THE VISION, THE REALITY: A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND SASKATCHEWAN FIRST NATIONS

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of

Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in Social Studies

University of Regina

by

Elisabeth Rachel Brass

Regina, Saskatchewan

May, 1997

Copyright 1997: E.R. Brass

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques
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.

0-612-30452-3

Canada

Abstract

The thesis addresses the challenges of First Nations' self-determination from a global perspective. The realities of Saskatchewan First Nations are complex and unique, encompassing contributory factors ranging from federal policies to First Nations leadership that potentially hinder or prevent the actualization of self-determination.

The thesis explains some of the dynamics within First Nations that perpetuate subordination, dependence and poverty. Within the analysis, the responsibility for hindrances to self-determination lies not only with Euro-western people and global issues but also within First Nations.

The analysis is based on first-hand experience and includes participant observation, government documents, theoretical analyses, dissertations, and writings from developing countries. In reviewing the literature and theoretical applications and through direct observation, the thesis attempts to provide a more accurate analysis of the challenges First Nations people face in acquiring self-determination.

This thesis depicts a realistic account of the unique experience of Saskatchewan First Nations people. Based on the analyses of the information presented, the complexity and uniqueness of the realities

of Saskatchewan First Nations is clarified. Nevertheless, the similarities of Saskatchewan First Nations people to other populations not only within Canada but throughout the world, in the context of contemporary capitalism, globalization, and neo-liberalism, is also addressed.

Acknowledgements

I have many people to thank for sharing their expertise and supporting me in my challenge of gathering data, participating and observing, and writing and exposing the truth. I do not intend to offend the reader, but to educate those readers who may then become leaders of change.

I wish to thank my advisor, Doug Daniels, who provided direction that was valuable and consistent, ensuring this thesis was cohesive and sound. Doug Daniels had provided direction from the beginning groundwork and through extensive research, writing and revision up to the stage of committee revision. He has been most generous in placing my thesis as a priority beyond many circumstances. I would also like to thank David Miller, committee member, for assisting in direction and critically examining the final drafts.

Paul Gingrich and John Conway served as co-supervisors of the thesis. I would like to thank Paul Gingrich for becoming readily available as acting supervisor and assisting in the completion of this thesis with quality and efficiency. I would also like to thank John Conway for accepting a role as co-supervisor, whose direction has also been valuable.

I would like to thank the Department of Sociology and Social Studies and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for providing two scholarships. As an expectant and new mother,

I would not have been able to complete this thesis without assistance.

I would like to express my warmest thanks to my husband, Campbell Brass, who contributed in so many ways: his knowledge, insight, and expertise as well as ongoing support, advice, and encouragement for which I am grateful. I would like to acknowledge the numerous anonymous First Nations people who disclosed their concerns and trusted me to document the information appropriately and with integrity. I would also like to acknowledge the traditional people, such as the late Gordon Wastaste, my late father-in-law Oliver Brass, and Isador Pelletier, (also my husband, and others) who enabled me to maintaining hope and optimism in preserving values and sincerity. The realities that I uncovered were overwhelming at times; the support, genuineness, and strength of these people is integral to maintaining optimism.

This thesis does not reveal a world of harmony, and with my genuine intentions, and the valuable contributions and progress that has been made that I have mentioned, I hope this thesis and my consequent knowledge and expertise will become one of the many tools for change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Methodology	6
2. FEDERAL POLICY	9
2.2 Federal policies.	11
2.3 Transfer of funds and service delivery	13
2.3 Community	14
2.4 Other funding opportunities	16
2.5 Conclusion	17
3. APPROACHES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT: A LITERATURE REVIEW	19
3.1 Introduction	19
3.2 Literature	20
3.2.1 Dependency Theory	21
3.2.2 Tutelage and Resistance	22
3.2.3 Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony: Mawhiney	29
3.2.4 Group Rights: Kymlicka	34
3.2.4 Leadership: Boldt	36
3.2.6 Self-Determination	42
3.3 Conclusion	51
4. RELATIONS WITHIN THE NATION-STATE	55
5. UNITED FIRST NATIONS	66
5.1 Classes within First Nations	68
6. BAND DIFFERENCES: KLEPTOCRACY VERSUS COMMITMENT.	79
6.1 Band staff/council—training, education and skills	80
6.2 Population	81
6.3 Geographic location and renewable resources.	83
6.4 Values	85
6.5 Health care and employment	89
6.6 Other opportunities	92
6.7 Band accountability and Band member involvement	94
6.8 Community Unity	98
6.9 Leadership	102
7. SELF-DETERMINATION: A REALITY?	107
7.1 The province of First Nations	108
REFERENCES	116

TABLES

Table 1.1: Participation Rates for Selected Ethnic Origins 57

1. INTRODUCTION

> It's time to put aside our differences and stand up for Canada. In the words of the poet W. B. Yeats we ask our political leaders on behalf of every Canadian, "tread softly, because you tread on my dreams"
>
> Jackson and Jackson, 1992, p. 237

Within this thesis, I explore the challenges of self-determination of Saskatchewan First Nations. I attempt to provide the reader with a basic understanding of the issues related to the potential successes of and hindrances to self-determination. The analysis will include federal policy and jurisdiction, federal funding and transfers of federal funding and administration, variable components within and between First Nations, and class and power inequities within First Nations. The reader is also provided with a larger perspective of corruption. Corruption is not unique to First Nations people; Canadian and global themes can be found in the struggles of various nations and peoples.

Carstens (1991) highlighted the Canadian Okanagan reserves to demonstrate the difficulty in functioning isolated from mainstream economic life. Carstens documented the conflicting situations faced by people on reserves in South Africa and in the Okanagan in coming to terms with their marginal positions. Carsten's implicit theme

characterized the effect of Canadian reserve life on individuals and groups of people who have been confined for four to five generations in artificially created communities, particularly as a result of the Indian Act of 1876. The socio-political and historical processes by which First Nations people have been forced to occupy marginal structural positions cannot be understated.

During more recent years, with amendments to the Indian Act and with funding opportunities, First Nations have slightly more accessibility to means for achieving self-determination than they had in the past. Also, while we need to acknowledge marginalization, perception of, and consequent reaction to (or lack thereof), the coercive courses of action cannot continue to be one of helplessness and apathy.

The visions of self-determination and self-government are becoming a tangible reality for First Nations people in Saskatchewan; however, the pursuit will not be simple and straightforward. The reader will appreciate the complexity and uniqueness of the difficult realities of First Nations self-determination, including obstacles and contributory factors that potentially hinder the actualization of the vision of self-determination. The interrelated components that determine the reality of First Nations people also allow the reader to have a sense that different Bands are at different levels and stages of self-determination and have varying potential, and that what each Band utilizes will be unique. Band differences depend upon various interdependent factors, only some of which are addressed in this thesis.

Contributory factors include factors that are apparent within each First Nation, across First Nations, and within and in relation to the Canadian nation-state (and particularly its instrument, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs). Emphasis is placed upon class and power inequities between the Canadian nation-state and First Nations, as well as within First Nations.

Many writers have attempted to analyze and explain the destinies of First Nations people based on various theoretical perspectives including hegemony and counter-hegemony (Mawhiney, 1994), tutelage and resistance (Dyck, 1991), dependency theory (Ritzer, 1988), Chicago School theory (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993), and others. Indeed, there are struggles between First Nations and the Euro-western population which need to be appreciated in terms of the century of pain and poverty.

Concurrent with this, the dynamics within First Nations must also be considered in determining the source(s) of the perpetuation of subordination, dependence and poverty. If the responsibility for this lies not only with Euro-western people, but also within First Nations, the analysis then becomes unique and more complete. The common forces must be exposed.

My thesis question is: does corruption and mal-leadership come from naivete, learned helplessness, loss of culture and tradition, lack of skills to manage self-government and policy, and other factors that rationalize incapabilities of First Nations people as the problem; or is the problem an inevitable outcome of the larger Canadian state that is a controlled ruling structure which lacks full employment and economic development strategies not only for reserves

but for Canadian people in general? The twentieth century has evolved to tolerate globalization, neo-liberalism, contemporary capitalism, and at what expense? Is there room for genuine, dedicated people?

Kleptocracy refers to stealing that occurs because it seems appropriate, acceptable; that which occurs as the direct result of an administration that systemically allows for opportunities of corruption. When kleptocracy becomes the norm, what is good and right seems convoluted In a CBC Morningside interview with Peter Gzowski, the South African Nadine Gordimer described her visit to the newly independent Zimbabwe where she found a struggle between the kleptocracy (the people stealing in the administration) and some very dedicated people trying to provide education, health, agriculture and overall development in the midst of the many other struggles of the country (1993).

The source of the situation of First Nations people is two-fold: external from First Nations people, and internal, or in the hands of First Nations. The external influences and controls contain First Nations as impoverished and dependent, much like many Third World Countries. Baran argues that, in terms of contemporary capitalism, it is not only the highly developed societies that are overflowing with economic surplus that is utilized irrationally, but also the underdeveloped sector, the 'free world', which is composed of a wide variety of countries with tremendous differences between them. These countries include Nigeria and Greece, Brazil and Thailand, Egypt and Spain (Baran, 1960, p. 147). State funding and control continue to be barriers to development, as the unemployment

on-reserve is also a problem off-reserve and throughout the country. Globalization has triggered a "race to the bottom" with citizens of underdeveloped countries running aimlessly after poor labour relations, poor environmental protection, poor human rights, poor employee rights, and so on.

The poor become more visibly poor and more in numbers as the negative tendencies of contemporary capitalism become more popular, where the few become richer in taking advantage of underdeveloped countries. As recent Canadian and Saskatchewan governments have shown, corruption is common in state government, and if corruption and mal-leadership is the model, First Nations self-government may not be entirely exempt from the same forces. The socio-historical processes in contemporary reserves are interlinked with similar processes in the wider society. Household economy, enterpreneurial ventures, local government, political leadership, factionalism, status, class relations, education, and religion are as interrelated with the wider system as they are with the past (Carstens, 1991).

The internal reality encompasses both objective and subjective factors that may perpetuate or resolve underdevelopment. Objective factors include population size of First Nations, resources, education and skills of Band members, familial relations, and so on. Subjective factors include learned dependency and helplessness, moral corruption, lack of helpful ideology, isolation from larger Canadian social struggles, and so on.

There have been success stories for Canadian First Nations people. But if First Nations confront the actions of those whose personal ambitions do not represent the general membership of the

nation or class, and if there is an honest restructuring of First Nations that ensures the representation of the people, a sense of unity could be achieved.

First Nations self-determination will be a struggle. If there is room for corruption and mal-leadership, for runners in the race of contemporary capitalism, First Nations may remain underdeveloped and impoverished. The vision of First Nations government will be an intangible ideal.

1.1 Methodology

My intention, via research, reading, and direct observation, is to help the reader comprehend the complexity concerning self-determination of Saskatchewan First Nations while upholding the integrity of First Nations people in their endeavours. I have a personal interest in exploring the issues, since I married into one of the First Nations in the province. Over the years, I have worked in several capacities with First Nations people on- and off-reserve, from student associations to political consulting to individual counselling.

This has been a difficult thesis to write, as it forces me to write about damage that has been done, directly and indirectly, to undeserving people, including friends and family members. To write in an unbiased manner is a challenge. On the other hand, to choose not to document the problems would do more damage in accepting what is wrong. Only in breaking the secrecy and eradicating the fears can there be change.

The methodologies used included participant observation, as well as data and analyses in government documents, theoretical studies, dissertations, and writings on third world leadership development problems of authors such as Fanon and Myrdal. I have included writings of progressive and reactionary nationalism, such as those in China and Latin America [Fanon (1963), Myrdal (1969)]. Writings based on first-hand experience will refer to various First Nations throughout the province, many of which will not be named to maintain confidentiality and integrity of the First Nations and the people involved.

Kleptocracy is inevitable in a system that has no accountability mechanisms, an internal system whereby theft is the norm. One of the dilemmas in exposing corruption within First Nations is that, on the one hand it is important to expose systemic kleptocracy in order to rationalize a need for internal accountability mechanisms, but there can be accusations from the neo-liberals that freedoms are being squandered and that such accusations are acts of continuing racial discrimination and domination. This limits the potential effectiveness of involving the media or other methods of setting guidelines. Corruption is allowed to continue, and problems evolve, in secrecy, that drain other resources and potentials for development and change (as has been documented by Myrdal (1969) and Baran (1960) regarding situations of the Third World). Baran, for example, notes that "a peaceful transplantation of Western culture, science, and technology to the less advanced countries would have served everywhere as a powerful catalyst of economic progress. The violent, destructive, and predatory opening

up of the weaker countries by Western capitalism immeasurably distorted their development (Baran, 1960, p. 162).

Throughout the chapters in this thesis I attempt to introduce some of the pertinent factors of the multi-faceted challenge of self-determination. I could not possibly consider and investigate all of the possible factors within the parameters of this research. Nevertheless, the author hopes to go a bit beyond the studies which have concentrated on Indian factionalism, or governmental legalisms, and look at wider issues facing Saskatchewan First Nations peoples in the context of contemporary capitalism.

I have also based my thesis on the perspectives I have developed over the years in working with First Nations people and communities in various capacities. It is important to note that, at the time of gathering research and writing of the thesis, there were different political regimes than the time of revision and completion. As political players and opportunities are always changing, I am pleased to observe more positive and constructive initiatives at present. I have seen the deeds and misdeeds of both corruption and dedication, and hope to continue to recognize an increasing number of First Nations and players who are successful in achieving and working towards becoming more self-determined.

2. FEDERAL POLICY

In explaining the issues regarding First Nations self-determination and self-government, definitions of these terms are difficult, as the two terms are interpreted differently by different people. Another aspect of importance is that of federal policy, federal funding and service delivery. There are a number of constraints and inequities within the fiducial responsibility that extend beyond upholding treaty rights.

Self-determination refers to "the right and the ability of a people or a group of peoples (in this case, a First Nation) to determine their own destiny without external compulsion. It is the right to be sovereign, to be a supreme authority within a particular geographical territory" (Cassidy, 1991, p. 1).

Self-government, in turn, refers to the "decision-making directly affecting a people spanning political, cultural, economic and social affairs" (Durst, 1994, p.3). If self-government is to reflect sovereignty and lead to greater self-determination, the sources of First Nations' powers and the sharing of powers between First Nations and Canadian governments must be practical arrangements that grow out of nation-to nation relationships. Self-government must reflect the sovereign powers of First Nations, and these sovereign powers must be recognized as equal to those of Canada. But

the implementation of real forms of aboriginal self-government, that personify self-determination, is not easy in a Canadian political and social order that systematically denies the right of self-determination and treats it as a threat rather and as an entitlement (Cassidy, 1991, p. 9). A Band may acquire self-government at some level without having self-determination. That is, a Band may make decisions but may not be sovereign as a result of the decisions they make in the exercise of self-government (Cassidy, 1991, p. 9). Carstens refers to Indian policy as maternalistic, in that such policies encourage some innovation and local political expression (by permissiveness and fiscal generosity as from 1966 to present) while still maintaining the status quo (Carstens, 1991, p. 223). Part of the problem in achieving self-government and self-determination lies in defining these entities, as the perspectives of First Nations people differ with those of the nation-state.

According to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND), community self-government negotiations are based upon three principles: first, the negotiated arrangements will substantially increase local control and decision-making; second, the process is flexible in order to accommodate the social, cultural, and political diversity of Indian communities across Canada; and third, the new governing arrangements will lead to greater accountability by Indian governments to their own electorate rather than to federal authorities (Cassidy, 1991. P. 91). Self-government can be attained in a number of ways: land claims agreements and constitutional statements regarding treaties, judicial decisions and legislation, and renewed federalism with community-based initiatives.

Rieber (1977) explains the attainment of self-government via the treaties, whereby the Indian Nations surrendered their jurisdiction over the use of specified amounts of land in exchange for protection, specific forms of assistance, specific services and special rights and status. Many First Nations leaders, such as Ovide Mercredi, have stated that First Nations people have at no time surrendered their right to self-government (Self-Government Conference, Regina Inn, 1993).

2.1 Federal Policies

In 1991, Tom Siddon, then Minister of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND), recognized the importance of changes within the constitution, and that such changes would take some time (Cassidy, 1991, p. 157). He also recognized that this does not prevent DIAND from moving forward in other areas regarding self-government and self-determination. Siddon believed the best option for a new relationship between the federal government and First Nations people is to have legislative change (Cassidy, 1991, p. 157).

The first change could be negotiation of community-based self-government arrangements, which will require new legislation to remove the constraints of the Indian Act. In doing so, traditional institutions of Indian communities will be recognized as the appropriate governing authorities. An example of the success of legislation change is the Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act. The second legislative initiative Siddon mentions is a major review of the Indian Act (Cassidy, 1991, p. 92). This would be a long and

tedious process: to ensure continuous operation of DIAND and to protect the livelihoods of federal employees.

Siddon also remarks in his paper that, "we are learning through the community-based negotiation process that the perception of what self-government is or should be can vary significantly, both between Indian communities and between Indians and governments. In this regard, we are clearly lacking a solid base of information and knowledge from which to work" (Cassidy, 1991, p. 159). This writer has observed that DIAND has not been known to frequent Bands, even near the urban centres; there seems to be an unwillingness on the part of DIAND to set foot on reserve territory and interview the Band members in order to gather information.

Siddon describes one initiative to gather such information whereby the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council will administer a program of research grants and offer support for strategic research networks, workshops, and partnerships. Siddon believes this will provide DIAND with objective information and analyses, enhance co-operation between all parties with an interest in aboriginal issues, and that the research results will provide a solid foundation from which DIAND can develop responsible and effective policies (Cassidy, 1991).

