories indicating that the categories themselves did not possess the strength of external divergence required by the methodology (Guba in Marshall and Rossman 1989: 116). Categories [R] appeared to be analyst constructed. The researcher was uncomfortable with this because the community was not speaking through the data. This situation presented a problem for the researcher in terms of how to proceed. Should the conventional methodology be followed at this point in searching for properties within categories?

Consider the perspectives on leadership presented in Chapter Two. Definitions of the term varied according to the discipline of the researcher. Similarly, different categories would emerge if the same data set were to be examined by two sociologists, one a symbolic interactionist, the other a structural functionalist. This does not imply that qualitative research is guided by applications of vulgar theory, but rather that the methodology has some limitations when applied

to an intrinsically multi-disciplinary field of study, by a researcher in the multidisciplinary field of planning. The fact that this research is interdisciplinary may account for the way in which data seemed to fit multiple categories. Could a different approach be developed that would identify properties of the data in a different way through a different process? Given the multiplicity of meaning within each data bit, it was determined that repeating the process of category formation until no new categories emerged may provide an alternative vehicle for mining the properties of the data.

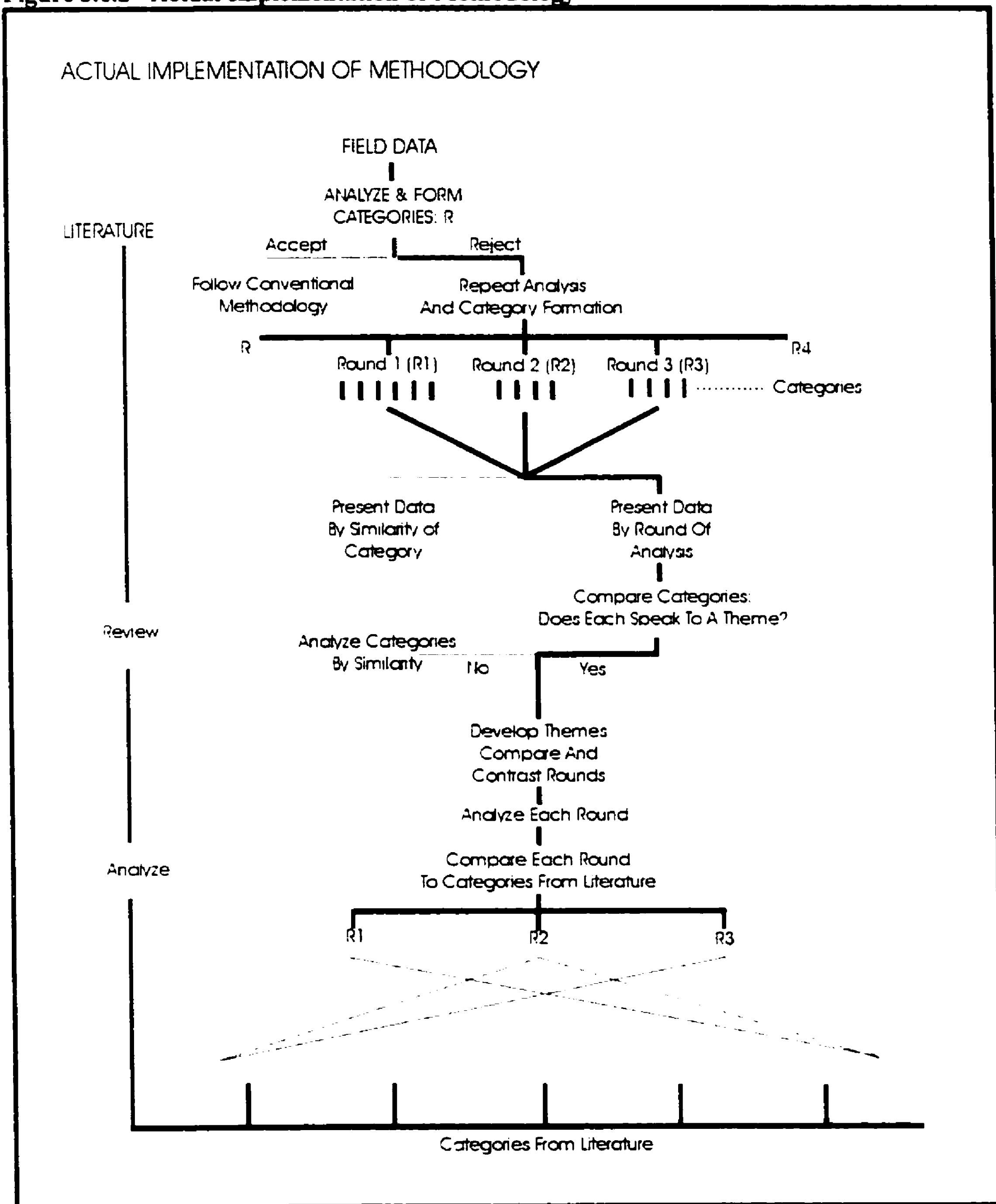
Cards were consolidated, shuffled, and reanalyzed the following day. Categories of similar theme and content emerged (analyst constructed) with data-bits that crossed categories, and with satellites that did not fit into categories. While categories from [R] seemed to be mirrored by this effort at analysis, it remained possible that the researcher's familiarity with the categories forced their reconstruction. In anticipating another attempt at analysis, categories from this round were recorded and labeled as "Round One." Each card was assigned a number, and the supporting data for each category were recorded numerically so they could be reconstructed for further analysis. This analysis of the data is identified as Round 1 (R1) in Figure 3.6.2.

"Round Two" commenced a number of days later. The categories that emerged through this were somewhat similar to those identified previously, however the categories seemed to have different qualities. They certainly contained different data-bits. Once again, some data would not fit neatly into determined categories, although these data were not the same as in the previous round. Results for this round were recorded, and a third attempt at analysis was carried out days later. Once again, new categories emerged and were recorded, although the number of data bits that

could not be categorized increased. A fourth round of analysis was attempted days later. No new categories could be constructed from the data at this point.

Having generated three distinct groupings of categories (round [R] being similar to R1, and R4 resulting in category formation saturation), the question remained as to how to proceed with both the presentation and analysis of the data. One approach considered was to return to the conventional methodology and link similar categories of different rounds. This approach was attempted, and is reported on in section 5.2 (Data Categories and Rounds of Analysis). The other option was to examine the different rounds of analysis, and use them as the structure for data analysis and presentation. Did each round speak to a theme? If so, then the altered approach to analysis may have assisted in getting deeper into the data. Upon comparison of categories internally and externally to each round of analysis, it became evident that there was something that differentiated each round. The categories appeared to possess subtle qualities unique to the round of analysis of which they were part. Each round seemed to speak to a theme, or a perspective on the data. With this observation, it was decided that the data would be presented according to round of analysis, with component categories. Similarly, the data is analysed using a tiered approach, starting with an examination (meta) of the theme inherent to each of the three rounds. This process involves comparison and contrast of the different themes. The second phase of analysis examines how each round speaks to the issue of the leadership system in the community. The third tier of the analysis explores how the literature informs each round and, conversely, how the round of analysis may inform the literature.

Figure 3.6.2 Actual Implementation of Methodology



4. The Leadership Environment: What The Literature Speaks To

The many differences in language, culture, history and tradition of First Nations make it difficult to generalize about Indian people as an ethnic group. This problem is compounded when attempting to study a phenomenon such as leadership at the community level. Variables that are purely local such as community location, history of contact and degree of cultural assimilation will greatly influence the way in which leadership is carried out. Regardless of such differences, there are sufficient similarities in the common experience of First Nations to warrant an examination from a broader perspective. The leadership "climate" examined herein is born of relations with colonial governments. The political, legal, administrative and cultural environments of First Nation community leadership are similar throughout the country; however, the way in which these environments are manifested in local leadership is expected to vary.

As outlined in the previous chapter, literature and research surrounding First Nation leadership was studied and re-studied in relation to the phases of fieldwork. Knowledge gleaned from this process has been outlined in this chapter to describe the environment in which First Nation leaders lead. Ideas that emerged from the literature have been grouped according to similar qualities. While there are numerous issues and perspectives regarding First Nation community leadership, five central themes emerged that captured the essence of these multiple dynamics. These categories explore issues of leadership systems, social philosophy, group identity, group organization and economy.

4.1 Leadership Systems

Leadership in Indian reserves is affected by cultural values of both tradition and modernity. As such, the study of leadership in First Nation communities requires a way of modelling leadership that can accommodate both time and culture. Rosen (1984: 39-40) presents a model of *Leadership Systems in World Cultures* that is a useful starting point for investigating the nature of reserve leadership. Rosen describes leadership and what is meant by a leadership system in the following manner:

> Put simply, leadership is a role that is understood in terms of the social and cultural context within which it is embedded and which shapes the particular forms it takes in any society. . . I understand roles to be sets of rights and obligations that are tied to social positions. In this analytical sense the concept of role is a normative construct, distinct from the actual way in which rights and duties may be carried out in concrete social situations. Both leadership roles as well as the specific institutional supports and constraints within which leadership roles function constitute what I term the *leadership system*.

Approaching leadership from a systems perspective is necessary in the First Nation context, as leadership roles are affected by cultural institutions that entail conflicting social values. Given Rosen's description of leadership roles as contextual, it follows that an examination of such roles and the systems that subtend them should reveal much about the social and cultural context in which they are both created and bound.

This model, presented as figure 4.1.1, identifies leadership systems according to three modal attributes of distribution, access and mobilization. Rosen argues that leadership systems can be classified by these characteristics. The first relates to the mode of distribution. Systems are either open or closed in terms of the number of leadership roles available in society. For example, an

egalitarian leadership system permits role redundancy. There is no prescribed limit on the number of leaders in similar roles. As such, there will be as many elders in a community as there are people considered to possess the qualities of an "elder." Comparatively, in a democratic leadership system, distribution is closed. Role redundancy is not permitted because there is a fixed number of leadership positions. A town will have one mayor and a limited number of councillors. The second characteristic defined by Rosen is the mode of access by which leadership roles are allocated. Leadership systems are based on either achievement or ascription as their allocative principle. Leadership positions such as those in the monarchy are ascribed through primogeniture, whereas the role of prime minister is achieved through merit -- it is theoretically open to all seeking such a role. Finally, leadership systems are defined by the mode of resource mobilization. Influence (persuasion) and power (coercion) are cited by Rosen as the two means by which leaders "direct the behaviour of others." (Rosen 1984: 42)

Figure 4.1.1 Leadership Systems

	SYSTEM TYPE	*MODE OF DISTRIBUTION*	*MODE OF ACCESS*	*MODE OF MOBILIZATION*
Type I	EGALITARIAN	OPEN	ACHIEVEMENT	INFLUENCE
Type II A	SEMIEGALITARIAN CATEGORICAL	OPEN	ASCRIPTION	INFLUENCE
B	SEMIEGALITARIAN MANAGERIAL	CLOSED	ACHIEVEMENT	INFLUENCE
Type III	RANK	CLOSED	ASCRIPTION	INFLUENCE
Type IV A	STRATIFORM AUTHORITARIAN	CLOSED	ASCRIPTION	POWER
B	STRATIFORM DEMOCRATIC	CLOSED	ACHIEVEMENT	POWER

(adapted from Rosen 1984: 47)

Implicit in Rosen's model are temporal linkages between system types that describe what is commonly held to be the historical development of society. The order of system types presented

by Rosen moves from systems that are open, based on ascription and influence, to systems that are closed and based on achievement and power. "The historical record indicates that the development of society generally involves a movement from the small-scale societies anthropologists usually term *simple* or *primitive* to the complex nation-states of the modern world." (Rosen: 42). Colson (1986) reviews the anthropological literature surrounding accepted definitions of band, tribe, chieftaincy and state. These are all forms of social organization that have been ordered as stages of development. She concludes that each form of organization has been categorized in the literature according to characteristic political institutions, but also observes that each form is also related to a particular mode of production: "The terms band, tribe, chieftaincy, and state reflect the desire to measure political solutions by placing them in an evolving order propelled forward by the division of labor and increasing control over the labor of others." (Colson 1986:13) Colson argues that the ethnographic record does not support such a relationship between political organization and modes of subsistence, and that such attempts at categorization often originate in an attempt to explain contemporary phenomena.

Thus, one difficulty with viewing leadership systems from an evolutionary perspective is that such an eschatological approach presumes that an egalitarian leadership system, will, if given enough time, develop through a progression of other types ending up resembling the stratiform democratic type. The problem with this reasoning is that it devalues all types except for the most "advanced," and leads to what Colson (1986) has termed the "us and them problem." Put into the context of the First Nations colonial experience, the eschatological approach justifies policies of assimilation from a position of cultural arrogance, revealing little respect and understanding of the social values that form the foundation of a leadership system. The following quote from Fromkin (1975:85) is particularly telling of this problem in the colonial context:

> It becomes increasingly clear that the usual procedure of political scientists in every age has been to define government in terms of the functions important to their own society, while ignoring the existence of societies for whom such functions are not important and for whom they therefore are not performed. The inappropriateness of such a technique is all the more apparent as we become aware of the immense divergences among societies with respect to their modes of existence as a group.

In a study of leadership systems, how does one comprehend the nature of a traditional form of social organization without defining it and explaining it in relation to, and through the language and world-view of the dominant paradigm? For example, most studies of leadership roles presuppose hierarchy, yet hierarchic relations were not typical of traditional First Nation social and political organization. Similarly, most studies of political leadership presuppose the doctrine of state sovereignty, another feature lacking in the traditional First Nation context. Although the ideal type of any theoretical construct rarely maps perfectly to reality, principles upon which systems are founded serve as the anchor for the ways in which societies organize themselves. To be both effective and appropriate, a leadership system must therefore entail the values and beliefs of the people it serves. These social values will be reflected in both the organizational process through which institutions operate, and in the rights and responsibilities contingent upon the leadership role. In the context of reserve communities in Canada, two leadership systems -- those of traditional and band council --often exist, either formally or informally. Each system contains institutions informed by divergent social philosophy, and as such, posits different demands upon the leadership role.

Social philosophies informing leadership systems will be the subject of much of this chapter. What will be outlined here, however, are some ways in which traditional First Nation leadership roles can be explained with regard to "qualities" of leaders, and the type of authority by which leaders lead. While Rosen's model indicates that both egalitarian and democratic leadership systems are typified by an achievement mode of access, the personal qualities of leaders that denote "achievement" are different. Leadership roles in democratic systems can be easily described in terms of "the office," or "the position." As conduct is dictated by written law, and the state is sovereign, the emphasis on achievement easily translates into someone who knows the "system" and can "get the job done." Achievement criteria in the traditional system, however, is based on personal virtues of goodness and fairness. There is a much stronger moral element in the qualities of the traditional leader. For example, in Kanien'keha language, a leader is a *royaner*, meaning literally "he is of the good." (Alfred 1999: 89) In this sense, the traditional leader fits Burns' concept of moral leadership. Burns argues that "The essence of leadership . . . is the recognition of real need, the uncovering and exploiting of contradictions among values and between values and practice, the realigning of values, the reorganization of institutions where necessary, and the governance of change." (Burns in Alfred 1999: 46)

As moral leadership constitutes the achievement criteria in the traditional system, the authority by which a leader leads is born of respect. In this sense, First Nation leadership systems are similar to Weber's ideal type of traditional authority, "based on a belief in the importance of enduring traditions." (Denhardt 1993: 33). In her research among the James Bay Cree, Kupferer noted that "One informant, when asked whether he would like to be chief, said: I am not good enough. A chief has to be a good man -- one who doesn't do anything bad" implying an ethic and morality similar to that of the traditional leader. (Kupferer 1966: 63) As such, the mode of mobilization for the

egalitarian system was influence, for only influence can foster respect. In contrast to traditional authority is Weber's ideal type of legal authority, which "depends on the establishment of legal norms within a group and the agreement of members of the group to be bound by the legal system." (Denhardt 1993:33) Legal authority serves as the basis of democratic political systems, and utilizes power based on state sovereignty as its mode of mobilization. This form of authority and its corresponding institutional values of bureaucracy have been imposed on many First Nation communities through the imposition of band council government under the Indian Act.

Oppression experienced by many First Nation people through the colonial experience has created a climate where charismatic leadership as defined by Weber *could* emerge. Leaders with such authority, however, are unlikely in the First Nation context. With regard to First Nation culture, "true charisma as defined by Weber was not one of the usual attributes of Indian leadership." (Boldt 1980:22) As argued earlier, traditional First Nation leadership entailed a service criterion. Leaders in the traditional sense were more prone to be modest listeners than they were charismatic orators. In the contemporary situation, charismatic leadership based on trust, faith and devotion is unlikely, given the endemic mistrust of both Indian and non-Indian authority that has been systemically produced through the process of colonization.

Figure 4.1.2 Summary: Leadership System Facets and Aspects

Category And Facet	Aspect of Facet
Leadership System	
Distribution	Open

Category And Facet	**Aspect of Facet**
	Closed
Access	Achievement
	Ascription
Mobilization	Influence
	Power
Authority	Traditional
	Legal
	Charismatic

4.2 Rights and Responsibilities

If leadership is to be examined as a system that is determined by many factors, then one of the most important influences on a leadership system will be the way in which a society views the relationship between the individual and the collective, or conversely, the relationship between the collective and the individual. For example, a system that places emphasis on the individual will be typified by very different fundamental values than will a system in which collective good is the primary focus. When compared to the modern European tradition, First Nations had leadership systems that entailed a very different notion of the relationship between individual and society. They used (and some continue to use) language of "responsibilities," a language that is contrasted by the Western use of the terms "rights" and "entitlements" to define the nature of the relationship between individual and the collective. These differences, constituting the moral social fabric of each society, surface in their most candid form when issues of law and justice are addressed (Ross 1992, 1995). They also, however,

have an integral yet more subtle effect on leadership. A brief theoretical examination of these differences is required in order to analyse contemporary First Nation leadership systems.

As a system of leadership, liberal democracy entails a political philosophy centred on the individual. Its emergence in theory and practice is linked to both industrialization and urbanization that occurred in nineteenth century Europe. Lukes describe this Western tradition as having the following characteristics: (Lukes in Svensson: 424)

> ... First, a view of government based on the (individually-given) consent of its citizens . . . Second, and allied to this, is a view of political representation as representation, not of order or estates or social functions or social classes, but of individual interests. And third, there is a view of the purpose of government as being confined to enabling individuals' wants to be satisfied, individuals' interests to be pursued, and individuals' rights to be protected . . .

Lukes' first point that government is consensual presupposes that the individual precedes government or the collectivity that legitimizes government. As such, there is an element of political voluntarism involved. In theory, individuals make a wilful choice to be governed in exchange for the government's protection of their individual rights. This is known as "contract theory," and is defined by Lessnoff (1986: 2) as "a theory in which a contract is used to justify and/or to set limits to political authority, or in other words, in which political obligation is analysed as a contractual obligation." The second point made by Lukes in his description defines political representation as an individual right, juxtaposed against the interests of groups associated by bloodline or wealth. This characteristic of liberal democracy equalizes political rights by making them universal, but in so doing, makes them temporally bound. As rights are linked to mortal individuals, they cannot be conferred upon groups

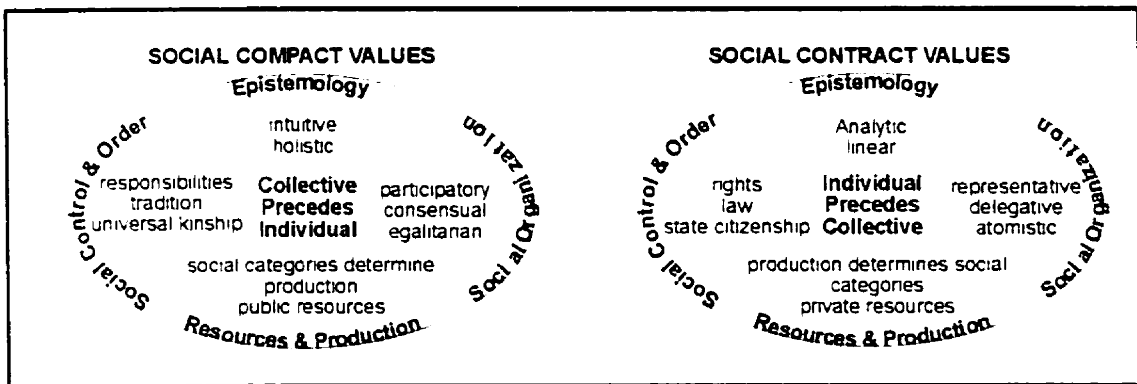
with interests that may originate in the past and become projected onto the future. The third characteristic described by Lukes hints at the function of government in a liberal democracy. The description limits government powers to those activities that maintain and further a climate supportive of individual pursuits and to those activities that uphold and protect individual rights. These rights being upheld are primarily negative in nature, and as a result, do not impose duty or obligation upon an individual. A negative right is a protection against harm. It is reciprocated through a general understanding that by not harming others, a person has a claim against those who have harmed him or her. A right to life in a negative sense implies that people derive their right to life from the fact that they do not deprive others of theirs. A negative right therefore implies restraint of action. As it involves choice, it could be viewed as voluntary, and as part of a social contract.

Traditional First Nation philosophy on the relationship between individual and the collective stands in sharp contrast to the characteristics of the social contract. Described as a "social compact" (Kahgegagahbow in Barsh 1984: 184), as a "social covenant" (Colson 1973: 10) and as a "spiritual compact" (Youngblood Henderson in Boldt & Long 1984:541). First Nation philosophy maintained that "there can be no state of external political authority separate from the people" (Barsh 1995: 43), for it is through participation in both kin and community relations by which individuality becomes possible. In the First Nations model, rights come not by virtue of a person's existence, but rather from his or her role, given by the creator, discovered and acted upon in a cycle of life that links past, present and future. As such, there is no language of rights, but rather language of responsibilities and obligations to self, family and community.

The nature of the social compact will be described in comparison to the more familiar social contract with reference to the role of the individual, aspects of scale and community size, and the way in which

each philosophy incorporates elements of time. For comparative purposes, the values enshrined by each social system have been presented in Figure 4.2.1 below. Contract and compact theory have been used in this instance as tools to provide for a comparative description of two distinct social philosophies so that the values implicit in each can be unpacked. They have been used simply because they are referenced in the literature. As such, no attempt is being made to defend or refute contract/compact theory. Like all theory, contract and compact theory provides ways of explaining given phenomena. Further, the distinction between compact and contract theory is not being defined as absolute. Elements of compact values are presumably present outside of the context of First Nation communities. Similarly, contract values are not the exclusive domain of First Nations in either an historical or a contemporary context.

Figure 4.2.1 Social Compact and Social Contract Values



As mentioned earlier, the individual precedes the collective in contract theory. In the social compact, the collective precedes the individual, for without the collective there can be no individual. This is not to say that the individual is subordinate to the collective in the social compact, for "[it] would be a serious mistake to underestimate the strength of individualist moral conceptions in Native groups." (Pocklington and Pocklington in Miller 1997: 108) Barsh identifies "individual conscience" as one of

three pillars of Native North American belief systems, the other two being "universal kinship" and "the endless creative power of the world." (Barsh 1986: 181) Similarly, Dr. Clare Brant, a Mohawk psychiatrist, has described an "ethic of non-interference" and an ethic of the "primacy of the individual" that exists in traditional First Nation social philosophy: "We are very loath to confront people. We are very loath to give advice to anyone if the person is not specifically asking for advice. To interfere or even comment on their behaviour is considered rude." (Brant in Ross 1992: 13)

Both social compact and social contract theories emphasize individuality, but they do so in different ways. The distinction lies in the fact that authority is diffused in the social compact compared to the social contract. In the social contract, authority is legitimized through resignation. The majority of wills are represented via a political institution that is separate from the people. In effect, the social contract institutionalizes an agreement to disagree. In the social compact, the people constitute the collective. As each person is a component rather than a constituent of government, there is an emphasis on "individual choice over subordination to authority." (Colson 1986: 10) "Each individual's "right," then, consists of freedom to exercise responsibilities toward others, as he or she understands them, without interference. It is a right not to be "bossed – a freedom from coercion, not from duty." (Barsh 1995: 44-45)

The social compact therefore emphasizes negative rights, as does the social contract. The former, however, emphasizes them in such a way that the rights are bound by responsibility – they are conditional upon rights that are positive in nature. A positive right entails some form of duty or obligation. It can be viewed as a negative right (such as a right to life), coupled with an obligation to not only respect, but to uphold that negative right on the behalf of another or others. In the context of the social compact, each individual has the negative right of individual conscience. This right is tied,

however, to an individual's duties and obligations toward the community. "[I]n Indian tribal society individual self-interest was inextricably intertwined with tribal interests: that is, the general good and the individual good were taken to be virtually identical." (Boldt & Long 1984: 541) In contrast to this is the social contract of liberal democracy, where the individual good and the general good are viewed as diametric, requiring state intervention in the form of regulation and distributive justice.

The social compact was viable for First Nations because although they were highly organized, they "had not undergone the separation of the state from the community." (Boldt & Long 1984: 546) The social compact and its underlying value system are contingent upon the existence of "dense social networks," where there is an "expectation of continuity of relationships with the same people over time." (Colson 1973: 5) In a scalar context where kin and community constitute the limits of social interaction, respect for individual choice through an ethic of non-intervention serves to minimize conflict. This aspect of face-to-face communities is essential to the social compact. The actions, choices, and comments of each individual become part of the community, and as such, each individual has duties, responsibilities and obligations thereto. An example that demonstrates this nature of the social compact is provided by an Ojibway chief: "If someone consistently refused to follow the teachings and was contributing negatively to the community, he might be placed on a blanket held by a number of men, then repeatedly tossed high in the air. At some point, they would all let go of the blanket and he would fall, unprotected, to the ground." (Ross: 1996: 92-93) Comparatively, there is no such organic responsibility in contract theory where community is separate from the state, and where individuals can exercise choice in association due to size and scale of the population.

As argued earlier, contract theory, based on individual rights, necessarily entails a present temporal dynamic. This dynamic encourages short-term thinking and planning in political affairs. First Nation philosophy, however, incorporates spirit, tradition and custom in a way that makes the collective greater than the sum of its individual parts, for it not only includes individuals in the community, but also ancestors and future generations. A consensual decision-making process reflects the way in which First Nation people viewed time – decisions affected future generations, and could constitute a break from past generations. As such, these decisions required unanimous support, and could not be made lightly, for self-serving purposes. Such a holistic philosophy permitted First Nations to incorporate a philosophy of stewardship and respect for the natural environment into their culture.

As a cultural backdrop for leadership systems, the social compact results in a knowledge system where each person's interpretation is intrinsically valid. Coupled with the public nature of resources, the social compact is typified by non-stratified societies, where notions of hierarchy did not, for the most part, exist. How then, in such egalitarian societies, were leadership roles fulfilled? The answer to this question will be provided through an analysis of the principal characteristics, styles, structures and functions of leadership systems that operated in conjunction with the social compact.

In terms of leadership styles, the roles performed by traditional Aboriginal leaders were similar to those of modern day social and political administrators. As a result, there were many leaders, and a tribe could have multiple chiefs that performed various different functions. As a leadership system, traditional First Nations leadership had an open mode of distribution according to Rosen's criteria. Elders performed a leadership function in education, teaching through story telling, and in so doing, perpetuating the customs, traditions and values of the society. During

times of external conflict, the bravest and most experienced warriors would assume leadership roles. Some were proficient in the hunt, and would be consulted on issues relating to hunting and fishing. Others would reveal prowess for diplomacy, and become respected leaders in negotiating internal or external conflicts between different kinship groups or tribes. Health, spiritual and family issues were the domains of other leaders, often women. Roles were also achievement oriented: "leaders were recognized by society as a whole for the ways they dealt with problems." (Holm 1982: 60) A leader would remain a leader as long as people regarded him or her as such.