One problem with this approach is that federal government monies could be spent as they have been before--to hire non-aboriginal consultants to gather information that will become third- or fourth-hand when it reaches the DIAND personnel who need the information. As an alternative, DIAND employees could educate

themselves directly, as ignorance of the grassroots reality inhibits progress.

2.2 Transfer of Funds and Service Delivery

When DIAND transfers large amounts of money to the bands, the money is not consistent with what DIAND previously spent on those programs, and the money does not account for an increasing population. George Watts, Chairman of the Nuu-chag-nulth Tribal Council expresses his concerns:

> When are they (DIAND) going to tell the truth to this country about the money. If you take the money that they're talking about--it's in every one of his (the Minister's) speeches, two and a half billion dollars--and divide it by the Indian people that they're responsible for, it comes out to $4,554 per Indian person. Well, I can tell you that our trial council gets more money than any other Indian group in this country, and we get $1,280 per person . . . He brags about the money that we're getting. Somewhere along the line 50 percent of that money is disappearing.
>
> (Cassidy, 1991, p. 163)

Tom Siddon (DIAND) does acknowledge the administrative changes that continue to place greater responsibility and accountability in the hands of First Nations people. Alternative funding arrangements would permit band governments and tribal councils to assume greater responsibility for program delivery. Bands are responsible for financial accountability and for maintaining an adequate standard of service to their people. In 1991, seventy-three Alternative Funding Arrangements (AFAs) had been signed involving one hundred and thirty-six Bands in Canada, at a value of 1.1 billion dollars over five years (Cassidy, 1991).

George Da Pont, who was the Director General of the Community Negotiations Implementation Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, fails to mention, however, that the monies are capped regardless of fluctuating needs. For example, the post-secondary education funds are given for a five-year term, regardless of the annual number of students in need of funding to pursue post-secondary education. As a result, some students are denied funding, thus denied what some students perceive to be a fiduciary responsibility to fulfill a treaty obligation.

The Teslin First Nation proposes that the funding of self-government should recognize the full cost of running a modern government. The federal government should provide adequate salaries, benefits, supplies and other costs for self-governing First Nations as it does for its own departments. Additional funds should also be provided for a period of time to enable First Nations to develop the human resource and economic base that will be needed for self-government (Cassidy, 1991, p. 90).

2.3 Community

DIAND assumes that all bands want the responsibility of on-reserve program delivery. The delivery of post-secondary funding has been placed with every band in Saskatchewan with the exception of five bands. The bands are not provided with training regarding program delivery, and each band is expected to deliver the program whether or not they wish to or are prepared to do so.

As of 1974, DIAND staff roles shifted from deliverers to advisors and monitors and were to improve in their ability to respond to training needs of bands (Coopers and Lybrand, 1983, p. 59). Da Pont claims that DIAND is working to strengthen the economic base of First Nations communities via the promotion of viable community-based economic development through the Indian Business Development program and assistance through the Resource Development Program to help them identify and exploit mineral, oil, and gas holdings. Da Pont also claims that the ultimate goal of the federal government is to put decision-making power in the hands of the First Nations (Cassidy, 1991, p. 96). However, over the past twenty years, DIAND staff provided little assistance and maintained little contact, except when a Band had not fulfilled specific program requirements. Band council members have remarked that DIAND frequently changes program policy and procedures without notification or instruction (Coopers and Lybrand, 1983, p. 59).

Mitander (Chief Negotiator, Council for Yukon Indians) views a need for a comprehensive and sustained training program to prevent the perpetuation of a situation in which Bands are forced to hire much of their personnel and expertise from outside of their own communities (Cassidy, 1991, p. 119). Is the federal government attempting to *appear* genuine in supporting self-government, while anticipating failure of self-government to prove the necessity of their positions with the federal government? The liberal ideal seems more like another form of state control that lets the leash out a

little and waits on the sidelines to rescue in the inevitable event of failure.

2.4 Other Funding Opportunities

Since 1981, there has been a steady transfer of services to bands and a steady increase in the proportion of grants and contributions to bands, councils and other Indian organizations (Coopers and Lybrand, 1983, p. 42). However, many bands do not yet have the knowledge or skills to prepare proposals to formally request funding; also, grants tend to be of limited amounts, which requires exhaustive fund-raising quests with no guarantees of approval. Bands are expected to be aware of any grants and other funding sources that are available, which is also a tedious and difficult task. This is unlike some other program directories that inform the public sector, for example university graduate students. Funding sources are often one-time opportunities that the Band will need to reapply for each year if it requires operating monies for project initiatives.

The federal Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (CAEDS) was launched in 1989 to promote Aboriginal economic self-reliance through greater participation in Canada's national economy. The Aboriginal Economic Programs branch of Industry, Science and Technology Canada (ISTC) delivers the following programs under CAEDS: Aboriginal Business Development Program, Aboriginal Capital Corporations Program, Joint Ventures Program, Aboriginal Business Loan Insurance Program, as well as Research and Advocacy.

Buckley (1992, p.150) has stated that government funding programs that encourage the development and success of First Nations people are of concern. CAEDS, for example, is selected and governed by the federal government. The strategy is anchored by a narrow focus on business (Buckley, 1992, p. 150). CAEDS essentially maintains the federal government as a locus of control while promoting individual capital growth at the expense of the broader potential of the community. This is known colloquially as 'trickle-down economics'. Within these programs a number of policy guidelines limit many individuals in accessing the program. For example, aboriginal professionals/consultants/real estate agents must plan to establish or purchase a business **in a remote location** in order to be eligible for support. A remote location means the location must be more than 350 kilometres from the nearest community of 25,000 people. This prevents a number of individuals and Bands within Saskatchewan from utilizing the program.

The Thalassa Research Group recognizes that federal policies have fostered dependent and alienated societies which demonstrate many of the characteristics of underdeveloped nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Buckley, 1992, p. 151). The Canadian government has not recognized an inherent right to self-government and continues to restrain potentials with policy and procedure.

2.5 Conclusion

As new programs and strategies are developed and implemented, the Canadian government is unable to either let go of its control, or

to bring forth new policies that will significantly assist growth. The government "itself is one of the factors holding back development; it is part of the problem when it should be finding solutions" (Buckley, 1992, p. 150).

Carstens (1991) places Indian policy on a paternalistic-maternalistic continuum. Carstens refers to maternalism as policies which encourage some innovation and local political expression while still maintaining the status quo (by permissiveness and fiscal generosity, particularly from 1966 to the present). While appearing to be generous, the state is very careful to remain paternalistic and to maintain the traditional controlling and isolating structures.

3. APPROACHES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT: A LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

The literature reviewed is limited to that which is relevant to First Nations self-government and self-determination of First Nations people and encompasses a variety of theoretical perspectives including tutelage and resistance, hegemony and counter-hegemony, liberalism, symbolic interactionism, Chicago school theories, internal colonialism, dependency theory, and two social-anthropological studies of Indian communities. Writers such as Dyck (1991), Boldt (1993), Mawhiney (1994), Kymlicka (1989), Satzewich and Wotherspoon (1993), and others attempt to depict the realities of First Nations people and to explain the social and economic conditions in which First Nations people continue to live. The literature examines cultural identification and the social organization of First Nations people for resistance and social action, past and present.

These writers also investigate the necessity and impact of articulate Indians as leaders as well as the contingencies in placing Indians in influential positions. What has been documented in some of the literature is that although such individuals are integral to social change and development of

First Nations people, they simultaneously have led to perpetuation of the underdevelopment of First Nations people by climbing to the upper hierarchy of a two-tiered socio-economic class system that has been forming within the First Nations population.

It is not the existence of class structure in itself that perpetuates underdevelopment. Rather, it is the closed and oppressive nature of the socio-economic system that is subversive to the majority of First Nations populations and to the communities as a whole. The politically entrenched elites who rule the community tend to comprise a closed elite, and rather than utilizing their skills and power for the benefit of the entire community, the elites assume positions of power and are politically entrenched in a neo-colonial system where they act to serve their own self-interests as opposed to those of members of the entire community (Boldt, 1993; Wotherspoon and Satzewich, 1993).

3.2. Literature

Many writers have documented the colonial policies and acts to which Indians have been subject over the past two hundred and fifty years, such as the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the British North America Act of 1867, the Indian Act of 1876, the White Paper of 1969 (Boldt, 1993; Mawhiney, 1994; Dyck, 1983; Kymlicka, 1989; Rochna-Ramirez, 1992). Dyck's (1991) political-historical account of the experience of

Indians is unique in that it concentrates primarily on Saskatchewan Indians and describes their experience in the context of an *interactive* relationship with Euro-Canadians and focuses on active and passive resistance by Saskatchewan Indians.

3.2.1 Dependency Theory

Dependency theory maintains that in order to understand underdevelopment, economic relations between the developed and the underdeveloped economies must be examined. Capitalism exploits the people and the resources of the country of the dependent society, in capturing surpluses and utilizing them for further accumulation in the developed country (Kariya, 1989).

The exploited population never receives the benefits of the accumulation of capital and becomes powerless to determine its own future, progressively forced into a particular class structure which serves to perpetuate the advantages which capital enjoys. The dependent society is denied ownership of resources and capital, as capital appropriates the vast majority of surpluses generated. A small indigenous merchant class within the dependent society may develop to assist the exploitive relationships. A state sector within the underdeveloped society will develop to assist capital to achieve its ends (Kariya, 1989, Ch.3). McArthur (1989) continues:

> The remainder of the population is essentially a poor underclass, deprived over time of the basis for functioning effectively in a modern, industrialized

> economy, and remaining attached in some cases to earlier values and traditions which are not consistent with adaptation to such an economy. The indigenous population is virtually powerless to determine its own future, and totally dependent upon the productive relationships established to meet the needs of external capital (p.65).

Dependent societies do not have autonomous institutions and therefore are unable to generate an internal dynamic of their own. With the inability to capture and retain surpluses, the pattern of underdevelopment continues. Colonization and internal colonialism, actions of the state and state authorities tinged with racism and ignorance, and Christianization, also contributed to the oppression and domination of aboriginals as a people. Manitoba's Aboriginal Justice Inquiry in 1989 described the nature of the underlying conditions, which included the absence of jobs, the lack of purpose in people's lives, the hopelessness, and a deep-seated resentment (Buckley, 1992, p.9).

3.2.2 Tutelage and Resistance

Dyck (1991, p. 24) describes tutelage as comprising a form of restraint or care that one party exercises over another as well as the condition of being subjected to such protection or guardianship. Tutelage also refers to a situation where a tutor provides disciplined instruction to a pupil. In both cases, there is an implicit understanding of the unequal status and power of the two parties. In exploring the political-historical experience of Plains Indians, Dyck presents the relationship between Indians and Euro-Canadians as one where

involuntary tutelage has been imposed upon an entire people virtually in perpetuity. A form of tutelage has developed and held Indians captive on a permanent basis, where the 'tutors' have "mounted programs to deliver Indians from the stigma and vulnerability, poverty, misery associated with Indianness in the Euro-Canadian mind" (Dyck, 1991, p.24). Euro-Canadians have assumed the never-ending task of saving the Indians from themselves.

There were a number of views of the Indians: biological 'inferiority', a culturally different 'vanishing' race, uncivilized beings who needed to be civilized--all in which the identity and social character of the dominant society were then presumed to be 'superior', offering sufficient justification to empower its representatives to seek appropriate 'solutions' for Indians and the Indian 'question' (Dyck, 1991, p. 25). This has existed for so long, and the socio-economic development and institutional growth of Canadian society has been so closely linked, that over several centuries the doctrine of Euro-Canadian 'superiority' and Indian 'inferiority' has become "a created body of theory and practice" in which there has been sustained social and material investment (Dyck, 1991, p.25). Governments continue to attempt to transform Indians to exhibit the ideal conduct and characteristics of the Euro-Canadian society, as "the ostensible goal of tutelage has been to reshape Indians so they may acquire and reflect civilized ways of life and the ideals of Euro-Canadian society" (Dyck, 1991, p.26).

The theory of Indian 'inferiority' provided the rationale for nation-state unilateral assumption of control over Indian lands, resources, communities and ways of life. Tutors will not, however, present tutelage as self-interested compulsion or exploitation but define their activities as charitable benevolence. At the same time, tutors continue to regard Indians as incapable of knowing what is in their best interests or how it may be achieved. Tutors "know what is best for the Indians" (Dyck, 1991, p.26).

Dyck asserts that although Indians have proven to be willing and able to become involved in new activities and occupations, generally their response to the invitations and injunctions of tutelage agents has been one of resistance, both active and passive. Passive resistance includes the practice of symbolic opposition and various forms of cultural conservatism. Coercive tutelage advances the interests and ideals of the ruling classes within civil society. In order to survive, individuals of the captive population have no choice but to mitigate their opposition to some extent (Dyck, 1991, p.30).

Dyck (1991) depicts the Indians as more than a subordinate, helpless people who tolerated 'coercive tutelage'. Dyck portrays Indians as a people having dedicated political leaders who initiated resistance in a predominantly rational and non-violent manner, not as uncivilized savages.

Following the disappearance of the buffalo from the prairies, the Indians in 1879 attempted agriculture based on a

co-operative relationship between the Indians and the government, which was intended to be temporary assistance to enable Indians to regain self-sufficiency. The government made treaty commitments and spoke of a reserve agricultural program that would make prairie Indians self-sufficient in a few years. Indians rapidly accepted agricultural settlement. During the summer of 1880 over 11,000 Indians settled upon reserves, built houses, and broke 4,600 acres of land for cultivation and harvested wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes. The Indian commissioner depicted the Indians on Red Pheasant's reserve near Battleford as intelligent, peacefully inclined, and good workers (Dyck, 1991, p. 61).

There were, however, limitations of the program: experience of new soil, climate, seed types, expense and experience in overseeing large-scale development programs. Canadian politicians were reluctant to provide support to needy individuals during the age of neo-mercantilist economic policy (assistance to the rising business class) and regarded charity as the responsibility of families and churches, not of governments. Federal authorities were compelled to supply rations to starving Indians to prevent the possibility of an armed rising. Government officials also wanted to escape unnecessary expenses and excess of the government's dealings with western Indians (Dyck, 1991, p. 62).

Federal authorities sabotaged Indians' efforts to preserve their autonomy and develop viable new ways of life. Indian agents reported success and achievements of Indian

pursuits of agriculture, but the federal authorities developed the notion that the program failed mainly because of aboriginal cultures and Indian personality types. Although Indians were committed to their efforts at agriculture, the federal Indian administration continued with short rations and reneged on treaty commitments (Dyck, 1991; Carter, 1990).

In 1881, Chief Poundmaker invited chiefs of the North-West to gather in Battleford to pressure the government for better terms. The Battleford district Bands passively resisted the oppressive federal Indian administration by refusing to seed crops that year and told the agent that without rations they would kill the cattle for food. In June of 1881, Chief Poundmaker conferred with Indians in Cypress Hills and later expressed to the Governor-General the difficulties and hardships. Poundmaker returned to the reserve and farmed. Authorities saw this as a sign of submission and ignored his requests. With the economic recession of 1882-3, costs of programs for Indians were reduced and rations were cut back (Dyck, 1991, p. 65).

In 1883, the Department learned that Big Bear and other Cree leaders were organizing a large gathering in the Battleford district in 1884. Indians in the Crooked Lakes district seized a government storehouse and distributed the rations. Ottawa developed a dual policy of issuing more liberal rations to those working on the reserves, while at the same time strengthening the Mounted Police.

Big Bear and Chiefs in the Carlton district met with Louis Riel near Duck Lake. This council marked a crucial stage in the development of a unified Indian political movement in the North-West. But because of differences between the political aims of the Indians and Metis, the council was limited to an exchange of statements of sympathy between the Cree leaders and Riel. At the same time, to deter the Indian councils planned for the summer of 1885, Commissioner Dewdney increased rations and finally supplied all of the goods stipulated in the treaties.

The reserve agricultural program eventually fell short of government expectations because unrealistic short-term goals had been set for it, and the purposes of the program were second to the federal officials' determination to bring Big Bear and other activists under control. Government personnel increasingly monitored and controlled farming (through mechanisms such as the "Pass" and "Permit" system) and Indians were treated less as farmers than as wards. Department employees who resisted federal policies were fired (Dyck, 1991, pp. 70-71).

Indians could not compete as commercial farmers and could not sell crops or purchase farm machinery; they could only produce to satisfy their own needs. The federal government ensured that Indians were denied entry into the mainstream of the agricultural economy (Dyck, 1991). Indians then engaged in passive resistance and withdrew from active involvement in agriculture or ranching. Indians were typically referred to as

being 'ungrateful', 'lazy', 'improvident', 'sly', 'helpless'. The manner in which tutelage agencies have defined Indians has become an integral part of the Indian 'problem' (Dyck, 1991, p. 78).

There were some instances of armed resistance, but for the most part Indians' resistance has been non-violent. In the early 1900s, Indians attempted to take the train to Ottawa and Indian leaders drafted petitions and protests that were sent or delivered in person to officials in Ottawa. John Tootoosis, a Cree leader after the First World War, sought legal advice (Dyck, 1991, p. 88).

In 1906 the chief of Capilano Band served King Edward of England with a land claims petition. The Allied Tribes of British Columbia was formed in 1915. During the First World War attempts began in Ontario and Quebec to create a national political organization for Indians. In 1918, the League of Indians of Canada was formed in Ontario, which sought to unite a national organization of geographically separated and ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse bands in one organization (which eventually failed) (Dyck, 1991, p. 92). Indians later campaigned and received support from a Winnipeg newspaper and a number of non-Indian western settlers who petitioned the government on behalf of the Indians. Indians mobilized support outside the Department: this later became a principal tactic of Indian resistance to federal tutelage.

Coercive tutelage and a policy of compulsory assimilation served as the foundations for a repressive system of reserve

administration. Many features of this system were amended after the Second World War, but the Department's assumptions regarding the incapacities of Indians remained, reserve communities remained, and the Department continued to prevent Indians from determining their own destiny. Following a similar analysis, Carstens (1991) places Indian policy on a paternalistic-maternalistic continuum.

3.2.3 Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony: Mawhiney

There is an abundance of literature that documents the role of federal administration in the underdevelopment of native people; the literature documents the instrumental control and describes the relationship as paternalistic, hegemonic, one of ethnocentrism, dominance/subordination, superiority/inferiority, as well as various other terms. These historical chronologies depict the historical relationship of the Euro-Canadians and Indians as linear, as one of cause-effect progression that ignores responses of First Nations people (Mawhiney, 1994; Boldt, 1993; Kymlicka, 1989; Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993; and others).

Mawhiney (1994) discusses the resistance of Indians, but does so in the context of counter-hegemonic responses. Mawhiney utilizes the concept of hegemony which occurs through a consensual process that connects ideas of the dominant group with social practices that are accepted within a society. Mawhiney attempts to account for the resistance of Indians in terms of counter-hegemonic responses where Indians will resist

either by countering the dominant view or by ignoring less agreeable social practices.

Mawhiney (1994, p. 30) argues that counter-hegemony helped First Nations groups maintain their identities as separate and distinct. For example, amendments to the Indian Act were the result of counter-hegemonic forces that First Nations people generated.

The concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony are customarily used to analyse societies that are relatively homogenous; Mawhiney attempts to examine these two concepts with two distinct cultural identities. Mawhiney (1994, p. 36) claims that because First Nations people are "caught between two cultures", alcoholism, suicide, and violence on reserves have replaced the traditional ways of relating. Although Mawhiney accounts for the resistance of First Nations, her use of hegemony and counter-hegemony is limited as a theory, as it simply illustrates that an unequal power struggle existed.

Mawhiney's (1994) argument is limited as a philosophical one, noting the federal policies as being employed simply to persuade Indian peoples to adopt the dominant ideologies. Mawhiney fails to account for the larger systems, such as the role of capitalism and the value of work as a determinant of success: that the federal administration prevented Indians from actively participating in the new regime of capitalism as labourers or proprietors.

Mawhiney's account of the resistance of Indian peoples as an emergence of ideological and philosphical views of Indians

that differ from that of the Euro-Canadians is simplistic in describing the experience of Indians. Mawhiney's (1994, p. 53) argument is further limited in utilizing counter-hegemony as a disruption of the existing equilibrium between philosophy and practice in a society that occurs when "alternate philosophies, realities, ways of living and thinking emerge."

For example, Mawhiney (1994, p. 54) argues that counter-hegemony emerged in *Citizens Plus* (the written response in 1970 of the Chiefs of Alberta to the *White Paper*) as a result of Indians' ideological and philosophical views of reality becoming infused into the dominant consciousness, and by the clarification of their own paradigm. Mawhiney neglects to account for class-based and power-based superiority that became the major thrusts of the emerging capitalist regime.

Mawhiney (1994) does acknowledge that factors on both sides of the relationship contribute to policies and changes in policy and that the relationship is interactive in nature. Mawhiney documents how the differences between Indians and Euro-Canadians were the basis of a superior\inferior relationship between Euro-Canadians and Indians. Indians emphasized social equality, egalitarianism, and interdependence while Euro-Canadians emphasized discipline, hard manual labour, social stratification, and strong hierarchical authority structures. Indian social practices were not considered appropriate even though they minimized social conflict and prevented begging. Indian ways of life were viewed as inferior, "primitive", and Europeans readily imposed their own

values and social practices onto Indian peoples (Mawhiney, 1994, p. 21).

Many writers have documented such differences between Euro-Canadians and Indians as establishing the conflictual relationship between them (Boldt, 1993; Dyck, 1991; Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993; Frideres, 1988). Mawhiney's (1994) analysis, however, is incomplete without consideration of the economic, socio-political and historical relations, as well as class relations that need to be explored to understand the experience of Indians in contemporary context.

For example, Mawhiney parallels the segregation of Indians on reserves in Canada to the 'places of confinement' that were developed in Europe for those who were viewed as less than adequate (vagabonds, mentally ill, poor, delinquents) as an attempt to civilize and normalize the inadequate populations. The 'places of confinement' in Europe were experiments intended to keep people segregated and encourage Europeans to consider such people as "having something wrong with them" (Mawhiney, 1994, p. 23). In comparison with other literature that documents segregation as an action to serve the economic interests of the nation-state (Boldt 1993; Daniels, 1980; Dyck, 1991; Wotherspoon and Satzewich, 1993), the segregation of Indians on reserves merely on the basis of differing values seems quite a painstaking process to achieve a philosophical goal. Mawhiney views federal policies as a way to persuade Indian peoples to adopt the dominant ideologies.

Mawhiney (1994) fails to include such factors as the desirability of land and the fact that many of the federal government's actions were to serve their own economic interests: that the federal government viewed Indians as an economic drain rather than providing Indians with temporary assistance until they regained self-sufficiency.

Mawhiney (1994) ignores the reactive political-historical development of policy and administration that fostered and maintained the dependency of Indian peoples. The federal government acted to ensure subordination, an attempt to preserve their own socio-economic self-interests rather than to encourage evolution (Daniels, 1980; Dyck, 1991; Boldt, 1993, Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993; Buckley, 1992). Carstens (1991), on the other hand, views reserves as utopian communities incapable of success in their narrow borders and in isolation.

Mawhiney does, however, acknowledge the emerging Indian elite, as other writers have. Boldt,1993; Daniels, 1986; Dyck, 1991; Lithman, 1983; Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993; and Mawhiney, 1994; discuss the impact of the new elite group as infusing into society and representing to the dominant group, the non-aboriginals, an opposing reality. Mawhiney (1994, p. 97) describes the role of the new aboriginal elite group as the vehicle for transmitting knowledge to non-aboriginal members of the dominant group; she also implies that the participation of members from the subordinate elite in dominant institutions is a prerequisite to interaction between the two groups.

This observation of conflicting ideas fails to recognize the wider social movement of empowerment of an oppressed people to resist oppression and domination. There is more to the experience of the dominant and subordinate group than a conflict of knowledge and ideas, and resistance has occurred not only during periods of major policy shifts when the federal government proposed social measures that were perceived to threaten the identities and ways of living of status Indians. Dyck (1991), for example, noted the resistance as ongoing and as being much more than what Mawhiney describes. Mawhiney's assumption not only denies the importance of members of the subordinate group that are not articulate and/or do not comprise the elite, but also falls short in examining the wider significance of the new elite group.

Mawhiney briefly mentions the appearance of more articulate and educated Indians in the 1960s and their capacity and importance in terms of self-determination, but she does not explore their roles as leaders in any depth, nor does she analyze and critique leaders as rising elites to the extent that other writers do, such as Boldt (1993) (which will later be discussed).

3.2.4 Group Rights: Kymlicka

The role of cultural membership, the extent to which individuals' interests are tied to, or their sense of identity dependent upon, a particular culture may determine the manner in which minority groups respond to ensure equality (Kymlicka, 1989, p. 3). Kymlicka describes the relationship between the

dominant group and the subordinate group and the resistance of the latter as needing to be understood in the context of the relationship between individual freedom, cultural membership, group identity and minority rights. A general concern with identity questions is present in the literature of the late 1990s (for example, Diaz, Rummens, and Taylor, 1991).

Kymlicka (1989) explores the notions of the right and the good in relation to federal government-minority relations. He notes that since liberals believe that the government ought to treat all individuals as equals, "justice requires that the liberties and resources necessary to examine and act on our beliefs about value be secured for each individual equally" (Kymlycka, 1989, p. 211). Kymlycka tries to represent the liberal accounts of community and culture and evaluate and link these accounts to the more familiar liberal views on individual rights and neutrality. He emphasizes the need for theory to respect the way humans are socially constructed and culturally situated and the need to abandon the 'atomistic' and 'individualistic' premises and principles of liberal theories of justice (Kymlicka, 1989, p. 3).

Kymlicka (1989, p. 3) argues that liberals, in promoting the dignity and autonomy of the individual, have undermined the communities and associations which alone can nurture human flourishing and freedom. Kymlicka argues that individualism accords with, rather than opposes, the importance of our social world to us; that although liberalism is primarily concerned with the relationship between the individual and the state,

liberalism also contains a broader account of the relationship between the individual and society, and the individual's membership in a community and a culture.

Kymlicka (1989) notes that liberalism is primarily concerned with the relationship between the individual and the state, and with limiting state intrusions on the liberties of citizens. How much, then, must the state promote autonomy of First Nations people before the abuse of such autonomy becomes more destructive than state control? Indeed, Trudeau's error with the *White Paper*, often seen as the parallel to United States-style Termination polices, is based on liberal individualist premises applied to Indian peoples. Perhaps this is also the aim of certain self-government solutions (such as Sechelt). Boldt (1993) and Dyck (1991) argue that Indian leaders are taking on the same values and self-interests as the DIAND bureaucrats they are striving to replace.

3.2.5 Leadership: Boldt

One cannot deny the role of articulate leaders in collectively identifying and organizing along cultural lines to advance the development of First Nations people. Various writers (Boldt, 1993; Kymlicka, 1989; Mawhiney, 1994; Dyck, 1983) have noted the release of the *White Paper* in 1969 as being one of the turning points in the collective identification and organization of Indian people that has set the foundation for future achievements as a people, and all of

these writers have considered the role of articulate leaders as integral to successful social action.

Boldt (1993) also argues that effective Indian leadership is the only and final chance for Indian people to escape their destitution, despair, and frustration, and that Indian leaders today are better educated, politically more experienced and sophisticated, and better organized to act in the interests of their people.

To what capacity are the more recent roles of Indians as leaders serving the development of First Nations people? If the present federal colonial structures are not serving Indians as communities, then what will be necessary to ensure the well-being of Indian communities? Is this new leadership and self-government the solution, or are they simply an extension of the Euro-Canadian neo-colonial structures that serve the interests of a few at the expense of all members?

Boldt's critique implies that Indian leaders have an obligation to make plans to terminate the pernicious structures and norms before asserting self-government, and they have an obligation to work with band/tribal members to create indigenous social systems and norms of leadership that will ensure the empowerment of the people and the accountability of leaders to their people (Boldt, 1993, p. 117).

Boldt (1993, p. 119) notes that traditionally power and authority were vested only in the Band as a whole. The dichotomy of 'rulers' and 'ruled' did not exist between leaders 'of, by, and for' the collectivity. Indian leaders were

selected via an extensive consultation process based on personal qualities such as generosity, service, wisdom, and spirituality. Indian leaders did not create the structures and norms of leadership; today's leaders are the 'casualties' of the colonial structures and norms of leadership that have been imposed by the Canadian government:

> The sociological forces activated by Indian Act designs for an elective system of leadership and the privatization of land, taken in conjunction with the DIAND's process of Indian leadership co-optation, are not only giving rise to an Indian ruling class, they are also giving rise to a social-economic elite class (Boldt, 1993, p. 124).

This has created a two-class economic order on reserves: a small, virtually closed, elite class (which implies income and wealth of that of the Canadian middle class, although some Indian elites are considerably wealthier) that comprises influential landowners, politicians, bureaucrats, and a few entrepreneurs, and a large lower class (which refers to most Indians living on and off reserves) that constitute a destitute, dependent, and powerless people. As most Indians living on-reserve are on social assistance and destitute, it does not take much income or wealth for an Indian to be considered as having 'elite' status (Boldt, 1993, p. 124).

Boldt claims that political splits in reserve communities are derived from contemporary social-economic class inequities and conflicts in interests between elite and lower classes (and are often aligned with kin-groups). As membership in the

emerging elite class on reserves is primarily based on heirship, the elites do not serve as 'role models' of success for the lower class. The elite class tends to be 'closed', effectively stifling lower-class aspirations, with a consequent loss of human potential (Boldt, 1993, p. 125).

Authority has been transferred from DIAND to band/tribal councils and is being carried out within colonial political and bureaucratic structures. The structures essentially devolve powers to the hands of a small Indian ruling elite class, resuming the DIAND colonial pattern that excludes the rank and file of Indians from the decision-making process. The lower class may envy and resent the power and property of the ruling elite class, but simultaneously depends on the elites to demand improvements to their welfare payments, programs (such as housing), and services (Boldt, 1989, p. 129).

As long as there is a politically entrenched aboriginal elite class, it is unlikely that mechanisms will soon be introduced to share or redistribute wealth on Indian reserves (such as progressive taxation) (Boldt, 1993). It is the accountability--or the lack of accountability--that enables the politically entrenched elite class to serve its own self-interests at the expense of the needs of its members.

Boldt (1993) acknowledges that the problems within the present Indian governance are not an extension of an historical inability of Indians to govern themselves. Traditionally, Indian governance operated with structures, customs, norms, and values that gave the people effective control over their

leaders. Indian leadership has adopted the neo-colonial system of governance whereby power is exercised through hierarchical, authoritarian, and legalistic systems. The checks, balances, and sanctions of Western-democratic societies for accountability, on the other hand, have not yet taken root in an Indian civic culture (Boldt, 1993, p. 131). Boldt predicts that because of the absence of either traditional or contemporary controls over their leaders, the Indian lower class will be even more vulnerable to manipulation under the rule of their own elites than they were under the rule of DIAND (Boldt, 1993, p. 129).

Boldt argues that the struggle for sovereignty is not genuine: that the irresponsible and self-serving Indian ruling elites use the symbol of sovereignty for their own devious purposes. Boldt provides the example of using sovereignty as a pretext to protect the gambling profits of a few casino owners (disregarding the strong opposition of a majority of band/tribal members) at the St. Regis-Akwesasne Indian reserve--the application of sovereignty to serve the personal entrenchment of a handful of people while disregarding the negative effects for Indian communities (Boldt, 1991, p. 135).

These circumstances are largely the result of colonial systems of government. There are inherent problems with retaining the existing colonial institutional structures and norms of power and control, the most obvious being that they are designed to push most Indians outside the decision-making circle. To retain the existing colonial institutional

structures and norms of power and control will not guarantee that the entrenched norms of paternalism, authoritarianism, self-interest, and self-aggrandizement by office-holders will be eliminated (Boldt, 1993, p. 140).

Boldt (1993, p. 138), following the patterns of his own work in the early 1970s, suggests an inductive-evolutionary approach to experiment with various participatory models of Indian self-government, and to adapt philosophies and principles of government to contemporary circumstances and needs. As this would take time, Indians would have an opportunity to learn traditional infrastructures, organize to a capacity that they could deal with various complex problems, gain the support of the people by working together to design Indian government, and then choose the best arrangement for an autonomous Indian government (via constitutional entrenchment, treaties, or a series of federal-provincial accords, or any other possibility) (Boldt, 1993, p. 138). Boldt stresses the need to replenish the pre-colonial experience of self-government needs by experimentation and experience.

Boldt (1993) tends to emphasize a liberal arrangement that continues to rely on either legal or governmental structures to arrange for self-government. Boldt views the transfer of DIAND's power to local bands/tribes within the framework of the colonial political and bureaucratic structures as a transfer of paternalism, "a shift from 'functional racism' to 'functional elitism' or a move from racial to class oppression" (Boldt, 1993, p. 142-143). Daniels (1986) further

asserts that the movement from colonialism to neo-colonialism is not unique to Canada but part of a world-wide phenomenon.

Boldt emphasizes the constitution-making process as the vehicle for achieving self-determination, with the most important benefit being the empowerment of lower-class Indians (Boldt, 1993). Empowerment of the lower-class people is a salient factor in achieving self-determination of the entire community, although Boldt's view that empowerment within the constitutional process is being the ideal path can be questioned. Jackson and Jackson (1992, p. 48) assert that First Nations people view the right to self-government as 'inherent rights' which have never been given up in past treaties and therefore should not be defined in the Constitution. The reader must also keep in mind that Surviving as Indians (Boldt, 1993) was written at a time when Canada had just completed a process of constitutional renewal that included an 'Aboriginal Constitutional Process' in which the Assembly of First Nations' mandate was specifically to develop proposals for Indian self-government and were invited to bring forward these and any other proposals to the special joint committee (Boldt, 1993, p. 94). Also at this time, a royal commission was examining problems in all aspects of aboriginal life.

3.2.6 Self-Determination

Does self-government and/or any other arrangement within political and bureaucratic structures necessarily preclude

self-determination? The complex interrelations between federal, provincial, and Indian governments cannot be ignored; but to assume that self-determination cannot be achieved outside these relations excludes an endless variety of alternative possibilities. Hedican's (1986) social anthropological account of Collins, an Indian and Metis community of 150 people situated in northern Ontario, portrays the struggle of the Collins people to create a viable local economy that is not controlled from the outside. Collins is a unique community in that it is a non-treaty community and is therefore not supported financially or otherwise by DIAND. Hedican (1986) argues that the development of successful intermediary roles in Collins was a crucial factor not only in initiating economic change but in maintaining it throughout the 1970s.