In addition to being open and achievement or merit based, traditional leadership styles were based upon influence rather than on power. Traditional leaders did not make decisions. Groups made decisions as groups. A leader in the traditional First Nations context was what Bertrand de Jouvenel called a "dux," defined as "the man who leads into action a stream of wills." The "dux" stands in comparison to the "rex": "the man who regularizes and rules." (de Jouvenel in Carstens 1987: 12) The role of respected leaders was therefore to use their skills at elocution and reasoning to persuade others and to lead and facilitate discussion. "In the indigenous North American context a "leader" is not a decision maker, but a coordinator, peacemaker, teacher, an example and comedian. He cannot tell others what to do, but he can persuade, cajole, tease, or inspire them into some unanimity of purpose." (Barsh 1986: 192) Because of the deep respect for individuality that typified traditional compact society, political power could only manifest itself in the art of persuasion. Often, formal decisions were not required at meetings because issues were widely discussed in advance. People were encouraged to build upon the words of others, a dialectic process that served to recognize the ideas of all participants. Decision-making processes therefore utilized a leader to facilitate and to moderate the exchange of ideas in an

environment that sought to avoid public debates and voting to "minimize conflicts and wounded pride." (Barsh 1986: 185)

The primacy of the individual and the lack of central authority therefore necessitated a consensual decision-making process, as those who were not party to a particular decision did not feel themselves bound by it. Colson (1986) notes that the community and its members would tend to be held responsible for the conduct of its members by outside groups, creating a situation where subtle external pressures worked to secure maximum involvement of all community members in political matters. Alfred describes traditional governance as having six key characteristics. As a system of leadership, it requires direct involvement from everyone in the community; it "balances many layers of equal power"; it is dispersed, situational, non-coercive, and respectful of diversity. Given these principles, traditional governance in First Nations "results from the interaction of leadership and the autonomous power of the individuals who make up the society. Governance in an indigenist sense can be practiced only in a decentralized, small-scale environment among people who share a culture." (Alfred 1999: 26)

As each community member must play a role in decision making to be bound by the outcome, the structure of the leadership system becomes the community itself, where people are tied together in what could be described as a matrix or a web. In comparison to this, structures of leadership in hierarchical democratic societies are overtly visible and tangible, such as a parliament, a permanent office or a constitution. Although there were no formalized structures of leadership in most traditional native societies, the informal structures have many of the characteristics of self-organizing systems as defined by Morgan (1986). Two of these, the redundancy of parts and the redundancy of functions, were noted by Fenton in his study of Iroquois societies: "In Iroquois

social and political action there is a kind of reinforcing duality of parried performers that violates every principle of civil administration, as we know it -- namely, that the same responsibility should not be delegated to two people." (Fenton 1986: 25) These self-organizing features of the structure of leadership systems probably allowed them to be more adaptive and responsive to change.

From both the style and structure of traditional leadership systems, their functions can be elaborated upon. Of prime importance is the way in which the system of leadership served to "teach the way," perpetuating the society and its values, traditions and cultures. The primacy of the individual (a learned cultural tradition itself) ensured that hierarchy and authority were limited, and by so doing, protected the society against forms of tyranny. Boldt and Long (1984: 543) have observed this feature of traditional leadership systems:

> By unreservedly accepting custom as their legitimate guide in living and working together they alleviated the need for personal authority, a hierarchical power structure and a separate ruling entity to maintain order. Customary authority protected individuals from self-serving, capricious, and coercive exercise of power by contemporaries. Since Customs are not readily changed, or new ones quickly created, authority was not easily or expediently expanded.

The social values instilled through the system of leadership therefore served to safeguard and perpetuate both the system and the values of the social compact. In non-literate societies, knowledge had to be passed on through observation and story telling. Leaders would pass on knowledge through speech or through demonstration of some particular skill. Traditional leadership systems therefore channeled cultural, human and knowledge-based resources toward

particular social goals, the most prominent being the perpetuation of society. Fenton observed this particular social goal during his study of traditional Iroquois society in stating that: "Nothing has greater force in woodland society than the sanction of ritual and its continued renewal." (Fenton 1986: 25)

According to Rosen's leadership systems model, traditional leadership systems were therefore open in terms of the mode of distribution, achievement oriented with regard to the mode of access, and utilized influence as the mode of mobilization. They served the primary function of utilizing cultural and traditional resources to perpetuate society. Lacking authoritarian or hierarchical structures, public order was maintained through "self discipline and the power of public opinion and ridicule." (Barsh 1986: 184) In contrast to the traditional leadership system is the western democratic model: a leadership system that is closed, achievement oriented and based on power as the mode of mobilization. The function of leadership in the democratic system is also one of social control and perpetuation, but leadership in the democratic system serves the additional function of economic distribution. In such a system, leadership has an allocative role for which there was no counterpart in compact society.

The social compact and system of leadership associated with it have many implications. Of greatest importance is the fact that such systems were devoid of principles that serve as the cornerstone of western political leadership systems: accountability, responsibility and representativeness. Accountability in public administration is the "condition of having to answer to someone for one's actions." (Gagne 1996: 213) Correspondingly, responsibility involves the power and authority vested in an individual to make decisions and to follow through with actions for which he or she can be held accountable. Representative government necessitates these

principles of public administration. This feature of contract social philosophy concentrates authority through voluntaristic delegation, creating a hierarchy of decision-making power that must be kept in check through "principles" of good government. In the traditional First Nation context, accountability and responsibility as defined above were not required because government was not "representative" of the people – it consisted directly of the people. Because of the principle of the primacy of the individual, no one surrendered his or her decision-making rights to anyone else, and as a result, people were accountable to themselves, each other, and their families. No one had any more responsibility for the welfare of the community than anyone else did. "Accountability in the indigenous sense needs to be understood not just as a set of processes but as a relationship" between individuals and others in the community, whose dialogue is moderated by a leader. (Alfred 1999: 91)

While many aspects of the social compact exist today in First Nation communities, they have been influenced by the values of the leadership system of the social contract. During the treaty-making process, for example, some bands or tribes actually had to create a position of grand chief so that the Indian agents could negotiate with the band. (Satzewich and Mahood 1994) To demonstrate this point further, Harriet Kupferer noted that in the northern Cree settlement of Rupert's House, "prior to the institution of the position [of chief], the Hudson's Bay Company manager served as "chief." (Kupferer 1966: 61) Further, while the federal government acts in a fiduciary capacity with regard to First Nations, policies and legislation to this end often contain elements that conflict. For example, some aspects of the Indian Act protect social compact values, while others encourage or enforce social contract values. As such, First Nation communities have been encapsulated by the Canadian state, and by the values that are typified by the social contract. Within this encapsulation are a history and a bureaucracy that have fluctuated

between protecting and denying compact values. The impact upon leadership systems of this dual mandate of assimilation/protection will be explored in the following subsection.

Figure 4.2.2 Summary: Rights and Responsibilities Facets and Aspects

Category And Facet	Aspect of Facet
Rights & Responsibilities	
Values	Contract
	Compact
Principles	Accountable
	Responsible
	Representative
Decision-Making Process	Hierarchic
	Consensual
	Participatory
	Transparent

4.3 Cultural Resonance

The two distinct cultural systems represented by the social contract and the social compact are often juxtaposed as polar opposites in the context of First Nations. Use of such descriptors as non-Indian/Indian and modern/traditional serve to obscure what is, in the current context, a mixture of cultural systems based on degrees of conflicting influences, values and interests from both compact

and contract social systems. These influences can be layered, manifested in the individual, the kin group, the clan, and even in other groupings based on age, religion, economic status, race, bloodline, education and mobility. Such groupings serve to compound the complexity and impact of differing values in social systems. Factionalism of this sort can be common in First Nation communities, and can impact upon the system of leadership. In some cases, two systems have emerged (traditional and modern), where the leaders of each group compete for legitimacy as the true leadership for the community. In other situations, traditionalists and modernists work together with respect and tolerance, striving to define and redefine community values.

Such differences in values have been described in literature in various ways. Elias has termed this phenomenon as "divided interests" (Elias 1991: 147), where differences in education and level of assimilation lead to different value systems between old and young. Hanson approaches this from a policy perspective, acknowledging "dual realities" calling for "dual strategies" for the provision of services within and among First Nations communities. (Hanson 1986) Neal has termed this situation as "group apraxia," and claims that the inability of many First Nations people to posit meaning upon objects (be they social, symbolic, or institutional) is a direct result of the "phenomenology of acculturation." (Neal 1990: 219) Neal argues that policy regarding First Nations people involves contradictions of culture, where the "intentional system in Canada runs counter to the conscious purposes of the system" (Neal 1990: 219), the result being group apraxia. Similarly, Cornell (1988) offers an analysis of cultural change based on categories of organization and self-concept, arguing that the imposition of external political systems left First Nations with a crisis of group-identity. Regardless of the theory or explanation, these accounts indicate that such communities can be somewhat hybrid in terms of the values embraced by people as both groups and as individuals. As such, First Nation communities *could* be similar to any other multi-cultural community in this regard.

where a multiplicity of perspectives and values are held by community members and their organizations.

Certainly, a person can be "Indian" regardless of whether he or she is on a trap-line, or in an office building. The problem with accepting individual value preferences in this context, however, is that such an analysis stems from contract theory, and fails to acknowledge the matrix of relations that is typified by compact theory. Put differently, a challenge for First Nation leaders is that of culture and values, and how these forge a notion of group self-concept in the community context. This challenge is necessarily political, and leads to questions regarding both the process and structure of local First Nation leadership and organization (internal) and the limitations placed on leadership by the Canadian state and democratic theory (external).

The very nature of First Nation community enclaves in Canada is externally problematic. There is virtually no precedent for collective ethnic group rights under democratic theory. Democratic rights of the social contract are grounded in the individual rather than being intrinsic to "peoples." The only exception to this in democratic theory is the corporation, which "is in a sense an anomaly in democratic theory, and this partially explains the legal problems associated with its status in society." (Svensson: 421) To this end, Tord Larsen has referred to First Nation reserve communities as "ethnic corporations." (Larsen: 1983) Reserve communities are bound by membership and special status of their "shareholders," each having an entitlement and interest in the community, its land, and resources. In this context, individual confusion regarding conflicting values of the social compact and social contract can be resolved through respect and tolerance. What are not so easily resolved, however, are differences in values with regard to how these common resources and assets are utilized and managed, and how decisions regarding these common properties are arrived at. In essence,

reserve communities provide the illusion of group rights (compact society) within a larger system that cannot reconcile collective rights. This conflict of values and social systems is exemplified by a statement made by the Assembly of First Nations to the Parliamentary Sub-committee on Indian Women and the Indian Act: "As Indian people, we cannot afford to deal with individual rights overriding collective rights. Our societies have never been structured that way, unlike yours, and that is where the clash comes as well with the Charter of Rights issue under the Constitution. If you isolate the individual rights from the collective rights, then you are heading down another path that is even more discriminatory." (McDonald 1986: 24) A similar observation has been made by Alfred (1999: 140) who argues that "rights," as defined in the social contract, serve to alienate the individual from the group. The problem, as experienced by First Nation people, is that the group is the source of individuality in traditional compact society.

This problem of democratic theory's intolerance of collective rights is compounded by the fact that some of the policy and legislation set forth by the federal government with regard to First Nations recognizes and often protects aspects of Indian culture that are based on a collective ethic. Examples of this can be found in the Indian Act (as revised), primarily in the system of tenure for land and resources. The use of reserve lands, and the use of resources in traditional lands, is legally deemed usufruct. While it would appear that the federal government legally owns the land under such a relationship, it would be difficult to make such an argument. The nature of most treaties has served to set precedent with regard to this relationship, establishing land use and certain resource rights for time immemorial. This type of relationship with First Nations externally reinforces a collective title to land – a benefit of use that is bestowed upon a people as a cultural group, rather than on people as a group of individuals. To this end, the federal government is acknowledging the importance of the collective ethic for many First Nations. However, this ethic is not accommodated by the political and legal

systems that encapsulate reserve communities. For example, it is often difficult for Band governments to borrow money to fund development projects because of the way in which their land and resources are collectively held. Similarly, because of the way in which inherent rights to resources have been constructed, First Nations cannot engage in commercial ventures such as hunting, fishing or forestry based solely on claims of treaty or Aboriginality.

External constraints on the recognition of collective rights have impacted First Nations and their leaders as they struggle to capture and present notions of community group self-concept. The external system in which First Nation leaders must function to protect and further Aboriginal rights does not accommodate or recognize collective rights. As such, language of the social contract is applied to Aboriginal claim to make such claim potentially resolvable within the external system. Through this process, First Nation leaders have redefined their own traditions and culture, internalizing the values of the external leadership system. This impact was observed by Long and Boldt, who argue: "By resorting to the expedient claim of inherent sovereign statehood, Indian leaders are legitimizing European-Western philosophies and structures of authority and decision-making within contemporary Indian communities." (Long and Boldt 1984: 548) While Long and Boldt recognize the effect of this process on First Nation group identity, they do not make the observation that the external system essentially demands that First Nation leaders adopt such a position. In effect, external forces are permissive of the development of community self-concept according to either contract or compact philosophies, but force community leaders to negotiate planned change through the colonial contract model.

Such a requirement of the external system creates internal problems for many First Nation leaders. Although "Indian society has been moving from a community strongly articulated around isolationist

ideas and beliefs to a positive orientation toward many aspects of modern culture"(Boldt 1981: 310-311), First Nation leaders are faced with a particular dilemma in their unique role as brokers of culture. Boldt (1980: 21) argues that the "cultural marginality" of First Nation communities places leadership in a very arduous position:

> ...the Indian leader who wants to satisfy the aspirations of his constituents must first learn from Whites how to play an effective role in the dominant society. Furthermore, he must gain the respect and support of influential elements in that society and effectively use this support to pressure government to achieve the goals of his Indian constituency. But, the Indian leader who accomplishes all of this becomes vulnerable to the charge that he has adopted the way of the White man and is no longer of his own people.

This dilemma is compounded for First Nation leaders, as the local identity in many communities has been supplanted by a national identity. In many cases, local culture, history and tradition have been replaced by notions of "Indianness" as defined by the Indian Act. In addition, First Nation people have organized as interest groups to monitor and impact policies and programs of the federal government. Such national identity, however, is a product of colonial relations. "The boundaries that define Native Indians as a collectivity are based not on cultural traditions, but on political, economic, legal, administrative and social considerations and on skin-colour. The "we" feeling of Native Indians grows out of Indian-White relations." (Boldt 1980: 19) First Nation leaders are therefore often mistrusted by members of their community through guilt by association, as one of their main roles is to negotiate with the colonial government for funding and programs.

Regardless of the fact that the "we" feeling of group identity has been derived from colonial relations, such group identity can ease the work of First Nation leaders. Strater Crowfoot observed that for the

Siksika First Nation in Alberta, "the sense of community is reinforced by a group consciousness of kind, a sense of shared fate, and a sense of being a beleaguered minority collectivity. This more collectivist orientation and the sense of closeness or solidarity which accompanies it facilitate leadership by making it relatively easy to rally the people politically for some purposes." (Crowfoot 1997: 316)

To overcome the dilemma of guilt by association, local leadership is presented with the challenge of utilizing collective process to explore vehicles for the re-familiarization of local group identity. This is a painstaking task. It is a task that is unique to the First Nation leadership context when compared to responsibilities of municipal or provincial leaders who do not have to consider issues of group identity of such profundity. Not only does such a process strengthen community independence, but it also provides a vehicle for leaders to be recognized as part of the local spirit – as part of an internally defined "we" that is not dependent upon necessary external relations. Crowfoot reflected upon this idea of group identity as it relates to leadership roles, stating: "We were raised to be what others thought we were. An important part of a chief's job is to help to change that through instilling pride in the people." (Crowfoot 1997: 304) This renewal of pride and group identity can take many forms.

One form that is particularly challenging for leaders is the re-birth of traditionalism. Many First Nations people have undergone a renewal of traditional values to regain a sense of pride and self-worth. Boldt has argued that leaders who faced "discrimination and exclusion in contact with the dominant society espouse romanticist values and appeal to the local culture." (Boldt 1981: 327) According to Boldt, colonization and assimilation constituted a radical break in the cultural evolution of First Nations people. Experiences such as residential schooling forced many First

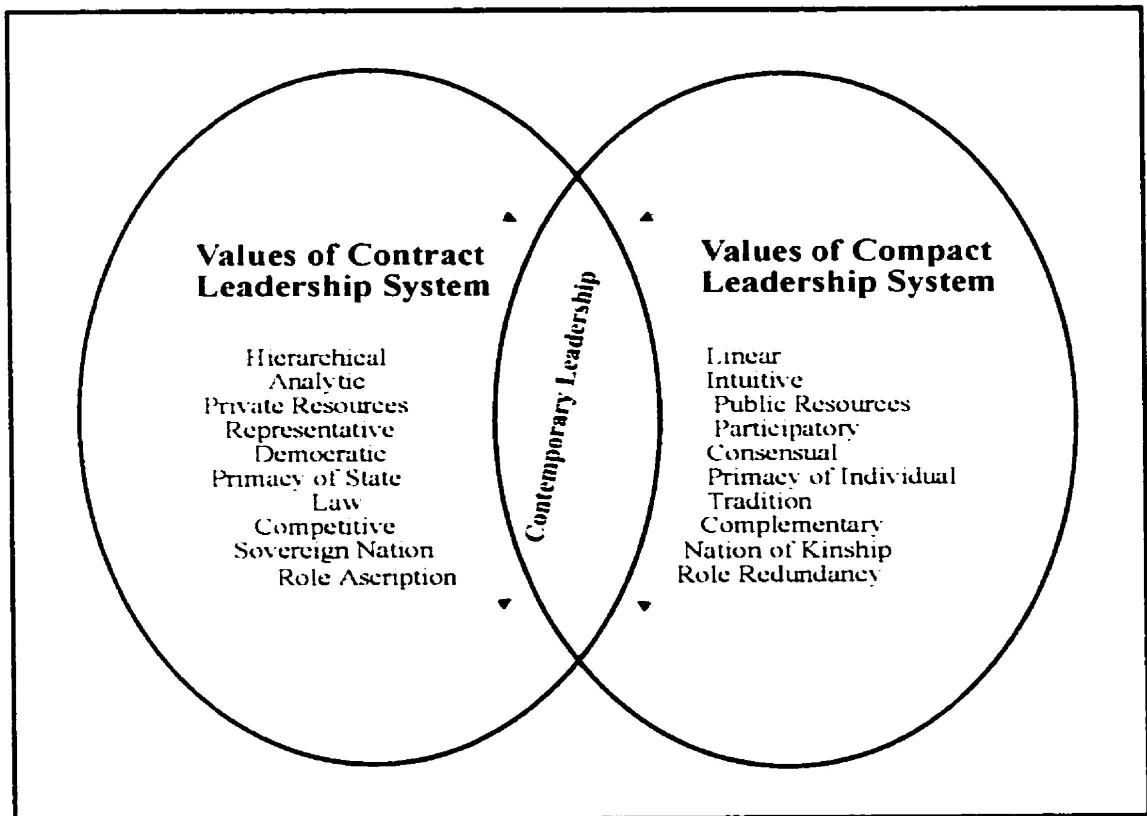
Nation peoples to disavow their culture and language while being excluded from the culture and language of the colonial society. For many, the results of such experiences have been low self-esteem and confused notions of group identity. The revival in traditional ways can therefore be seen as a way of looking back to discover cultural symbols and ways of living and interacting that worked. The challenge for leaders in this context is again to find ways of balancing the modern (social contract) with the traditional (social compact). As acknowledged by Strater Crowfoot: "The value placed upon traditionalism in First Nation communities is a drag on the need for "modernization" (adaptation). The leader must balance the two, even when elected on a platform of sweeping change." (Crowfoot 1997: 316)

This section has been called "Cultural Resonance" because in many First Nation communities, the layers of contradiction between social contract and social compact leadership systems have resulted in discord. It is presupposed that a harmonious society is one in which the leadership system reflects values held by the people (the majority, in the case of the social contract). Prior to contact with Europeans, First Nations compact leadership systems were in harmony with the values and culture of the people. There was a unified group self-concept that had corresponding forms of community organization. The social values were therefore assonant with the system of leadership that existed for their perpetuation. During the colonial period, forms of organization were imposed upon First Nations that were disruptive to existing notions of group self-concept. This process resulted in a dissonant cultural resonance for many First Nations, a dissonance that can only be restored to harmony through careful leadership. Cornell has addressed this issue by stating that "...self-concept may remain a highly contested business long after organization has been settled. In other words, how we organize is one thing; what it means to us is another. The result may be a high degree of tension – essentially a mis-fit – between these two dimensions of

group structure." (Cornell 1989: 28) Similarly, Alfred (1999: 23) has observed that the mis-match between social values and organization perpetuates problems in First Nations communities:

> Good indigenous leadership ensures that government is rooted in tradition, is consistent with the cultural values of the community. This is a key element in restoring the necessary harmony between social and political cultures in Native societies. Non-indigenous political structures, values, and styles of leadership lead to coercive and compromised forms of government that contradict basic indigenous values and are the main reason our social and political crisis persists.

Figure 4.3.1 Contradictions of Systems



"The process of acculturation and of change from primordial tribal to Pan-Indian loyalties and the associated decay of indigenous Indian tribal institutions, has resulted in identity problems for Indian leaders, because essential structural definitions of interaction, protocol and decision-making are not functioning." (Boldt 1980: 20). It would follow from this analysis that First Nations leadership is presented with an extreme challenge of reconciling models of the individual with the collective to reflect values of both individuals and of the community as a whole. To do this, values need to be determined through community process, and the forms of organization need to be augmented so that they once again have meaning. The implicit values of contract and compact leadership systems contradict each other, making reconciliation difficult. Figure 4.3.1 outlines some of the contradictions between ideal types of leadership systems that First Nation leaders must address. As revealed by the diagram, contemporary First Nation leadership can be viewed as a hybrid system, where leaders play a brokerage role between the community (inside) and the colonial government (outside). Until contradictions are examined in a First Nation community and the forms of community organization are restructured to reflect community values, First Nations leadership will remain a difficult, if not impossible, job.

Figure 4.3.2 Summary: Cultural Resonance Facets and Aspects

Category And Facet	**Aspect of Facet**
Cultural Resonance	
Orientation	Modern

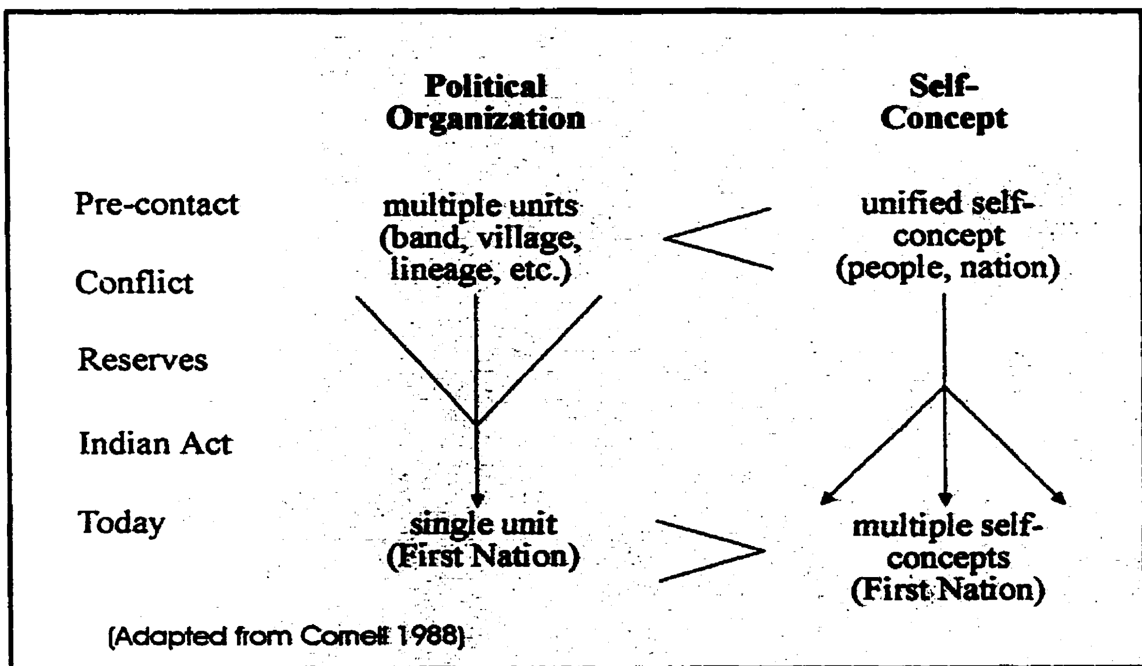
Category And Facet	**Aspect of Facet**
	Traditional
Identity	Traditional
	Legislated
	Planned-Hybrid
Resonance	Assonant
	Dissonant

4.4 Bureaucratic Encapsulation: Administrative Determinism

The above subsection on "cultural resonance" explored ways in which changes in the cultural identity of First Nations could impact upon leadership. It was argued that prior to contact, First Nations had a unified notion of group self-concept, and that colonization splintered this notion into multiple self-concepts. Following this analysis presented by Cornell (1988), this subsection addresses ways in which changes in political organization affect First Nation leadership systems. Change in the political realm is depicted by the converse of the cultural – multiple units of political organization have been transformed under colonization to single units of political organization (Figure 4.4.1). Regarding this process of transition, Cornell argues that "...the effect on most groups was to consolidate political organization in response to the demands of circumstance, but to fragment self-concept as groups struggled to redefine themselves in a world that had been radically transformed." (Cornell 1988:28) Cornell indicates that political change was adaptive for First Nations. This may have been the case for some dispersed groups such as the Cree, who did not even have language for terms such as "village" or "band" prior to contact.

These concepts and the corresponding organization developed out of relationships and growing dependency on the Hudson's Bay Company and the federal government. (Kupferer 1966: 62) Other groups, however, such as the Six Nations, had political organization that did not adapt voluntarily to a single unit form. Such First Nations were forced to incorporate Indian Act band governments as part of the colonization process.

Figure 4.4.1 Political Organization and Self-Concept



As illustrated in the above figure, the single unit of political organization for each First Nation community is historically contrived, and is the product of conflict, forced settlement and legislation. As such, it is necessary to examine the politics of reserve communities in relation to the colonial government. Tarrow offers three models of centre-periphery relations that can be used to describe this relationship and the system of leadership that results. These models are

diffusion/isolation, dependency/marginality, and bureaucratic integration. (Tarrow 1977: 32) While all three of the models can in part describe political relations between First Nations and the federal government, the bureaucratic integration model appears to be the most appropriate. (Carstens 1971; Nagata 1987) Using the Hopi Nation of Arizona as an example, Nagata argues that bureaucratic integration best describes the relationship the Hopi have with the US federal government because the linkages are primarily administrative, and the function of these links is the distribution of public goods. Nagata describes the bureaucratic links as a "force," and terms this process "bureaucratic encapsulation." (Nagata 1987: 61) Carstens (1971: 141) describes a similar process whereby the bureaucratic integration of reserve communities leads to "administrative determinism," a social position that has "created a reduction of alternatives in decision-making processes at all levels within communities under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act." (Carstens 1971: 127)

This process of bureaucratic encapsulation is suspected to have begun with the system of Indian agents and have become internalized with the formation of Indian Act band government. It is possible to view the development of such roles as being an essential part of the external bureaucracy responsible for the administration of Indian Affairs. As described by LaRusic and Bouchard, the contradiction of the federal government's role in this regard becomes evident (in Nagata 1987: 68):

> The price of the special relationship with the government (by means of special status) is to permit its bureaucracy to define, through a necessary process of reduction and narrowing. . . that which it seeks to protect. That is the unescapable [sic] reverse Midas touch of a bureaucracy. It is not mere whimsy nor cynicism to state the reality: the power to define the "We" can never be

> relinquished to the "Other," and therein lies the contradiction of a bureaucracy which pretends to speak of reinforcing the cultural identity of its charge. For it can only incorporate them as part of the bureaucratic "We."