In Collins, the focus was on leaders as local patrons and social activators in creating the economic and political change in the community. The Collins leaders formed a community organization (Ogoki River Guides Limited, which negotiated for government-funded work projects, dispensed jobs for people and expanded local services) which was a pivotal mechanism in uniting the people behind a common effort. The economic benefits were translated into local political support. The leaders used and manipulated resources to attract and maintain a following (Hedican, 1986).

One cannot deny that the community benefited economically from the leadership, although implicit in Hedican's study (1986) is that the community continues to be stratified with a

fairly closed political system where the elite kept control of the situation. Hedican does not mention how much the leadership paid themselves but the study implicitly indicates an economic imbalance in the community with a two-class system emerging because of the centralization of local powers (Hedican, 1986, p. 161). The relationship between the leaders and the other people of the community appears to be a patron-client relationship with little room for input from the community or for the voice of the people.

The leaders maintained clear boundaries between themselves and the people, and between themselves and external authorities and acted as middlemen between the local native population and external authorities. The leaders served to preserve and protect the local subsystem. In keeping the people insulated from external influence, the people became more dependent upon the local leaders. These actions "circumvent the emergence of opposing middlemen and restrict the wider dissemination of knowledge and skills which make the rise of competing leaders possible" (Hedican, 1986, p.97).

The fact that economic benefits were distributed over a fairly wide range of the population may have been a manipulative intention of leadership to prevent divisive tendencies and to promote more cohesiveness within the community to ensure their own self-interests. The people of the community were distracted from questioning the power and control of the leadership as elitists who presumably paid themselves substantial salaries. In this case, the community

may be economically self-sufficient, but may not necessarily be considered to be a community with self-determination, as the people of the community are not empowered or respected as valuable components.

Boldt (1993) argues that in order to have genuine empowerment within First Nations government, the alienated and apathetic members of the lower class must be drawn into the decision-making process. Neo-colonial rule has caused Indian people to become alienated, cynical, and submissive towards authority, and to become resigned to and apathetic about their future. The people will need to learn effective political skills, attitudes, and gain experience which, according to Boldt (1993, p. 172), can only be achieved from ongoing participation and influence in the decision-making process in their communities. Indian politicians and bureaucrats will need to implement traditional attitudes of service and accountability to their people (Boldt, 1993).

The possibility of empowerment of Indian people depends upon the willingness of leaders to work with their people rather than on behalf of their people, where the leaders would draw their political power from the power, not the destitution, of their people. The relationship must be representative rather than exploitative and until this occurs, the manipulative and controlling nature of political power and control will continue. In a different context, Fanon (1963) argued that the political party in a country achieving independence from colonial rule should not be a tool in the

hands of the government, but rather in the hands of the people. Fanon's approach provides a useful guideline for First Nations self-determination.

Lithman's (1983) social anthropological account of the Maple River Indian reserve community of Manitoba provides a probing analysis of the political considerations that enter into virtually every decision about the distribution of the common good. Lithman describes the people in the community as being politically aligned in 'bunches': small political power groups each headed by a political leader. The bunches are the organizational device that regulates the distribution of what comes to the band through the chief and council. Bunches are predominantly temporary alliances of distinct parties for a limited purpose. They are aligned on the basis of common interest and possess a sense of common identity (Lithman, 1984).

In order to understand the chief and council of a band, their constituencies must be understood. The constituent parts of the political organization in Maple River are the chief and council, action sets (coalitions between bunches), and clique groups (bunches). The election promise of the chief or councillor will be a promise to be fair and care for the whole community. The bunch that is in power determines who in the community will receive more care and the chief and council are always faced with a dissatisfied majority.

The present political system emerged in Maple River with

the establishment of the chief and council as a funnel for the transfers. According to Lithman (1983), the people of the community focussed their attention on the system of economic distribution.

The common good is thought of as a limited quantity belonging equally to all community residents. Bunches will form coalitions to ensure equitable distribution of the common resources. A bunch, a bunch leader, or a number of bunches may form a united front to serve the interest of the equality of the community residents (Lithman, 1984).

Lithman (1984) describes the political dynamic comprehensively, particularly the role that the politician and the heads of bunches play in order to take care of their own bunch. This dynamic is not uncommon in reserve communities in Saskatchewan, where the needs of one's own bunch are ensured rather than ensuring the needs of all people. Lithman states his frustrations in that the people are only 'a part' of a community, a politicized community. This is similar to Carsten's (1991) description of the games of local politics that tend to be based in kin and friendship networks.

Lithman's study of such internal political organization introduces some of the complexities involved in the relationships between constituents and the political body. On a larger scale, the delicate nature of the relationship between the two can be seen in Dyck's (1983) account of a provincial political organization, specifically for the purpose of his

study he called the Western Indian Association (WIA) of Saskatchewan (1969 to 1973).

Between 1969 and 1973, Indian leaders were transforming a small voluntary association into a sophisticated organization to represent a united provincial Indian constituency. The WIA fabricated a new set of relationships between itself, the Indian people of the province (through their band councils), and the federal government. Band councils became dependent upon the WIA to act on their behalf in dealing with the federal government because WIA officers had the information, experience and contacts (Dyck, 1983).

As others have noted (Boldt, 1993; Mawhiney, 1994; Kymlicka, 1989), Dyck (1983) also asserts that articulation (such as that within the WIA) serves to overcome the isolation and powerlessness of reserves. At the same time, the WIA needed to provide effective representational services to maintain and expand its programs to ensure firm and continued support from individual constituents and bands.

With the rapid growth of the WIA, this relationship became more complicated. As executive members became more visible on local and national radio and television, those who were once seen as being fellow Indians began to be seen as 'big shots'. Others challenged the legitimacy of the WIA leadership and accused WIA leaders of forgetting about the people and of 'selling out' to the government for big salaries and motor vehicles (Dyck, 1983, p. 243).

WIA leaders were careful not to expend their salaries and not to exhibit having noticeable material wealth to obviate such accusations. WIA leaders also did not employ too many people from one reserve or from one family, as this may have been interpreted as nepotism. The WIA's legitimacy was also obtained in part through its older employees (over thirty-five) and their political experience and links to band leaders and reserve communities (Dyck, 1983).

Dyck argued that WIA leaders should resolve their dilemma of being seen as what Dyck (1983) referred to as 'brown bureaucrats', where brown (Indian) and bureaucrat (government) represented two different and opposing categories of social organization: brown stood for an ethnic identity, whereas bureaucrat stood for a role within a formal structure or organization. WIA leaders needed to incorporate aspects of each into their performances and be both Indians and professional officers--but would never appear to be brown bureaucrats if they were to continue to receive support from Indians (Dyck, 1983).

WIA leaders presented themselves as being modest and humble representatives or servants of the people. They appeared to be reluctant candidates when they ran for office and treated older Indians with courtesy and respect. WIA leaders were careful not to be seen as prospering unduly from their positions (Dyck, 1983, p. 293).

WIA leaders emphasized their Indianness and their relationship with reserve communities. This required a

delicate balance. In order to deal effectively with bureaucrats, the WIA had to have access to current information about policies, procedures, budgets, and planning. This information could be obtained through formal political channels, but WIA leaders could learn much more by fostering harmonious relations with individual DIAND officials. When there were Indian clients in attendance, WIA leaders often adopted an aggressive manner with federal officials (Dyck, 1983, p. 294).

Clearly the reality of First Nations people extends beyond one of underdevelopment where the aboriginal population becomes exploited and powerless (Kariya, 1989), an underclass deprived in an industrialized economy (McArthur, 1989), the 'periphery' where international division of exploitation is defined via the economic division of labour in the world rather than via state borders (Wallerstein, 1974), or the periphery of the periphery in urbanization of the 1960s (Ritzer, 1988). The reality of First Nations people cannot be accurately portrayed without acknowledging a final component--the relations within the First Nations. The symbolic interactionism that Dyck (1983) and Lithman (1984) portray are an intricate part of the present-day political and elitist dynamics. Boldt (1993) also depicts Indian leaders in the context of their elitism as opposed to their having genuine intentions to serve the common interests of all of their people. Other writers (Mawhiney, 1994, Lithman, 1984, Hedican, 1986), have alluded to the evolution of Indians as elites, but Dyck (1991), Satzewich and

Wotherspoon (1993), Boldt (1993) explore the consequences of the recent developing class hierarchy more directly.

Writers such as Boldt (1993) and Nagel, Ward, and Knapp (1984) recommend collective organization of skilled and articulate rural and urban Indians to improve the socio-economic conditions of the Indian population as a whole. Those who are skilled and articulate need to develop economic strategies that will consistently serve the interests of all Indian people rather than their own. Urban-rural organization and economic strategic alliance may be important for community development. This does not necessarily mean that the class-based system should be abolished, particularly as it continues to exist in the larger society outside First Nations. But as long as those within the elite class continue to advance their own interests, intertribal and rural-urban co-operation will not be possible.

3.3. Conclusion

On the basis of the literature explored in this chapter, this writer would conclude that what has evolved over the past thirty years is not necessarily a united people led by articulate and dedicated leaders. This is not to deny that there has not been real unity and resistance among Indians as a people. Dyck (1991) notes clear struggles and highlights those of the late 1800s, and various writers (such as Boldt, 1993; Mawhiney, 1994; Dyck, 1983; Kymlicka, 1989), have related the unity and resistance of First Nations people to the release

of the White Paper in 1969. Although these writers have depicted the response to the White Paper from different theoretical perspectives, all of them agree that the response of Canadian Indians was a significant event in the collective consciousness and collective organization of Indian people towards active resistance and social action.

What has been noted (Boldt, 1993, Fanon, 1963, Wolfe, 1989), however, is that the leaders are not altruistic and may not always act to serve the interests of their people. A two-class economic order has evolved where there is an elite class that comprises influential landowners, politicians, bureaucrats, and a few entrepreneurs, and a large lower class which refers to most Indians living on reserves who comprise a destitute, dependent, and powerless people.

Communities have become fractionalized and the resistance of the late 1800s will be little more than admirable acts of collectivity of the past where leaders were genuine in leading the people. Today, the majority of First Nations people continue to comprise an oppressed class not only within the wider society, but also amongst their own people.

Social and economic class inequities have resulted in a fractionalized people much like that of the larger society, where the elites have assumed a patronizing relationship with their own people, as implied in the studies of Lithman (1984) and Hedican (1986). At the time of Dyck's (1983) analysis of the Western Indian Association, the WIA leaders attempted to satisfy the often conflicting structural demands of the

organization and to serve their constituents, but simultaneously they were paid substantial salaries and acted in ways that maintained the support of their constituents, thus maintaining their positions as elitist WIA leaders.

The literature representing the latest developments of class and power inequities within the Indian population has provided documentation of more recent developments (Boldt, 1993; Daniels, 1986; Knight, 1978; Mawhiney, 1994; Lithman, 1984; Hedican, 1986; and others). The situation needs to be explored, for a lack of that analysis and awareness may preclude the collective consciousness and action of the lower class if there is to be mobilization to ensure the interests of all Indian people as opposed to those of a select few.

Indian people have resorted to adopting the colonial system of governance in exercising power through hierarchical, authoritarian, and legalistic systems, which is contradictory to traditional forms of Indian governance where the people maintained effective control over their leaders, where Indian governance ruled for the people and by the people.

The various possibilities of Indian governance--neo-colonial rule, traditional rule, or new forms of autonomy and coexistence in Canada--need to be explored in terms of consequent development and underdevelopment of Indian communities. As leaders may be responsible for the development and autonomy of Indian people, they are also responsible for the underdevelopment and dependency of Indian people. There is a need for research into both the corruption and the potential

of Indians not only as a self-governing people but as a people that is self-determined. In order to ensure that the needs of all Indian people are served, that communities are egalitarian and healthy, the tendencies for corruption and disorganization must be confronted in order to develop preventative measures.

4. RELATIONS WITH THE CANADIAN STATE

While there is growing recognition of aboriginal people as an oppressed people, as an underclass, what tends to be overlooked is that although aboriginals are generally of lower socio-economic status than non-aboriginals and face many barriers entering into and surviving in the workforce and in everyday life, not all aboriginals are facing impoverishment and misfortune. Some aboriginals have achieved upward social mobility and have climbed to many of the successful ranks of the dominant group, disproving racially biased skeptics but fulfilling the notions of elite theorists who believe that cream always rises to the top.

This is not to say that aboriginal people are equally represented in the labour force, or that aboriginal people do not have the highest representation in the lowest economic brackets. In the 1960s, First Nations people began to move off the reserve to urban centres in hopes for opportunity to work and for better living conditions. Urbanization has been described as a desperate response to the shrinking demand in rural job markets and a measure of how poorly reserve residents were living (Buckley, 1992, p. 6). Most reserves did not have

running water until the mid-1970s. Reserve houses were poorly built and had substandard heating systems (if any at all).

Housing, which is a government obligation, is an example of the system's general shortfall as it has provided poor-quality units. On the Piapot First Nation in 1987, the maximum construction cost for each house was $28,000. By 1985, all of the houses built at Piapot since 1982 were already suffering from condensation problems. The life expectancy of a reserve house in the 1980s was five to fifteen years (Buckley, 1992, p. 9). This is one example of how society values First Nations people who are considered members of the 'culture of poverty' (see Ryan, 1976) because of the short life expectancy of their dwellings. First Nations people feel cheated, rather than grateful, and are hardly provided with dwellings that allow them to experience pride in ownership (Buckley, 1992, p.9). Statistics Canada Census results show that average income of registered Indians living on reserves has actually decreased from $10,400 in 1980 to $8,800 in 1990 (*The Leader Post*, February 16, 1996, A1).

In 1986, an estimated 31.5 per cent of Canada's registered Indians lived off-reserve (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 95). Aboriginals had significantly lower levels of education than the national average, and the low educational levels were reflected in low-status jobs and high unemployment rates. Because of the low labour-force participation rate, high unemployment, and low educational attainment, the income levels of urban aboriginals are very low

(Frideres, 1983, p. 168). In 1981, aboriginals had the lowest degree of access to the labour force and the lowest labour-force participation rates (see Table 1-1). The Ontario Human Rights Commission conducted a study in 1983 and found that although business school graduates of visible minorities were more active in seeking jobs, they received fewer job offers than business school graduates of the visible majority (Wotherspoon and Satzewich, 1993, p. 97).

Table 1-1: Participation Rates for Selected Ethnic Origins by Sex, Canada, 1981

Ethnic Origin	Male	Female
Multiple Origins	81.0	61.2
Single Origin	78.0	51.2
British	77.8	51.5
French	76.3	47.9
German	82.2	53.1
Italian	82.0	55.2
Ukrainian	77.9	53.7
Dutch	83.6	52.1
Scandinavian	78.6	51.7
Chinese	79.0	61.0
Other Asiatic	83.4	60.8
Native Peoples	60.7	36.7

(Forcese, 1986, p. 44)

According to Statistics Canada, the average unemployment rates for aboriginal people in 1986, five years later, were 35.2 per cent for aboriginal males and 31.5 per cent for aboriginal females and were somewhat lower for Metis and Inuit (32.0 and 31.5 per cent for males and 29.2 and 27.3 per cent for females, respectively). These were still considerably higher than the non-aboriginal average unemployment rate of 11.5 per cent for males and 12.7 per cent for females (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 60).

Essentially what urbanization created was a periphery within the periphery for Canadian aboriginals. Wallerstein (1974) developed the concepts 'core' and 'periphery' to describe the division of labour in the capitalist world economy. The 'core' geographical area dominates the world economy and exploits the rest of the system. The 'periphery' refers to those areas that provide raw materials to the core and are heavily exploited by the 'core'. For Wallerstein, then the economic division of labour in the world rather than state borders define the international division of exploitation (Ritzer, 1988, p. 281).

Aboriginals became the periphery in surrendering land, being reduced to a reserve army of labour, economically dependent upon and thus exploited by those of the dominant group in the metropolis, the 'core'. Urbanization of First Nations people in the 1960s and onwards created the periphery of the periphery, in that aboriginals were exploited in the

same way as those at the lowest of the socioeconomic status of the dominant group; but in moving to the metropolis, because of the nature of their origin, the oppression of aboriginals as a people was subordinate to non-aboriginals.

Access to capital was denied as First Nations people. If hired, they faced racial marginalization as low-skilled, low-wage labourers. In 1987, approximately eighty-five per cent of Status Indians were unemployed and most of the remainder were in minimum-wage jobs (Buckley, 1992, p. 145).

Brody (1971, p. 55) refers to the periphery as 'skid row whites' and the periphery of the periphery as 'skid row Indians'. Satzewich and Wotherspoon summarize Brody's suggestions that:

> . . . their common experiences, concerns, and lifestyles mean that whites and Indians share a structurally similar position within the society, with the exception being that whites on skid row are not subject to the racist hostility of native peoples.
>
> (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 55)

Not only do the underclasses share common experiences, concerns, and lifestyles and a structurally similar position within the society, but increasingly more aboriginals are becoming socially and economically stratified in climbing the socio-economic ladder.

Apart from the large number of aboriginals who are a part of the lumpenproletariat, the reserve army of labour, and the working class, aboriginal peoples also occupy bourgeois and petite bourgeois positions (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993). Although less than one per cent of the total aboriginal

population occupy major ownership or professional-managerial class positions (compared to 2.4 per cent of the total Canadian population), their representation in these positions is significant (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 64).

The aboriginal bourgeoisie consist of those who either own large sums of capital privately, or who control large sums of communally or band-based capital (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, p. 64). Recent land claim settlements and resource royalties have resulted in large transfers of funds to the band (with considerable restrictions and guidelines). Although such funds are nominally 'owned' by all band members, relatively small groups of people (trusts) are set up to administer the moneys. Trusts control the investment decisions and how those resources will be used or disbursed (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 65).

Daniels (1980) explains that while they do not formally own the capital, they are able to act like non-aboriginal bourgeoisie, and can operate as merchant bankers (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 65). They occupy bourgeoisie class positions; the basis of their power may differ from non-aboriginal bourgeoisie, but their lifestyles are similar as they have power and control over enterprises such as oil and gas companies and small regional airlines. Thus, although the class is small in size, it exists as one of the most dynamic sectors of the aboriginal population, particularly as it is able to wield a considerable amount of power and influence (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 65).

The aboriginal petite bourgeoisie consists of the old petite bourgeoisie and the new petite bourgeoisie. The old petite bourgeoisie are the independent commodity producers who do not employ other people or do so on a limited basis or utilize family labour and are fishermen, trappers, farmers, or own small businesses such as restaurants, garages, grocery stores. In a sample of 2,000 Canadian aboriginal-owned businesses studied in 1981, more than half of the businesses were in business for five years or less, 31.7 per cent for 6-10 years, and 12.3 per cent were in business for eleven years or longer (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 65).

The new petite bourgeoisie is comprised of aboriginal people in managerial or administrative positions (either in the private or public sector), and a small number of professionals that are lawyers, accountants, college professors, and engineers, having certain skills and knowledge and some autonomy over working conditions.

> In 1981, 5.8 percent of Indian women were in managerial and administrative occupations and 23.2 percent were in professional occupations. For all Canadian women, 7.8 percent and 20.9 percent were in managerial and professional occupations. Thus, 16.1 percent of Indian men and 31 percent of Indian women made up the new petite bourgeoisie, compared with 25.7 percent of all Canadian men and 28.7 percent of all Canadian women. While care must be used in the interpretation of these data to the extent that some of these positions may involve relatively little control over the means of production or knowledge, they nevertheless demonstrate that some aboriginal peoples are better placed occupationally than others (Wotherspoon and Satzewich, 1993, p. 68).

The higher percentage of aboriginal women may be a result of affirmative action programs for employment for women,

aboriginal male incarceration, and a decline of blue-collar jobs.

The recently growing number of aboriginal people entering the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie is in part the result of banks becoming more co-operative in financing aboriginals in their endeavours. Non-aboriginal businesses are joining with bands for several advantages: available work force and natural resources on the reserve, and sixty-one per cent tax savings for businesses on reserves. Programs have been established to assist aboriginal people in generating new business (such as the Saskatchewan Indian Agriculture Program formed in 1975) (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1993, p. 66).

Statistics reveal that although the aboriginal underclass is quite prevalent and cannot be ignored, aboriginals are also represented in the higher classes. First Nations workers were not only employed in unskilled labour or in limited traditional pursuits but have a long history of work in a wide range of industries and capacities. They learned and utilized highly complicated and novel skills for freighting, sailing, and others. Some First Nations entrepreneurs acquired their own gas boats, steam tugs, logging donkey engines, etc. (Knight, 1978, p. 168).

Though many strive to become a part of the higher classes, aboriginals continue to fight a losing battle against bureaucracy and policies that were developed over a century ago and were inequitable then and are perhaps even more so now. Limitations in policy, lack of financial credit, and

bureaucracy have resulted in another form of economy, a hidden and informal economy in which aboriginal economic enterprise is quite prevalent.

Micro-enterprises operate on Canadian Indian reserves like in Latin America, South East Asia, and parts of Africa. The poor and the marginalized create products and services that are needed in quantities and at affordable prices to generate income (Wolfe, Cunningham, Convey, 1987). Micro-enterprises on reserves are not labelled or advertised and therefore not recorded in statistics. They are the craftspeople, the bootleggers, the auto mechanics, the small-scale salespeople, that locals use constantly and participate in the hidden economy regularly but are not conscious of their strengths and importance. Band councils see them as insignificant economic activities because of their size. People are also concerned that if identified and measured social assistance payments may be reduced(Wolfe et al, 1987).

An informal or hidden economy can be defined in many ways. Economists refer to it as the traditional, sustenance, or peasant component of a dual economy; others use terms to describe illegal activities such as tax avoidance, smuggling, gambling and prostitution. Informal economy also refers to "the many forms of non-monetized activity, such as unpaid household work and production of goods, mutual aid, voluntary activity, sweat-equity and non-cash exchange or barter of goods and services. For these, terms such as convivial, base or counter economy have been used" (Wolfe et al, 1987).

The informal economy may also refer to small vendors, artisans, manufacturers and traders who represent thirty to seventy per cent of the labour force in parts of the developing world. They generally operate non-legally, as they are unlicensed, unregulated, and do not pay tax, but produce a legal good or service. People who run Canadian micro-enterprises (small-scale largely cash-based activities) do so by choice and use their skills, experience and knowledge of local resources and community needs to seek out and serve a local market niche (Wolfe et al, 1987).

Wolfe et al (1987) described an example of eighty-four micro-entrepreneurs on the Kettle Point reserve in Ontario; twenty-four were interviewed in more detail than the others. Half needed money to establish the business which most drew from savings or borrowed from family. They operated within a cash economy, and very few gave credit. Two were fishermen whose earnings were 100 per cent of their livelihood, but most earned less than forty per cent of their personal income. The twenty-four enterprises earned a total of $97,000 in 1987: eleven earned under $2,000.

After expenses, eight per cent still made a profit. Some were simply operating micro-enterprises to use their skills and talents, or available resources, for personal satisfaction. Many provided needed services and goods for the community which in turn generated income (such as care for the elderly, baby-sitting, fishing). Only nine of the twenty-four wanted to eventually expand their business (Wolfe et al, 1987). In

British Columbia, subsistence gardening is quite common. Indian workers rely on country foods to supplement store-bought foods, and have established an internal economy with other Band members (Knight, 1978, p. 168).

Poverty of First Nations people is a similar experience for the underclasses in other populations of Canada. The class structure that is also visible in Canada has more recently been developing amongst First Nations people. The class structure of the larger Canadian population is evident amongst First Nations people, which provides a much more holistic and comprehensive understanding: and it is the relations within the nation that are an integral part of this analysis.

5. UNITED FIRST NATIONS

The acknowledgement of class within the First Nations population has been briefly introduced in the preceding chapters. This chapter will further explore the nature of neo-colonialism pertaining to First Nations people as well as the subsequent reality wherein First Nations themselves perpetuate the problem of underdevelopment. Furthermore, for a truly socially and economically united Nation to emerge, it is not solely the responsibility of the newly formed First Nations elite to correct the unequal distribution. The involvement of all First Nations people can assist in creating a more egalitarian society that embodies traditional First Nation principles and can also lead to economic and social development. First Nations members can work together towards self-sufficiency and also to relate to the capitalist regime with which they coexist.

There have been several native protests to preserve various rights of First Nations people, such as for treaty land entitlement at Kahnesatake (Quebec) and gaming authority at White Bear (Saskatchewan). Others who may not act on behalf or their rights are perhaps not suffering from their impoverished lifestyles. Apathetic response will not encourage change. On

the other end of the socio-economic ladder, the First Nations bourgeoisie who have become active participants in a capitalist society may not need to abandon the capitalist model and hope and dream for a utopian system to impose itself. The First Nations bourgeoisie could, while adapting to the pursuits of materialism and economic gain, also act with regard for the people of the community, the rank in file.

Beyond neo-colonial tendencies, another part of the problem is the absence of desire in leaders to promote collective consciousness and constructive, organized plans of action. The system is designed in ways that allow leaders who are in a position of influence to utilize their power and authority for their own interests or economic gain. There are those who are genuine in actualizing the vision of First Nations people and work very hard to pursue their goals; but their good intentions are either squelched at the early stages, or these people remain in lower rank positions and maintain the status quo because they are fearful of those who have such power and authority--because without collective support, anyone who is a perceived threat will be terminated from their position and risks the loss of their livelihood. In another context, Fanon (1963) uses the analogy that the political party in certain districts of Africa is organized like a gang, with the toughest person as its head, who often instills fear in the people.

Earlier in this thesis George Da Pont was referred to in the signing of funding arrangements involving 1.1 billion

dollars distributed to one hundred and thirty-six Bands in Canada over five years. This is a significant amount of money for which allocation must be determined. Who, within a First Nation, is actually involved in the decision-making process? Are the decisions left to the community leaders, and if so, based on whose interests do the community leaders allocate resources? Are these resources allocated according to collective need or individual desires?

First Nations self-government cannot serve the people if it continues as a neo-colonial model. If it is not restructured and re-organized to ensure representativeness of the people, underdevelopment may be perpetuated as much by First Nations people themselves as by the larger nation-state in global capitalism. There is an assumption that political power will improve the economic conditions of native people, but with no economic policy other than perhaps de facto policy, an increase in political power and autonomy may encourage further corruption, particularly with the absence of DIAND as a monitoring device, and a continued advancement of a few individuals at the expense of the majority of Canadian natives.

5.1 Classes Within First Nations

As stated in the previous chapter, limitations in policy, credit, and bureaucracy have resulted a hidden and informal economy in which First Nations economic enterprise is quite prevalent. While some First Nations people actively continue to resist capitalism in desperate attempts to preserve tribal

relations and values, many are cashing in, legitimately and illegitimately, to make a dollar. First Nations people continue to perform traditional activities such as fishing, caring for the elderly, craftsmaking. Although such activities are carried out as needed services or for personal satisfaction, the objectives are also cash-based.

Some may not be respected within the community and accused of "selling out", as certain occupations are considered to be unacceptable as paid positions. For example, paid elders tend not to be respected for accepting cash for a community service. The elders are expected to be available at all times to their people as their ancestors had in a pre-capitalist society, which takes time, money, transport, energy, yet the pre-capitalist community responsibility to provide sustenance for elders no longer exists. At most, a few elders are given tobacco for their services, or blankets and gifts at raindances and other ceremonies (although offerings of cash are becoming more common).

Many First Nations people continue to resist capitalism and assume they can attempt to maintain primitive communal societies independent of and separated from the larger, capitalist society. For some, such as in northern First Nations, if the intentions are genuine, this may be part of the answer. First Nations people may not need to rely on a cash-based economy for survival, and furthermore, an interdependent community based on a resource-based community may provide much more happiness and viability than the colonial values imposed

on them. However, this may be more realistic for the more isolated northern communities, but it is hard to imagine the abandonment of "Western" motorized sleds, chain saws, and modern rifles.

Transients differ from the northern trapper, in that transients are a part of the underclasses because as individuals they are unable or unwilling to integrate into 'white' society, and "because they retain a rural orientation and possess few skills, transients are unable to participate in the social or economic fabric of Canadian society" (Frideres, 1983, p. 215). As a result, they become more and more dependent on the same social-service organizations that, ironically, encouraged them to move to the urban centres in the first place. What essentially has happened to First Nations people is that the introduction of social welfare, combined with a sense of lack of control over their destiny, has led to a "dependency ethos" that did not exist before European contact.

There are other reasons why the underclasses may not be active, either to participate in the capitalist society or to help create an alternative social movement. The people may be well aware of the limitations of the system, and of the limited return for their expended efforts. Whether or not the underclass as well as the middle income First Nations people are aware of complications that exist in the struggle towards First Nations development, the issues of leadership, change, strategy, and others must be addressed.

First Nations people have hoped for political, social, and economic development and independence from the dominant majority. They have had faith in their leaders to satisfy the national, universal quest for equal acquisition of resources and opportunity. The national bourgeoisie, the First Nations bourgeoisie, was entrusted to facilitate change.

The national bourgeoisie accumulate wealth and power and rather than utilize their benefits for the betterment of the masses, they use their wealth and power to serve their own interests (Fanon, 1963, p. 165). First Nations people leave the reserve to acquire post-secondary education in the hope that this will ensure employment and self-sufficiency. While the band provides economic and social support for the student, once the student acquires the desired skills and goals, he or she uses them to advance himself or herself as opposed to returning to the reserve with knowledge and plans to facilitate development of the entire community.

Those who are not educated can also become the petite bourgeoisie by seeking economic gain in becoming members and players in the political regime. Some who enter First Nations government may originally do so with sincere intentions, but either seize the opportunity to promote themselves or maintain apathy to protect their jobs. Fanon's (1963) analysis of the downfalls of African unity may be applied to the situation of First Nations people:

> The national bourgeoisie, since it is strung up to defend its immediate interests, and sees no further than the end of its nose, reveals itself incapable

> of simply bringing national unity into being, or of building up the nation on a stable and productive basis. The national front which has forced colonialism to withdraw cracks up, and wastes the victory it has gained (Fanon, 1963, p. 159).

A First Nations organization is considered representative if it represents the views, needs, and aspirations of its constituency to the government and to the public. It is also expected to convey to the government and to the public the feelings and demands of its membership accurately. The members of the organization are expected to be a social microcosm of its constituency (Dyck, 1989).

The First Nations organization is expected to respond to the needs and demands of its constituency by providing services. Although the above-mentioned principles are rarely exercised in practices of Canadian government, they are the ideals. What studies have found is that "neither the elected politicians nor the officials (public servants) are social microcosms of society, but rather members of the upper socio-economic strata" (Dyck, 1989, p. 283). All three principles can be applied to leaders of native organizations.

National native organizations are not only a product of the members within the organization but are also shaped by the government (partly because of government funding and intervention, and also in an effort to influence government decisions) (Dyck, 1989, p. 283).

The First Nations political movement is quite young: First Nations people did not begin to organize politically until the late 1960s. Aboriginal political organizations (such

as DIAND and NIB) were criticized by the government and by the natives in the 1970s, and in 1979 they were publicly criticized by the Beaver report. The Beaver report acknowledged that some aboriginal organizations were "structured to be responsive and responsible to bands," but most native organizations were not. Beaver questioned the structure, mode of operation, and effectiveness of national and provincial aboriginal organizations (Dyck, 1989, p. 284).

After the Beaver report that recommended that First Nations should decide for themselves the nature and form of their representation, the minister of DIAND extended representation to the local band level: the NIB was restructured to become the AFN (Assembly of First Nations), and 573 band chiefs met annually to establish and sanction policies and elect the national chief who served a three-year term. The restructuring was intended to strengthen the influence of First Nations political organizations in influencing the government (Dyck, 1989). Governments focussed on First Nations organizations as vehicles that could ensure continual grassroots input as the basis for formulating a national position on issues (Dyck, 1989).

However, the actions of the chiefs and band councils led one to question whether political representation at any level (national, provincial, local) is possible. When local band chiefs are assigned a new power, the same pattern reoccurs, only on a smaller scale. Chiefs may be "heavily influenced" by the politicians of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian

Nations, serving their own interests at the expense of the needs of the people.

Studies like the investigative journalism of the Ottawa Citizen (October, 1988) on FSIN corruption illustrate that the main 'players' have been known as not-to-be-trusted, suspicious, power-seekers. Fanon depicts the impression of a leader:

> He acts as a breaking-power on the awakening consciousness of the people. He comes to the aid of the bourgeois caste of the people. He hides his manoeuvres from the people, thus becoming the most eager worker in the task of mystifying and bewildering the masses. Every time he speaks to the people he calls to mind his often heroic life, the struggles he has led in the name of the people and the victories that in their name he has achieved, thereby intimating clearly to the masses that they ought to go on putting their confidence in him (Fanon, 1963, p. 168).

First Nations people are not the electors of members of the FSIN, and they are not elected or hired based on merit or representative goals (the election system has been established by DIAND). Many of the political players have little more than a grade eight education and are not hired on the basis of contributory acts of altruism and nationalism. They seem to be employed based on an ability to follow authority or because they are related to internal members and significant players (friends and relatives) (Boldt, 1993; Lithman, 1984). The writer can attest to such behaviour on a local reserve: the people manifest a general mistrust of the chief and band council regarding appropriate use of band funds and questionable implementation of programs and policies.

National, provincial, and local leaders and their members have the opportunity to accumulate wealth and power and, rather than decentralize the resources for the benefit of the masses, resources are reinvested for the individual gains of the national bourgeoisie. The more local the resources are extended, the less attainable they become to the rank and file. For example, the man who contracts to supply water to band members is paid $68,000 annually.

One of the reasons why the rank and file repudiated the Charlottetown Accord was the very fear of empowered despotism, as they are already familiar with the negative consequences of extending limited control to local First Nations government. Many First Nations people feel more comfortable with band-federal tri-partite and provincial-federal bipartite agreements which constrain responsibilities because in doing so, there is less funding being transferred and therefore little need to monitor and question band chief and council activity. Many people feel more comfortable that organizations are funded directly by the governments and not indirectly through the bands, as the bands might either keep the funds or assign the funds to organizations that represent their own interests (Dyck, 1989; Boldt, 1983).

The misdeeds of Saskatchewan First Nations leaders described in the Ottawa Citizen (October, 1988) are prime examples of the misrepresentation of First Nations government leaders in their utilization of public funds for purposes other than those intended for the benefit of all First Nations

people. According to DIAND approximately $3 million had been spent in areas the agreements did not cover. Unfortunately, these are not isolated cases: what is even more frustrating is that this case is the only one that has been documented and publicized. First Nations people are aware that the probable number of dishonest First Nations political players is likely the majority, and many prefer not to know the extent of dishonesty among their own people. Already, a number of bands have voluntarily temporarily turned over the control of their accounts to non-Indian controllers, after early self-government floundered on the rocks of poor management (Daniels, Personal Communication, 1996).

First Nations people have little confidence in First Nations self-government because there is no comprehensive plan developed, and the organizations do not function with a representative, responsible and consistent platform. For example, First Nations bands have considered implementing a taxation policy for on-reserve band members. What band members are rejecting is not the taxation policy itself, but the absence of plans for potential projects or accountability mechanisms regarding the generated taxation money as a new resource.