Similar to the way in which the value system of the social contract was imposed upon First Nations, structural characteristics of this system were imposed in the form of legislated political organization and bureaucratic administration. First Nations derive their political powers from federal legislation, subjecting them to the "reverse midas touch of bureaucracy" mentioned by LaRusic and Bouchard. Similarly, Alfred argues: "The structural integration and professionalization of Native politics within a bureaucratic framework controlled, financially and politically, by the state is the main reason for the persistence of the colonial mentality." (Alfred 1999:70) A constitutional recognition of First Nations as a third order of government is the only means of reconciling the problems associated with bureaucratic encapsulation. Pan-Indian organizations know this fact well, and attempted to obtain such constitutional recognition during the development of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The inability of the prevailing liberal-democratic social contract model to accommodate group rights reduced the recognition of Aboriginal right to protecting individual privilege – the special status that the federal bureaucracy both protects and defines.

The argument that First Nations are bureaucratically encapsulated does not necessarily imply that they are without political power and that their governments function as mere agents of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). On the contrary, many communities have become exceptionally creative and resourceful in working within this climate of political, administrative and cultural contradiction. Colson argues that political institutions "...should not be

thought of as integrated systems where the various elements mutually reinforce each other. However defined, political systems are alive with contradictions. Those who live within them do not see them as perfect solutions to their problems, and are always tinkering with them in response to shifting circumstances." (Colson 1986: 15) Problems of contradiction are therefore not unique to First Nation governments, but the types of problems encountered are.

Tribal courts are proving to be successful vehicles for determining and codifying cultural values within First Nations communities. Miller has researched the development of Tribal Code (law) among the Coast Salish, and has identified ways in which Tribal courts have grappled with reconciling compact and contract social values through "...the neotraditional application of indigenous values to contemporary problems." (Miller 1997:300) In the political and administrative realm, Cassidy and Bish (1989) have outlined how self-government is emerging in an un-negotiated form as First Nations assume responsibilities outside of their legislated jurisdiction. For the purposes of this research however, the question remains as to how bureaucratic encapsulation initially defines and affects the leadership system in First Nation communities.

Bureaucratic encapsulation has fostered the creation of an administrative and bureaucratic elite within many First Nations. Long has argued that "The relatively weak position of band councils and the quasi-colonial relationship between Indians and DIAND reflect a situation where the tribal bureaucracy has become the dominant political institution on most plains Indian reserves." (Long 1990: 767) Bureaucratic encapsulation therefore acts as a check on the political powers of chief and council, as the local administration has links that run to both DIAND and to the community and its elected officials. "The band manager, who is the chief administrative officer

on the reserve rivals the chief and council in real decision-making authority, even though this office is subordinate to the chief and council in the organizational hierarchy of band government." (Long 1990: 767) Further, Anders has argued that the bureaucratic elite in many reserve communities has stifled the potential for community development because the decision-making process is necessarily top-down. (Anders in Elias 1990: 147) Often, the band government will be the largest employer in a reserve community, and band governments have grown drastically over the past few decades, assuming more control over programs and services. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) has estimated that for 1986, nation-wide, approximately 45 percent of the experienced on-reserve labour force was employed in local public administration. (INAC. 1990: v.)

Positions in local administration are highly prized in First Nations communities for a number of reasons. Scarcity of year-round employment opportunities in many communities makes such positions desirable, but further, they carry more power than similar positions in municipal organizations. As ethnic corporations, First Nation communities exercise powers through their bureaucracy that essentially define the culture of the community. Individuals have more than an interest in decisions concerning collective property, programs and resources – they have a stake in the outcome. As such, the ideal type of legal authority outlined by Weber, typified by the encapsulating bureaucracy, is fundamentally incompatible with the principles and values of social compact society, many of which are built into legislation defining the legal nature of reserve communities. Of ten principles listed by Denhardt that form the basis of legal authority in the Weberian Ideal type of bureaucracy, all are easily violated of necessity in First Nation communities, particularly the principle that "Officials work entirely separated from ownership of the means of administration and without appropriation of their positions." (Denhardt: 1993: 34)

Taiaiake Alfred, a 'Kanien'kehaka' (Mohawk) scholar, has elaborated on how the bureaucratic ideal is incompatible with traditional social compact leadership: (Alfred: 1999: 139)

> The bureaucratic style sees the 'office' as the primary form of authority: anti-historic and immoral in the extreme, it is concerned with maintaining control according to abstract regulations and fulfilling its mandate within the legal system to which it owes its existence. The bureaucratic form has six essential features: (1) dependence on formal procedures; (2) hierarchy; (3) tension between protocol and real life; (4) endless deferral; (5) subordination of speech to writing; and (6) substitution of the bureaucratic persona for real personality and accountability. For the bureaucrat, rules are tokens of powers; order is maintained through an elaborate system of assigned jurisdictions, appointments, and offices, with the 'top' of a pyramidal structure defining the 'ideal' in terms of both power and right; psychological insecurity is a constant feature because life can never be as perfectly regulated as the bureaucratic system; there is strict reliance on the authority of written documentation because words and people cannot be trusted; and the anonymous façade of the 'office' becomes a shield that protects its holder from having to interact with people on the strength of his or her own character and skills as leader, while the imperatives of office serve as convenient substitutes for thinking and morality.

Alfred's words capture how the imposed political and administrative structures appear to someone with a traditional perspective. From this perspective, band bureaucracies operate as encapsulated organizations, designed and held to a code of standard that is incompatible with the local social environment in which they operate.

Local elected officials are affected by the encapsulation of the community in many ways. Of prime importance is the fact that "...the social perquisites of office, such as they are, come to chiefs from outside the community, and candidates for chieftainship know this very well." (Carstens 1987: 14) This situation is not unique to First Nation leaders. Lewin observed that "minority group leaders tend to be on the periphery of their group and within the orbit of the dominant group's influence." (Lewin in Boldt 1980:21) As such, the most probable candidates for chief would be those who obtained schooling and professional experience outside the community – in effect, those who have left and later returned to the reserve. Supporting this thesis are data compiled by Miller in his research of women in Upper Skagit tribal politics. Miller discovered that the most probable candidates for chief were "technocrats." He reasoned that such candidates were apt to be viewed with a certain degree of neutrality with regard to community politics – they possessed the skills necessary to navigate the external system, while often lacking association with a large family within the community. (Miller 1994: 29) As argued earlier, those in the position of chief must be able to forge relationships with the external bureaucracy, while at the same time being critical of that very bureaucracy in the eyes of community members. "Thus, survival as an Indian leader requires special qualities of personality and unique social skills." (Mackie in Boldt 1980:21) To be successful, the leader must learn and adopt ways of the dominant society in order to bring about desired change for his or her community, but in so doing, the leader faces the risk of being rejected by his or her own people. Chiefs fall under close scrutiny from their communities because of their liaison with the "outside world." Their loyalty to the community is often monitored because the also make for career opportunities off-reserve.

Much of the reason for constant surveillance of chiefs comes from the overwhelming preference of First Nations people for leadership based on service as opposed to charisma. "In contrast to White society, where leadership commonly implies innate qualities of a more universal nature, for Indians the criterion of leadership is "service," that is, the ability and willingness to do a specific and essential job for their people." (Boldt 1980: 21) This criterion of leadership can pose problems for chiefs as they are judged through the eyes of community members. Lurie has observed that "all it takes sometimes is for the press to single out an Indian leader for special praise as doing a good job and the leader is accused of greed, achieving fame at the tribe's expense." (Lurie 1986: 58) As such, the position of chief is constructed as a duty or obligation in many First Nation communities. In this regard, the selection of leaders is influenced by tradition. While the process remains political, candidates are often encouraged to run for the position, and those that accept the role make personal sacrifices to this end. Regarding the position of chief, Crowfoot has stated that: "It is too much to ask of one's family, especially if you feel that your sacrifices on behalf of the tribe are not appreciated by the tribe. In addition, it is a big financial sacrifice. When I first took office I took almost a 60% cut in pay to be chief and had to do outside teaching and consulting to meet my financial commitments." (Crowfoot 1997: 301)

Because of their position as culture brokers in an encapsulated system, chiefs have responsibilities to their constituents, and also to the federal department. "The chief, in his role as chief, has two clusters of "role others" with which he must interact. Each cluster of "role others" has expectations of the chief that are opposite and irreconcilable insofar as his rights and duties are concerned." (Kupferer 1966: 68) Kupferer referred to the position of chief as a "modal role." Compounding this difficulty is the presence of colonial role others such as priests, nurses, RCMP officers and other agents who function directly within the encapsulated community. In such a

situation, conflicting expectations can be held with regard to the chief, forcing the leader to function in what Kupferer has called a "modal role." While meeting the expectations of one group, the other group is subordinated relative to the decision of the chief. The outcome can only be dissatisfaction of one group, and frustration on behalf of the leader. For example, band housing is considered a community resource and most First Nations experience a housing shortage and have a long waiting list. An outsider such as a teacher or a nurse associated with the colonial bureaucracy enters the community and is housed immediately. Conversely, that external agent may have a position for an assistant, and request that the chief hire a certain individual with whom the agent has become familiar and who is the best qualified for the position. The chief, for political and cultural reasons, may be obliged to offer the position to another person, as it is the turn of a different family to receive the benefit of employment in the local administration.

The expectations of community members can often contradict their actions. This situation creates problems for leaders, as they end up being judged according to false criteria. For example, people will claim that they want an educated leader, but then accuse the chief of selling out to the colonial society. Similarly, people will press the chief to create employment opportunities in the community, but fail to show up for work once hired. (Crowfoot 1997: 308) This contradiction would appear to hold true in some situations where community members accuse the chief of being too close to the federal bureaucracy, but at the same time make claims against the chief for benefits of special status that are administered by the local government. Crowfoot has argued that the chief is "...expected to be a servant and a father figure who takes care of his "children's" every need. That colonial dependent mindset comes through when individual tribal members come to chief and council and ask for such things as medicine, a new

water softener, a clothes washer or dryer, or even a vehicle." (Crowfoot 1997: 308) The small size of many reserve communities results in personal or even family relationships between chief and constituent. This situation makes it difficult, if not impossible, for a leader to dodge accusations of nepotism or favouritism.

The duality of roles created by bureaucratic encapsulation is depicted by conflicting expectations of accountability, responsibility, leadership style, political process and social protocol. Carstens (1991: 235) elaborates on how "hazardous" the office of chief can be:

> In theory, the chief stands at the apex of the band. But such a position is impossible to maintain, and he has to face constant criticism for his inevitable failure to create a little utopia in the white man's space. Band members moreover, are constantly involved in a process of re-evaluating their positions within the context of their faction and family networks, and in coming to terms with their attitudes toward local government, pan-Indianism, the Department of Indian Affairs, land claims, the Canadian constitution, and other matters of current concern. Thus, if chiefs often fail to be re-elected, the answer lies not in personal inadequacies, but rather in the sociological and ideological positions they occupy in the community. The office of chief is predictably hazardous.

For reasons cited above, the office of chief is "predictably hazardous" as it is subtended between two categories of role others with conflicting demands and expectations. It would stand to reason that in such circumstances, the re-election of incumbents for office of chief would be rare. The frustration and sacrifice of the experience could deter some incumbents from running again, and the double standards held by community members with regard to the position of chief would

probably lead to the sponsoring of new candidates through the system of traditional encouragement. Further, the ethic of non-intervention can leave community leaders without feedback necessary to their role. As stated by Alfred: "Indians won't criticize other Indians no matter how bad they are." According to Alfred, this allows leaders to appear as if they are being co-opted, when in reality, "they are really just selling out." (Alfred 1999: 67) Based on their research in the Blood and Peigan reserves in Alberta, Long and Boldt discovered that re-election rates were much lower in the two reserve communities than they were in neighbouring communities. They also observed that the main reason for incumbent turnover in the reserves was defeat, whereas the reason in bordering non-Indian localities was a decision by incumbents not to stand for re-election. (Long and Boldt 1987: 111)

Figure 4.4.2 Summary: Bureaucratic Encapsulation Facets and Aspects

Category And Facet	**Aspect of Facet**
Bureaucratic Encapsulation	
Prerequisites for Office	External
Leadership Criterion	Service
	Charismatic
Return Rate	High Turnover
Bureaucracy	Elite
Accusations	"Selling-Out"
	Nepotism

4.5 Economic Determinism

If the theory of bureaucratic encapsulation can explain the political component of First Nation leadership systems, then the primary functions of the role of chief become externally determined. These functions include communication and negotiation (brokerage), management and administration of programs, preserve of the status quo, the allocation of public goods and services, and securing funding for special projects. Much of the activity of chiefs can be described economically through their allocative role, and in many First Nation communities, band government administers transfer payments such as social assistance and dividends from federally managed band trust accounts. Data generated by the Department of Indian Affairs for 1989 revealed that registered Indians were twice as likely as the overall Canadian population to be recipients of government transfer payments. (INAC 1989: 15) Such conditions have led to programs for local economic development in many communities to combat what is often referred to as "government dependency," yet "decentralization and the promotion of "self-government" notwithstanding, dependence upon central governments does not appear to have lessened to any appreciable extent." (Nagata 1987:62) The issue of economic transfer has implications on the leadership system from two levels: that of the band as an administrative unit (political), and that of the individuals in the community whose lives and attitudes are affected (social and psychological). Regardless of the best theoretical explanation, the allocative function of the role of chief affects leadership, and as such forms a component of the leadership system.

As political and administrative units, band governments have never gone through an organizational learning process that would enable them to be proficient at money management. This is not to argue that some are not, or that others are incapable, but rather that the nature of

bureaucratic encapsulation can easily trap band governments into the cycle of bureaucratic economics. In such a cycle, any surplus at the end of a fiscal year is deducted from operating budget for the next. Clearly, most band councils operate in an environment of short-term budget planning, dealing with uncertainty regarding the longevity of program funding. The quick lesson to learn in such a system is to overspend and pad expenses so that more resources are allocated for the following year. Crowfoot has observed that the "squeaky wheel gets the grease" when it comes to securing funding from Ottawa for First Nations, and the overall effect of this approach is to reward mismanagement and punish management in reserve government. (Crowfoot 1997: 320) In addition to the short-term funding situation, the federal government in its capacity as trustee has always managed (or mismanaged, in some cases) band resource revenues. One effect of this relationship has been the further stifling of band government organizational learning with regard to financial management.

The 1998 Federal Auditor General's report indicated that financial mismanagement was rife in 167 of the 585 First Nations in Canada (approximately thirty percent of all bands). During that year, 15 bands had their financial management transferred to third parties, while another 27 had their finances co-managed with Ottawa. (National Post 1999) The report indicated that such problems were the result of Ottawa's inadequate system for the investigation of allegations of mismanagement and corruption in band government. While a more effective system to deal with accusations would tend to open the door for a more transparent style of governance at the band level, it cannot address the structural problems that create the environment for distrust and mismanagement. Further, such an approach does nothing to explain the dynamics of the 418 bands that were successfully operating in the black. To overcome some of these problems and to further self-government, Ottawa has responded to demands for more financial responsibility by

entering into flexible funding and five-year budgeting arrangements with some bands. Many bands, however, are not yet prepared to assume such responsibilities but are encouraged to do so. It would appear that in some cases the federal government's dump-and-run tactics have solved small problems by creating larger ones.

The allocative role of chief greatly affects the nature of the leadership position. Much of a chief's time can be spent away from the community negotiating for project funding. When at home, more time is consumed writing grants for new projects and programs, or renewing applications for existing ones. The system of grantsmanship has the overall effect of creating competition among and between bands for limited project funding. As a result, leaders are often hesitant to discuss their plans with their counterparts in other First Nation communities. The effect of this is divisive, and serves to prevent communicative processes for shared learning experiences. At the local level, people observe the chief's absence from the community for extended periods of time, and this observation can fuel accusations that the chief is "living the high life" and has become detached from the community.

Economic aspects of the bureaucratic relationship with the federal department affect leadership in a number of ways. All too often, the demands of the federal department are incongruent with the expectations and needs of the community. Lurie has described how these conflicts can lead to turnover not only in local elected officials, but also in the clerical and support positions in band government (Lurie 1986: 50):

> As the tribal bureaucracy remains employed doing ever less productive paperwork while more of the rank and file are thrown out of work, tribal governments—whether called councils or business committees—are under

> enormous pressures to use strictly programmed funding for purposes the community or segments of the community consider more pressing needs. Because there never is enough money and it is impossible to satisfy everybody, confidence in tribal leadership is undercut and many tribes experience frequent turnover of elected personnel and consequent turnover of clerical staff hired by each previous regime. Books become muddled because of lack of continuity of people in charge.

The above quote reinforces problems faced by chiefs as they function in a modal role. It also alludes to issues of trust and patronage based on kinship that emerge in face-to-face communities. Socio-economic conditions in many First Nation communities can lead to the "it's our turn" phenomenon with regard to leadership in band government (Crowfoot 1997: 314) where a different family takes a turn at managing community affairs. This indicates that local leadership is viewed as an economic opportunity in some First Nation communities (which it very well may be), but also indicates a lack of understanding of both the complexity and functions of the leadership role.

At the individual level, Indian attitudes toward money have been formed by the contradictions of contract and compact social values. In traditional First Nation society, production was determined by social category. The ethic of cultural sharing prevented overt stratification within communities. Ceremonies such as the potlatch and the sundance provided for the redistribution of wealth, reinforcing the network of relations and responsibilities that formed the foundation of the social compact. The role of economic production in traditional society is described by Nugent (1993: 337) in relation to that of society with capitalist economy:

> Production as a distinct realm is not recognizable as such but rather is subsumed by broader social institutions that prefigure and transcend it. What happens in production is therefore secondary to *nonproductive* considerations—considerations of kin group, gender, age, and other broad social categories. The priority of these more inclusive social institutions ensures that production has no "life of its own," and thus the relationship of production to other social domains is the reverse of that in capitalism. It becomes an effect rather than a cause.

As "effect," there is no stigma associated with receiving money under the values of the compact social system. In such a system, the emphasis of social value is on *giving* rather than upon *earning*. In contract society, "those who depend on welfare money are suspected of shiftlessness. Indian people do not have the same emotional reactions as whites about giving and receiving money....they do not see money as ritually unclean nor do they seem equivocal about it." (Lurie 1986: 52) As jobs can be culturally secondary to social relations, cultural difference can explain how Indian people are often observed by non-Indians as being unmotivated and unreliable in the labour force. Cultural difference can also explain a general lack of entrepreneurial activity on reserves, and how upstart capital for private ventures could be scarce, given that "saving" does not form part of the traditional Indian social and economic value system.

In traditional First Nation culture, the act of receiving money is not shameful. Welfare, as an *individual entitlement*, however, did not exist within traditional First Nation society. With regard to the introduction of social assistance in First Nations communities, Paine has claimed that "It might be called welfare colonialism, which should suggest, correctly, the connection it has with centre-periphery relations generally." (Paine 1977: 3) As a form of dependency, both

First Nations and their members have experienced the imposition of values of liberal democracy, imposed directly through economic transfer. As an entitlement bestowed upon citizens by a sovereign state, the extent to which social assistance is incompatible with traditional First Nation culture is self-evident, as are the implications of the individual and organizational confusion that has resulted. The "support" derives from outside the community, and is provided as a matter of individual right without entailing any form of responsibility. The colonial process, coupled with its extension of "economic deterministic" benefits, has created a situation where "it is now very difficult to break the mindset of abdicated responsibility for looking after one-self" in First Nation communities. (Crowfoot 1997: 318) This "abdicated responsibility" has been called the "Indian agent mindset," the "colonial mindset" and the "entitlement mindset," all of which are depicted by an ingrained belief that "the government will take care of us because we are Indian." (Crowfoot. 1997: 318). However described, this mindset creates a plethora of problems for community leaders.

The allocative role of chief and council can be problematic in face-to-face communities, simply because chief and council generally know all the families in the community, if not all community members on a personal level. Local government is charged with the responsibility of determining who gets what and how much of things such as welfare, housing, and employment opportunities within the community. Crowfoot examines how the dependency mindset can affect a chief's ability to be fair, and to be viewed as fair by community members (Crowfoot 1997: 317):

> Regardless of one's level of wealth or poverty, the reserve resident who has an entitlement mindset views himself as having an equal right to the benefit of housing provided by the tribe. Thus, reserve politics come to involve a much greater *preoccupation with allocative fairness* than do politics in most non-

> Native municipalities. This is the most difficult part of the job of chief. The community's preoccupation with allocative fairness leaves the leaders having to balance the needs and wants of different sectors of the community, probably to a much greater extent than is true for most non-Native politicians in communities of similar size. The concept of need as a driving force behind the conferral of benefits on reserve, if not subordinated to notions of rights or entitlement, is certainly compromised significantly in First Nations politics.

The above quotation reveals how encapsulated chief and council are with regard to their role as the distributors of public goods. In this role, they are easily criticized as being too closely aligned with the federal government. Further, the way in which the conferral of benefits is constructed as individual right makes it very difficult for chief and council to perform their allocative role in a manner that is more typical of traditional community values. As such, local government leaders are caught in a dilemma created by conflicting values and expectations of community members. Leaders are often accused of being too "white," while at the same time prevented from using "Indian" values in their allocative role. Allocative decisions rooted in traditional values are easily labeled "unjust" by community members because of the individual rights and entitlements granted to them by the colonial system. For community leaders, balancing principles of fairness, family, merit, need, community, tradition, development and entitlement is virtually impossible without community consensus on what principles have greatest intrinsic value.

Economic determinism can impact a First Nation leadership system by creating a climate of resistance to change. This climate reinforces the bureaucratic encapsulation of community

organization, and essentially, if permitted, de-politicizes local government. At the individual level, depicted by group identity, economic determinism creates what Almond has defined as a "subject political culture," in which people fear change because of a belief that any deviation from the status quo will affect special status -- the status that creates entitlement for certain subsistence benefits. (Almond in Long 1990: 768) It should be noted here that it is the "status" that is perceived as being in jeopardy, not simply the "benefits" of status. Although status is a product of the colonial experience, it entails more than economic benefit – it includes notions of identity that are grounded in shared experiences that are unique to First Nation people. It is for this reason that "dependency" is a misleading explanation for the colonial relationship with First Nations, and for the economic conditions experienced by many Indian people.

In rejection of the dependency thesis, it could easily be argued that the colonial government is dependant upon the land and resources "shared" by First Nations under treaty, and usurped from those Nations who either refused or with whom were never treated. Further, the dependency thesis provides a purely economic explanation of the "stay option": why so many First Nation people remain in or return to their communities. Such an explanation fails to incorporate the structural conditioning of bureaucratic encapsulation and economic determinism, and further fails to recognize the way in which individuality is defined and reinforced by community and sense of place in traditional First Nations social systems. Financial independence in and of itself is not a sufficient condition for community development and prosperity. Some First Nations with resource-based wealth such as the "oil-rich" bands in Alberta discovered this, as they witnessed community problems accelerate in a climate of economic prosperity. Something more is obviously required to restore harmony and balance in such communities. This point is made clear by Alfred, who states that "it is one thing to see money as a competitive lever and a measure

of collective strength; it is quite another to see self-government as an exercise in accessing financial resources, or the accumulation of wealth as an end in itself." (Alfred 1999: 114)

Figure 4.5.1 Summary: Economic Determinism Facets and Aspects

Category And Facet	**Aspect of Facet**
Economic Determinism	
Function	Allocative
Fiscal Management	Balanced
Grantsmanship	Red-Tape
Values Toward Money	Giving/Sharing
	Earning
Social Assistance	Stigma
Selection Criteria/Jobs	Merit
	Need
	Political
Accusations	"High Life"
	Conflict of Interest

5.0 Case Study

Literature and theory presented in Chapter Four were used to guide the field research, as outlined in Figure 3.5.1 entitled Approach to Analysis. This interplay between the ideas in the literature and the data from both exploratory phases of fieldwork permitted existing research to guide some aspects of inquiry, while allowing the emerging data to do the same. In this Chapter, the community for the case study will be described, the approach to data analysis will be revisited, and data will be presented and then analyzed.

As indicated in the methodology chapter of this thesis, the data will be presented in a manner that does not reveal the identity of the reserve. One comment made by a person in the community serves to further justify this method: "*My son could lose his job because I spoke to you . . . depending on what you do with the information.*" Given the adopted approach of anonymity for the community, it was necessary to develop a name to refer to the reserve for use in this chapter. Not being satisfied with possibilities that emerged, the analysis and writing continued, using a generic term. There was an expectation that a name would come to the researcher as the work progressed. As the analysis continued and the uniqueness of the community in relation to the "outside world" was unpacked, it seemed appropriate to apply a pseudonym that captured this difference. The noun "islet," meaning something that stands out in relation to its surroundings, captures this difference and will be used to refer to the case study community in this thesis.

Islet is typical of many small communities where one waves to others as they drive by, or stops to say hello. Throughout the day, there was a small congregation of people outside the band

administration building, chatting and catching up with family and friends. While a stranger was readily welcomed to the community, it took some time for people to open up, and to trust their words being shared. *"It takes people a long time to trust here,"* acknowledged one person. Some people in the community were not comfortable in conversations that related to the research. It is being assumed that others spoke with similar mind, and that most perspectives on leadership issues in the community emerged over the course of the study.

5.1 Description of Community

In Chapter three outlining the research design for this project, the rationale for preserving the anonymity of the community was presented. Describing a community without identifying it poses certain challenges. Any descriptive information provided could be used to determine where Islet is. Without a snapshot of the community, however, the data will lack a context, and lose meaning as a result. An attempt has been made to provide sufficient information about Islet so that data can be contextualized. What follows is a brief description of the community, its people, land, resources and organization. Specifics that would make the community easily identifiable have been omitted. Where numeric data are used, they have been rounded.

Islet has a long history of contact with "outsiders," and its people, to quote the chief, are a *"forward-looking group."* One of the most striking features of Islet is its openness and familiarity with outsiders. Historically, amicable relations were established early in the region between colonizers and the indigenous peoples. Ancestors of this nation were among the first to convert to Christianity in the 'New World,' their Grand Chief being baptized in the first decade of the seventeenth century. A Catholic mission was established in Islet at the beginning of the

nineteenth century. At this time, the land was held privately by title, although it was occupied and used by Aboriginal people. Approximately seventy years later, the land was conveyed by the owners to the Aboriginal Protection Society of London England, establishing the land as a "special reserve" for the use and benefit of the Indians of the region. Approximately forty years later, title was transferred to the Crown, and the reserve became a federal trust.

While ties to the colonial society go back further in Islet than they do in many other regions of the country, the community did not escape the all-too-prevalent problems associated with assimilation – loss of Aboriginal identity, residential schooling experience, racial discrimination, family violence and alcoholism. In the current context, however, there is something about Islet when compared to other reserve communities. According to the chief, it is *"the best managed band in the region,"* and the level of infrastructure in the community serves as testimony to this fact. While change has been in the works for a number of decades now, the transformation has not been free of controversy. Some in the community feel that development has been driven by money at the expense of character, identity and tradition.

The band occupies a Crown vested reserve under 900 hectares in size. The reserve consists of a number of Islands, the largest of which serves as home to the community (approximately 500 hectares). The reserve, while rural, could not be called isolated, and is within 50km of an urban centre offering full amenities. Islet is also a short drive to a smaller town offering most services (post office, grocery, banking, retail). All 80 housing units on the reserve have running water, septic tile and electricity. Most houses are on small lots, and are heated using wood and/or oil. Recently constructed homes have been planned in ring-road format, giving the community a modern village appearance that is unusual in reserve communities. This village feeling is

reinforced by the cluster of communal facilities at the crossroads of the reserve. Easily visible are the Band administration building, housing offices for local government and a gymnasium. A school and playground, church and manse, cemetery, teacher's residence, ball field, fire hall, wharf and fisheries office, adult learning centre, pump-house, and maintenance shop surround the administration building.