First Nations political organizations, such as the FSIN, had been as disorganized and unfocused in the early 1990s as they were when they first amalgamated in the 1960s--only now, as implied in the Ottawa Citizen (October, 1988), the political players may be more devious, organized, powerful and more self-

serving. There have been more recent encouraging changes within the FSIN, although much energy and time appear to continue to be channelled into bureaucracy and rhetoric.

In order for First Nations people to achieve independence and development as a nation, their political parties must be trustworthy. As Fanon (1963, p. 185) notes:

> The party is not a tool in the hands of the government. Quite on the contrary, the party is a tool in the hands of the people; it is they who decide on the policy that the government carries out . . .For the people, the party is not an authority, but an organism through which they as the people exercise their authority and express their will.

To meet Fanon's prescription for political health, at every level and every stage, First Nations government should serve its people and become a vehicle to empower the masses. There is an assumption within the administration that political power will improve economic life, yet there is no perceivable economic policy to make certain that this will happen (Daniels, 1980). Amongst First Nations people there is a growing sense of mistrust in an administrative locus of control that has no perceivable or directly observable economic policy; the people are aware of the quest for power and are suspicious (and some are in fear). Many fear the plan for national independence will become another means for leaders to exploit their own people and perpetuate dependence. To avert such a tendency, First Nations government would have to redirect its focus from a struggle for more political power to a well-thought-out and structured plan to ensure independence of a nation, to invest

economically to create production, employment, self-sustenance, from which everyone will benefit equally (Boldt, 1993, p. 168).

6. BAND DIFFERENCES: KLEPTOCRACY VERSUS COMMITMENT

The first few chapters of this thesis have provided a critical analysis of theoretical understandings of the vision of First Nations people, including relations with the nation-state, as well as relations within First Nations, including a discussion of the roles and impact of leadership.

Through reading and research pertaining to self-determination of First Nations people, this writer attempted to uncover the intricate and complex interrelated factors involved in acquiring self-determination, as different bands are at different levels and stages of self-determination and each band is unique in utilizing different pathways for attaining self-determination. Band differences, then, are dependent upon various interdependent factors, which will be briefly addressed.

Identifying specific band differences would be a worthwhile research project in itself, as bands are inherently different in terms of stages of development and community needs. Penikett (Premier, Government of Yukon) also reinforces what has been consistent with this writer's participant-observer research: the fact that individual First Nations vary according to their views and wishes regarding self-government,

and that local community and regional differences should be accommodated and self-government reflect these differences (Cassidy, 1991, p. 145).

Qualities and components that may enable certain bands to be at certain stages include training, education and skills of band staff and council; population; geographic location and renewable resources; values; health care and employment; community unity; leadership (which has already been mentioned in the previous chapter); and accountability and band-member involvement.

6.1 Band Staff and Council - training, education and skills

One of the issues integral to self-determination is the availability of trained and/or skilled band members. There is an increasing number of aboriginal students enrolled in post-secondary institutions. In 1987, there were 677 students enrolled in the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. In 1991, there were 1,121 students and in 1992 there were 1,023 students enrolled in the SIFC. In five to ten years there will be a larger pool of qualified and educated First Nations people in the province, although the numbers that will return to their bands, rather than obtain jobs in urban centres, is unclear.

The current leadership/patronage system will potentially be unable to absorb the numbers of the newly skilled younger generation. New strategies will need to be tried, for example, for those band members who do not want to leave the reserve, the FSIN could allocate more funds for training workshops to

band council and staff and educational programs on reserves for youth and adults.

6.2 Population

In all likelihood, a band with a population of two hundred people will have less in terms of internal self-sufficiency as opposed to a band of one thousand people. Michael Whittington, Chief Negotiator for DIAND in the department of Yukon Land Claims, noted the problem of diseconomies of scale: that most of the communities in the Yukon are so small that they are not going to be able to afford to deliver all of the programs at the community level (Cassidy, 1991, p. 125). Every community with 350-450 people cannot have a hospital. Whittington suggested that the Yukon First Nations combine into regional groupings or into some kind of a confederation of Yukon First Nations in order to deliver the expensive programs to the various communities.

For obvious reasons, bands have collectively organized to form Tribal Councils within the province (a grouping of bands incorporated under appropriate federal, provincial or territorial legislation). There are eight Tribal Councils within Saskatchewan: Prince Albert Tribal Council, Meadow Lake Tribal Council, the Confederation of Tribal Nations (North Battleford), Saskatoon Tribal Council, Yorkton Tribal Council, Touchwood File Hills and Qu'Appelle Tribal Council, Battleford Tribal Council, and Beardy's and One Arrow have combined to make Fort Carleton Agency Tribal Council. Tribal Councils

receive money from the FSIN and distribute the money to the bands. The Fort Carleton Agency Tribal Council and the Sandy Lake Band are not affiliated with the FSIN. There are also four non-treaty Sioux Bands in the province: Standing Buffalo, Whitecap or Moosewoods, Wood Mountain and Wapeton.

Tribal Councils perform various tasks on behalf of the Bands, for example they run programs that are larger than Band-level programs; serve as education advocates; raise funds for the bands; provide a full-time representative that speaks on behalf of chiefs nationally; and in some cases, distribute money to the Bands for housing, roads and health.

Collective organization of Bands in this manner is a progressive step towards self-sufficiency, and hopefully it is only the beginning. The opportunities are broad, for example, a Tribal Council could have a community corrections program for offenders, community ranches, community training programs, and so on. These opportunities would be much more economically viable for bands who may not need to provide such services on a full-time basis, where needs may be met through cost-sharing arrangements with one or more neighbouring bands. However, one band council member remarked that money alotted to the Tribal Council on behalf of all bands has not been of any benefit to the band. Now, the band council must expend their efforts redirecting the money to the band rather than to the tribal council to ensure that the original purpose for which the money was allotted is carried out.

At the same time, there is nothing preventing a band from establishing a somewhat self-sufficient community whereby funds are redirected back into the band. For example, a band of nine hundred people may succeed in providing a grocery store, gas station, clothing store, new and used furniture store, locker plant, restaurant, and other businesses that serve local band members. The cost of items to be purchased may be somewhat less as the reserve is a goods-and-services-tax and provincial-sales-tax-free zone. The profits from the businesses could then be redirected to create additional projects or to provide other services, such as a senior citizens centre that would further create a sense of community.

6.3 Geographic Location and Renewable Resources

Geographic location can be both a benefit and a disadvantage. Bands in the Stanley Mission area, for example, will have different needs and possibilities than bands in the Fort Qu'Appelle area. On the one hand, bands that one may assume to be disadvantaged because they are isolated may in fact be quite progressive and wealthy.

For example, the La Ronge Band has created its own wild rice harvesting and processing operation, fisheries, trucking and other initiatives. Other bands in the northern parts of the province may also be fairly isolated, but have managed to generate sufficient profits from saw mills (in the Meadow Lake region) and tourism (in the Wallaston Lake region, catering primarily to American sports fisherman).

The availability of renewable resources appears to be a primary determinant of wealth for some bands, although wealth from resources does not always indicate wealth of the band. First Nations that have been granted prosperous lands have not necessarily benefited: not only policy, but also stewardship in safeguarding First Nations lands and monies, calls one to question the honesty and competence of DIAND as guardian and financial manager.

In the 1980s, with DIAND as manager of the oil and gas revenues, the top seven bands in Western Canada took in approximately $200 million annually. In comparison, CAEDS, the aboriginal economic development program announced in 1989, which covers the entire Canadian aboriginal population, operates with an annual budget of $175 million. While Peace Hills Trust (most recently expanded to Fort Qu'Appelle) and other businesses are valuable additions to the First Nations economy, they are not nearly enough to account for the revenues that flourished during the oil boom (Buckley, 1992, p. 143). DIAND used the revenues to pay for services such as social assistance, a practice which, not knowing otherwise, Bands continued when they were granted more control. DIAND could have offered other options to the Bands, such as contacts with financial analysts and planners and assessment of development opportunities (Buckley, 1992, p. 143).

Bands with greater revenues are not necessarily in an advantageous situation. Joe Dion, one chief of the Kehewin Band in Alberta, said that oil money

> is causing more problems than it is solving on the affluent reserves: virtually no systematic planning for the future, easy come, easy go, reckless spending of money has in some cases broken families and possibly weakened communities
> (Buckley, 1992, p. 144).

This wealth did not improve health; on the contrary, suicides, alcoholism, and drug abuse increased. What is essential for self-determination is not the ability to generate funds so much as the ability to consolidate and redirect those funds within the band to serve the needs of band members and the community. As the Conference of Canadian Catholic Bishops noted in 1984 (Baum, 1984), it is not money from work which is primary, but the feeling of self-worth that comes by contributing to the community by one's work. When referring to self-determination, wealth is certainly a factor in determining success. The assumption, however, it that wealth is referring to money. Speculators may be hasty in assuming that the values of the dominant society need to be inherent virtues of the band communities in order to have a 'wealthy' community. For example, a wealthy community may be one with a sense of pride and unity, with its members of above-average mental health. Another example may be a band with most of its members on social assistance but its members are not poor as they do not need money because they exist with traditional trading of what has been hunted or made.

6.4 Values

As I argued in the methodology section in Chapter one, my understanding of tribal communities is that they did govern themselves before European contact, tribal communities governed themselves on all fronts (economic, social, military). The Canadian nation-state eventually replaced many independent functions and fostered helplessness and dependence. The state is now an "alienated community" in comparison with the traditional ways in which tribes were steered by the Chief and council and heads of families (much more than the limited freedom they have today).

Traditionally, community members shared the responsibility for ensuring that all members fulfilled societal expectations and maintained their honesty and accountability: elders guided the youth; members who acted in their own self-interest were considered dishonourable and shunned for not upholding community values; discipline of children extended beyond the extended family to all community members who shared the responsibility for ensuring all children respected and internalized the rules, morals, and values of the community. All members knew one another and regarded honour, respect, and egalitarian values as crucial to the survival of the group.

Traditional First Nation communities were highly complex with intricately related limits and boundaries, with roles and expectations for each member, with systematic imposition of values, morals, and goals which comprised a cooperative, community-oriented direction. These elements collaboratively enabled the well-being of the community, made possible through

an empowered people which acted in consensus. Community members knew one another; respect of one another and of oneself was essential. Each member existed with empowerment and inter-relatedness. Women were considered to have power that was different from but not subordinate to that of the men. The chief was as highly regarded and valuable as the hunter, the elder, the fourteen-year-old girl or boy. The respected anthropologist Eleanor Leacock (1971) found similar values practiced in the Montagnais-Naskapi of Northern Quebec.

Traditionally, First Nations people did not encourage individual accumulation of wealth. In the 1950s, George and Louise Spindler presented a list of generalized aboriginal psychological characteristics which included the following: generosity was expressed in varying patterns of formalized giving or sharing; autonomy of the individual in societies that were largely free of classes or hierarchies; detailed, practical, and immediate concern in problem situations rather than advance planning to avoid difficulties, i.e., now-oriented (Dumont, 1993, chapter 4). Anything that was acquired was shared with the rest of the group, and nothing was taken from another unless it was needed. Wealth was not determined by the accumulation of an individual's possessions, but rather through the generosity in distributing those possessions. Exposure to the European capitalist competition for individual ownership of land and resources and the values of accumulation of power and wealth was not consistent with the traditional way of life of First Nations people, and over the century, exposure to the

individualistic quest for power and wealth has gradually eroded traditional values.

In the 1990s, while some First Nations people are achieving greater socio-economic status in the capitalist marketplace, traditional values have also been maintained, and although bands cannot return to their tribal ways of nomadic life, many of the traditional values and cultural practices and beliefs do have a place in the present.

First Nations people may perceive self-determination different from that within a capitalist regime. A band may consider itself wealthy while economically poor (not have and abundance of material wealth or economic success), and the outside observer must be cautious as to how, and by whom, self-determination is defined. Wealth may represent the harmony between members, honesty, respect for elders, sharing on non-tangibles (such as emotional support). Some bands may consider wealth to be an ability to meet basic needs (food, clothing, shelter) and to be interdependent with a harmonious community. A band whose members may be living in very small homes and have shared hunting, fishing and trapping (in terms of the work and the products) but be extremely limited in other aspects (such as power, running water, a school or other institutions) may be regarded by its members as a wealthy band. Daniels (Personal Communication, 1996) asserts that this conflict of ethics is played out on a world scale in developing countries as well, where health, literacy and equality are often counterposed to individual accumulation of consumer goods.

6.5 Health Care and Employment

Band members and their health are also directly related to economic development and is visible in the representation in addictions and abuse. The Manitoba Northern Medical Unit in the University of Manitoba provides health services to twenty-five northern Indian communities in Manitoba. In 1989, Brian Postl (a member of the unit) spoke about other unit members who recognized the need to stop counting the diseases to which the Indians are more subjected:

> We can get more and more specific and we can do more studies defining another disease that they have more trouble with, but at some point we have to take the step to link health status with socioeconomic conditions, social pathologies, alcohol and drug abuse." Health is an economic development issue (Comeau and Santin, 1990, p. 85).

This encompasses employment, as unemployment is correlated with low self-esteem, lack of control, and other issues which manifest such as alcohol, drug, and physical abuse, as well as other health problems (Comeau and Santin, 1990, p. 86)

More recent initiatives have been designed to assist band members in acquiring employable skills and training. "Pathways to Success", for example, is the partial transfer of control of federal funding that is distributed according to the needs and initiatives of bands and individuals for the employment, training, and upgrading of First Nations and Metis people. The Pathways to Success First Nations allocation operates on an annual provincial budget of fourteen million dollars. One of the conditions of the agreement between the FSIN and Human Resources Development Canada is that recipients need to be on

either unemployment insurance or social assistance to qualify for funding. Unfortunately, many band members are not on unemployment insurance and therefore are not able to access the Pathways monies; other band members do not meet basic government education requirements to enter into training programs and have no access to adult basic education (which was removed by the previous Mulroney government). Some bands are aware of these limitations and are attempting to establish larger initiatives to create on-reserve employment, although lack of employment inside the reserve is also a part of the larger system of capitalism that limits employment both inside and outside the reserve.

One opportunity that awaits legislative change involves negotiations with large corporations. One band (that I cannot specify) is interested in signing agreements with businesses whereby the corporation (such as an automobile enterprise) is offered a ten-year lease on reserve land with a lesser amount of taxes than what the corporation may pay in another municipality, in return for a guarantee to the band of a small percentage of the profit and employment of band members. This may employ band members, but might become an act of "third-worldization", as the rank and file are locked into low taxes and wages for the profits of multi-national corporation.

Revenue Canada and the federal government deny bands the rights to negotiate such agreements. The bands argue that reserve land is original land reserved for the Indians; it is

not Crown land or land in which all decisions must meet federal approval. Rieber (1977, p. 18) argues that,

> if native government has no control of jurisdiction in the development of the community (housing, planning, zoning, etc.) and no control over resource use for economic development (oil, agricultural leases, fisheries, minerals, timber, etc.) without initial and final approval and permission from Ottawa, then meaningful local government action and ownership in these areas is not possible.

Section 69 (1) of the Indian Act enables the Governor in Council to permit a band to control, manage and expend its revenue monies. The Department (Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program for Economic Development and Operations), acting on legal advice, has concluded that this section enables bands to collect rents on reserve and surrendered lands. Four or five Bands in British Columbia are collecting their revenues on the authority of the Indian Act. Alternatively, if such powers of jurisdiction are turned over to First Nations without any federal input, the government and DIAND will be politically vulnerable to charges of not protecting federal (and/or Indian) property to the best of their ability. Such criticisms may come from opposition Members of Parliament or from Band members who disagree with the plans of the particular Band Chief and Council made at the Band level (Rieber, 1977). This is only one example of the jurisdictional problem between native and federal governments that continues today.

The federal government may be hesitant to approve on-reserve initiatives that may create employment, but in terms of mental health, there has been a financial provision of 234

million dollars to alleviate the social problems of native peoples (Durst, lecture notes, 1994). What has not been determined is how much of these funds will be utilized for administration costs, and the criteria on which the money will be distributed. Much of the money will be used to hire high-priced, non-native consultants, or high-priced Native consultants who have little commitment to the community. This occurs because there are so few First Nation professionals available, and as a result, only a fraction of the 234 million will go to assist local First Nations communities.

6.6 Other Opportunities

One funding opportunity that Bands and First Nations government have initiated is the Saskatchewan Indian Equity Foundation Incorporated (SIEF). SIEF provides conventional loans to viable First Nations individuals, partnerships, corporations and Band-owned businesses. There are also other opportunities that are available to Bands that would encourage self-determination, some of which Bands may not even be aware. One opportunity involves the 1992 Corrections and Conditional Release Act (that replaces the Prisons Act) respecting corrections and the conditional release and detention of offenders. Section 81 (1), (2) and (3) of the Act state:

> **81.** (1) The Minister, or a person authorized by the Minister, may enter into an agreement with an aboriginal community for the provision of correctional services to aboriginal offenders and for payment by the Minister, or by a person authorized by the Minister, in respect of the provision of those services.

> (2) Not withstanding subsection (1), an agreement entered into under that subsection may provide for the provision of correctional services to a non-aboriginal offender.
>
> (3) In accordance with any agreement entered into under subsection (1), the Commissioner may transfer an offender to the care and custody of an aboriginal community, with the consent of the offender and of the aboriginal community.
>
> (Solicitor General of Canada, 1992).

The average annual cost of incarcerating an offender in a federal institution during 1991-92 was as follows:

Maximum Security	$ 69,288
Prison for Women	$ 83,242
Medium Security	$ 45,356
Medium Security and Correctional farms	$ 39,801
Community Correctional Centres	$ 30,392

The estimated annual salary for correctional officers during 1991-92 was $38,021 (Solicitor General of Canada, 1992). If a Band or Tribal Council established their own correctional centre, there are potential risks to consider, but the benefits would be numerous: the centre would enable the offender to remain in or near the community (thus preventing the individual from being placed in a government institution), there could be re-establishment of the traditional social support structure whereby the community maintains involvement with the offender, employment of Band members, and others.

There are various funding and business opportunities which a Band or a number of Bands within a cooperative Tribal Council could pursue. The success of the pursuits depends on the sincerity of the intentions of those who initiate opportunity. That is, it is an accomplishment to generate

funds, but the reinvestment of that revenue will determine the degree of genuineness and self-determination of that Band. Self-determination may be a realistic achievement, but the long-term vision of the Band's people must be paramount.

For example, the agreement that First Nations government and the provincial government have signed, resulting in Indian-run gaming casinos in Yorkton, North Battleford, Prince Albert and the White Bear Reserve, was projected to result in $2- to $2.5-million annual profits for First Nations people. Twenty-five per cent of the profit will be used to treat gambling and substance addictions (*Leader Post*, November 25, 1995, A1). The remaining seventy-five per cent of the profit could be used to contribute to community, social and economic development that serves the interests of all Band members (and also shared with other Bands) rather than a select, or powerful, few.

6.7 Band Accountability and Band Member Involvement

Some Band members do not become involved in Band operations and Band meetings not because of laziness but rather out of frustration with the corruption and/or the limited access to participation. The FSIN, for example, lacks a democratic structure and lacks accountability mechanisms, thereby allowing opportunity for mismanagement. When the FSIN was established in the 1940s, the FSIN was governed traditionally. In the 1990s, although the size of the First Nations population has drastically increased and many

politicians and employees do not maintain traditional values, the structure of the FSIN has not changed.

Maddock and Larson (1995) view power and control as interactive concepts that can be understood best in relation to each other. The tension between power and control allows for a deeper meaning, and the terms may be combined in to a single dialectical construct: *power/control*. With few accountability mechanisms in place, nontraditional people who are in certain positions have the opportunity to take the power they are given and corrupt that power for their own benefit.

In order to prevent opportunities for corruption, accountability mechanisms are essential. Band members are entitled to review the accounting books of the Band, and ought to do so on a regular basis. There are a number of Band members who have an adequate understanding of administration themselves that such monitoring could easily be arranged. Monthly statements and annual reports would have to be made available to Band members at Band meetings, and upon request, for any successful handling of this problem.

It is important to note, however, that even Band members who have an adequate understanding of the deviations within First Nations government neglect to act in prevention or correction. This writer has heard various comments, including, "You just don't do that." "We don't want to look bad." "The system may be crooked, but it's all we've got."

At the heart of the nature of these statements is First Nations government that is perceived to be democratic in form

but in essence is functionally despotic. Based on the allegations against provincial and federal government players and past allegations against a few First Nations political members, one might question whether First Nations government exists in all honesty and for the general good of its people, yet First Nations people are on the defence when accusations surface. There are two inequities that allow this to occur. First, there is an attitude that breeds complacency from fear, based on the assumption that if First Nations people expose the less genuine political players in their movement and government, while these political players are at the highest of the hierarchy, their demise would dismantle the entire structure which would hurt everyone. No one wants this in fearing the worst (in essence, fearing change), so suspicions of corruption may not be pursued. First Nations people realize that corruptive activities are disguised as administrative costs and are hesitant to question their own people if the paper trail is difficult to criticize legally. In addition, many of the misdirected funds find their way down a patronage network to mid-level leaders and local 'ward-healers' (Daniels, Personal Communication, 1996).

Second, Section 74(1) of the Indian Act designates ultimate authority and power to the council of the band, consisting of a chief and councillors that are elected in accordance with the Act. Band councils are concerned with the administration of band affairs on their respective reserves whether under direct authority of Parliament or as

administrative arms of the minister. They have no other source of power. (Wooodward, 1989, p. 166). The band council is not obligated to be accountable to its members.

In broader Canadian governments, there are a number of accountability mechanisms that are designed as an attempt to detect, reprimand, and correct inappropriate behaviour. These include investigative committees, freedom of open access to information, and the official opposition as continual "checks". None of these are incorporated into First Nations government.

The United Chiefs and Councils of Manitoulin represents 5,000 on-reserve Treaty Indians belonging to six Bands: Wikwemikon, Sucker Creek, Sheguiandah, Sheshegwaning, West Bay, and Whitefish River. Council meetings are held on a regular basis (at least monthly) and minutes are posted for band members. Meetings are not well attended by band members unless there is a controversial issue being discussed. However, audited financial statements are made available to band members, even though few make use of them because they are difficult to understand(Coopers and Lybrand, 1983).

Accountability, beyond those between the provincial and First Nations governments, may be required. Communication with and response to Band members should be open and ongoing. Band chiefs have been known to exclude Band member involvement either by holding perfunctory Band meetings in which decision-making is nonexistent or, Band meetings are themselves almost non-existent. Band members who have some skills need to request explanations for money distribution and relay the

information to other Band members. This would encourage involvement of Band members, as they will not feel as far removed from the process.

Band projects and long-term visions could be presented at Band meetings to allow for Band member opinions and input. Band members could be given an opportunity to have a voice and be listened to, as they did traditionally. Public business ought to be the business of the public; to create a large number of well-informed nuclei at the bottom, rather than be content to establish national organizations at the top. Citizens should be able to speak, express themselves, and offer new ideas (Fanon, 1963, p. 195). To hold a responsible position in an underdeveloped country is to educate the masses, try to teach them that everything depends on them,

> it is their responsibility if we stagnate or go forward, that there is no such thing as demiurge, that there is no famous man who will take the responsibility for everything, but that the demiurge is the people themselves and the magic hands are finally only the hands of the people
> (Fanon, 1963, p. 197).

In order to empower themselves, First Nations people cannot turn their heads and ignore dictatorial tendencies. It is their responsibility to renew their empowerment through persistent action.

6.8 Community Unity

At the October 1990 symposium on aboriginal self-determination, Elijah Harper, then a Member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly in 1991 and now a Member of Parliament,

was one of the few to express the necessity of unity of aboriginal people:

> People wonder why aboriginal people didn't support Meech Lake. I think there is a lesson to be learned from that. For aboriginal people, certainly it provided a forum and a focus for unity. It provided solidarity for all aboriginal people across this country. It was the first time we, as aboriginal people, stood united. As I often say, we can be a very powerful voice as aboriginal people, if we are united. We can speak with one voice, and certainly we demonstrated that in opposing Meech Lake. The failure of Meech Lake was because government has not listened to us (Cassidy, 1991, p. 165).

Harper was also the only speaker at the symposium to acknowledge that there is an increased awareness of the general public, and that there has been much more support for aboriginal people from other Canadians. Harper recognizes the need to continue to build upon that support, build bridges, as he realizes the need for allies in order to achieve goals (Cassidy, 1991).

Many urban Indians live a life of struggle not only without community support, but of institutional racism, where goals are limited to day-to-day survival. The community provides them with nothing and the only way they will receive is if they take it from another--and if they are caught in the act, no matter, they are estranged as just another statistic in a foreign city, where the only thing they have violated is someone else's laws. Criminal acts are normalized and rationalized and few have reputations to uphold--in fact, through criminal acts, the adolescent can learn to satisfy his deep longings of acceptance and belonging within a newly formed

deviant community. The expectations, roles, and responsibilities are far removed from the traditional ways.

In desperation for explanations, First Nations people are stereotyped in order to disguise the tendencies of the larger population to misuse power and control to continue to serve their own materialistic, status-seeking interests at the expense of those who are blind to their acts.

Not everyone has succumbed to such ruthlessness. In order to have hope, we need to consider the factors that have enabled northern First Nations communities to continue to resist capitalism and remain substantially independent of the larger society. The northern communities continue to exist to remind First Nations people of what used to be: these communities instil hope and encouragement of what can be. Few elders remain to relate the stories of their ancestors who lived in a system that worked. Certainly an obvious factor in the ability of norther communities to maintain independence is the geographical isolation from the influence of corruption combined with little permeation (low numbers of immigrants and emigrants).

There are, on the other hand, more recent small victories in communities that are not in isolation. These provide encouragement for a brighter future. As an example of community renewal from within, the Alexander Kipohtakaw School received international recognition for its creativity and programming which led to the formation of a National Indian Education Forum that provided valuable alternatives to the

federal government's proposed policy on post-secondary education. Price noted that of equal importance has been the empowerment and healing of individuals of families within the community itself.

> Community leadership came often from within the school, stressing such issues as community participation in decision making, quality education, the necessity of individual/family healing, the importance of reconciliation among family clans in the community, and assertion of the need to research traditional forms of self-government.
> (Cassidy, 1991, p. 53)

School staff set the example by participating in individual and group healing processes themselves. The Kipohtakaw School leadership was, in many ways, a catalyst for change and growth within this First Nation.

For some bands, collective organization and unity may be difficult because of the clan fighting that goes on within the community. This writer noticed trends similar to those Lithman (1984) described in terms of strategic bunches for influential purposes. The elections procedures and outcomes of the 1994 Band Chief and Council election of a local First Nation were largely dependent upon familial relationships, as opposed to consideration of future visions for the Band or the skills and competence of the candidates. Band elections are typically influenced by family size of the candidate and by the family's popularity. Band membership will elect its leader not on the basis of the candidate's qualifications, but based on such factors as the family to which that candidate belongs, promises to members for individual short-term gain such as articles and

employment, influence, and so on. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, 'bunches' will form to alter the outcome of an election for various reasons (Lithman, 1984, p. 143). Until the families within a Band are able to reconcile their differences (such as Band membership today as opposed to original membership at the signing of Treaty), or until members become more aware of the importance of a shared vision as opposed to acting for their own individual or clan short-term gain, their energies will not be focussed on a future that will serve the interests of all Band members collectively. This resembles the control of voters in an urban world where favours for support encourage delivered votes.

Mitander (Cassidy, 1991) noted the active involvement of the elders as one integral component of community revival. Traditionally, the elders were the decision-makers, a role that has eroded over the years. The realization of a vision will depend on who shares in that vision, and also depends of the honesty and integrity of the political players to pursue that vision.

6.9 Leadership

Price noted one of the key themes emerging from the Alberta experience (referring to negotiations with the Fort Chipewyan Crees, The Whitefish Lake, and Sturgeon Lake Bands) as being the importance of leadership:

> . . . a tough-minded leadership struggling to find a balance and harmony with individual members and families from the communities. Most of these

> leaders had a solid track record of experience outside their own communities. Perhaps more importantly, though, they seemed to be able to maintain a bicultural balance within themselves as self-confident Indians yet having empathy and understanding for other persons (and perspectives) from the dominant society (Cassidy, 1991, p. 54).

There may also be other Band members who choose to never become candidates for Band Chief and Council: who may potentially be ideal leaders in terms of knowledge and skills, but rather choose to pursue entrepreneur opportunities for individual profits.

Over the past few years, there has been some progress that may indicate a more optimistic future. Many saw the election of Blaine Favel, Chief of the FSIN in 1995 as placing the vision of the future in a more positive perspective for many otherwise sceptical First Nations people. The role of leadership is certainly integral to the realization of the vision of First Nations people. If political players strive to gain private ends to step up the socio-economic ladder, gain promotions and make careers for themselves, their friends and their families (at the expense of the rank in file), First Nations may not become self-determined.

On the other hand, to devote one's full energies and tolerate hundreds of unmotivated, non-educated, self-serving people while serving a full-time term in the midst of First Nations politics may not be the most favourable alternative to the pursuit of capital for oneself. Devoted and idealistic leaders have, however, come forward when history seems to need them. Chief Poundmaker, for example, was a key leader in the

Native movement of the 1880s (Dyck, 1991, p. 65). The problem may not be a lack of qualified individuals with genuine intentions who would potentially be appropriate leaders at the Band level; rather, there may be individuals who do have the potential but who never have or take the opportunity to lead the band to a higher stage of self-determination.

This writer emphasizes, however, that the principles of self-determination need clarification. Canadian political leaders too often "adhere more to the principle of self-interest than to that of self-determination". Jackson and Jackson, 1992, p. 58 illustrate evidence of self-interest in the Parti-Quebecois. Jackson and Jackson also commented that Mulroney's term showed the country that it could be better off without a Prime Minister, as have many other exposes of this era, (see, for example, Stevie Cameron, 1995). Once in power, Mulroney became the *exponent* of gross free-enterprise conservatism: increased privatization of services and facilities (for example, Via Rail), reduced payments for health-care and post-secondary education, weakened or destroyed pension, unemployment insurance and welfare payments. The reductions have been largely at the expense of the poor (Jackson and Jackson, 1992). Canadians need a leader who is able to restore their faith in political institutions and leaders, and in the democratic process in order to prosper and attain political stability (Jackson and Jackson, 1992). People need to ensure the leader does restore their faith; if the

people rely on the leader to do so on their own morals, the apathetic response may continue.

Thus, appropriate leadership is dependent not only upon having appropriate individuals as candidates, but also upon the election of that leader by the collective support of Band members who are knowledgeable and able to see a vision they share with the candidate and fellow members. Leadership and community support are interdependent and, as was experienced by the four Alberta bands, will ideally move a band towards self-determination.

The First Nations leadership would be valuable to their people if they act to serve the community rather than their own interests: to utilize funding, skills, and resources for the benefit of the Nations rather than for the accumulation of wealth for a select few. The question is, does capitalism turns the new Native bourgeoisie against their own people? Similar questions have been at the core of the post-apartheid struggles in Sough Africa. There, the Black African new bourgeoisie also face such choices (Daniels, Personal Communication, 1996).

Policy and accountability mechanisms within the structure would help to protect the interests of the people, unlike the present structures that are modelled after policies of the nation-state. In contrast, Jackson and Jackson (1992) assert that Mulroney's policies are based on a new-conservative vision that is readily accepted by the business community; to move

rapidly toward a 'minimalist state' and a 'laissez-faire' philosophy based on American culture.

In a more recent publication of the Leader Post (October 19, 1996, A-1), on the front page were two articles titled with bold capitals: the first regarding a Senator's subpoena to testify about the fraud of a past provincial political member; immediately below was an article of a local First Nation Chief signing an agreement with a telecommunications corporation. While the second article did not actually indicate fraud, it also did not disclose that, prior to publication of the article, members of that First Nation were unaware of any interest let alone investment of thousands of band dollars into the agreement. The reporter noted that the Chief refused to disclose how much money the bands will receive from the deal; Band members have as much knowledge as the general population of potential profit and potential loss of band funds. There is no Band constitution (other than that for elections) that requires the chief and council to inform its members of any activity. The agreement indicates the secured control of the leader similar to the secrecy and misdeeds of the Mulroney era.

The two articles are a classic illustration of the structural influence of the nation-state in teaching and providing opportunities for corruption, mal-leadership and dishonesty in First Nations government. Before one blames First Nations people for their demise, their situation must be examined whin a larger context and regarded as a symptom of a larger, structural problem.

7. SELF-DETERMINATION: A REALITY?

Many terms have been applied to explain the dynamics that have continued for over a century between the nation-state and First Nations people including domination and subordination, tutelage, colonialism, and marginalization. Numerous theories have been applied in an attempt to account for these dynamics, some that were discussed, include tutelage and resistance, hegemony and counter-hegemony, and internal colonialism.

The federal government is not without blame in terms of responsibility and policy that have been used to maintain superiority and domination. Colonialism did in fact exploit First Nations people in their pre-capitalist state and forcibly subjugated them to a capitalist force that saw First Nations people and their communal formations as unsuitable to capitalist growth and accumulation in the utilization of land and resources.

Corruption and class and power inequities have not been limited to the relations between the Canadian state and First Nations, nor is it unique to First Nations people. Class and power inequities between the Canadian nation-state and First Nations and within First Nations have been explored which showed that the dynamics within First Nations have also contributed to the perpetuation of subordination, dependence

and poverty of First Nations people, all of which are an active hindrance to achieving self-determination.

Perpetual dependence of First Nations people is not the result of a people that is helpless, unskilled, or naïve. Rather, perpetual dependence is the outcome of the larger Canadian nation-state as a controlled ruling structure that is as imperfect and inadequate for Canadians in general. Unemployment continues to be a national concern; economic development strategies are not fully developed, if initiated at all; poverty and mental health are not a priority.

The unfolding history of contemporary capitalism may prove that Indians have been the first to experience the collapsing welfare state and economy that the wider Canadian working class now confronts. Before one blames First Nations people for issues such as social assistance or health expenses, these issues must be examined within a larger context and regarded as a symptom of a larger, structural problem.

7.1 The Province of First Nations

Traditional First Nation communities existed having essentially well-devised systems with mechanisms in place to maintain the integrity and well-being of an interdependent group of people. People felt valued and empowered, each had a participatory role within the community and a choice to uphold the community's purpose and direction: to share in the responsibility of sustaining the well-devised societal systems

via co-operative interdependency. The immediate fulfilment of belonging to the group encouraged people to be involved.

What does this mean for First Nations communities in the 21st century? First Nations people may ideally collectively organize and determine new expectations and roles within a community that will survive in contemporary circumstances, and effectively communicate those ideas to the entirety of the membership. The people should have the freedom to develop their own policies and accountability mechanisms that allow them to challenge those who misuse power in corrupt and self-serving ways. Members should be encouraged to participate in redefining the community, ensuring that each member is of value in an egalitarian yet contemporary, adaptive community.