While socio-demographic statistics are limited in what can be conveyed due to the size of the community, some will be presented here as percentages in an attempt to create a rough picture of the composition of the community. Readers should be cautioned, as the band council developed the collection methodologies and compiled some of the data being presented. As such, the data do not necessarily conform to standardized methodologies and indicators used by statistical agencies that have traditionally compiled data on Aboriginal people -- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Statistics Canada, or the Medical Services Branch of Health and Welfare Canada. For example, those with the charge of compiling the data thought it appropriate to include full-time students in their "labour force," a methodological approach that is not used by Statistics Canada. For an elaboration of the emerging data requirements and collection methodologies for First Nations, and the problems associated with existing data-sets, see Le Dressay 1994, Wright 1993, Hull 1984, and Gadacz 1991.

Of total band membership (650), slightly more people were living off-reserve (53 percent) than were living on-reserve (47 percent). Approximately eight percent of people living on-reserve were non-Aboriginal. As is typical of First Nation communities, roughly one-half of the on-reserve population was under the age of 25. Of what they considered to be the labour force, approximately 20 percent were employed directly by the Band in full-time or contract positions.

Data provided by Statistics Canada for 1996 indicates an on-reserve population one-third less than that reported by band council for the following year. While census data compiled on First Nations have been criticized for undercounting, some basic community data have been presented with provincial comparisons to provide a rough profile (Table 5.5.1).

Table 5.1.1 Socio-Demographics of Community

Characteristic	**Community**	**Province**
Population*		
On-Reserve	*300*	N/A
Off-Reserve	*350*	N/A
On-Reserve	200	N/A
Labour Force		
Unemployment Rate	40	15
Participation Rate	70	70
Education (% 25 years of age and over, highest level of attainment)		
less than grade nine	25	15
high school certificate or higher	55	60
trades or non-university certificate/diploma or higher	40	40
completed university	10	15
Language		
% with Aboriginal language(s) first learned and still understood	18	N/A
% with knowledge of Aboriginal language(s)	13	N/A

Italics denote data provided by Band Council, 1997. All other data are from Statistics Canada 1996 Census.
*To permit anonymity of the community, all figures have been rounded.

Labour force indicators for Islet reveal that community members participate at approximately the same rate (70 percent) as their provincial counterparts (70 percent). However, people in Islet experience much higher unemployment (40 percent) than others in the province (15 percent). The younger population in Islet could affect these indicators, as could seasonal employment opportunities. Further, sharing of job opportunities within the community (common in many First Nations) allows for higher participation rates and more access to federal employment insurance benefits. Education data reveal that people age 25 and over in Islet were almost as well educated as the overall provincial population based on highest level of attainment. As an indicator of traditional culture, the census data revealed that 31 percent of people in Islet were familiar to some degree with an Aboriginal language. Thirteen percent had knowledge of an Aboriginal language, while 18 percent had an Aboriginal language as their mother-tongue.

There are numerous natural resources in Islet, and a greater number of perspectives on how such resources should be harvested and managed. The largest such resource is found in the marine ecosystem, where lobster, fish, eel and shellfish are harvested. Two fisheries exist in the community – the food fishery, providing each member of the band access to resources for personal consumption, and a communal commercial fishery. The food fishery is a treaty right. Licenses for the commercial fishery are held by the First Nation, and are granted by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO). Management of both fisheries is provided locally by a volunteer Fisheries Authority. The authority works in conjunction with DFO, and oversees two

community Fisheries Guardians. Guardians provide conservation, enforcement and education services for the community in conjunction with DFO.

Other natural resources in the community include numerous acres of birch and spruce mixed forest, abundant wild blueberries, raspberries, huckleberries and choke cherries, peat, gravel, brick clay and coal. While forestry resources in the community have not been utilized, the band has participated in the First Nations Forestry Program, developing a forestry management plan anticipating future development of an eco-tourism industry. Peat is no longer harvested on reserve land. However, a community enterprise operates an extraction, processing and packaging industry off-reserve on leased land. The same enterprise operates a seasonal blueberry harvest of approximately 100 acres. This operation yielded 6,000 kg of fruit in 1995.

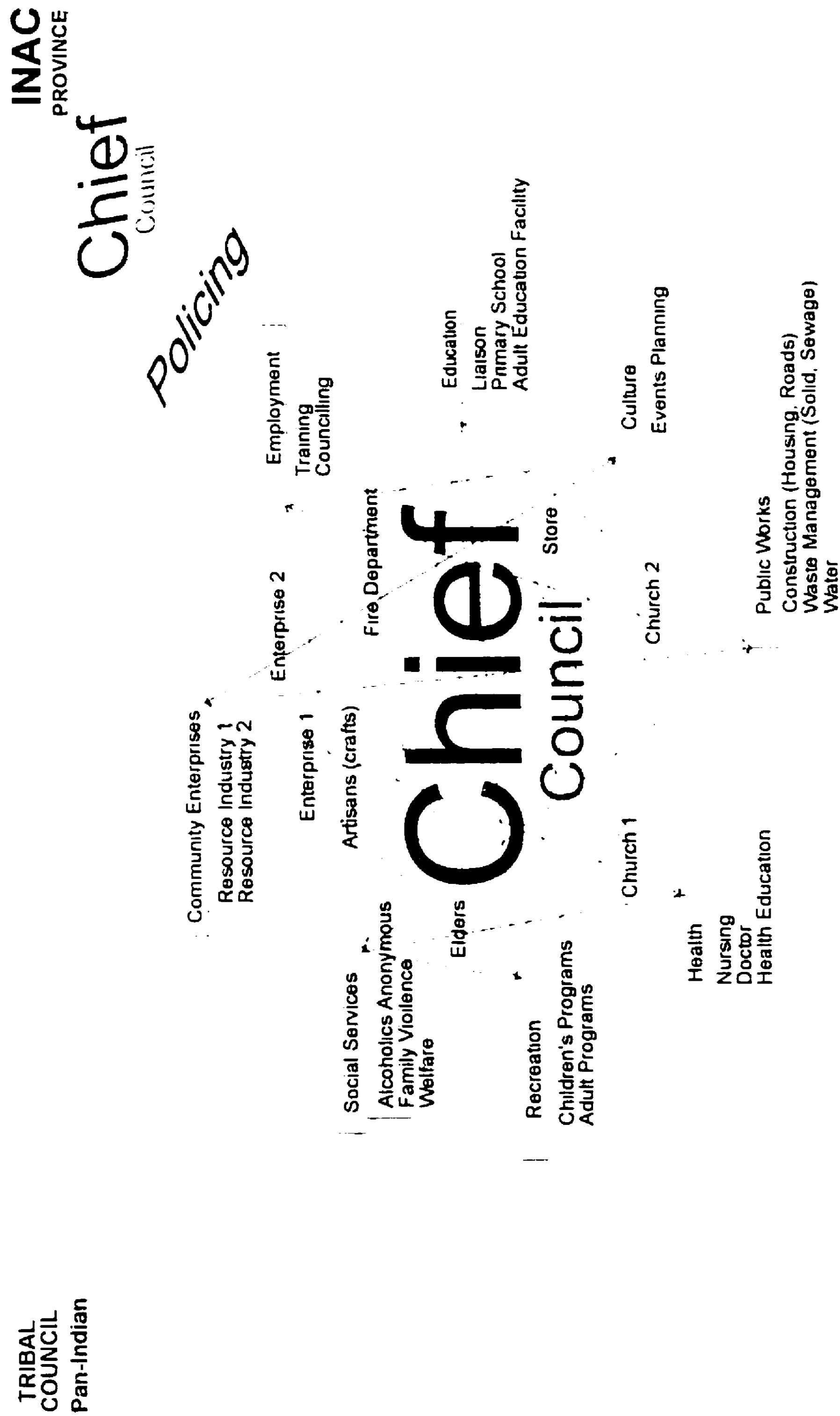
Islet is organized politically by Indian Act band government, comprised of one chief and two councillors elected by custom. Elections for chief are held every three years, while councillors hold office for two. During the time fieldwork was conducted, the Chief was in his 25th year of leadership, being returned to office eight successive times. Band Council administers and manages the operating budgets for the following programs: housing, roads, water, sewage, health, social assistance, alcohol and drug awareness, recreation, culture, education, employment, and natural resources, including the Fishery and a Forest Management Plan. In addition to managing the above-noted services in the community, Band Council liaises with a number of external governments, bureaucracies, and associations. Relations with the Federal Department of Indian Affairs (INAC) form only the beginning of a long list of external relations. Islet is associated with a Tribal Council consisting of four bands. The Council is primarily used to secure funding

for shared resources such as a legal advisor to council, who works in each community on a rotating basis.

Policing is provided in Islet by the RCMP through a tripartite agreement between the RCMP, the Band and the Province. Health services, dental and eye-care are provided by Health and Welfare Canada. The provision of social services involves liaison with the Province, Family and Child Services, and INAC. Education involves transfer payments from the Province, and liaison with INAC for post-secondary funding grants. Adding to this list of external relations are both provincial and federal departments that regulate and manage natural resources.

In addition to formal local government operations, there are a number of private and public organizations and activities in Islet. There are two churches, and three private retail operations (one being the community store). Numerous artisans apply their trade to the making of traditional crafts such as basket-making and the harvesting and drying of sweetgrass. The various internal activities of both community members and band council have been presented in Figure 5.1.2 in the form of a Community Model. The model was designed to show the complex web, or matrix of interrelations, between organizations and activities in the community. The strong role played by chief and council in all community activities has been demonstrated by positioning the band government (primarily the chief) in the midst of the matrix.

Figure 5.1.2 Community Organization Model



5.2 Data Categories and Rounds of Analysis

As described in section 3.6 (Actual Implementation of the Methodology), the data were analyzed in three separate rounds. Categories forming each round are presented in Figure 5.2.1.

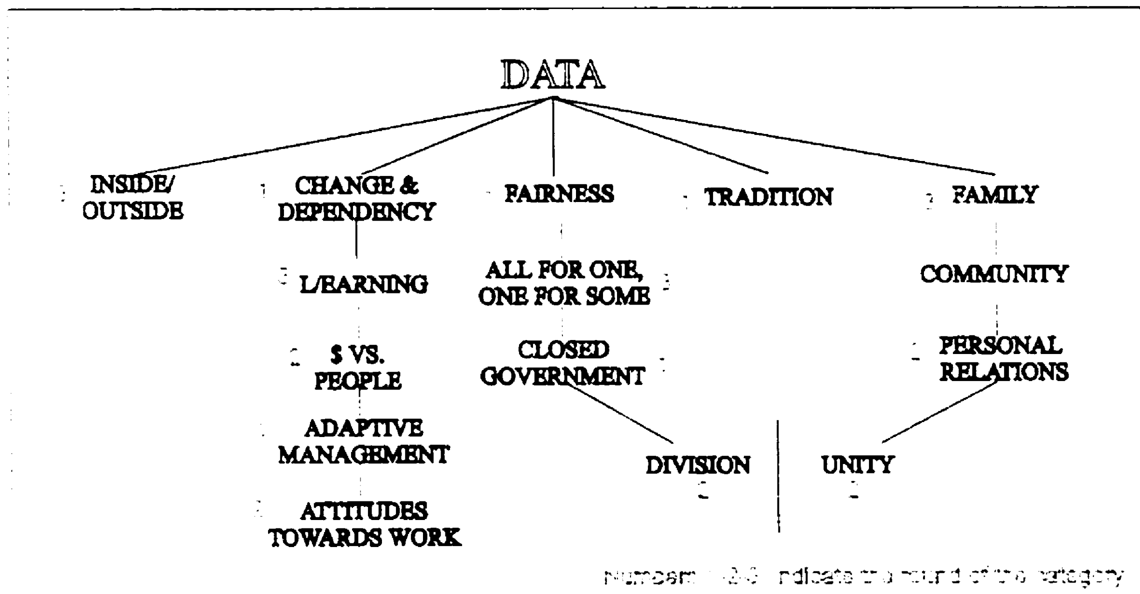
Figure 5.2.1 Data Categories of Repeated Analysis

Round One	Round Two	Round Three
Community	Personal Relations	Family
Tradition	Attitudes Toward Work	All for One and One for Some
Adaptive Management	Money vs. People	Inside/Outside
Closed Government	Unity	L/Earning
Fairness	Division	
Change & Dependency		

In section 3.6 of the Methodology Chapter, the decision to present and analyze the data according to these three rounds was both described and defended. An attempt was made to apply the conventional qualitative methodology to the data by grouping the categories of these three rounds according likeness of quality. Using the ICA technique, this task was completed. The outcome is presented as Figure 5.2.2 (Grouping Like Categories From Different Analysis). This method identifies the strongest themes in the data, such as tradition, change and modernity, justice and individual and group relations. Further, this approach permits a more traditional application of

the methodology to the data. Clustering categories from different rounds can serve as a means of testing the categories for internal convergence and external divergence.

Figure 5.2.2 Grouping Like Categories From Different Analysis



While approaching the data presentation and analysis by clustering categories of rounds has methodological benefits, the question remained as to whether it was the best fit for the data. This approach would in effect reverse some of the refined ways in which the data were organized during each round. Which approach would permit the data to speak most strongly? After comparing the options, it was determined that presentation and analysis by round provided a better fit with the data. Such an approach permits the differences in category formation by round to be preserved and examined.

5.3 Data Presentation

Data will be presented in the traditional manner that provides a descriptive account of the data prior to and independent from the analysis. This approach has been adopted because it provides a neater packaging of the ideas being presented. Given that there are three rounds of data analysis, the contents of each round need to be outlined prior to an assessment of the qualities of each round. Once these "small pictures" have been described, their meaning in whole and in part will be examined. While following the traditional approach of presenting the data prior to the analysis usually provides a flow for organization and thought, it can necessitate some redundancy and restating. This situation is compounded by the method of analysis in this context – multiple rounds of categories developed from the same data. Some of the data appear to have multiple meanings, and as such fit into different categories of different rounds of analysis.

Consider for example the story to the right, which describes the experiences of a primary school teacher in Islet. This story speaks to a category from each of the three different rounds of analysis. The tendency for some parents in Islet to blame teachers for the conduct of their children involves a certain degree of denial and blame. As such, this story fits into the change and dependency category of Round One. Direct confrontation, however, is not the preferred mode of criticism in Islet. Under this interpretation of the story, it can be placed in the personal relations category that emerged in Round Two. The fact that the teacher was unfamiliar with community methods of personal interaction speaks to the fact that she was an outsider. Her method of dealing with the situation, while well intentioned, was not of the community and was therefore probably viewed as a threat. This awareness of difference between the outside and the inside fits into the category of the same name from Round Three.

Meet the Teacher

"You have to be patient with these children. They have been through a lot."

Parents in Islet would often blame elementary school teachers for children's behaviour or learning problems. One person observed that teachers who allowed children to run wild in their classrooms were highly regarded by students and parents. This person felt that such a lack of discipline and respect in the classroom mirrored the home-life for many of the children, allowing a certain degree of denial on behalf of parents with regard to their children's behaviour. A new teacher from outside the community attempted to introduce some discipline and respect into the learning environment. Upon confronting parents of problem children, the teacher was singled out as the "problem." Although highly respected by other educators, the teacher was forced to resign.

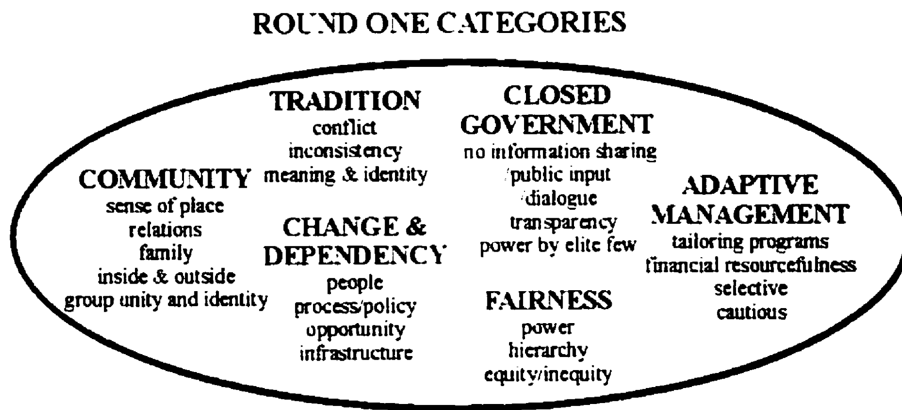
Not only do most data fit into different categories in different rounds, many bits of data could fit into different categories within the same round. The story described in the Fairness category of Round One entitled "Allocation Relocation" describes one person's feelings regarding social assistance policy in Islet. In the first round of analysis, this story speaks to the categories of fairness, community, and change and development. In Round Two of the analysis, the story could be equally weighted in the categories of attitudes toward work, money and people, and division.

While stories are richer in meaning than direct quotations and observations, they serve to demonstrate the extent to which data can speak to multiple categories across rounds of analysis. This feature of the data has an impact upon how it is presented herein. If the supporting data for each category of each round were described as recorded, the data presentation would quickly begin to echo itself. Given this, only the strongest data in support of each category will be presented. Stories and other data previously mentioned in other rounds and categories will be referred to but not repeated. Given this approach, Round One appears richer in data than Round Three, however almost all of the data were categorized in each round.

5.3.1 Round One

Categories from Round One of the analysis and their principal characteristics are outlined in Figure 5.3.1 below.

Figure 5.3.1 Categories From Round One of Analysis



5.3.1.1 Category of Community

There was a new sense of pride and community in Islet that had accompanied recent changes. Regardless of factors that served to create division, community remained a strong concept in Islet. Born of sense of place and history, personal relations, family and Islet's juxtaposition to the outside world, a

> **Unity Amidst Division**
>
> *"That would never happen here."*
>
> Although some groups are more likely to see division than others, it would appear that the people in Islet come together to actively support the betterment of the community. At another tribal reserve in the region, there was an unfinished recreation and administration complex. Apparently, the band experienced cost over-runs with the construction, leaving them with a new facility lacking a floor. When this story was relayed to a person in Islet, she said, *"That would never happen here. People would come together to see that it was completed."*

sense of unifying identity permeated the reserve. As the story "Unity Amidst Division" indicates, people in Islet would rally together for the betterment of their community.

It would appear that the community is made stronger by people's experiences obtained while "away." According to some, knowledge of the outside world is essential for a person to fully understand his or her home and people. Regarding skills and opportunities only available outside the community, the chief stated: *"You have to leave for a while."* Many do leave, for schooling, work or travel. Many also return, bringing their knowledge and understanding back to the community. When leavers were asked why they chose to return to the community, the most common answer was that they missed their families, friends and community. One person, who had left the community to work at a better paying job in the United States quit his job and moved home from Nebraska, stating that he *"got homesick."*

5.3.1.2 Category of Closed Government

As a leader, the chief of Islet was certainly aware of his political role. When asked what he would describe as the most difficult part of his job, he succinctly replied: *"Keeping everyone happy."* As an educated professional (an accountant by trade), the chief was described as a "doer": someone who gets the job done. As a successful businessperson, the chief has many contacts in the "outside" world, and owns and runs an off-reserve private business in addition to his responsibilities with the band government. He is accessible as a leader, and has an open-door policy wherein people are encouraged to come to him directly with problems or issues. This policy applies to the various departments of the band administration as well. One administrator, referring to the chief's involvement in the day-to-day operations, stated, *"you go upstairs with a*

problem." Of mixed blood, the chief is of the hereditary leadership clan in Islet. With only one exception, the position of chief has always been bestowed upon a member of this family.

> **Account-Ability**
>
> *"We had a trout building down by the wharf—where did that go? Some say to the chief's house."*
>
> Although highly respected during his long tenure in office, the chief of Islet had been openly challenged. A group in the community once requested the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs to conduct an investigation into the financial operations of the band. While careful not to make accusations, the group felt that the band government did not share information with the community, and that the domination of band government by one family was unfair. Regardless of numerous allegations made against chief and council, an external agency determined that there was insufficient evidence to detect any form of wrongdoing.

Many people in Islet feel excluded from the decision-making process of band government. This was subtly revealed to the researcher by the chief's language. Indicating how he viewed himself in relation to the community, the chief repeatedly used the personal pronoun "I," where "we" could have been used instead to refer to community projects, and to the decision-making process. Islet used to have community meetings once a year as required by the Indian Act, but this gave way to having issues decided by community referendum. The chief commented that turnout dwindled each year, making the process unproductive. He also mentioned that public process was costly, and that the limited funds the band had to work with were earmarked for more immediate needs and projects. Further, his leadership experience had indicated a weakness in the local government system, in that *"there is no power to legally enforce community decisions... there is a lack of law-making ability."*

Reflecting on community meetings, one person stated that *"People stopped going to band meetings because they got ridiculed – sneered at, laughed at...You are looked down upon if you have a different point of view."* During the period in which community meetings were held, quorum was at one point set at five people. At the time the research was conducted, there were no regular council meetings in Islet, but rather, they were held as required, and were closed to the community. One person, speaking of chief and council, said, *"They do what they damn well please...Councillors don't go to bat for us...They are supposed to be there for the community, not the other way around."* Similarly, another band member was quoted as saying: "Positions should be in the hands of the people, not just a handful of people" (a band member of Islet, quoted in a video documentary).

"The chief calls meetings on the spur of the moment."

"When we ask, we are silenced."

"People are not involved in decisions."

"Everyone is busy trying to push their point of view on others."

"Take the hierarchy, turn it upside-down, add some more lines and you have a teepee."

While the above indicates that there was very little information flow from the community members to the band council, it was also evident that there was very little flow of information from band government to community members. One resident of Islet expressed this in the following way: *"On a scale of one to ten, minus ten*

on sharing information with the community." Another made the comment that: *"I go into that band office and they make me feel like I don't belong . . . I try to stay away from there."* While not directly acknowledging an internal communication problem, the chief did mention that there were *"problems of misunderstanding,"* based on a lack of communication with those outside the community.

5.3.1.3 Category of Adaptive Management

The category of adaptive management has to do with the way in which the band government has learned to make decisions and implement policies in a manner that they believe works best for the community. To do this, they have tailored programs to fit the needs of the community, they have learned to master the art of creative finance with tied project moneys, and they are selective and cautious with regard to the programs for which they assume responsibility. Speaking to the last point, the chief mentioned: *"We are very careful about what we take on administratively,"* citing the devolution of administration for the land registry and health care as two areas for which other bands have assumed responsibility and by which they rapidly have become overwhelmed. The chief was quick to comment that the current guidelines for the devolution of these services made their local administration too risky for Islet.

> ***"We do things differently here, we have different needs."***
>
> ***"We break the rules a bit. We do things with discretion."***

As regards financial management, it would appear that the band government is highly skilled in the area of budgeting. Knowing that fiscal responsibility is met with more opportunity to exercise this ethic, the band government has operated in the black for a number of years. This

approach to financial management has resulted in a favourable posturing for the community with regard to outside-funded competitive project-based grants. "*We are never audited beyond the balance sheet on the register. If you have a deficit, you are an asshole in their eyes,*" said one person who was close to the inner workings of band government.

One other area in which the band has utilized adaptive management is employment. Regarding employment and job creation strategies in Islet, the chief stated, "*We make the job fit the person, not the other way around.*" Through the establishment of a community-based resource extraction and processing industry, the band has created two full-time management positions and thirty seasonal jobs. Despite these opportunities, there are many without work during the summer months. Band Council hires a number of these unemployed for various projects in the community, and uses the federal employment insurance system as a means of sharing both resources and opportunity: "*Much work is done in the summer. Up to six labourers are usually hired for long enough to get stamps, then they are released and more will be hired.*"

5.3.1.4 Category of Change & Dependency

Many changes have been brought about during the chief's tenure, and most people in Islet identified how the community had turned around, and was an entirely different place than it was before he took office. The community has a very healthy appearance, and is infrastructurally strong. Islet certainly defies most stereotypes of First Nation reserves. There are no unfinished public projects, and houses and buildings are kept to a high standard of maintenance. Describing the change in the community, one person claimed, *"You see more people with cars. Five years ago, no one would have planted flowers."* Another person in referring to change in the community stated: *"A lot of things are happening here...this is the first summer I've seen people doing good."* A teenager, one suspects employed by the band for the summer, was collecting litter. As he waved, he exclaimed: *"Someone has to clean this place up."*

> ***"Things are different this year— people are just doing things."***
>
> ***"People are starting to take pride in themselves."***
>
> ***"People are sobering-up slowly."***
>
> ***"More people are starting to speak-up for themselves."***

The Chief described his role as *"One in which consistency is injected into the community."* By this standard, it would appear that much of the change brought about has been consistent. Many of the policies in Islet have been designed to move away from dependency. Welfare policy serves as one example. Islet allocates less than other reserves and bordering municipalities as incentive for people to seek and remain in gainful employment. The recent construction of an adult education and learning resource center in the community has fostered this goal of giving

people a hand-up as opposed to a hand-out. The increased job opportunities within the community that have been developed by the band work to supplement this goal as well.

Internal Paternal

"Everyone can learn to manage if given the chance."

Opportunities to manage have not yet replaced the 'colonial mindset' in Islet. This would appear to be true of many band members, who have become accustomed to being managed by the federal government as "Indians." It would also appear that the band government and its administration have, in some situations, perpetuated the abdication of individual responsibility by being overly paternal.

Funding policy for post-secondary education exemplifies this well. Initially, the program was designed to release full year funding (tuition costs plus a living allowance) to each student as a lump sum. Some students would over-spend before Christmas, forcing them to apply for more funding from the band, or to withdraw from their academic program. To overcome this problem, the band government implemented changes that would prevent this from happening. They began to pay tuition on behalf of the student directly to the educational institution. Further, they restructured the living allowance so that the student would receive it monthly, instead of annually.

Regardless of the modern approach that has been taken by chief and council, some feel that the change has been driven with too much of an emphasis on money. According to these people, the change has come at the expense of real human development. A distinction was made by one person between the human and built environment in Islet: *"The community looks good, buildings and things, but the people haven't kept up with the change...they are not involved in decisions."* As the story "Internal Paternal" indicates, there

is a tendency in some contexts for chief and council to force change through administrative policy, rather than allowing people the option of making responsible choices.

> ***"Only we can bring about change and healing...that can't come from Ottawa."***

The concepts of change and dependency go well together, as they imply two opposing forces. For some, overcoming dependency and the mindset that accompanies it is state-dependent. During a conversation with one community member, he pointed to a friend, who was impaired, and stated: "*Away for ten years, comes back and starts drinking again.*" Another person commented: "*People have been working. Now they have stamps and they start drinking – this always happens in the summer.*" Field research in the community was conducted during late summer, and the researcher's tour of the resource-processing industry came about through the kindness of an employee of the facility who was on a three-day leave of absence for binge-drinking and missing work.

5.3.1.5 Category of Fairness

The category of "fairness" incorporates people's opinions and judgments regarding both distributive justice and social justice in Islet. As such, the category includes economic and social/political elements. One person summed up both of these categories in stating: *"There's no human rights. You are Federal, they put you back and forth."* There appear to be two layers of these "fairness" issues in the community. The first layer deals directly with the policies and decisions of Band government, while the second layer reveals comparisons between individuals and families

Deposed Despot

While Islet was described by the chief as the *"Best managed band in the region,"* there has been controversy surrounding leadership within the community, controversy that goes back a long way, through different leadership regimes. A former chief of Islet was known for his draconian tactics, described as *"mafia-style."* He had a tendency to decide on other people's behalf what colour their homes would be painted inside and out. One family living in cramped quarters had repeatedly requested of chief and council that they approve and initiate a small renovation to their home that would allow for a larger living area. Extended family had been staying with them, with their name on the housing list, waiting for a new home to be built. The chief finally responded to these requests by knocking down a wall in the home. He enlarged the living room by incorporating a bedroom that was being used for its intended purpose. Such actions led to widespread discontent and resentment of the chief. This leader was deposed in unusual circumstances by a group described as a *"lynch mob."*

within the community.

While chief and council are respected in the community, and do not govern in the manner typified by the above story, there were concerns for the way in which power was exercised. The saying *"power corrupts"* was used in reference to the chief repeatedly. One community member stated that: *"Twenty-five years is too long...he used to be fair."* During an interview, one person addressed this issue by stating that her son *"could lose his job because I talked to you, depending on what you do with the information."* Given that the Band government employs a large portion of the labour force in Islet, both directly and indirectly through community ventures, the way in which such opportunities are distributed has become a contentious issue. While the chief openly defends hiring based on the merit principle, some feel that this policy is selectively applied. One community member told a story of how the band council had posted job listings for four positions, all requiring a grade twelve education. While there were ample candidates with the minimum educational qualifications, three of those hired had not completed high school. The chief's policy to recruit only qualified applicants for positions has led to the hiring of "outsiders" for positions with the Band government. Many in the community feel that government positions belong to the community, and ought to be filled by locals, regardless of previous experience.

Two other areas in which the Band government was accused of being "unfair" regard the allocation of social assistance and band housing. The story "Allocation Relocation" demonstrates how one person felt about the Band's policy to allocate less money for social assistance than one would be entitled to off-reserve. Band council feels that status benefits such as housing and access to the traditional fishery justify lowering the entitlement. Those in receipt of social assistance see this policy as unfair, and perceive that the band government is withholding resources to which they are entitled.

Allocation Relocation

"He's pretty fair. He's not rich."

So said one band member of his new chief after leaving Islet for another reserve. Some people in Islet felt that the band's policy on welfare was unfair, and that it was forcing people to leave the community. Described as *"a mix of the best of INAC and the Province,"* welfare allotments in Islet are less than in other reserves in the region. According to the band government, this policy is in place to reduce dependency on welfare. Changing housing title to increase benefits, a common practice in other reserves, is not done by administrators in Islet.

As housing is in short supply in the community, there is a waiting list for band-constructed housing. This list, however, is maintained by the band government, and is inaccessible to community members. Some feel that housing is allotted according to favouritism rather than by order of application: *"They have a housing list – but where you are on the list depends upon who you are. If you ask who gets a house next spring –they won't tell you, they say that they don't know. But it is a list."*

The second layer of 'fairness' issues in the community is subtler than the overt layer of government, and has to do with group and family association and their relation to prosperity and opportunity. In discussing education with some teenagers, one youth proclaimed: "*I'm not going to University, but he is* (pointing). *Everyone in his family goes to University.*" Similarly, there is a hint of jealousy among some with regard to the successful ventures of others. An entrepreneur made the following observation with regard to his enterprise: "*The shop has been there for two years, and only a handful of people have been in to see what is going on.*"

5.3.1.6 Category of Tradition

The long history of European settler influence in the region has had an impact upon traditional practices among the people of Islet. Many of the customary ways have been either lost or obscured, due the strong influence of colonial church, state, and values. In the face of this strong cultural influence from outside, First Nation customs and practices remain. Aboriginal language is instructed in the primary school in Islet, and many youth participate in a drumming and singing group that travels to different events and pow-wows in the region. During late summer, Islet hosts one of the largest pow-wows in the region, welcoming Indian and non-Indian guests to the reserve for food and festivities. Within the community, many engage in traditional craft industries, and there is a privately owned business that sells local and continental Indian arts and crafts. In addition, an operation that produces and markets products depicting Aboriginal legends.

While there are many cultural activities in Islet, tradition seemed to be something that remained part of memory more than part of lifestyle and action. Addressing the issue of traditional culture, the chief stated, "*We remember the different ways, traditional ways for doing things.*" As

examples of how tradition informed government in the community, the chief mentioned environmental stewardship of the land and marine resources. While elders are occasionally consulted regarding policy decisions, they are not formally part of the local government structure. Their role appeared to be more ceremonial and social than political. Very few people mentioned elders in discussions involving leadership. Those who did mention elders preferred not to identify them.

All My Relations

Some people in Islet engage in "traditional" First Nation practices. Many of these traditional activities are indigenous to the culture group such as dancing, drumming and fishing, while others are imported practices from other First Nation cultures. Sweat-lodge ceremonies were learned and transported to the community as a form of Pan-Indian spirituality. There is a small group in Islet that participates in such traditional practices. Sweats are organized upon demand, and undertaken when a ceremonial leader is available. Those involved stated that sweats are conducted for healing, staying clean, and to promote personal strength. They also mentioned that traditional spiritualism provided them with a sense of identity that kept them on a solid pathway as they navigate their way through the outside world.

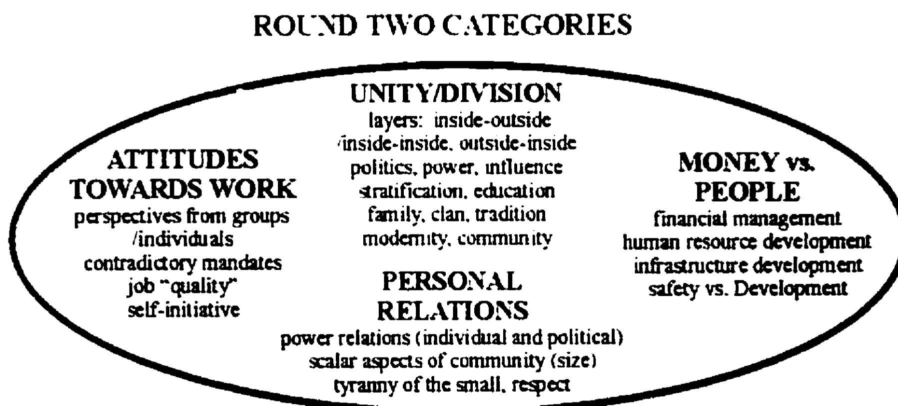
Some in Islet question traditional practices such as the sweat-lodge ceremony, and view them as a step backwards. One community member had the following to say about the sweats: "*Things used to come naturally. Now they are being reintroduced and there is no consistency.*" Another person believed that the sweat ceremonies created a "*conflict with Christian faith and values,*" while another person stated that traditional culture was "*something taught, not lived*" in Islet. An outsider on the inside (the community RCMP constable) shared her thoughts on traditional

culture based on her experience working in many different reserves. She had observed that there are three types of cultural situations in First Nation communities. The first type occurs where there is a strong revival of Aboriginal ways, made possible by the fact that those ways were never lost to the community. The second type is revealed in places where the ways were lost and not revived at all. The third type of cultural situation that she described accounted for places where the ways were lost, and where there is some revival. "*This explains Islet, and the effect on the people here can be one of identity crisis.*"

5.3.2 Round Two

Categories from Round Two of the analysis and their principal characteristics are outlined in Figure 5.3.2 below.

Figure 5.3.2 Categories From Round Two of Analysis



5.3.2.1 Categories of Unity and Division

The categories of unity and division will be presented together, as they are indivisible. Forces that create division are also the same forces that forge unity among groups. While the community as a whole demonstrates unity and identity, there appear to be several groupings that create division. In general, perceptions of unity and division differed according to family and political ties in the community. Those on the "inside" of government and politics were less likely to see division, and more likely to speak of the community coming together, while those on the "outside" of local decision-making saw division, and spoke of how it manifested itself. Data regarding unity and division in Islet will be presented in three groupings representing standard socio-economic differentiation, family and hierarchy, and community.

> ***"There is a lot of division in the community. Some things go back over 20 years."***
>
> ***"There is division among the clans."***

Stratification is often more overt in small communities than it is in larger urban centers. There are divisions of "success" and prosperity that are physically overt in Islet, seen in categorical divisions such as those with private homes compared to those with band housing. These divisions coincide with family ties that seem to be linked to inside/outside groups of band government. Perhaps the most obvious economic division in the community has to do with the

> ***"There are concerns of more non-natives moving on-reserve."***
>
> ***"There are outsiders working there, there are whites, people that have married in – our own people have to wait in line."***

categories of those with full- time gainful employment and those who work seasonally, or those in receipt of social assistance. Those with education and experience with the outside world have more access and opportunity to select positions with the band council. Ethnicity appears to be a dividing factor in Islet as well. Those of mixed ancestry (white and Indian) appear more likely to have had access to off-reserve education, outside experience and a greater level of exposure to powers of assimilation. Subsequently, this group remains at the top of the local civic hierarchy. Ethnicity also creates tension and division in Islet as more non-Indian outsiders are hired to work in the community, or take-up residence within the community through marriage.

The second cluster of division in Islet (family and hierarchy) seems to flow from groupings developed from socio-economic observation. Local government was dominated by one extended family. Those of this family were privy to the workings and decisions of government, while those on the outside of the inside were not. A direct result of closed government in Islet, this aspect of hierarchy creates two distinct groups in the community – those in "the know," and those who are distanced from decision-making. While the chief maintains, *"All families are represented in the band office,"* not all families are privy to the internal workings of band government. This division was made public

Congregation Deviation

On Sunday mornings, many in Islet gather for mass at the Catholic Church. The Church, built at the end of the seventeenth century stands in the heart of the community as a symbol of the 200-year-old Catholic mission in Islet. The dominance of the Catholic faith has been challenged by some who have adopted traditional spirituality, and by a handful of others who gather each Sunday morning to worship with a Baptist minister. The Baptist church was established in the community roughly ten years ago by a pastor from the Carolinas.

While there was no overt hostility between the two congregations, it would appear that the split is representative of divisive groupings in the community, typified by history and family/clan association. *"The people associated with that church aren't very well liked,"* said one person (who, during another conversation challenged the notion that there was division within the community). Another community member categorized the Baptist church as an outside organization, stating: *"That's nothing but another form of colonialism."* When a member of the Baptist church was asked why she left the Catholic faith, she replied that that kind of worship was not for her.

when a certain family in the community challenged the chief's financial management (as described in the story "Account-Ability" presented in the Closed Government category of Round One). While these issues were being investigated, the chief responded to the media that the situation dealt with an *"internal matter."* (A video documentary) This response would appear to have a dual meaning in that the issue is internal to the community and to the band government.

The final grouping of unity and division deals with the community as a whole in juxtaposition to the outside world. Open criticism of chief and council is rare in Islet, but more common among those who have left the community, or who don't belong to the community. As an example of this, one non-resident band member had openly challenged the band's residency requirement for voting for chief and council. Although related to the hereditary leadership clan, this band member was looked down upon by most in the community for his tendency to call attention to himself and to his cause.

> ***"It is usually people who come onto the reserve from away that are critical of choices made by chief and council."***

5.3.2.2 Category of Money vs. People

The category of money vs. people can be viewed as a hybrid category of many issues raised in the "fairness" and "change and dependency" categories presented in Round One. The emphasis in this category of money vs. people reflects perspectives on the values and priorities of local leadership, presented here as a dichotomy. The priorities of chief and council appeared to be primarily financial and economic. Many in the community felt that this overwhelming focus on money came at the expense of human development. Stories presented in Round One

demonstrate this concern. The manner in which the band council administered funding for post-secondary education reveals how the band values accounting procedures over self-management and responsibility. Band policy on social assistance also demonstrates this difference of opinion. The band government argues that adjusting allotments based on other entitlements of status creates a benefit comparable to that received in the region by non-Indians. Many of those who are affected by this policy feel that the band council is depriving them and their children of something more, and of something better.

> ***"The focus has to change from money to children."***

This tendency of the chief to place a higher value on finance than on people is revealed in the story "Breaking The Rules," where human safety was jeopardized for the sake of creating a small project surplus that could then be used for other community projects. Chief and council appear well intentioned with regard to their emphasis on seeking funding and managing it in a responsible and accountable manner. There is no doubt that many programs and services had been

> **Breaking The Rules**
>
> "*We break the rules a bit. We do things with discretion.*" said the Chief. Sometimes, however, breaking the rules can backfire, as it did with the construction of a new band administration building and community complex in Islet. Having discovered a way of reducing the construction costs of the building, the chief ordered the construction crew to deviate slightly from building code. The end result was not a small project surplus as anticipated, but rather a sizeable project overrun. Upon completion, the building failed to pass a mandatory fire inspection. Entire walls had to be torn down, and rebuilt to original specifications.

brought to the community – for the overall community's betterment as a result of the band government's stringent financial management. It would appear that the guiding philosophy of chief and council was that human development cannot occur without local programs and opportunities in place to facilitate the transition of human development away from dependency, and that the transition would not occur quickly. Attitudes in the community, however, seem to vary on this approach, and they are affected by the way in which chief and council carry out their well-intended vision.

"*People think that there is a great pile of money tucked away somewhere,*" claimed the chief. (A video documentary) Given that many in the community believe this, it is not surprising that they feel that their needs and development come secondary to capital projects, and the possibility of corruption. While the chief claims that there is no pile of money stashed away, one community member observed that there is always more money for projects and appointments every three years as elections for chief come closer: "*Waste money at the end, and waste they do.*" The closed decision-making process of the band government serves to perpetuate these perspectives. If there is limited public input, and no public access to the band accounting and finance, people are left wondering "qui bono?"

5.3.2.3 Category of Attitudes Toward Work

> ***"Some of the people working on programs and projects don't have the formal necessary education, but they get in there and do a really good job."***
>
> ***"In other reserve communities, sometimes positions are made more shared, but to people lacking the necessary skills."***

Attitudes toward work in Islet appear to revolve around judgments of fairness. Compounding the issue is a perception that the band government appears to have conflicting policies with regard to hiring. While the chief claimed that the merit principle was utilized for hiring decisions because it brought the highest level of program administration to the community, examples to the contrary were provided by members of the community. In addition, the chief made statements that on occasion contradicted this policy, such as his attention to making sure that all families were represented in the band office, and that they strive to make positions fit the job candidate, as opposed to seeking the perfect candidate for the position.

Insides Out, Outsides In

"There are outsiders working there, there are whites, people that have married-in – our own people have to wait in line."

The above statement was made in reference to positions at the Band Council Office. While most local government jobs are held by resident band members, there are a few resident non-Indians, and a few non-resident non-Indians in the employ of the band. Although this causes concern among some band members, the chief defends the hiring decisions based on the merit principle, arguing that when there are no qualified inside applicants, the community is better served by an outsider.

A resource-extraction and processing industry owned and operated by the band has employed outsiders as well, although not due to a lack of qualified internal applicants. The operation "would hire all Native people, but people are afraid to work by the rules..." (A research report) As a result, outsiders are hired to work at the band enterprise, while some community members remain unemployed.

The feeling that jobs in the band council office should be filled by people from the community is prevalent. When an outsider is hired, there is often resentment of both the decision and of the candidate. Some community members mentioned the recent hiring of the band education officer, who was non-Indian, and was recruited from off-reserve. These people felt that knowledge of the community was just as important as a degree in education when it came to doing the job.

Such issues seem to arise in the private sector in Islet as well. A new business was established in the community by a well known and respected resident. The business initially employed two men and one woman, all from the community. The

men didn't remain at the job for long. The woman *"lasted roughly long enough to get her stamps, then the quality of work began to decline."* The employer eventually had to recruit off-reserve. Similarly, *"One woman went through four employees before she found one that would last longer than the stamp quota – a summer student."*

These stories from the private sector and from community enterprise indicate the work ethic held by some in the community. This ethic appears to be affected by a psychology of dependency. While chief and council have developed many industries to create employment opportunities to break this cycle, it is not surprising that it remains. As mentioned earlier, the band government uses the employment insurance system as a means of sharing limited opportunities in the community. Some in the labour force appear to carry this philosophy into positions in the private sector.

5.3.2.4 Category of Personal Relations

The small size of Islet creates a situation where most people in the community know each other personally. Therefore, a personal familiarity accompanies judgments. Opinions cannot be expressed without identifying and directly or indirectly confronting those who are associated with the issues being discussed. Most of the statements made to the researcher that were critical of others in the community were first qualified with a positive comment

> ***"He is respected, though. He* (the chief) *has done a lot for the community."***
>
> ***"He is very well respected because he* (a member of the hereditary governing family) *does things for people."***
>
> ***"A lot of people used to come and talk to me because I speak up."***

about the person. This was particularly true of chief and council. Whenever criticisms were made of those in leadership roles in the community, they were prefaced with a statement indicating that the person is respected, or that the person has done good things for the community. One person commented that this high level of personal knowledge prevented people from speaking up when they disapproved of a decision made by band government. The fact that band council does not provide channels for information sharing in the community unquestionably compounds this feature of personal familiarity.

The story "Too Close for Comfort" reveals how personal familiarity may have affected the outcome of a learning needs assessment in Islet. While there was a qualified individual in the community to carry out the

Too Close for Comfort

"We do things differently here. We have different needs."

Educators in Islet spearheaded a program to raise money for a comprehensive learning needs assessment of primary school children. Some children were suspected of having learning disabilities typical of fetal alcohol syndrome. Money was raised in the community for the project. When it came time to conduct the assessment, the contract was awarded to a qualified member of the chief's family who lived on-reserve. The results of the assessment revealed that there were no children in the community with learning disabilities. Some community members, however, felt that learning problems were revealed by the process, but that it was too difficult and awkward for a member of the community to inform parents who are their relations, that their children had special needs.

project, this may have been a situation where retaining the skills of an outsider could have been easily justified by chief and council. Just as personal relations prevent the open exchange of dialogue in some contexts between the community and band government, the assessor probably experienced a conflict of interest between the results of the study and social protocol of the community.

Benefice of the Doubt

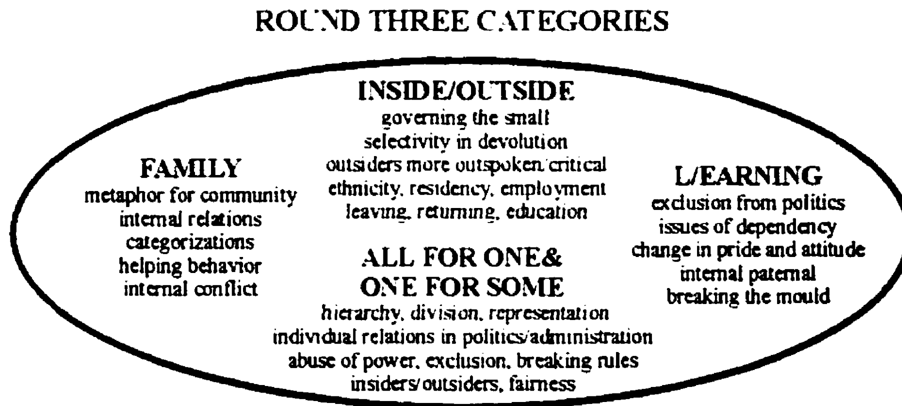
While conversing with those who hosted the researcher during his stay in the community, the phone rang late one evening. Shortly after the phone conversation, the host excused himself, went through the basement, and disappeared in his truck. In response to a puzzled look, the hostess informed the researcher that a certain family was out of food, and that her husband was taking them lobster. After I commented on how kind the gesture was, the hostess informed the researcher that this was common, and that the recipient of the generosity would be certain to sell or barter the lobster for alcohol.

Regardless of the many layers of division identified in the community, it would appear that they do not greatly affect personal relations. Many forms of helping behaviour and sharing were observed. Those with boats or access to them often fish quotas in the food fishery for those without access or ability. As the story "Benefice of the Doubt" reveals, issues of food security appear to be dealt with directly in the community by those in a position to help. In this particular situation, sharing was unconditional and independent of judgment.

5.3.3 Round Three

Categories from Round Three of the analysis and their principal characteristics are outlined in Figure 5.3.3 below.

Figure 5.3.3 Categories From Round Three of Analysis



5.3.3.1 Category of All For One and One for Some

The category "All for One and One for Some" encapsulates the essence of feeling regarding political leadership in Islet. This category seems to combine issues raised in many categories from previous rounds of analysis, including fairness, closed government, attitudes toward work, money vs. people, change and dependency, unity and division, and adaptive management. Overall, it would appear that people in Islet respect chief and council both personally and

politically, while at the same time have concerns regarding the way in which decisions are made in an exclusionary manner. For the most part, all stand behind local leadership, while many feel at the same time that this leadership benefits a select group more than the community as a whole.

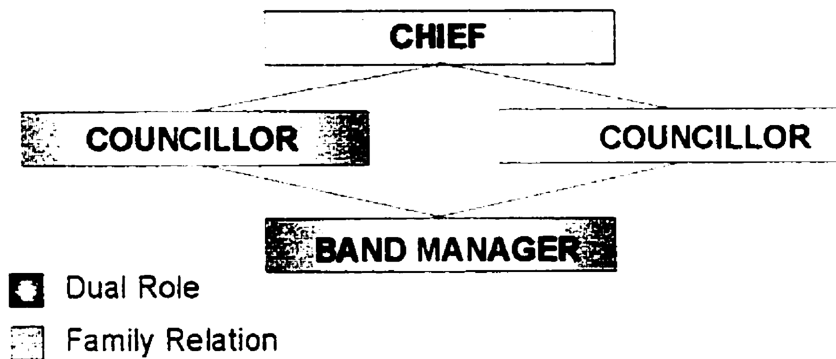
The concept of the "Tyranny of the Small" may assist in describing some of the data gathered in Islet. Many people were hesitant to discuss leadership issues in the community with the researcher. Many of those who did either qualified their comments with a statement indicating that their words could come back to haunt them, or were very careful and calculated in their responses. One person felt that the chief had run unopposed for re-election many times because challengers anticipated differential treatment of themselves and their family if unsuccessful in their campaign for office. When asked what he thought of the role of chief in the community, one person replied with the first statement to the right. This person felt that while Indian, the chief was somehow outside or above the category of Indian in the context of the community.

> ***"We're all Indians here in Islet. Then there's chief. The rest of us are just Indians."***
>
> ***"Not a lot of reserves have this kind of guy."***

Closed government appears to add to the feeling that the band government favours some at the expense of others. Limited channels of communication to and from the band government seem to alienate the government from the people. The overall effect of this is the creation of suspicion in the absence of information among those constituting the outside of the inside. While government appears closed to many, it also appears insular to the family that dominates politics. As indicated in Figure 5.3.3a, the chief, one councillor and the band manager were all of the same family.

Further, while the policy of the band government to do things differently using discretion may be necessary in the leadership context, it has the effect of making the chief and council appear both inconsistent and unfair.

Figure 5.3.3a Political Power Structure



5.3.3.2 Category of Inside/Outside

The category of Inside/Outside incorporates the way in which the community sees itself in relation to nearby communities, and the rest of the outside world. In a way, the category hints at notions of group identity. The category also accounts for groupings of people inside and outside the community, and how these different groups influence and are influenced by local leadership. Inside/outside has multiple connotations, including the geographic separation of the community, the community's exclusive jurisdictional powers as an Indian reserve, ethnic and cultural differences between the community and the outside, and the division of the community itself between those on the inside of band government and those who are not privy to government information and decision-making.

Outside Threats

The community nurse, health education officer and another band employee organized an AIDS awareness seminar in Islet. Following proper guidelines for organizing a public forum, information was shared to educate people about the risks of an AIDS epidemic in the community. The presentation was followed by a meal, and a question-and- answer session. Turnout from the community was exceptional, although the crowd dwindled after the food was served. What stuck in the researcher's mind about the event was the language used by both presenters and community members during the discussion. It involved a shared responsibility of individuals and the collective, exemplified by categories of "insides/outsides." During the presentation, one statement began "*Should this be brought into Islet . . .*" The reference was to AIDS, and the message was the substantial human impact on the community, if or when such a situation should arise.

As the story "Outside Threats" indicates, people in Islet see themselves and their community as isolated from the dominant society, but also vulnerable to its influence. Some of this outside influence is welcomed and even encouraged. As indicated earlier, there is a feeling among many in the community that people have to leave for a while, to pursue higher education or to obtain work experience outside the community. Many of those who left had returned, indicating that they felt a calling to return home.

The outside is represented on the inside in a number of ways. Some of these are viewed as positive, such as youth who return to the community with post-secondary degrees to work in government and administration. Other aspects of the outside on the inside are contentious, such

as the presence of non-Indians residing in the community (mostly through marriage), and jobs held in the community by white outsiders. A small number of people in the community who espoused traditional values felt that the outside was represented on the inside through the workings of the band government. These people indicated that the way of governing in the community was not of their people, and had been culturally and historically imposed upon them.

The observations of these traditionalists were echoed by others within the community. When asked of the prerequisites for office of chief, one community member mentioned education and contacts as the primary qualifications. Links with the outside world seem to be a characteristic of many in high positions with the band government. In this regard, those on the inside of the inside appear to have closer ties to and experience with the outside. One person alluded to this outside influence on band government, when referring to the position of chief by stating: *"The government* (federal) *creates these monsters too."*

> ***"Would have to be someone educated, would have to know a lot of people."***

5.3.3.3 Category of L/Earning

The category of learning/earning emerged as a fusion of the issues raised in many other categories. The title came directly from a community member, who in summarizing band leadership paused for some time, and then stated: *"The colonizers put an 'l' in front of 'earn.'"* When asked to expand on this statement, he described how people in the community used to become leaders through earning the respect of others. After years of cultural assimilation and a foreign system of values and government, local leaders had to change their focus from earning respect to learning a new system of culture and politics. As this member of the community was

one of the few who had adopted a more traditional Indian philosophy, his statement emerged as a category heading because it encapsulated many of the issues described in other rounds and categories. It also seemed to encapsulate many of the statements and stories made by those who appeared to be within the modernist camp.

> **Personal & Confidential**
>
> *"It is our business. It is our money."*
>
> Transcripts from funded post-secondary students used to be forwarded to the band government. One administrator put an end to this policy, arguing that band council had no business knowing the grades of students. Others, however, argued that it was their business, as it was the community's money.

For example, the story Internal Paternal from the change and dependency category of Round One implies a learned dependency behaviour that the band government met with a policy that was equally representative of the behaviour that the chief and council were attempting to remedy. Adding to the controversy over post-secondary funding is the story "Personal and Confidential," where some administrators argued that students had a right of privacy with regard to their grades, while others felt that the community had a right to monitor the progress of students, as the student funding was determined by the local government. The category of closed government could be described as a learned system of behaviour, given that under a more traditional form of government, leaders would only hold their positions as a direct result of dialogue. Earning/learning also incorporates many of the issues raised in the fairness category of Round One. While the chief was respected by most in the community it would appear that levels of trust were more the issue – the chief was not viewed as being fair in his allocative role.

5.3.3.4 Category of Family

The category of family is being used as both a metaphor for the community – Islet functions as one big family -- and to identify the strong family and clan relations that exist. Family relations would appear to be the strongest variable of both unity and division in the community. A walking tour through the cemetery in Islet provided an opportunity to do some quick social mapping. A rapid assessment of surnames indicated that the community was comprised of a small number of dominant families, interwoven through time. *"Islet is like one big family. It comes with the good and bad things that would be present in a family situation,"* said one person. *"We're all related here,"* said another.

> **It's All Relative**
>
> *"Where do you stay?"*
>
> This question resounded in the mind of the researcher for some time. Asked by a young primary school boy upon greeting, something about the question seemed telling of something bigger, something unfamiliar to the researcher. Questions such as "Who are you?" or "What is your name?" were expected, but *"Where do you stay?"* was not. It took some time to realize that "who" I was, was not important to the boy, initially. What he required was a way to position me within the community. He needed to know my relations, and as such, how to place me in the community according to family.

The most overt demonstration of how family relations serve to align groups of people in Islet has to do with local politics and band administration. As described earlier, there is a family in the community that has historically produced community leaders and chiefs with only one exception.

This family could be described as hereditary leaders, although there is no social convention or custom that upholds this tradition. The decision-making power associated with this family due to its domination of the positions of chief, one councillor and band manager necessarily links the family with the "inside" of politics and administration. Regardless of the way in which the chief had been challenged by those on the outside of the inside, the chief and the dominant family are widely respected in the community.

> ***"The only people who have the knowledge and inside experience to change through public confrontation are related to the chief...but he is my ..."***

Switching the focus to the inside of the inside, it would be improper to assume that the group as family is united in opinion with regard to decisions made by the chief. As the quote to the right indicates, family relation may create the appearance of solidarity, while some or many on the inside of the inside hold differing views from family members in direct political positions. They cannot, however, express these views because of family relations. This situation appears similar to those described in the stories involving the school teacher who confronted parents of problem children, and the situation in which the learning needs assessment of primary school children revealed no problems. In all three contexts, non-confrontation as a social protocol appears to dominate relations between individuals in Islet.

5.4 Analyzing the Big Picture

As mentioned in the Approach to Analysis Revisited section of this chapter, each round of analysis appeared to speak to a theme. Given this observation, it was determined that data would

be presented according to rounds and categories into which the data were grouped and subsequently regrouped. In this section, these themes will be described and analyzed in relation to each other to demonstrate how each round provides a different view of the data. These views have been presented graphically in Figure 5.4.1 entitled "Perspectives Provided by Repeated Analysis." Data will be analyzed according to thematic group in relation to the literature and theory presented in Chapter Four in the section that follows this.

Categories in Round One (community, tradition, adaptive management, closed government, fairness and change and dependency) seem to package the data in an abstract manner that emphasizes concepts, ideas, processes and ethics. While they originate from data gathered in the community, there is nothing community-specific about the categories. These categories are similar to many expressed in the literature, and reflect a perspective that looks from outside the community inwards. It is also probable that upon first analysis, the researcher framed the data with a priori knowledge, organizing the data into categories that are predictable, not just for Islet, but for other reserve communities as well. The view of Islet that is provided by the categories in Round One is etic. While this etic view explains much about Islet, it does so in a manner, by definition, that does not directly incorporate the language, behaviour and opinions of people within the social structure of the community. The argument that this view is etic is reinforced by the fact that the titles of the categories are not revealing of the language used by people in the community to discuss issues of leadership. Of the six categories that emerged from Round One of the analysis, only "fairness" constitutes a word that was used by community members during conversation. In the absence of these data, the researcher would have been prone to call the category 'justice.'

The categories in Round Two appear to provide a perspective that is closer to the inside of the community than is present in Round One. Categories of personal relations, attitudes toward work, money and people, and unity and division seem to examine leadership in Islet in terms of internal group cohesion and antagonism, priorities and opinions. These categories represent a movement away from the processes and concepts identified in Round One, toward a view that identifies how people in the community align themselves around issues. This view is more sociological than the political perspective provided in Round One. As such, it still looks from the outside, but it looks at the inside, as opposed to simply looking in. The categories in Round Two are more revealing of the language used by people in the community to discuss issues. The view, however, is not etic. It could be described with the use of a neologism. As a hybrid of both emic and etic perspectives, the view presented in Round Two of the analysis can be called "emtic." This perspective looks just outside the inside of the community.

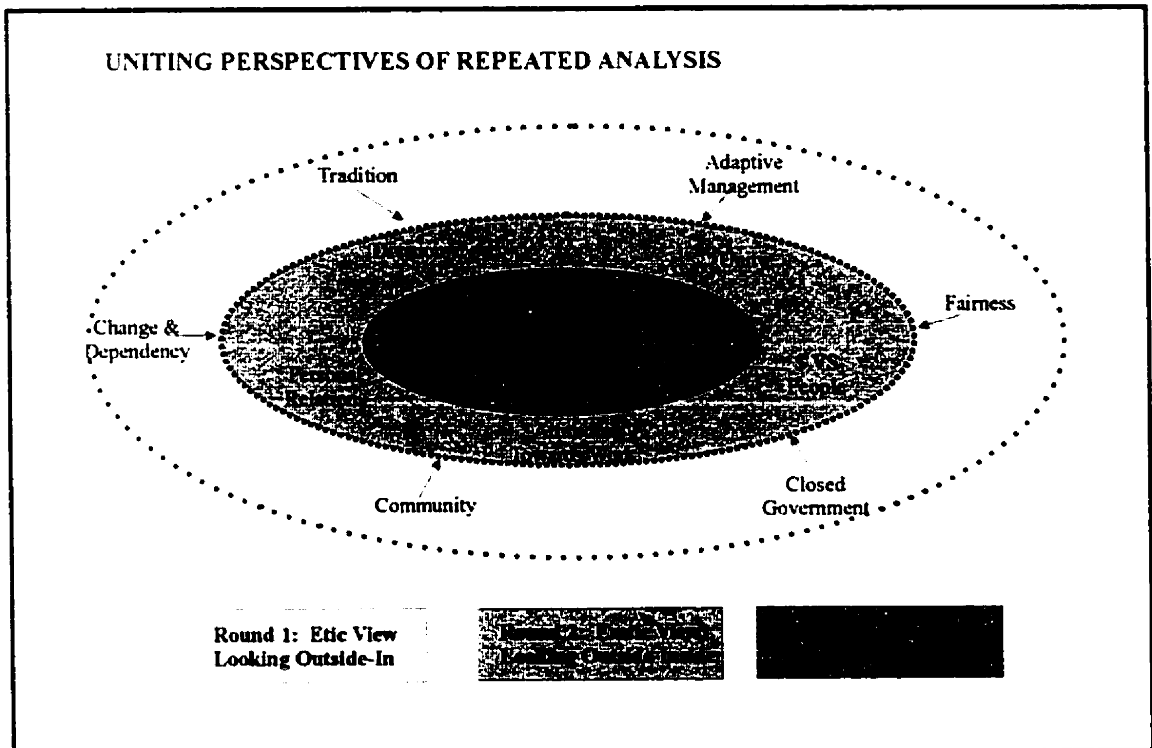
Round Three categories of all for one and one for some, inside/outside, l/earning and family appear to be just as rich as the etic and emtic categories of rounds one and two. As an integration of concepts and themes, the categories of Round Three appear to package the data differently. This view is more localized and specific to the community. As such, Round Three presents an emic perspective of the data that looks at the inside from the inside, creating a view that turns the community inside-out. Categories in Round Three are less specific and exclusive of the data presented in other rounds, however they are more interconnected with regard to their span of data inclusion. These categories originate from the community itself – from words and expressions used by people therein. Unlike those that emerged in previous rounds, Round Three categories seem to be mutually inclusive, almost as if the emic view mirrors social relations of both traditional Aboriginal culture and the small community. For example, from the emic perspective,

issues of fairness cannot be described or discussed without reference to other agents within the community. These personal relations appear to constitute the basis of fairness judgment. As all are familiar with each other, there can be no local assessment of fairness without necessarily associating a community member with the judgment. Thus, while fairness issues cross categories of Round Three, they cannot constitute a category of their own, as the issues can't be separated from agents in the community. Similarly, the category of closed government constitutes a large portion of the all for one and one for some category of Round Three. The qualitative difference between these two categories, however, is that closed government emphasizes political process, while all for one and one for some focuses on the impact of this process on relations between individuals and groups within the community.

The overall analysis of the data resulting from the adapted methodology provides three distinct interpretations of the same data. These perspectives are etic, emic and something being defined as emtic. The etic view, looking outside-in, produced categories that are informative of leadership in Islet only insofar as existing knowledge is either validated or invalidated. In Round Two, the emtic view looking outside the inside provides some insight into how community members view and respond to the external etic categories. It is through these categories that leadership and government issues are often viewed and judged by outsiders. For example, in the data presentation section, it was described how outsiders had more of a tendency to verbalize their judgments of decisions made by chief and council. As outsiders, such people have a non-context-specific perspective that orders concepts, ideas and processes independently of personal relations within the community. It is these relations, however, to which idea, concept and process must directly link. The emic view provided by Round Three turns the community inside-

out, and places the etic categories as subset of other internal themes. This perspective gets closer to how leadership issues are actually viewed and experienced by people within Islet.

Figure 5.4.1 Perspectives Provided By Repeated Analysis



5.5 Analyzing Perspectives

Analysis of the data according to perspective will enhance the view being presented, and also permit the analysis to proceed with open acknowledgement of the interpretation of the data. This approach will prevent the researcher from analyzing the emic perspective with the exogenous toolkit that defines the etic. Within each subsection that reflects a round of analysis, the view of

the data will be analyzed with regard to the question: What does the leadership system look like from this perspective, and what are its qualities? The way in which theory and literature inform the data will be examined next, followed by an inquiry into how the data from that view may inform the literature. It is anticipated that when looking outside-in and outside-inside, the data will benefit greatly from the literature, and offer little in return. Conversely, the perspective that turns the community inside-out (revealing the inside) will offer more to the literature than it will benefit therefrom.

5.5.1 Looking Outside-In

Using Rosen's leadership systems model (Figure 4.4.1), the attributes of the leadership system in Islet can be analyzed from the Outside-In perspective. From this view, the mode of distribution for leadership positions/roles in the community is closed. While this would appear to be a feature of the Indian Act system of band government, there are reserve communities in which traditional parallel councils have emerged. In such situations, formal band council has often found it necessary to consult with such parallel regimes on issues, preventing further division in the community. A parallel traditional council does not exist in Islet, and it would appear that there is no duplication of roles or functions within the leadership system. The data indicate that top positions in band administration are highly valued in the community. This value appears instrumental to some and intrinsic to others. Instrumental value is evidenced in arguments that such jobs ought to be shared by all families in the community. Intrinsic value is revealed in arguments that such positions are part of the community and ought not be filled by outsiders. Regardless of the objections, there is consensus among community members that there can be only one position for each role. Further, the data indicate that these positions in band

government are kept closed intentionally by those on the inside of local government, through policies of limited public input, sharing of information and decision-making.

When viewed from the outside-in perspective, the mode of access for leadership positions in Islet appears to be based on achievement. The data indicate that currently, the role of chief is only available to those who are respected in the community for their accomplishments, skills and abilities. Many of these criteria appear to be external to the community, such as higher education and contacts that extend beyond the community itself. This would seem to indicate that people in Islet recognize the brokerage skills necessary for the position of chief. The tone and example set by chief and council exemplify these external prerequisites as well. Their modern approach reveals a subtle acceptance of their bureaucratic encapsulation. In addition, the chief's claim that people have to leave the community for a while indicates that recognized achievement involves understanding of the outside world.

In examining Rosen's final criterion of a leadership system, it is evident from the etic perspective that the mode of mobilization in Islet is based on power as opposed to influence. The chief's appeal for greater authority to legally enforce community decisions and mandates reveals that he sees his authority as a leader stemming from the position of chief itself, as opposed to originating in continuous renewal of support through dialogue. Closed government and the intentional discouragement of public dialogue further indicate how the chief exercises legal authority through power derived from the office. The expression of the chief that Islet is a "forward-looking group" implies the emulation of outside government and the accompanying social and political philosophy, in which political authority is exercised through power.

Putting these leadership system modal attributes together, the type of leadership system revealed by the outside-in view is stratiform/democratic, the system typified by contract social theory and mandated in structure by the Indian Act. From this view, the leadership system is defined by structure (community as polity), process (adaptive management, closed government), vision and policy (change and dependency, tradition), and by ethics (fairness and justice). As the view is from outside of the community, it orders data through an exogenous system, almost as though there is a pre-existing template for the data. This "template" originates in the culture of the researcher's world-view and experience. This knowledge-set is informed by the literature in terms of categories of what is expected to be seen, and as such, constitutes an analyst-constructed typology.

The type of authority utilized by chief appears to be legal authority as defined by Weber. Aside from the fact that legal authority is a structural component of stratiform/democratic leadership systems, the chief's concern for legal solutions to community issues and decisions indicates the form of authority being exercised. Charismatic authority is not evident in Islet, given the general lack of trust resulting from colonial relations, and the way in which outspoken individuals are quickly alienated in the community. While there are characteristics of the leadership system in Islet that could be described as being rooted in traditional practices, traditional authority in the Weberian sense is not one of them. Using Alfred's description of Traditional leadership being similar to Burns' concept of Moral leadership (Burns in Alfred 1999: 46), it is apparent that leadership in Islet is not essentially moral leadership insofar as the values acted upon by the chief have not been derived from community process. This aside, there appears to be some aspect of traditional leadership in the selection of candidates for chief. The data reveal that respect is a requirement for the position.

As for the personal qualities of the chief, it is apparent that he fits the description of a technocrat – a professional, well educated, and well experienced in the workings of the outside world. These are skills and experiences that facilitate the brokerage role of chief extremely well. Not only does the chief possess life experience and education to navigate his way through both the inside and the outside, but his genetic history, being of mixed blood, possibly facilitates this as well. The style of leadership utilized by the chief of Islet is perhaps best described using a typology presented by Crowfoot. Based on his interactions with many chiefs during his leadership of the Siksika First Nation, Crowfoot argues that the leadership style of chiefs can fit into one of three categories (Crowfoot 1997: 305). His first category is described as "the sophisticated political dynamo." This type of leader is a visionary who possesses knowledge of political processes both inside and outside the community. "This type of leader tries to fit what he/she wants with other people's agenda." The opposite of the political dynamo is to be found in "self-interested" chiefs, who "have no vision or purpose other than to help themselves and their families." The third type of leader described by Crowfoot is the "quiet statesperson," who "commands respect by his/her actions and integrity." It would appear that the leadership style of Islet's chief is that of the sophisticated political dynamo. He has a vision for the community, but would seem to exclude the community from that visioning process, and from the day-to-day decisions regarding the question "how do we get there?"

This description of the chief of Islet leads to an examination of the category of closed government. The literature reveals that the stratiform/democratic leadership system is based on the social contract, and consequently on political voluntarism. According to contract theory, individuals relinquish their decision-making capacity to a representative, who is entrusted to

make decisions on behalf of the people. Some people in Islet feel that their visions for the community are neither respected nor heard by chief and council. The chief of Islet claims that open government is too costly given the size of the community; that there are other priorities for scarce resources; that open forums result in bickering and division; and that chief and council are accessible, one-on-one for any problems people may experience. From the view that looks outside-in, those who feel that their voices are not heard in government can be singled out, systemically, as the minority.

The band government of Islet has admittedly adopted a modern approach to governing and managing the community and its people. It is believed that reactions to this change explain many of the feelings of disenfranchisement that exist in the community. The chief has been successful in "modernizing" government, services, and facilities. Some of this success can be attributed to an ongoing learning curve and to long-term planning that has been executed by the chief in his lengthy tenure as community leader. In addition, it would appear that the chief's accounting skills have greatly benefited financial management of band resources. Change in the community was also facilitated through adaptive management, identified as a category describing ways in which the band government learned to break the rules and utilize discretion in order to accomplish goals.

Ideas of bureaucratic encapsulation and administrative determinism can assist in understanding this category and the way in which adaptive management is necessitated in the First Nation reserve context. As outlined in section 4.4 of this thesis, principles that uphold bureaucracy as the most efficient means of public management are contradicted by both compact theory and by the qualities of the small community. In Islet, the chief, councillors and most band administrators

have a personal familiarity with all community members. This familiarity permits government and administration to function in a face-to-face manner. These interactions contradict principles of the bureaucratic style, principles which must be adhered to with regard to the "role others" of external agents and agencies. As such, the chief of Islet would appear to function in a modal role where the bureaucratic style must be adhered to externally, while it does not function properly when applied internally. The chief's concern for a lack of law-making ability may indicate his preference to develop consistency in the form of relations between these two categories of role others. Lacking a pure bureaucratic internal style, chief and council have a large degree of discretion at their disposal. They have legal accountability to external funding agents, but they are responsible to the members of the community according to different criteria.

This discretion, exercised in Islet through adaptive management, has been directed at reducing dependency. At the organizational level, chief and council have reduced the appearance of economic dependency on outside agencies through stringent financial management and accounting procedures. The fact that projects and programs get to the completion and implementation stage in Islet has the effect of minimizing the overt signs of bureaucratic integration. At the individual level, policies of the band that discourage reliance on social assistance and encourage employment seem to be directed at reducing personal dependency on government programs and services to overcome the colonial dependency mindset.

Forced change of this type is directly linked to the category of fairness, and to issues presented in the literature under the heading of Economic Determinism. As revealed by the data, the chief of Islet does have a very substantial allocative role in the community, affecting everything from social assistance to housing to determining which programs and/or projects are given priority.

This power to determine resource allocation is very centralized in Islet given the limited vehicles of public input and information sharing. Many of the concerns regarding leadership expressed by community members focused on the distribution of public goods (social assistance, band housing, positions in band administration). These comments indicate the strong economic role played by the chief in the community, and further reinforce the application of Tarrow's dependency theory in that the bureaucratic integration model is best suited to describe the relation of First Nations to the Federal Government. Claims of unfairness in Islet appear to be founded on contract principles such as hiring based on merit; the determination of housing based on order of application; and the distribution of social assistance based on a form of localized utilitarianism (i.e. that there would be no harm to non-recipients if recipients were allotted a benefit similar to non-Indians in the region). Regardless of the foundation for these feelings of unfairness, they direct the analysis back to closed government. If the chief and council do use discretion in their allocative role that is based on other principles suited to the face-to-face small community (such as need), then closed government obscures this, and leaves the impression of empire building based on favouritism.

Tradition was described as "*Something taught not lived*" by one person in Islet. This would appear to be accurate for most people in the community. When defined as a pre-contact form of belief and social organization, tradition does not greatly affect the leadership system in Islet. It may do so to the extent that those espousing traditional values constitute a small faction within the community, however it appears that these people have withdrawn from much of what could be defined as being locally civic. The importation of a First Nation traditional practice such as the sweat-lodge ceremony may reveal that much of the local custom and practice has been lost. Those who participated in the ceremonies indicated that traditional beliefs kept them from

experiencing alienation in the outside world. Traditional beliefs provided a form of identity that had been previously lacking. These responses seem to validate Boldt's (1981) observation that romanticism of tradition is strongest among those who have suffered in the colonial culture.

Discussions involving issues such as tradition and custom with regard to First Nations are extremely complex. While tradition certainly implies ways of doing things and seeing the world that are passed down through generations, it becomes all too easy to think of tradition as something static, something lost to First Nations people through contact and colonization. Such a perspective, however, implies that tradition did not change or adapt to circumstance prior to contact, a claim that would be very difficult to defend. If cultural tradition is a dynamic process, then it stands to reason that colonization and the bureaucratic encapsulation of First Nation peoples in Canada has informed tradition. Tradition in this sense can be seen as a response, on a band or community level, to forces of change that is moved forward by knowledge of the past. According to the dynamic definition of tradition, culture is re-created daily, informed by what has preceded it, becoming tradition. Law in Canada and the United States with regard to claims to native title appears to accept the dynamic definition of tradition. Other countries with native claims due to colonial process are not yet decided on a dynamic definition of tradition. Australia serves as one example where the law is uncertain as to whether or not Aboriginal claim and title are linked to a static or dynamic definition. In the landmark 1991 Mabo ruling of the Commonwealth Court of Australia, the decision delivered by the high court justices indicated that an abandonment of traditional culture and use of land for such purposes could constitute a surrender of claim to title. Tradition is not simply the way we do things, but also the reasoning and justification for doing things this way. As the people in Islet constitute a *"forward-looking group,"* tradition is custom made – informed by history, and adapted to circumstances. In the

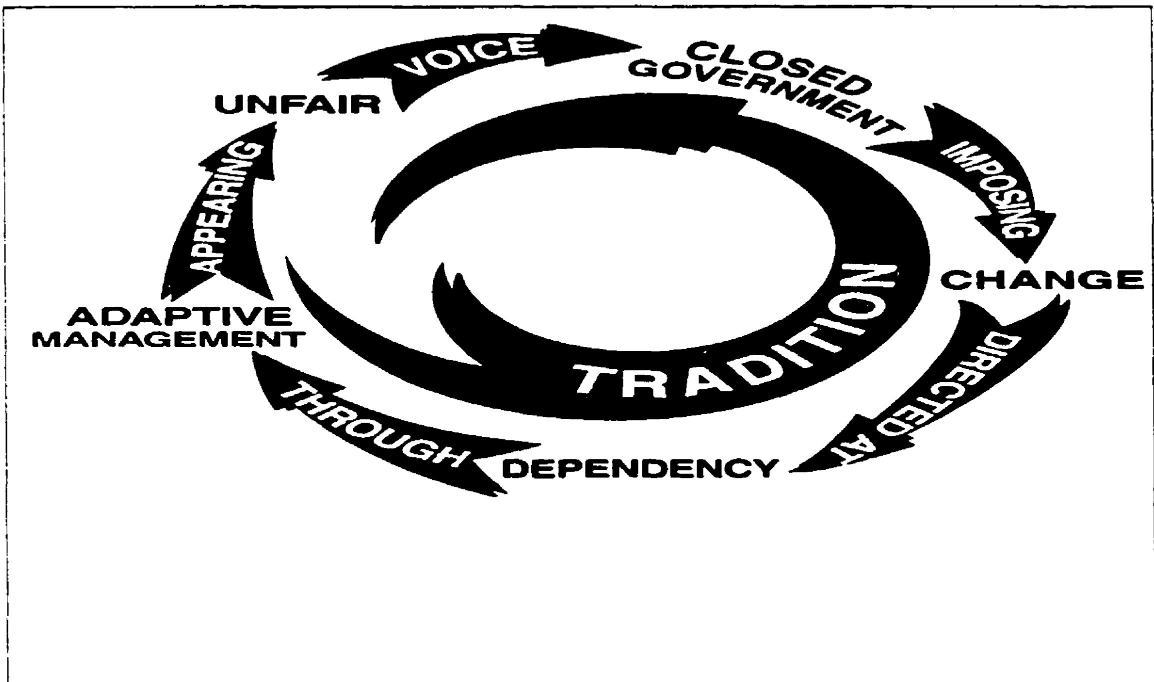
same way that "leaders" in pre-contact times would strive to obtain consensus with regard to decisions that would augment custom, modern leaders perform a similar function with regard to the dynamic nature of custom. They lead by example.

At the United Nations meetings on Indigenous Peoples, representatives of the Traditional Government for the Nation of which Islet is part alienated themselves from most other indigenous groups by supporting the universality of human rights. This position resulted from demands from First Nation women for more accountability from their community leaders. Traditional leaders felt that such a position would strengthen their claims against the government of Canada for violations of Aboriginal rights. This positioning of the Traditional leaders supports Barsh's argument that self-government necessitates a shift to a rights-based model of social contract: "It is true that Indigenous peoples have inherited notions of "rights" that are based on relationships and responsibilities among kin, as opposed to the European conception of rights as negotiated limitations on state power. As Indigenous peoples embrace bureaucratic models of self-government, however, they will experience the same internal conflicts that led to the emergence of a new individualistic theory of rights in modern Europe." (Barsh 1995: 35) It would appear that such a process of transformation is happening with regard to the leadership system in Islet.

Looking through the window of Round One, the leadership system in Islet unfolds through an analysis of who leads, how they lead and the direction that the leaders have established for the community. As a means of understanding the system, the categories in the etic view unfold in a rational and logical manner that can be ordered by cause-and-effect relationships. Closed government provides the vehicle for rapid change. Decisions can be made quickly without

compromise. This change is directed at addressing problems of dependency experienced by both the band as an organization, and by community members. Tradition is seen as a drag on this process of change. The elimination of forms of dependency is achieved through adaptive management, where the band government breaks some of the rules in order to have greater control and flexibility of programs and resources. The breaking of rules contributes to feelings of unfairness, which cannot be addressed through public process because of closed government. This cyclic view of the leadership system is presented in figure 5.5.1 entitled "Looking Outside-In Cycle of Categories."

Figure 5.5.1 Looking Outside-In Cycle of Categories



The etic view of leadership in Islet that looks outside-in cannot greatly inform the literature. This is mostly due to the fact that the categories, being analyst constructed, identified the data with a priori themes and knowledge. This aside, the system of leadership in Islet appears somewhat atypical of what could be considered average in the literature. Islet has had a committed service-oriented professional as chief who has been returned to office repeatedly, culminating in a term of leadership that is unprecedented in a First Nation reserve context. These features of leadership in Islet, coupled with the fact that the community is detached from *living tradition*, ought to make it highly distinct, and perhaps almost contradictory to the literature. This, however, is not the case, as the literature assists in making sense of much of the data. The case study can inform the literature slightly, with regard to the category of adaptive management. It is within this sphere that the greatest opportunities lie for First Nation community leaders to implement non-negotiated forms of self-determination. The chief of Islet moved in this direction unilaterally using his skills as an accountant, and his refined knowledge of the outside world (technocrat qualities). Given the concern for participation in the decision-making process in Islet, there may be room within the category of adaptive management for First Nations to explore avenues for decision making that are not stipulated in the Indian Act, avenues that do not invoke as matter of necessity the stratiform/democratic model of leadership systems.

5.5.2 Looking Outside-Inside

Looking at the leadership system in Islet from outside of the inside, the focus shifts from process, structure, policy and ethics to emphasizing the interests of conflicting groups. This view is more localized than the perspective provided in the previous round, and revolves around differences in attitudes and opinions revealed by the categories of unity and division, money and people, and

attitudes toward work. In this round of analysis, the structure of the leadership system shifts away from the standard qualities of political and bureaucratic systems, and is transformed to an emphasis on personal relations as the defining factor of the leadership system. When the focus shifts to personal relations, the leadership system appears to take on a different character from that described in Round One of the analysis.

As personal relations become apparent in the community as a structural feature, the stratiform/democratic leadership system described in the previous round begins to take on the qualities of stratiform/authoritarian. While the mode of distribution remains closed, and the mode of mobilization remains based on power, the mode of access to leadership roles switches from achievement to ascription under the stratiform/authoritarian type. This transformation is not based on structural aspects of the leadership system in Islet, but rather upon what the system looks like to many in the community. Those on the outside of local government see a system in which the same family has, with only one exception over time, provided leadership for the community. While these people on the outside of the inside appear to acknowledge achievement criteria for the role of chief, they experience a leadership system in which people from a certain family have always been more qualified according to achievement criteria (respected, educated, connected). The result is a *feeling* of nepotism, where those on the inside are viewed as taking care of their own at the expense of others in the community. As a result, the emtic view of leadership reveals groupings of difference.

Personal relations affect this view of the leadership system in that the size of the community permits each person to be familiar with everyone else. Under these circumstances, authoritarian leadership is easily understood, given how people will fear speaking-up against someone they

know and respect, but with whom they happen to disagree. The data also revealed that some people hesitated to challenge leadership because they felt that they and their families could be discriminated against as a result. As indicated in the data, those on the inside of the inside do not openly confront the chief either. The reason given for this lack of open confrontation was family and personal relations. This may constitute an acknowledgement from some on the inside that the leadership system is authoritarian. Further, the way in which family relations on the inside of the inside prevent open challenge gives the appearance of ruling clan solidarity, thereby contributing to the appearance of the ascription mode of access, and the resulting stratiform/authoritarian effect.

Issues of both scale and family relations serve to create layers of accountability for chief and council in a community such as Islet. Accountability on the inside spans categories in which different expectations and obligations are present. For example, balancing principles of merit with representation of fairness with family create situations that are very difficult for a community leader. There is accountability on behalf of a chief to his or her family name – to serve the community well on behalf of that family. At the same time, however, there is an expectation that family will take care of family, as families do. Similarly, the chief must balance these two categories of family accountability with the interests and expectations such as fairness and equality of other families. As all are known by and to all in Islet, the chief also has the task of being accountable to community members on an individual basis, and on an individual basis with individuals in the same family. Within this mixture of expectations and obligations, the chief also has to be responsible to the community as a whole, and make decisions with regard to the best interest of the First Nation.

An examination of Islet according to Cornell's theory of political organization and self-concept (Figure 4.4.1) reveals, as the theory postulates, a single unit of government and leadership with an accompanying fracturation of group identity. This transformation from a unified concept of groupness to multiple units is evidenced by the various divisions and factions within Islet. The leadership system, insofar as it is highly encapsulated, is incapable of incorporating those who are alienated from it in its unitary form. Again, these contradictions appear to create problems for leadership, as an appeal to majority rule is not adequate in the context of an ethnic corporation. The result of this dilemma for Islet, where the local leadership is well integrated with the social contract values of the outside society, is the exclusion from the decision-making process of those who do not share in this value set.

While Cornell's theory implies that group identity ought to be dissonant in the contemporary First Nation context, there appears to be a strong underlying unifying factor in the community of Islet. While division and cultural dissonance do exist in the community, they do not appear to have overshadowed the strong sense of togetherness. While such a notion of identity appears to be isolationist and exclusionary, it is surprisingly typical of traditional First Nation group identity. Such an identity is unified, and stresses the relations between people as the defining element of individuality. Whether reinforced through legislation that perpetuates aspects of the social compact, or as a product of First Nation social philosophy, the reality of both group and self-identity in Islet is a function of both sense of place and of social relation. This observation is subject, however, to the claim that many of the insular qualities described above could be found in other small rural communities, and that such elements of "compact" social relations are equally attributable to scalar dimensions of a particular community. While this argument is valid, it can only explain how scale is a sufficient condition for qualities of the social compact. Community

size and location certainly affect elements of social interaction. However, as argued earlier in this thesis, encapsulation and cultural tradition are two aspects of First Nation social and political reality that exist only in the First Nation community context.

The fact that people are not given the chance to learn to manage exacerbates feelings of nepotism in Islet. While there were no direct accusations to this end, comments were repeatedly made that revealed how the good jobs were the exclusive domain of those in power and their families. While these comments were made, there was no questioning, however, of the qualifications of these people to fulfill their roles. In the 1880's, British Prime Minister Robert Cecil (Lord Salisbury) appointed his nephew Arthur Balfour as Chief Secretary for Ireland. "Robert, however, was Arthur's uncle, and the appointment was seen as blatant nepotism. Thus, the phrase 'Bob's your uncle' became a cynical political gibe for any similar act of favouritism." (Globe and Mail, "Word Play." October 25, 1997) In effect, this expression means that if Bob is your uncle, you will be taken care of through nepotism. The problem with nepotism in a community such as Islet is that Bob may be your uncle, but so is virtually everyone else. Where everyone is related to everyone, through family or community ties, it would be almost impossible for the chief to make a job appointment without accusations based on jealousy. This is especially true where some families in the community create a stronger environment for education and learning for their children than others do or can. In such situations, the most qualified for the better jobs will be the better educated – those of the same families, repeatedly, over time. While nepotism does occur in some reserve communities whose chiefs are self-interested, it would appear not to be the proven case in Islet. In its absence, though, is the feeling of its existence based on jealousy. The lack of transparency of the band government can only add to these feelings expressed by community members.

The literature assists in understanding the categories from Round Two only insofar as it provides a theoretical backdrop for understanding possible differences in values and expectations between groups. The data from the case study of Islet indicate how the social protocol of both individual and group relations strongly affect local leadership in a manner that cannot be understood through the abject comparison of ideal systems of the social contract and the social compact. Much of the literature outlines division and the clash of values and expectations that are present in the First Nation community context. The categories from Round Two of the analysis include data that support this fracturation thesis, but also indicate a strong underlying cohesive force in Islet that transcends leadership and formal political organization.

5.5.3 Looking Inside-Out

When Islet is turned inside-out, the inside reveals a strong group identity when the community is compared to the outside. Thus, the category of inside/outside emphasizes an overall unity, based on difference, that defines the people and their community. The formation of group identity in relation to the outside reveals the extent to which Islet is encapsulated, socially, ethnically, politically and bureaucratically. In the emic view, family emerges as the defining social characteristic. Implying history and legacy, family plays a stronger role than the category of personal relations identified in Round Two. Instead of presenting difference of opinion regarding policies, the category of "l/earning" captures issues of change, dependency, values and priorities in a manner that presents them as informed options, not as judgments, complaints or accusations. The final data category of Round Three seems to capture the overall essence of leadership in Islet. "All for one, and one for some" indicates the respect and acceptance held by

most for the chief and council, while it also acknowledges the way in which many people feel excluded from both decision making and the benefits thereof.

From the emic perspective, the leadership system in Islet appears much as it did from the emtic view – stratiform/authoritarian. This view provided in Round Three, however, reveals much about what people's expectations are for a leadership system. The data do not indicate a preference for an open mode of distribution, and there appears to be an overall acceptance, given the preferred qualities of chief, of the achievement mode of access. What the data do reveal are concerns for the way in which power is exercised by the chief and council in the community. The data indicate that the people are not involved in decision-making. Further, the data reveal that many in the community feel that they should be involved. Thus, there is an expectation of inclusion in government that is not being fulfilled. What is this expectation, and on what is it founded? Is it consultation, as it flows from the stratiform/democratic system advocated by the Indian Act, or is it something else?

An answer to this question is to be found in both an examination of the claims made by those in Islet for political inclusion, and in a restatement of some of the differentiating qualities of reserve communities. There was an overwhelming sense of group cohesiveness in Islet, as demonstrated by the category of inside/outside. Claims against chief and council for more community involvement in the decision-making process seem to be based on a notion of group rights – rights that are conferred to a group based on similarity of characteristic. Consider the statements: *"There are concerns of more non-natives moving on-reserve"*; *"There are outsiders working there, there are whites, people that have married in – our own people have to wait in line"*; *"When we ask, we are silenced"*; *"The chief calls meetings at the spur of the moment"*; *"People*

are not involved in decisions"; and "It's our money." All of these statements involve a subtle expectation of inclusion based on a collective notion of the community as something more than a political/administrative jurisdiction. Claims of inclusion are therefore based on something more than franchise or citizenship as implied in the social contract and in stratiform/democratic leadership. Returning to arguments made earlier, reserve communities constitute something more than municipal organizations. The criteria of both membership and residency in the organization that is the community differentiate Indian reserves, establishing them as ethnic corporations. These features flow from both traditional First Nation culture, and echo the social and political organization of the social compact. Further, these features also originate in and are inconsistently reinforced by status and the legal nature of Aboriginal rights as defined and developed in treaty and law.

Returning to Rosen's leadership model, the emic perspective of leadership in Islet reveals that the system appears stratiform/authoritarian, but that people show a preference for a system that utilizes influence as opposed to power. Under Rosen's typology, this system is semi egalitarian/managerial, and consists of closed distribution, access through achievement and mobilization through influence. Such a system would place the chief as prima inter pares with regard to band members, and would perhaps help eliminate the confusion that creates the illusion of authoritarianism, and statements such as: *"We're all Indians here in Islet, then there is chief. The rest of us are just Indians."*

Carstens has argued that the legal and administrative environment that encapsulates reserve communities inhibits real change through processes of development. He states that: "It is, in fact my contention that moves toward integration are usually accompanied by countermoves toward

segregation. Expressed in different terms, it can be argued that whereas reserves as structural systems appear to change, they do not and cannot. Thus an apparent centrifugal move (e.g. school integration off the reserve) tends to be accompanied by a centripetal one (e.g. an increase in qualified self-government)." (Carstens 1971:140) Put differently, Carstens is arguing that an attempt to break down administrative and psychological barriers of the inside/outside dichotomy is usually negated structurally by the administrative and psychological barriers created by increased political jurisdiction that accompanies such change.

Some reflection on the word "reserve" can assist in making this argument. In its common usage as a noun, an Indian reserve is a place – a place for Indians. An examination of the word "reserve" as a verb seems to define the structural problems outlined above. When one is uncertain with regard to making a decision, it is said that they have reservations. In its various meanings ranging from military to religious to conservation, the verb reserve implies the suspension of a problem. The word's general use, as defined in Webster's dictionary, is as follows: "To keep back; to retain or hold over to a future time or place; not to deliver, make over, or disclose at once; to defer the discussion or determination of. To keep from being known to others." Perhaps the most telling definition of reserve as a verb when applied to the context of Indian Affairs is to be found in ecclesiastics: "An act of vacant benefice." While this definition refers specifically to tithing, the literal translation is "empty kindness." Finally, the financial definition of reserve seems to capture the essence of the "return/stay" option often discussed with regard to Indians and their attachment to their reserve communities: "Something to which one may resort; a refuge."

Much of the literature is premised on how Indian tradition and culture are incongruent with imposed systems of politics and administration, and with the external systems with which these local governments are forced to interact. The case study of Islet revealed problems with the leadership system somewhat typical of those described in the literature. Islet, however, has adopted a modern approach, and it would appear that tradition is weaker here than it would be in other communities. Given this, what then can account for the problems and the nature of the claims and expectations of community members against their government? Could it be that the entire Indian Act and federal legislation create the climate of an ethnic corporation through law and entitlement, making the stratiform/democratic leadership system ineffective to deal with government and management of interest claims based on ownership and use, as opposed to claims against government of citizenship and right?

The emic view of the leadership system in Islet provides a very different picture from that in Round One of the analysis. The former perspective emphasized process and the contradictions and different values associated with leadership and decision-making, while the latter view reveals a strong group identity in the kinship state (inside/outside and family) coupled with a patient (all for one and one for some) desire for inclusion and responsibility (l/earning). Within the categories of Round Three is an expectation for a leadership system that permits inclusion and that incorporates input based on membership. While the literature emphasizes the problems and contradictions associated with encapsulation, it is possible that group identity in Islet has been subtended by federal legislation such as the Indian Act, pending the conditions necessary for an intentional determination of identity. If this is the case, then the importance of "special status" becomes apparent, and Indian opposition to its revocation can be explained in terms of a quest for resolution as opposed to a desire to perpetuate dependency.

6.0 Concluding Remarks

The exploratory nature of this research places some restrictions on the types of claims that can be made in a conclusive manner. As an outsider, it would be presumptuous to make recommendations regarding leadership in Islet. The data from the case study, however, in conjunction with the literature do provide a basis to make some inferences in a careful manner that are respectful of the context and complexity of the First Nation leadership environment. In this chapter, findings from both the case study and the literature will be briefly summarized. Lessons gleaned from these two components of the research will then be applied to revisit First Nation local leadership from the perspective of leaders themselves, and outside agencies. Following this discussion, some comments will be made regarding how the research speaks to the broader themes of planning and development for First Nation reserve communities.

6.1 Summary of the Research

While each First Nation reserve community is unique in a variety of ways, Islet stands out as somewhat atypical. Given the history of colonial contact and interrelations with those on the outside, much of what could be termed historic tradition has been lost to the community. Islet, however, remains "Indian" despite the modern approach adopted by the Band government and embraced by most band members. The data reveal a strong sense of local identity regardless of internal difference based on family/clan association, education, wealth and prosperity, and employment status. Contributing to the uniqueness of the community is the commitment of the chief as leader to successfully bringing about change. As a professional in the area of finance, the chief has balanced the books and delivered programs and services in a consistent manner.

His accomplishments and devotion are reflected in his repeated return to office. and in the recognition among community members that *"Not too many reserves have this kind of guy."* It is unlikely that many other reserves of a similar size and population have the types of services available in Islet such as the recreation complex/community center. the adult learning facility and a community-based resource industry offering local employment opportunities. These programs and facilities were the direct result of the creativity and resourcefulness of the chief. and were pioneered through adaptive management. and the chief's ability to function in both the Indian and non-Indian spheres.

Regardless of such accomplishments. concerns were expressed regarding leadership. For the most part. these concerns were not directed at the chief personally. but rather at the way in which the chief and council carried out their leadership roles. Most concerns were based on a form of exclusion that prevented the transfer of knowledge. This exclusion distanced band members from knowledge of decisions being made. and from input into the decision-making process itself. Overtly represented in the category of closed government. and more subtly in the categories of all for one and one for some. money and people. change and dependency and fairness. the concern for inclusion appeared to be based on something more than access to information and participation. These claims were grounded in something more substantial. something specific to the community and to the people forming the collective. Whether rooted in the face-to-face nature of the small community. in traditional approaches to and expectations of leadership. or in aspects of the Indian Act and treaties that reinforce notions of collective rights. the basis of claim for inclusion was founded on something more than can be justified under the individual rights model provided by the theory of the social contract. The strong distinctions made in the category of inside/outside reflect this sentiment of difference that is held by members of the community. In effect. the concerns regarding leadership were directed at process. but rooted in differing

values with regard to what leadership ought to be. As such. theses judgments are normative. The problem. however. is that these claims appeal to a standard that is not codified and probably could not be verbalized from tradition if tradition were its origin. This discrepancy between expectations and established systems may explain some of the dissonance revealed in Islet and possibly in other First Nation communities.

The case study reveals that to many in Islet. leadership consists of much more than the execution of the functions of government and administration. even when these are carried out in a successful results-oriented way. The data indicate that there is something lacking in the current leadership system in the community. To the people of Islet. leadership necessarily entails values. The chief's values regarding leadership were mismatched with those widely held in the community. yet the community repeatedly legitimized these values of the chief by returning him to office. What this says to leadership is that the act of leading – the way in which a leader leads -- reflects a value orientation independent of policies or decisions that result. In Islet. it would appear that the community has made certain trade-offs. sacrificing their values with regard to leadership and decision-making for the benefits of efficiency in delivering the goods. The goods may not be exactly what people envision. but they are perceived through uncertainty of the alternative to be better than having no goods at all.

6.2 Summary of the Literature

Ideas from the literature were broken down into five distinct categories. The first two categories (Leadership Systems and Rights and Responsibilities) outlined a typology of leadership systems. and the related social philosophies and cultural values. The theories of social compact and social contract were described as vehicles for understanding the way in which traditional and modern

systems of leadership differ according to values and to the way in which each philosophy incorporates notions of the individual and the collective. These values were then explored with regard to how they conflicted with leadership and group identity (Cultural Resonance), administration (Bureaucratic Encapsulation), and economics (Economic Determinism).

The literature indicates a strong overall message of contradictory mandates for First Nation community leaders, making the position of chief a very difficult and dangerous role. Within two disparate arenas, a chief is expected to resolve the differences between the contract philosophy of the outside and compact philosophy that often exists on the inside. Complicating matters is the fact that values of compact philosophy are included in legislation defining the relationship between First Nations and the federal government. Further, contract values are often embraced by status Indians within a First Nation community. Within this confusing matrix of values, First Nation leaders often find themselves having to conduct their roles as leaders using the structure and tools of the external system that is based on principles that are incongruent with the face-to-face nature of the ethnic corporation that is a First Nation.

Regardless of the uniqueness of Islet, most of these aspects of the leadership environment are reflected in the case study. What stands out in this regard is that the literature emphasizes cultural difference as a dichotomy between tradition and modernity. The literature cannot account well for the existence of similar leadership problems occurring in communities where tradition and the corresponding values have been, for the most part, lost. In such situations, what can explain this phenomenon? Is it possible that some values tied to tradition have been reintroduced/reinforced by aspects of contradictory federal legislation that seeks to protect the collective rights of First Nation peoples, while facilitating their eradication at the same time?

Alternatively, perhaps, the marginalization of First Nation peoples and their communities has served to reinforce a collective ethic through unity of oppression.

The many approaches to the study of First Nation community leadership revealed in the literature lead to questions regarding what needs to be studied, how it should be studied, and by whom it should be studied. Essentially, these questions are methodological. The methodology used in the case study of Islet revealed that leadership was defined, in part, by the way in which it was perceived. Round One of the analysis portrayed leadership in the community as something determined by abstract principles of government, administration and allocation. From this view, leadership appeared algorithmic, functional and universal. Some of this perspective was doubtless imposed on the data from the conceptual baggage of the researcher. Round Two of the analysis provided a different picture of leadership. The view that looked outside the inside of the community described leadership in a way that was more localized than the previous perspective. In the second round, leadership was about balancing competing claims from individuals and groups. In Round Three, leadership was viewed as being inter-subjective, involving the resolution of competing claims through process. From this view, leadership was about being inclusive, and about bringing together different perspectives to forge understanding and unanimity.

While each of these perspectives speaks differently to the subject of leadership, each view describes a necessary component of leadership in the First Nation community context. Chiefs must interact with outside agencies, and often must play by the political and bureaucratic rules imposed by encapsulation. The outside-in view reveals the extent of cultural brokerage necessary for the leadership role, emphasizing the outside. The outside-inside view demonstrates the many contradictions that result from encapsulation. Finally, the third perspective that turns the

community inside-out reveals how these contradictions and the attempts at their resolution appear to band members. The literature on First Nation community leadership primarily originates from the first two perspectives through the study of leaders, their qualities and the challenges they face in reconciling the outside with the inside. These views are apt to receive more attention because they are more accessible, and comprehensible to those on the outside. They incorporate, by necessity, the known values of the imposed leadership system. By nature, such inquiry cannot provide an understanding of what these values are brushing up against. What appear to be lacking in the literature are explorations from the third (emic) perspective that are conducted by those on the inside, for those on the inside.

The way in which facets and aspects of categories from the literature informed the case study of Islet have been set out in figure 6.2.1. In this figure, summary figures from categories presented in Chapter Four have been brought together to include data references from the case study. Included in Figure 6.2.1 are some inferences specific to the Islet First Nation regarding the presence or absence of aspects of First Nation leadership systems.

Figure 6.2.1 Literature and Case Study

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Leadership System				
Distribution	Open	No	• No redundancy of parts or functions apparent in the system	• According to Rosen's classification the leadership system utilized in Islet is stratiform/democratic
	Closed	Yes	• Leadership roles fulfilled by people in official "positions"	• Stratiform/democratic is the form of Indian Act Band government
Access	Achievement	Yes	• Qualities deemed necessary for chief include education, political contacts in the outside world, and respect	• Prerequisites for office do not originate in the community, except for respect and heredity

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Ascription	Maybe	• Chiefs have always been of one family clan, with only one exception	• Ascription appears not to be a formal aspect of the system
Mobilization	Influence	No	• Lack of community process for decision making removes possibility of leading through influence	• If ascription were a formal part of the system, the type would be stratiform/authoritarian
	Power	Yes	• Centralized decision making, and the deferral to law and legal authority indicate hierarchy of decision making in the community	• People in the community describe the system as authoritarian, which may indicate that ascription is part of the system, or possibly impacts upon it

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Authority	Traditional	Maybe	• Authority may be traditional- the chief is of the hereditary leadership clan • Respect criteria may indicate moral/traditional leadership	• Traditional authority. if it exists in Islet, may conflict with legal authority of Indian Act chief and council
	Legal	Yes	• Authority exercised according to the powers of band government as defined in the Indian Act	• Chief views position as one of legal authority. However. some may view the role as emanating from traditional authority

Categories and Facets From Literature	**Aspect of Facet**	**Evident in Islet**	**Indicators From Case Study**	**Inferences**
	Charismatic	No	• Lack of trust in the community prevents the exercise of charismatic authority • Chief does not draw attention	• Aversion to those with compelling arguments may explain how the community has failed to interest the chief in open government
Rights & Responsibilities				

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Values	Contract	Yes	• System embraces contract values, as evidenced by hierarchy within band government: appeal to law; adherence to the merit principle in allocation of positions; encouragement of work ethic through minimum allotment of social assistance and the creation of community-based job opportunities; and the representative aspect of the position of chief	• The leadership system in Islet reflects and encourages many contract values, however appears to fall short on delivering rights-based access to public process. It would appear that community members are being encouraged to adopt an incomplete set of modern contract values.

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Compact	Maybe	• There is little evidence of compact values within the leadership system, although there appear to be compact values within the community. In many ways, the expectations of community members for their leaders are compact based, as is the criteria by which individuals become encouraged and nominated by the community to run for chief	• If the chief exemplifies an incomplete set of contract values, then this value set will appear lacking to those in the community. Their only option may be to hold on to some traditional compact values. As a result, the chief and the leadership system risk being judged simultaneously by two incompatible social philosophies.

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Principles	Accountable	Maybe	• Principles of legal accountability apply as evidenced by deferral to outside government agencies (INAC) • When rules are broken, even for good reason, this accountability must come into question	• In theory, First Nation leaders are accountable to INAC. These links, however, are weak. One implication of this is that community members have limited effective appeal to a higher politic.

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Responsible	Maybe	• Chief and council are ultimately responsible for local government, however this responsibility is confusing in regard to the role of the Minister of Indian Affairs • Lack of transparency in government and the exclusion of media call whatever limited responsibility that may exist into question	• This gray area of responsibility may be a 'cake and eat it' scenario for First Nation leaders. When something goes wrong, INAC can be responsible, or the matter can be "internal." When something is successful, credit can remain at the local level

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Representative	No	• While Band government is intended to be a form of representative government, lack of community involvement and information sharing indicates that the leadership system is not representative	• While representative government necessitates political voluntarism, it does not give sanction to secrecy. A leadership position without representation serves to erode the notion of responsibility

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Decision Making Process	Hierarchic	Yes	• Inside/outside nature of band government indicates hierarchy. Bureaucratic encapsulation reinforces this. • Hierarchy is reinforced in community by inequity of education, experience and material resources	• Hierarchy seems to distance people from government, creating skepticism and suspicion

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Consensual	No	• Issues determined by referendum. No public process or opportunity for community members to be heard before chief and council on an issue-by-issue basis	• Not being part of decisions, people in the community may not feel bound or obliged to respect them • Perpetuates division
	Participatory	No	• Lack of funding cited as reason for limited community participation • Community meetings used to be held, during which bickering became the norm	• Cost argument may be excuse for a lack of skills to lead productive public process • No participation forces people to discuss and gossip in a divisive group manner

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Transparent	No	• Many matters are not only internal to the community, but are internal to the band government and to those privy to its functioning.	• Leads to feelings of nepotism, favouritism and conflict of interest in the absence of information
Cultural Resonance				
Orientation	Modern	Yes	• Long history of colonial relations • Many in the community leadership system of mixed Indian/Non-Indian blood • Leadership system based primarily on contract values	• Experience with outside may have unifying effect on community • Facilitates the brokerage role played by chief

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Traditional	No	• Traditional culture "taught not lived" according to most • A "forward-looking group"	• Teaching tradition without living it and demonstrating it through leadership could contribute to dissonance
Identity	Traditional	Maybe	• Some identify strongly with tradition, but leaders do not • Traditionalists identify with Pan-Indian culture/spirituality as opposed to local	• If identity is perceived to include tradition without it being lived, experienced and demonstrated, the result with regard to leadership could be contradictory expectations

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Legislated	Maybe	• Much of being Indian in Islet appears to be a function of status and encapsulation • History of contact and interaction with the outside appear to have dampened impacts of legislated identity	• If identity is a function of government and leadership, then expectations will contain the contradictions of the legislation, complicating matters for leadership

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Planned-Hybrid	Maybe	• No overt efforts to examine conflicting value systems within the leadership system, however a conscious choice was made by band government to "modernize" the community, incrementally, without input	• If identity is a planned hybrid that has emerged without cognizance of the community, dissonance could be the result
Resonance	Assonant	No	• Limited community dialogue regarding government and leadership prevent assonant resonance	• Explains difference between actions of government and expectations of community

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Dissonant	Yes	• Apparent mismatch between the encapsulating system, the local leadership system and expectations of community members	• Results in division, system reinforces hierarchy and prevents dialogue
Bureaucratic Encapsulation				
Prerequisites for Office	External	Yes	• Chief well educated and connected in the outside world to perform brokerage role • Contacts and education cited as requirements	• Narrows candidates for chief and perpetuates self-fulfilling prophecy of the modern outlook

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Leadership Criterion	Service	Yes	• While many were critical of the chief's leadership style, all acknowledged that he had done much for the community	• Modesty with confidence of character indicate tradition plays a stronger role in selection of leader than may otherwise be evident
	Charismatic	No	• Limited public gatherings for political purposes render the charisma criterion impossible in this context	• Reinforces traditional preferences for leadership qualities
Return Rate	High Turnover	No	• Unlike most First Nation communities, Islet had stable government and leadership for over two decades	• Testimony to either success of mandate, or strength, power and respect for traditional leadership clan

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Bureaucracy	Elite	Yes	• Family relations and educational attainment aid in creating the "inside of the inside"	• Perception of such an elite may persist where government is more open and participatory
Accusations	"Selling-Out"	No	• While a few in the community feel that Islet sold out to contract values, there was no mention of chief and council short-changing the community	• Indicates that leadership problems in the community are based in the community

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Nepotism	Yes	• Accusations of nepotism were delivered softly by some who used it to explain the dominance of certain families in the community • Inconsistency regarding the merit principle could well compound these accusations	• Exacerbated by closed government, such accusations may be impossible to alleviate in such a small community
Economic Determinism				
Function	Allocative	Yes	• Chief and council decide who gets what and how much	• Contributes to feeling of unfairness, compounded by closed government

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Fiscal Management	Balanced	Yes	• Band has operated in the black for a number of years • Adaptive management has generated ways of doing more for the community	• A balanced budget has brought more to the community as responsibility has been demonstrated to funding agencies • Probably contributed to the questioning of priorities in the category of money and people
Grantsmanship	Red-Tape	Yes	• Much time and resources are spent obtaining project money and monitoring progress • Chief has been very successful at this endeavour	• Such attention to grantsmanship is apt to reduce time and energy available for internal community dialogue and debate

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Values Toward Money	Giving/ Sharing	Yes	• Many observations regarding sharing were made	• Capacity exists to overcome divisions that would emerge through public dialogue
	Earning	Yes	• Community in transition over this aspect • Change in values probably results from contract values and increased opportunities in the community	• Facilitates overcoming of dependency mindset
Social Assistance	Stigma	Yes	• It appears that band government has stigmatized social assistance through its welfare policy	• Closed nature of debate on policy eliminated possibility of creative alternatives

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
Selection Criteria/Jobs	Merit	Maybe	• Band government claims to use the merit principle, however some argue that this principle is not fair, and that it is not always followed	• Inconsistency and closed government contribute to accusations of favouritism and nepotism
	Need	Maybe	• Band government was active in creating work opportunities for many who required work • Job sharing using employment insurance indicates need aspect	• If need and merit principles are applied in a discretionary manner, the inconsistency gives the appearance of a self-interested leader

Categories and Facets From Literature	Aspect of Facet	Evident in Islet	Indicators From Case Study	Inferences
	Political	Maybe	• Family relations of the inside on the inside tend to give appearance of political selection criteria	• Serves to reinforce hierarchy and the power of the "inside of the inside"
Accusations	"High Life"	No	• Chief was successful in his own right prior to taking office • Feeling was limited that the chief lived differently because of his role	• Contributes to respect for leader
	Conflict of Interest	Yes	• Lack of information sharing created questions without answers regarding what resources there were, and how they were being managed	• Lack of open process weakens credibility of chief, even in the absence of wrongdoing.

6.3 Prospects and Caveats

Just as there is a dearth of research that explores the inside-out perspective of First Nation leadership, there was no formalized public vehicle in Islet for the values and expectations of band members to be heard. It would appear that in Islet, and in other First Nation reserve communities (as evidenced in the literature), there is an overriding sense that leadership is not being carried out in a manner that reflects the values of community members. Leading in such a manner is extremely difficult in the context of encapsulation. Even where there are both desire and interest to explore alternative systems of leadership, "Very few contemporary Native politicians can honestly claim to possess the qualities and skills needed to lead in a non-coercive, participatory, transparent, consensus-based system." (Alfred 1999: 28) Aside from the skill required to lead in such a manner, consensual process takes time and requires patience. Given the need for development and change in most reserve communities, it is understandable how a semi-egalitarian managerial leadership system has not replaced the stratiform/democratic.

In the Introduction to this thesis, three phases of First Nation colonial leadership were described. Initially, Indian Agents were appointed to represent the Crown in dealings with First Nations. The second phase internalized political organization within each First Nation under the creation of Indian Act band governments. The third phase saw a shift of administrative responsibility to First Nations, and was labeled self-government. These phases are outlined in Table 6.3.1. and are described according to organization, administration and the overall form and values inherent in the leadership phase. The internalization of both organization and administration through self-government has, as described in the introduction, created many challenges for First Nation leaders. As evidenced in both the literature and the case study, the difficulties of local Indian

leadership appear to be rooted in values and expectations. These problems are magnified by the fact that the self-government phase of colonial leadership utilizes an imposed system and its inherent values. Following the trend of internalizing control for organization and administration through the phases of colonial leadership, a fourth phase has been identified wherein the forms and values of the leadership system are locally derived. This phase, containing elements of self-determination, has been labeled "Transcendence" in Figure 6.3.1.

Figure 6.3.1 Phases of First Nation Colonial Leadership

Leadership Phase	Organization	Administration	Form/Values
1 Indian Agent (Colonial)	External	External	**Imposed** (Mutual Learning)
2 Indian Act Band government (Post-Colonial)	Internal	External	Imposed (Assimilative)
3 Self-Government (Functional Integration)	Internal	Internal	Imposed (Systemic)
4 Transcendence (Self-Determination)	Internal	Internal	**Local (Self-Determined)**

As indicated in the above figure, transcending self-government and the imposed colonial forms and values that determine a leadership system requires intentional reflection on the situation on behalf of First Nation leaders and band members. The responsibility for such change falls upon First Nation leaders themselves. Transcendence requires knowledgeable leaders with a will to reform values and systems (clarity of vision), and leaders who possess the necessary skills to lead by example in the reformed context. Such leaders will probably to emerge from a new generation, educated in both Indian and non-Indian ways, that is not experientially entrenched in the status quo. While such change poses a challenging prospect for such leaders, it is possible and does not necessarily require exogenous reform at the outset. As revealed in the case study of Islet, there is much room for discretion in the "administrative limbo" created by the current mismatch of expectations and leadership systems. Such discretion could be utilized in a manner

that serves to consistently reinforce and redefine values through process. As revealed by the current situation in many First Nation communities, the form and values of a leadership system need not fit the entire leadership environment to function. At present, the situation appears to be one in which the form (internalized external) does not match the expectations and values of many band members. It would be no more difficult for the form and values of the leadership system to be developed internally and to be incongruent with the external system.

Given the large degree of encapsulation faced by First Nation community leaders, transcendence of the imposed leadership system for bands that choose to do so will require, in time, some recognition and cooperation by outside agencies. Current federal policy appears to be directed toward the gradual municipalization of First Nation communities, a framework that works against the development of locally crafted systems by eliminating designs that include aspects of collective rights. While the acceptance of collective rights in law is more advanced in Canada than many other countries, it remains a cloudy area of judicial interpretation. It would appear that judicial remedies are more easily obtained using legislation that centers on individual rights (social contract). The recent Supreme Court decision in Corbiere *v.* Canada demonstrates this well (See Annex 3 entitled "The Corbiere Decision.") The case deals with voting rights of off-reserve status Indians. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of lower courts that the requirement of the Indian Act linking residency with voting rights was discriminatory. This decision has several implications that could impact upon the "compact" nature of leadership in many First Nation communities operating under the provisions of the Indian Act. Implementation of the decision could result in the diversion of funding to off-reserve projects, and to the possibility of off-reserve band members running for elected positions in band government. At stake in the decision is the collective interest in the band, where the nature of

that interest is based on interaction and personal relations and cannot be fulfilled, theoretically, in the off-reserve situation.

Finally, some general claims can be made about planning and development with regard to First Nation leadership systems and the case study of Islet. While the chief of Islet mentioned the economic costs associated with open government and with more community involvement in the decision-making process, it is probable that the human costs of not initiating such process are greater in the long term. Closed government perpetuates the third phase of colonial leadership, and prevents the emergence of self-determination. It also serves to alienate people from their nation, creating suspicion and complicating leadership as a result. The approach to development adopted by the chief and council of Islet is typical of modernization theory, and echoes a belief that barriers to development are primarily economic and can be overcome with an emphasis on the built environment. While economic development is both desired and necessary in the First Nation context, it will not be sustainable if alienated from human development. Transformation through the re-definition of values will tend to come about through participatory and/or consensual planning and visioning processes that utilize social learning as the dominant development paradigm. Alfred (1999 :132) has argued similarly:

> "In Native communities, it is the people's lack of understanding of political reality and blindness to the roots of their pain that keep them passively suffering. In both cases, there are serious inconsistencies between the current reality and the principles that form the basis of the people's identity, indigenous and non-indigenous alike. And in both cases, education holds the best promise for positive change, because it creates awareness of the inconsistencies between the world as it is and as it should be." (Alfred 1999: 132)

Stated more concisely by a member of the Islet First Nation: "*Everyone can learn to manage if given the chance.*"

References and Works Cited

Adams. Howard. 1984. "Red Powerlessness: Bureaucratic Authoritarianism on Indian Reserves" in Cornell Journal of Social Relations, Fall 1984. 18(1) 28-40.

Alfred. Taiaiake. 1999. Peace Power Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Anders. Gary C. and Kathleen K. Anders. 1986. "Incompatible Goals in Unconventional Organization: The Politics of Alaska Native Corporations." Organization Studies. Volume 7. No. 3. PP. 213-233.

Balandier. Georges. 1970. Political Anthropology. New York: Pantheon Books.

Barsh. Russel Lawrence. 1995. "Indigenous Peoples and the Idea of Individual Human Rights." Native Studies Review. V. 10. no 2. PP. 35-55.

Barsh. Russel Lawrence. 1986. "The Nature and Spirit of North American Political Systems." American Indian Quarterly. Summer 1986. Vo. 10 No. 3. PP. 181 - 98.

Boilsi. Thomas. 1995. "The Birth of the Reserve: Making of the Modern Individual Among the Lakota." American Ethnologist. Vol. 22. No. 1. PP. 28-53.

Boldt, Menno and J. Anthony Long. 1984. "Tribal Traditions and European-Western Political Ideologies: The Dilemma of Canada's Native Indians." Canadian Journal of Political Science, XVII:3, September 1984.

Boldt, Menno. 1981. "Social Correlates of Romanticism: A study of leadership in an internal colony." Ethnic Groups. Vol. 3. PP. 307-332.

Boldt, Menno. 1980. "Canadian Native Indian Leadership: Context and Composition." Canadian Ethnic Studies. XII, 1, 80. PP. 15-33.

Boldt, Menno. 1993. Surviving as Indians: The Challenge of Self-Government. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Boothroyd, Peter. 1986. "Enhancing Local Planning Skills for Native Self-Reliance: The UBC Experience." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. VI. No. 1. PP. 13-42.

Bottomore, T. B. 1964. Elites and Society. Markham, ON. Penguin Books Ltd.

Canada. 1996. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. "Restructuring The Relationship." Vol 2. Part 1. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Canada. 1989. Indian Act. R.S., 1985, c. I-5 with amendments. Office Consolidation. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Carstens, Peter. 1991. The Queen's People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Carstens, Peter. 1987. "Leaders, Followers, and Supporters: The Okanagan Experience." Anthropologica. Vol. XXIX. PP. 7-19.

Carstens, Peter. 1971. "Coercion and Change." Canadian Society. R. J. Ossenberg (ed). Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.

Cassidy, Frank. 1990. "Aboriginal Governments in Canada: An Emerging Field of Study." Canadian Journal of Political Science. Volume XXIII. No. 1. PP. 73-99.

Cassidy, Frank and Robert L. Bish. 1989. Indian Government: Its Meaning in Practice. Vancouver: Oolichan Books and The Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Castellano, Marlene Brant. 1993. "Aboriginal Organizations in Canada: Integrating Participatory Research." Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada. Park, Peter, Mary Brydon-Miller, Budd Hall and Ted Jackson eds. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Chapman, Ian. Don McCaskill and David Newhouse. 1991. "Management in Contemporary Aboriginal Organizations." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. XI. No. 2. PP. 333-349.

Clarkson. Linda, Vern Morrissette. Gabriel Regallet. 1992. "Our Responsibility to the Seventh Generation: Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development. A report by the International Institute for Sustainable Development. Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development.

Colson. Elizabeth. 1974. Tradition and Contract: The Problem of Order. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Colson. Elizabeth. 1986. "Political Organization In Tribal Societies: A Cross-Cultural Comparison." American Indian Quarterly. Winter. 1986. Vo. 10. No. 1. PP. 5-19.

Copet. Wayne. 1992. "An Approach to Community Planning in Aboriginal Settlements." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. XII. No. 1. PP. 37-50.

Corbiere *v.* Canada (Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs). [1999] 2 S.C.R. 203

Cornell. Stephen. 1988. "The Transformations of Tribe: Organization and Self-concept in Native American Ethnicities." Ethnic and Racial Studies. Vol. 11. No. 1. PP. 27-47.

Cornell, Stephen and Joseph P. Kalt. 1990. "Pathways from Poverty: Economic Development and Institution-Building on American Indian Reserves." American Indian Culture and Research Journal. Volume 14. No. 1. PP. 89-125.

Crowfoot, Strater. 1997. "Leadership in First Nation Communities: A Chief's Perspectives on the Colonial Milestone" in J. Rick Ponting (ed) First Nations in Canada: Perspectives on Opportunity, Empowerment and Self-Determination. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.

Denhardt, Robert B. 1993. Theories of Public Administration. Second Edition. Belmont CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Doerr, Audrey D. 1997. "Building New Orders of Government -- the Future of Aboriginal Self-government." Canadian Public Administration. Volume 40, No. 2 (Summer). PP. 274-289.

Duerden, Frank. Richard G. Kuhn and Sean Black. 1996. "An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of First Nations Participation in the Development of Land-Use Plans in the Yukon." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. XVI. No. 1. PP. 105-124.

Dyck, Noel. 1983. "Representation and Leadership of a Provincial Indian Association." Adrian Tanner (ed). The Politics of Indianness: Case Studies in Native Ethnopolitics in Canada. St. John's. Institute of Social and Economic Research. Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Dyck, Noel. 1991. What is the Indian Problem?: Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration. St. Johns. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Eichler, Margrit. 1988. Nonsexist Research Methods: A Practical Guide. Unwin Hyman Inc. Winchester (MA).

Elias, Peter Douglas. 1990. "Wage Labour, Aboriginal Rights and the Cree of the Churchill River Basin, Saskatchewan." Native Studies Review. Vol. 6. No. 2. PP. 43-63.

Fenton, William N. 1986. "Leadership in the Northeastern Woodlands of North America" American Indian Quarterly. Winter. 1986. Vo. 10. No. 1. PP. 21-45.

Fetterman, David M. 1989. Ethnography Step by Step. Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 17. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications.

Fromkin, David. 1981. The Independence of Nations. New York: Praeger.

Fromkin, David. 1975. The Question of Government. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Gadacz, Rene R. 1991. "Community Socio-Economic Development From a Plains Indian Perspective: A Proposed Social Indicator System and Planning Tool." Native Studies Review. Vol. 7. No. 1. PP. 53-80.

Gagne. R. L. 1996. "Accountability and public administration." Canadian Public Administration. Volume 39. No. 2 (Summer). PP. 213-225.

Gray. Janice. 1997. "The *Mabo* Case: A Radical Decision?" Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. XVII. No. 1. PP. 33-74.

Guba. Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 1988. "Do Inquiry Paradigms Imply Inquiry Methodologies?" Qualitative Approaches To Evaluation in Education. Fetterman. D. ed. London: Praeger.

Haddad. Tony and Michael Spivey. 1992. "All Or Nothing: Modernization. Dependency and Wage Labour on a Reserve in Canada." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. XII. No. 2. PP. 203-228.

Hanson. Bill. 1985. Dual Realities Dual Strategies. Saskatoon: Bill Hanson.

Harvey. Sioux. 1996. "Two Models of Sovereignty: A Comparative History of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation and the Navajo Nation." American Indian Culture and Research Journal. Volume 20. No. 1. PP. 147-194.

Hedican. Edward J. 1986. The Ogoki River Guides. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press.

Hedican, Edward J. 1995. Applied Anthropology in Canada: Understanding Aboriginal Issues. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Holm, Tom. 1982. "Indian Concepts of Authority and the Crisis in Tribal Government." The Social Science Journal. July 1982. Vol. 19. no 3.

Hosmer, Brian C. 1997. "Reflections on Indian Cultural "Brokers": Reginald Oshkosh, Mitchell Oshkenaniew, and the Politics of Menominee Lumbering." Ethnohistory. 44:3. PP. 493-509.

Hull, Jeremy. 1984. "1981 Census Coverage of the Native Population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan." Canadian Journal of Native Studies. 4(1). PP. 147-156.

Hunt, Sonja M. 1984. "The Role of Leadership in the Construction of Reality." Barbara Kellerman (ed). Leadership: Multidisciplinary Perspectives. Toronto: Prentice Hall Canada Inc.

ICA Canada. 1986. "Effective Leadership." Toronto: ICA Canada.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). 1989. "Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1981-2001 Part II: Social Conditions." Hull: Quantitative Analysis and Socio-demographic Research, Finance and Professional Services. Working Paper Series 89-2.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). 1997. "Socio-Economic Indicators in Indian Reserves and Comparable Communities, 1971-1991." Hull: Information Quality and Research Directorate, Corporate Services of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). 1990. "The Indian Public Sector: Analysis of Existing Data and Discussion of Other Data Issues." Quantitative Analysis and Socio-demographic Research, Finance and Professional Services. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Jacobs, Wilbur R. 1993. "Patterns of Political Leadership in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Native North America." American Indian Quarterly. Summer 1993. Vol. 17. No. 3. PP. 341-2.

Jorgensen, Danny L. 1989. Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies. Applied Social Research Methods Series Vol. 15. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications.

Kellerman, Barbara. 1984. "Leadership as a Political Act." Barbara Kellerman (ed). Leadership: Multidisciplinary Perspectives. Toronto: Prentice Hall Canada Inc.

Kirby, Sandra and Kate McKenna. 1989. Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods from the Margins. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Kowalski, Laura O., Wilfreda E. Thurston, Marja J. Verhoef and Gayle E. Rutherford. 1996. "Guidelines for Entry Into An Aboriginal Community." Canadian Journal of Native Studies. V. XVI. 2(1996). PP. 267-282.

Kupferer, Harriet J. 1966. "Impotency and Power: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Effect of Alien Rule." Marc J. Swartz, Victor W. Turner and Arthur Tuden (eds). Political Anthropology. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Larsen, Tord. 1983. "Negotiating Identity: The Micmac of Nova Scotia." In Adrian Tanner, (ed). The Politics of Indianness: Case Studies in Native Ethnopolitics in Canada. St. John's. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

LeDressay, Andre. 1994. "The Mysterious Trail of Suspect Statistics: A Case Study of Five Shuswap Nation Communities." Native Studies Review. 9(2). 1993-1994.

Long, J. Anthony. 1990. "Political Revitalization in Canadian Native Indian Societies." Canadian Journal of Political Science. Volume XXIII. No. 4. PP. 751-773.

Long, J. Anthony and Menno Boldt. 1987. "Leadership Selection in Canadian Indian Communities: Reforming the Present and Incorporating the Past." Great Plains Quarterly. Vol. 7. Spring 1987. PP. 107-115.

Lassey, William R. and Marshall Shaskin. 1983. "Leadership and Community Development." in Lassey and Shaskin (eds). Leadership and Social Change. San Diego. University Associates Inc.

Lessnoff, Michael. 1986. Social Contract. Atlantic Highlands NJ: Humanities Press International Inc.

Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. 1987. "Money, Semantics, and Indian Leadership." American Indian Quarterly. Winter, 1986. Vol. 10. No. 1. PP. 47-63.

Lynes, David A. 1995. "Cultural Spirit and the Ethic of Bureaucracy: The Paradox of Cultural Administration." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Volume XV. No. 1. PP. 75-88.

Magnet, Joseph Eliot. 1986. "Collective Rights, Cultural Autonomy and the Canadian State." McGill Law Journal. Vol. 32. PP. 170-186.

Malloy, David Cruise. 1991. "Cross-Cultural Awareness in Administration: An Interview With Harold Cardinal." Recreation Canada. Vol. 49. No. 3. PP. 40-44.

Malloy, D. C. and R. N. Nilson. 1991. "Leadership Preferences of Indian and Non-Indian Athletes." Canadian Journal of Native Education. Volume 18. No. 1. PP.33-41.

Marshall, Catherine and Gretchen B. Rossman. 1989. Designing Qualitative Research. Newbury Park (CA): Sage Publications Inc.

Maxwell, Joseph A. 1996. Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach. Applied Social Research Methods Series. Volume 41. Newbury Park (CA): Sage Publications Inc.

McCracken, Grant. 1988. The Long Interview. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications Inc.

McDonald, Michael. 1986. "Indian Status: Colonialism or Sexism?" Canadian Community Law Journal. Vol. 9. PP. 23-48.

McDonald, Michael. 1985. "Collective Rights and Tyranny." University of Ottawa Quarterly. Vol 56. No. 2. PP. 115-123.

Medina, Vicente. 1990. Social Contract Theories: Political Obligation or Anarchy? Savage MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Miller, Bruce G. 1994. "Women and Tribal Politics." American Indian Quarterly. Vol. 18(1) (Winter). PP. 25 - 41.

Miller, Bruce G. 1997. "The Individual, the Collective, and Tribal Code." American Indian Culture and Research Journal. Vol. 21. No. 1. PP 107-129.

Miller, Christopher L. 1993. "Indian Patriotism: Warriors vs. Negotiators." American Indian Quarterly. Vol. 17. No. 3 (Summer). PP. 343-9.

Mills, C. Wright. 1956. "The Power Elite." New York: Oxford University Press.

Morgan, Gareth. 1983. Beyond Method. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Morgan, Gareth. 1986. Images of Organization. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Mosca, Gaetano. 1939. The Ruling Class. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Company Ltd.

Morrow, William G. 1995. The Memoirs of Mr. Justice William G. Morrow. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mullin, Michael J. 1993. "Personal Politics: William Johnson and the Mohawks." American Indian Quarterly. Vol. 17. No. 3 (Summer). PP. 350-8.

Nagata, Shuichi. 1987. "From Ethnic Bourgeoisie To Organic Intellectuals: Speculations on North American Native Leadership." Anthropologica. Volume XXIX. PP. 61-75.

National Post. ""Indian Affairs Fails to monitor $3.6B in Native Funding." Wednesday, April 21, 1999.

Neal, Aubrey. 1990. "Group Apraxia: The Phenomenology of Acculturalism." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. X. No. 2. PP. 219-242.

Niezen, Ronald. 1993. "Telling A Message: Cree Perceptions of Custom and Administration." Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Volume XIII. No. 2. PP. 221-250.

Nugent, David. 1993. "Property Relations, Production Relations, and Inequality: Anthropology, Political Economy, and the Blackfeet." American Ethnologist. 20(2):336-362.

O'Brien, Sharon. 1989. American Indian Tribal Governments. Norman OK. University of Oklahoma Press.

Paine, Robert. 1977. The White Arctic: Anthropological Essays on Tutelage and Ethnicity. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Parades, J. Anthony. 1995. "Paradoxes of Modernism and Indianness in the Southeast." American Indian Quarterly. Vol. 19. No. 3. PP. 341-360.

Peterson, Nicolas. 1985. "Capitalism, Culture and Land Rights: Aborigines and the State in the Northern Territory." Social Analysis. No. 18. 1985. PP. 85-101.

Pocklington. Tom and Sarah Pocklington. 1994. "Aboriginal Political Ethics." Corruption Character & Conduct: Essays on Canadian Government Ethics. John W. Langford and Allan Tupper (eds). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Powderface. Sykes. 1984. "Self-Government Means Biting the Hand that Feeds Us." In Leroy Little Bear. Menno Boldt and J. Anthony Long (eds.) Pathways to Self-Determination. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rayside. David M. 1991. A Small Town in Modern Times. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

Rosen. David M. 1984. "Leadership in World Cultures." Barbara Kellerman (ed). Leadership: Multidisciplinary Perspectives. Toronto: Prentice Hall Canada Inc.

Ross. Rupert. 1996. Returning To The Teachings: Exploring Aboriginal Justice. Toronto: Penguin Books.

Ross. Rupert. 1992. Dancing With a Ghost. Toronto: Reed Books Canada, distributed by McClelland & Stewart Inc.

Rowse. Tim. 1992. Remote Possibilities: The Aboriginal Domain and the Administrative Imagination. Darwin (Causinara): North Australia Research Unit. Australian National University.

Sahlins. Marshall D. 1968. Tribesmen. Englewood Cliffs. NJ: Prentice Hall Inc.

Satzewich. Vic and Linda Mahood. 1994. "Indian Affairs and Band Governance: Deposing Indian Chiefs in Western Canada. 1896-1911." Canadian Ethnic Studies. XXVI. No. 1. PP. 40-58.

Shusky. Ernest L. 1986. "The Evolution of Indian Leadership on the Great Plains. 1750-1950." American Indian Quarterly Vol. 10 No. 1. (Winter). PP. 65-82.

Siegel. David. 1994. "Small-town Canada." Corruption Character & Conduct: Essays on Canadian government Ethics. John W. Langford and Allan Tupper (eds.) Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Siggner. Andrew J. 1986. "The Socio-Demographic Conditions of Registered Indians." Canadian Social Trends. Winter 1986.

Smircich. Linda. 1983. "Concepts of Culture and Organizational Analysis." Administrative Science Quarterly. Vol. 28. PP. 339-358.

Snipp. C. Mathew. 1997. "Some observations about racial boundaries and the experiences of American Indians." Ethnic and Racial Studies. Volume 20. Number 4. PP. 667-686.

Tarrow. Sidney. Between Center and Periphery. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Trigger. Bruce G. 1981. "Prehistoric Social and Political Organisations: An Iroquoian Case Study." Foundations of Northeast Archaeology. Academic Press Inc.

Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) 2000. "Corbiere Decision Report." source: www.ubcic.bc.ca/corbiere.htm

Weber. Max. 1947. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. Talcott Parsons (ed.) A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, translation. New York: Oxford University Press.

West. Douglas A. 1995. "Epistemological Dependency and Native Peoples: An Essay On The Future of Native/Non-Native Relations In Canada." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Volume XV. No. 2. PP. 279-291.

Wolfe. Jackie. Chris Bechard. Petr Cizek and David Cole. Indigenous and Western Knowledge and Resources Management System. Guelph: University School of Rural Planning and Development. University of Guelph.

Wolfe. Jackie. 1994. Sustainable Aboriginal Community Development Planning: Case Studies of Non-Governmental Approaches. Darwin. Northern Australia Research Unit.

Wright. Robert E. 1993. "Using Census Data to Examine Aboriginal Issues: A Methodological Note." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. XIII(2). PP 291-307.

Yin, Robert K. 1989. Case Study Research: Design and Methods. Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 5. Newbury Park (CA): Sage Publications Inc.

Yngvesson, B. 1978. "Leadership and Concensus: Decision Making in an Egalitarian Community." Ethnos. Volume 43/1-2. PP. 73-90.

Annex 1 Goals and Objectives for Phase I of Fieldwork

Scoping: Roughly two weeks (July 1 - July 15)

Research Goal: To conceptualize how leadership is manifested in the community so that a research plan can be developed to study the relationship between leadership systems and values therein.

Objectives:

- To identify leadership roles in the community (people and positions)
    - *reputational/positional methodology* beginning with key informants (formal and hidden)
    - *document review* (structural) to determine formal systems/roles and players

- To identify categories and words used by key informants to discuss/conceptualize "leadership issues"
    - *participant observation, key informant interviews*

- To identify what people categorize as leadership roles in the community
    - *participant observation, key informant interviews*

- To test and develop models and ideas of how leadership is manifested in the community
    - *participant observation, key informant interviews*

- To develop an understanding of the development of various leadership systems/roles in the community
    - *historic analysis from documents and key informants*

Expected outcomes:

A "snapshot" overview of leadership systems in the community to be used to further develop the research question and appropriate methodologies:

- Community map of leaders, leadership systems in place (hidden and formal)
- List of people who are deemed leaders for use in interviews
- Further develop various models to explain leadership in the community -- relative to what may be expected from literature

Operationalize definitions of terms that are relevant to the community context, and note their relation to the literature and theory

Annex 2 Framing Questions for the Research

Questions	Possible Answers
• What are the leadership systems in the community?	• Family/Kinship • Formal Band government • Informal /Traditional Government • Agent Oriented (Action)
• What influences leadership in the community?	• Legal constraints/opportunities • Community history • Nation history • Access to resources (capital and natural) • Community values • Community development planning • Geography • Treaty / Non-Treaty status • Kinship/Clan orientation • Socio-Economic status of community members • Level of educational attainment of community members
• What are the different leadership roles?	• Parents, elders, care-givers, school teachers, chief, council, committee members, police,

	health-care providers, professional outsiders, clergy, Members of Provincial Parliament, Members of Federal Parliament, Listeners, clan leaders, entrepreneurs, wealthy, cultural icons, grand chief AFN
• What are the functions of the different roles?	• Allocative (economic) • Generative (economic) • Directive • Mediative • Reproductive • Educative • Social • Cultural
• How does a person obtain a leadership role? (access)	• achievement • ascription
• How are leadership roles distributed?	• open system • closed system
• What are the leadership styles and their authority bases?	• Self-interested • quiet statesman • technocrat/ political dynamo • charismatic • service • legal

• What are people's expectations of leaders? • What judgments are made about leaders? • What judgments are made about leaders' roles?	• Fair • Honest • Modest • Outspoken • Consultative • Authoritarian

Annex 3 The Corbiere Decision

The claimants in the Corbiere case were members of the Batchewana band who resided off-reserve. Many of these claimants had had their Indian status re-instated under Bill C-31[1]. These band members argued before the Supreme Court, defending a decision in their favour from a lower court that Section 77(1) of the Indian Act requiring a person to be "ordinarily resident" on reserve to vote violated their right to non-discrimination protected under Section 15(1) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The court decided that collective ownership of Indian property gave the claimants political rights in the community regardless of residency (insofar as those rights affected the disposition of land and Indian moneys). Thus, Section 77(1) of the Indian Act was determined to be discriminatory within the overall context of the Indian Act. The decisions from the lower courts were upheld and augmented to affect all Indian Bands holding elections under the provisions of the Indian Act. The Supreme Court set an 18-month time-frame for implementation of its decision, allowing for consultations between the Department and affected Indian Bands.

From this ruling, it is apparent that collective rights were treated as individual property rights. This observation was made by the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) in a commissioned analysis (UBCIC 2000: 7) of the Supreme Court decision:

[1] The passing of Bill C-31 (1985) by the Federal Government allowed the reinstatement of Indians who had lost status or who were denied it as a result of discriminatory clauses in the Act. For example, prior to 1985, a status Indian woman who married anyone but a status Indian was taken off the Indian Register. A male status Indian, however, was able to marry a non-status or non-Indian woman without loss of his status.

It is significant that in finding the residency and electoral provisions of the "Indian Act" discriminatory, the Judges regarded this statute as intended for a class of persons rather than a collectivity that defines a nation. The Judges therefore did not see fit to apply Section 25 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in reaching their decision.

Section 25 of the Charter is a non-derogation and non-abrogation clause intended to protect unextinguished collective Treaty and Aboriginal rights from any other conflicting clauses. This clause might have been applied had the case been argued within the meaning of Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. As it was, treating band members as a class of individuals defined by statute appears to have negated the intent of Section 25 and brought Charter clauses into play that are intended to protect individual rights exclusively. A right to an identity as citizens of an Aboriginal Nation got lost in the shuffle.

In their decision, the Supreme Court justices noted that the defense case could have been argued according to Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 (recognition and affirmation of existing Aboriginal and treaty rights). This, however, was not done, as it would have been absurd for the Federal Government to argue for constitutionally entrenched inherent powers of Indian Bands. Federal lawyers argued, in principle, that Indian reserves were similar to municipalities, and that a residency requirement for voting is a standard feature of the political system.