There are a few who share a collective vision, and have the genuine desire to make that vision a reality. Some important decisions need to be made: will First Nations people wait for their Steven Biko, or their Martin Luther King, to rescue them? Or will they discover the strength and desire within themselves and collectively organize to re-establish a sense of community in its own right?

The more recent acts of resistance and development projects are glimmers of hope and optimism for a movement towards First Nations self-determination. At the same time, however, progress is being jeopardized by those who prefer individual gain, as opposed to leading the rest of the people towards a common goal. Unless he or she has been overlooked there is no Nelson Mandella, as the tragedies of the pure

hearts of the early days, such as Chief Poundmaker, are unknown or forgotten. Ovide Mercredi may be an intelligent lawyer and indispensable in fighting for treaty rights, yet he is beyond charisma in focussing his energies on the smaller, isolated discrepancies rather than facilitating a collective movement for the rights of all native people. Few politically dedicated First Nations members have organized in a movement for change.

On the other hand, a few leaders should not be expected to be the entire force behind a nationalist movement, or it will fall with the leader. The systemic oppression of and resulting apathy among the larger population of First Nations, coupled with misguided and unqualified administrative leaders and the new Native elite who advance at the expense of others, have the potential to make the vision seem so far removed.

Leadership and community support are interdependent, and will ideally move a band towards self-determination. If First Nations people criticize the dishonest few, they will help to ensure the integrity and discernment of leadership that is genuine and representative of the people. Hopefully the efforts of some First Nations people that require honesty will be recognized and modelled by others, and with examples there will be change. As long as First Nations rank in file leave their fate in the hands of a few, individuals will continue to strive for private gain, and opportunities for corruption and kleptocracy will persevere.

First Nations leaders need to have a willingness to invest the time and effort necessary to overcome the

alienation, cynicism, submissiveness, and apathy of the First Nations lower class and to involve them fully in self-government. First Nations leaders need to be aware of and challenge their own embedded paternalism that has been acquired under DIAND tutelage. They must become more concerned with rebuilding the spirit of their people, re-establishing the 'community', healing families and individuals. In order to achieve the survival and well-being of Indians as Indians, they must have healthy and empowered people.

The power belongs in the hands of the people. First Nations people must come to know that their government and its members, as with their past structures, are at the peoples' service. Nationalism is a power of the whole nation, not a power to be entrusted in the hands of a few. The nationalist agenda is pulled in different directions by the class interests of the participants. Perhaps the formation of class within First Nations is not yet as obvious as it needs to be. Perhaps because basic needs are met, people have no desire to invest great effort and risk. As First Nations children become better educated they may escape the dependency ethos of their parents.

At the very least, First Nations government must be re-organized and made representative of the whole people to become a legitimate vehicle for the aspirations of each First Nation. First Nations government has been modelled after existing colonial structures and norms of power and control that have been designed to push most band members outside the decision-making circle. As long as these are retained, the entrenched

norms of paternalism, authoritarianism, self-interest, and self-aggrandizement of office-holders may continue.

Opportunists are not simply less genuine, rather the system is established in a way that allows for kleptocracy and corruption to inevitably occur. Some structural problems are not uniquely Canadian. First Nations shortcomings are not simply issues of inadequacy and incompetence. A more accurate analysis places them within the larger social structure, not within limited documentations of socio-historical processes.

First Nations self-determination rests in the hands of each member to be accountable, and to understand corruption, before Nations may be rebuilt. The present structures are to be examined critically and honestly, and restructured to accommodate the interests of all its members. First Nations people are faced with empowering themselves against not only federal governance and policy, but also against the neo-colonial governance of their own people: the new ruling Indian elites. Otherwise, 'First Nations self-government' will stand for sovereignty of the First Nations ruling elites, not for self-determination of First Nations people.

Are initiatives of self-government and new leaders the solution, or simply an extension of the Euro-Canadian neo-colonial structures that serve the interests of a few at the expense of the people? Both objective factors (population, resources, member skills) and subjective factors (learned helplessness, moral corruption) may perpetuate or resolve underdevelopment.

First Nations will benefit if they confront the actions of those whose personal ambitions do not represent the general membership, and if the community is restructured to achieve a sense of unity. The path that has been taken that includes opportunity for mismanagement and kleptocractic tendencies, may be no surprise in light of the government structure after which First Nations government has been modelled. This illustrates a structural problem as opposed to a more simplistic, moral problem. Indeed, a small elite dependent upon government grants is far easier for the Canadian state to control than a broad movement demanding full employment, health and a decent life.

If the two-class social-economic system of Indian people continues to evolve as a closed system, and if Indian governance continues to be ruled by a politically entrenched elite, then the majority of First Nations people may not be liberated from poverty, subordination and oppression. First Nations will essentially become microcosms of the tutorial relations Euro-Canadians have modelled, and the perpetual marginalization of the majority of Indian people will continue unabated.

Ideally, united resistance would be most effective in collaboration with other oppressed and/or monopolized groups, such as the farming and labour sector. At this point Canadians are ruled by a nation-state that has successfully divided and isolated them from each other by legalisms and constitutional strategies such as aboriginal rights and multiculturalism. The

resistance of one divided group will perhaps make immediate small gains for their own people, but will have little impact in changing the overall structure.

The general Canadian population is at a loss, while privatization and contemporary capitalism are at work. With globalization the dismantling of the government, multinational corporations are allowed to exploit cheap labour in underdeveloped countries, while unemployment rates rise in Canada. Thus the multinational has the opportunity to undersell Canadian workers and farmers on the global market. First Nations struggles are not occurring in isolation: this is an era where growing misery is endemic to large sections of the middle and working classes of the developed countries.

All are runners in the race of contemporary capitalism, and the winners are not necessarily the most deserving. But if the rules of the race allow room for corruption, mal-leadership, dishonesty, and kleptocracy, First Nations rank and file will remain underdeveloped and impoverished, while a select few will achieve medals of wealth and social status. And the vision of self-determination will remain only a dream.

Afterward: Revisiting the 1995 Writing:

The situation has become more optimistic since the time of writing and research. This thesis was written at a time when there were a number of leaders and political players taking advantage of the opportunities to misappropriate funds, make decisions for their own gain, and act in their own

interests within First Nations government and government-funded institutions. It was very frustrating to witness the misdeeds of a few at the expense of more genuine individuals and a well-deserving membership, and even more frustrating to know that nothing could be done.

The structures have not yet been redesigned with checks and balances to monitor and discourage kleptocracy and corruption and this remains a concern. There have, however, been some new players on board that are more interested in the future of their people than in the advancement in themselves. There is more hope as upcoming political players avert from a tendency towards more political power and exploiting their own people, and redirect the focus to a well-though-out and structured plan to ensure independence of a nation. As knowledge and expertise becomes more visible and involves band members, the vision that is then shared will become more real. For example, First Nations could invest economically to create production of employment and self-sustenance from which everyone will benefit equally from investment return.

Leadership and community support are interdependent and will ideally move a band towards self-determination. There has been great frustration and considerable damage because there are no tools with which to right what has been wronged. With optimism, the less genuine leaders will eventually be either exposed or snuffed out and quickly forgotten because they have made no real accomplishments. What is good and right will prevail, and the vision will be realized.

REFERENCES

Books, Articles, and Reports:

Baran, P. (1960). The Political Economy of Growth. Stanford: Monthly Review, Inc.

Baum, G. (1984). Ethics and Economics: Canada's Catholic Bishops on the Economic Crisis. Toronto: Lorimer.

Boldt, M. (1993). Surviving as Indians: the Challenge of Self-Governance. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Brody, H. (1971). Indians on Skid Row: The Role of Alcohol and Community in the Adaptive Process of Indian and Urban Migrants. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Information Canada.

Buckley, H. (1992). From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Cameron, S. (1995). On The Take: Crime, Corruption and Greed in the Mulroney Years. Toronto: McClelland-Bantam, Inc.

Canadian Broadcasting Company Interview with Peter Gzowski, Nadine Gordimer (1993).

Canadian Ministry of Supply and Services (1989). The Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

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

Carter, S. (1990). Lost Harvests. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Cassidy, F. (1991). Aboriginal Self-Determination. Lantzville: The Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Comeau, P., and A. Santin,(1990). The First Canadians. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company.

Coopers and Lybrand (1983). Summary Report: The Special Committee on Indian Self-Government Research Project on Federal Expenditures and Mechanisms for Their Transfer to Indians.(No publisher)

Daniels, D. (1980). "Dene Government: Middle Class Dream or Working Reality?" (Unpublished)

Daniels, D. (1986). "The Coming Crisis in the Aboriginal Rights Movement: From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism to Renaissance." (Unpublished)

Diaz, H. P., J. Rummens, P. Taylor,(1991). Forging Identities and Patterns of Development In Latin America and the Caribbean. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.

Dumont, J. (1993). "Justice and Aboriginal People." Aboriginal People and the Justice System: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Justice Issues by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Durst, D. (1994). "An Observer's Field Guide to Aboriginal Government of Social Services: *The Circle of Self-Government*". (No place or publisher)

Durst, D. (1994). Lecture notes from Social Work 825 Course: Current Aboriginal Issues in Social Work Practice (Fall, 1994). Lecture Notes.

Dyck, N. (1983). "Representation and Leadership of a Provincial Indian Association." In Adrian Tanner, ed., The Politics of Indianness: Case Studies of Native Ethno-politics in Canada, pp. 197-318. St. John's: Memorial University.

Dyck, N. (1989). Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State. Fourth World Politics in Canada, Australia, and Norway. St. John's: Memorial University.

Dyck, N. (1991). What is the "Indian" Problem: Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration. St. John's: Memorial University.

Fanon, F. (1963). The Wretched of the Earth. Paris: Grove Press, Inc.

Forcese, D. (1986). The Canadian Class Structure (3rd Ed.). Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.

Frideres, J. (1988). Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts (2nd Ed.). Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada.

Hedican, E. J. (1986). The Ogoki River Guides: Emergent Leadership Among the Northern Ojibwa. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Industry, Science and Technology Canada. The Aboriginal Business Development Program. Industry, Science and Technology Canada (1993). Ottawa: Aboriginal Economic Programs. Policy Guidelines.

Jackson, R. and D. Jackson, (1992). Stand up for Canada: Leadership and the Canadian Political Crisis. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada.

Kariya, P. (1989). Native Socio-economic Development in Canada: Change, Promise, and Innovation. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.

Knight, R. (1978). Indians at Work. Vancouver: New Star Books.

Kymlicka, W. (1989). Liberalism, Community, and Culture. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Leacock, E. (1971). North American Indians in historical Perspective. New York: Random House.

Lithman, Y. G. (1983). The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reserve Community. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Maddock, J.W., and N. R. Larson,(1995). Incestuous Families: An Ecological Approach to Understanding and treatment. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Mawhiney, A. (1994). Rebirth: Political, Economic, and Social Development in First Nations. Scarborough: Webcom Publishing.

Myrdal G. (1969). Asian Dilemma: United States, Japan, and China. Santa Barbara: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Nagel, J., C. Ward, and T. Knapp,(1984). "The Politics of American Indian Economic Development: the Reservation/Urban Nexus. Mathew Snipp, ed., Public Policy Impacts on American Indian Economic Development, pp. 39-70. New Mexico: University of New Mexico.

Nicholi, A. M. (1988). The New Harvard Guide to Psychiatry. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Palmer, H. (1991). Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.

Peepekisis Band Elections Act (1994). Peepeekisis First Nation.

Rieber, J. (1977). Fundamental Concerns Regarding Indian Local Government: A discussion paper of potential problems and research areas. Winnipeg.

Ritzer, G. (1988). Sociological Theory (2nd Ed.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Rochna-Ramirez, S. (1992). The Impact of Capitalism on Easter Island: A comparison with other indigenous realities in the Americas. Regina: University of Regina (Master of Arts Thesis).

Ryan, W. (1976). Blaming the Victim. New York: Vintage Books.

Satzewich, V., and T. Wotherspoon, (1993). First Nations: Race, Class, and Gender Relations. Ontario: Nelson Canada.

Solicitor General of Canada (1992). Basic Facts About Corrections in Canada (1992 Ed.). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1992).

Statutes of Canada (1992). *Corrections and Conditional Release Act. Ottawa.*

Wallerstein, I. M. The Modern World System. New York: Academic Press.

Wolfe, J., G. Cunningham, L. Convey(1987). Supporting Native Canadian Micro-Enterprises: A Southern Ontario Case Study from Native Socio-economic Development in Canada: Change, Promise, and Innovation. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.

Woodward, J. (1989). Native Law. Vancouver: The Carswell Company Limited.

Newspapers and Articles:

Braden, B. "Trial to resume: Berntson set to testify Friday." *The Leader Post,* Regina, October 18, 1996, A1.

Brass, M. "Native group signs AT&T deal." *The Leader Post,* Regina, October 18, 1996, A1.

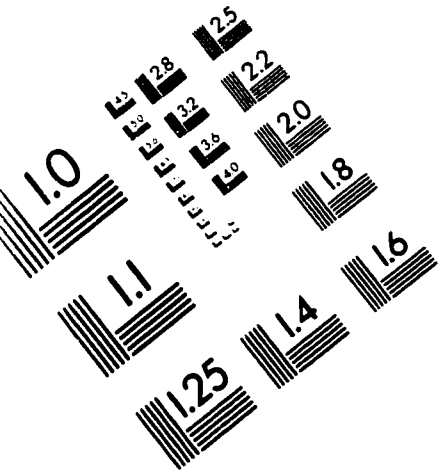
Gordimer, Nadine. CBC Morningside Interview with Peter Gzowski, 1993 (no date).

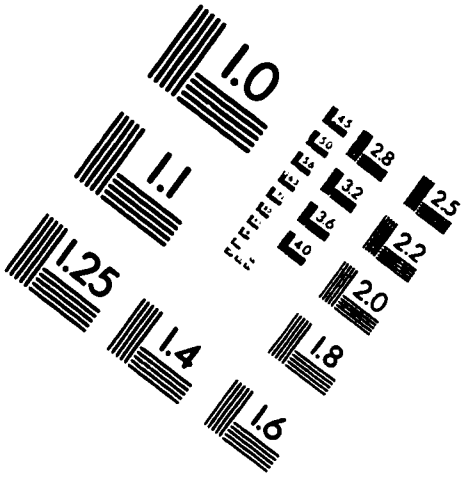
Mandryk, M. "More Casinos Coming." *The Leader Post,* Regina, November 25, 1995, A1.

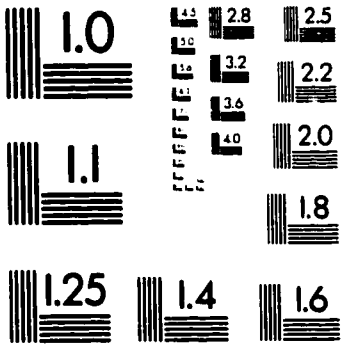
Smith, W., and McLeod, I. "Native leaders misused funds." *The Ottawa Citizen,* Ottawa, September 24, 1988, A1.

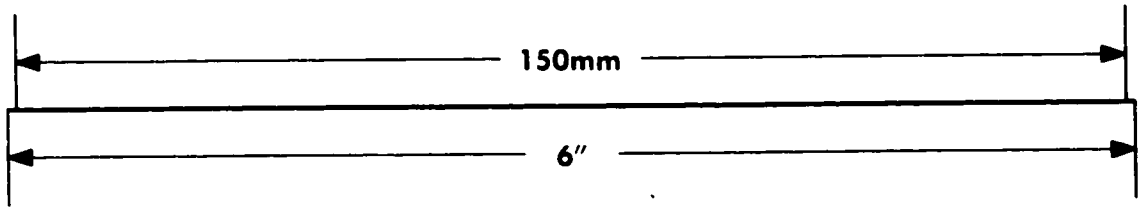
Smith, W. "Economic dream went sour for natives." *The Ottawa Citizen,* Ottawa, September 26, 1988, A2.

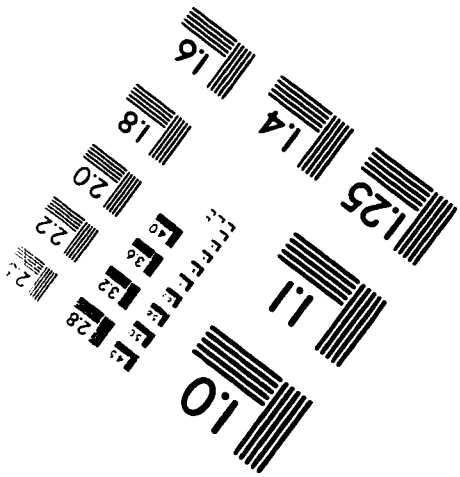
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

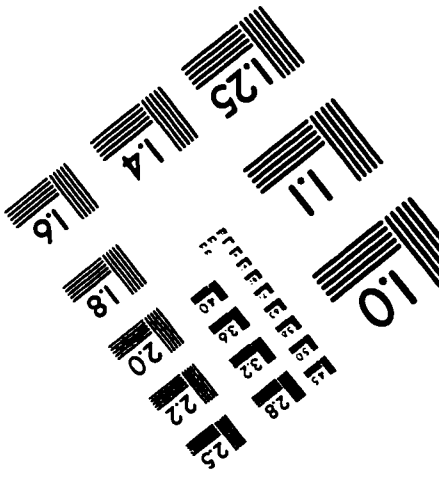












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved