Social Networks and Urban Aboriginal Organizations:

Building Social Capital in the Electronic Age

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines how social capital arises in eight socially networked urban Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Two research methods are used. The "network centrality" of each organizational leader and their overall "social solidarity" within the total network spanning all eight organizations is determined using Social Network Analysis (SNA). SNA results indicate two distinct types of organizations and leadership. Detailed information on characteristics of these organizations and their leaders is derived from a thematic analysis of transcriptions of twenty-five hours of consultant interviews, supplemented by field notes based on over three hundred hours of participant-observation. Findings indicate that the eight Aboriginal organizations studied form two distinct network alliances ("band based" and "hybrid"). Band-based organizations tend to focus on clients from First Nations reserve communities, rely largely on federal funding, and adopt an institutional style of leadership. The leaders of them tend to rely on strong social ties supported by face-to-face communication. Hybrid organizations tend to focus on urban Aboriginal populations, rely on funding mostly from sources other than the federal government, and adopt a grassroots (and institutional) style of administration. Their leaders rely on a balance of strong and weak social ties; the latter mediated by computer-mediated-communication (CMC) technologies. Conclusions suggest that CMC technologies enable Aboriginal leaders to broker effective and innovative partnerships that better distribute services, responsibilities and costs. The Internet is the most vital social networking tool currently available for stimulating and supporting collective action. Regardless of their propinquity, people are using email and other Internet services to build friendships and allegiances, and to access important information, social contacts and services that enable the development of more effective social capital and community development practices among Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg.

Dedication:

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Dr. George Fulford who convinced me to pursue a Ph.D. in cultural anthropology, and who has provided me with unwavering support and encouragement over the years.

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List of Abbreviations

A list of abbreviations used in this dissertation is provided below. The list is designed to assist readers in recalling the unabbreviated names of various organizations and terminologies referenced in this report. While most of the abbreviations refer to organizations, others refer to terminologies, methodologies, and government policies.

Abbreviation	Full name of entity
AANDC	Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (formerly INAC)
ACW	Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg Inc.
ACWI	Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg Inc.
AHRDA	Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreement
AMC	Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs
ASET	Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training
CAHRD	Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development Inc.
CED	Community Economic Development
CFS	Child and Family Services
CMC	Computer Mediated Communication
EUTC	Eagle Urban Transition Centre
Ma Mawi	Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre Inc.
MANA	Manitoba Aboriginal and Northern Affairs
MKO	Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc.
MMF	Manitoba Métis Federation
OCAP	Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (research protocol)
SCO	Southern Chiefs Organization Inc.
SNA	Social Network Analysis
SPCW	Social Planning Council of Winnipeg Inc.
UAS	Urban Aboriginal Strategy
UW-IGCA	University of Winnipeg`s Indigenous, Government and Community Affairs
WPA	Winnipeg Partnership Agreement

<center>**Chapter 1**</center>

<center>**Introduction to the Research Problem and Thesis**</center>

Context

There has been a great deal of scholarly attention directed at studying Aboriginal[1] people living on reserves and other rural areas of Canada, but very little research focusing on the more than 50% of Aboriginal people residing in census metropolitan areas,[2] such as Winnipeg. This bias reflects classical constructions of anthropology's most prominent research subject, the "indigenous other".

Just as we are drawn to investigate the 'strange' and culturally exotic, anthropologists have neglected the mosaic of Aboriginal cultures of people living within urban centres. Cities and other urban centres are mistakenly constructed as "melting pots" where the problems and challenges of ethnic and cultural peoples are made 'urban' issues (Peters 1995, 2000). The challenges some urban Aboriginal people face, especially people residing in low-income neighbourhoods, are exacerbated by internalized colonial relationships and processes (Reaves and Frideres 1981; Newhouse 2003) that are perpetuated by the very same institutions and organizations mandated to help these people. The problems faced by Aboriginal peoples are mainly due to a long history of being controlled by the Indian Act (Tobias 1991, 1983).

Throughout my interviews consultants often mentioned how Treaties and the

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[1] Following Section 35(2) of the *Canadian Constitution Act* (Government of Canada 1982) I use the term, "Aboriginal" to refer to "the Indian, Inuit and Métis people of Canada". Since 1982 the term "First Nation" has replaced "Indian" in general usage. I use the term "Aboriginal" to also include those people known as "American Indians" in the United States. More generally, Aboriginal peoples are indigenous inhabitants of the Americas.

[2] Statistics Canada defines a census metropolitan area as an urban area that registers a population of at least 100,000 in a previous census.

<center>1</center>

Indian Act have had profound and negative influences on First Nations. They, and related government policies have caused the forced relocation of First Nations peoples from traditional territories to 'reserve lands,' introduced patriarchal systems of control whereby women's statuses and roles were diminished and men's statuses and roles heightened, and established band councils and chiefs to oversee and manage their local communities. Clearly, the Treaties and the Indian Act have functioned as a major tool of assimilation (Gundlach and Roberts 1978; Reaves and Frideres 1981; Dyck and Waldram 1993; Armitage 1995; Fournier and Crey 1997; Berry 1999; Peters 2000; Mackey 2002; Emberley 2007). My consultants agree. Market-based economies and the dominance of Euro-Canadian culture have eroded traditional values and customs. Over the past 30 years there has been an increasing migration of Aboriginal people to Canadian cities. This has brought its own challenges.

In Winnipeg, Aboriginal people are clustered in core and inner city neighbourhoods. A disproportional number of people struggle with poverty, homelessness, and unstable households. Many government programs and aid agencies have been developed to meet the needs of these people. The majority operate on a remedial reparative service model that seeks to repair, restore or provide supports to clients challenged by poor health, legal and criminal issues, homelessness, or poverty, and other issues related to adapting to urban life. But these approaches generally fail to address the root causes of the challenges clients face. Worse still, they can perpetuate negative stereotypes and create a "vicious circle". When Aboriginal people in the Winnipeg and other Canadian cities succeed in material terms, they are often viewed by mainstream Canadians (and sometimes even members of their own cultural groups) as

having left their indigenous cultures and practices behind. To "succeed" in the mainstream value system is to "sell out". The alternative – to reject mainstream values – is in the logic of this vicious circle – to fail.

Anthropologists tend to emphasize that humans are adaptive. Most people experiencing assimilation tend not lose their original culture. Rather, they incorporate old and new values and thus become "bi- or even multicultural". The lives of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg bridge the reserve as well as the city, and the challenges faced all the more complex.

My consultants emphasized that effective service delivery must incorporate the unique needs of Aboriginal people. These include a focus on decolonization, empowerment, and the importance of maintaining traditional cultural values as well as the development of new life skills, improved education and training, all framed within a bicultural matrix.

Aboriginal people have rallied against the shortcomings of the remedial reparative service model. Some of the organizations in this study incorporate several aspects of these approaches. Many of my consultants are founding and directing urban Aboriginal organizations mandated to provide services and programs within the contexts of Aboriginal cultural values, ceremonial practices and pedagogies. Most leaders surveyed in this research aspire to help decolonize and awaken people to their true potentials as valued urban Aboriginal peoples.

Newhouse (2003:252) observes that "public policy research, which focuses primarily on individuals, will not result in policies that support and enhance the web of institutions that sustain the individual in daily life." He recommends that researchers

broaden their efforts to examine community organizations and institutions to identify what difference these groups make to their clients' lives, as well as how they develop and change. Peters (2000:258) concurs. She notes that "community-building through the establishment of networks, institutions and collective identity can enhance political strength and visibility, and help provide the support for resilient cultural identities." It is with these problems in mind that this research examines Aboriginal organizations, especially those providing services to Aboriginal clients.

Susan Lobo's study (2003) of urban Aboriginal people in the San Francisco Bay area departs from the "service provider" paradigm. In it, she reveals an extensive social network of highly interconnected women elders, their key-households, and the urban organizations at their disposal. Lobo did not use formal social network analysis (hereafter referred to as "SNA") in her study, nor did she specifically examine such systems as sources of social capital. Yet her work demonstrates the collective capacities of informal grassroots organizations and community members (whom she calls "urban clan mothers"[3]) to connect rural reservations with people and organizations in the city. Urban clan mothers do not see the people they support as clients to receive services, but as extended members of residentially dispersed kin-groups. They incorporate Aboriginal cultural beliefs and practices in concert with the supports that service-oriented organizations provide.

Until recently, anthropological research took place in rural areas where researchers studied non-Western peoples. Few anthropological studies focused on urban

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[3] In using this term Lobo seeks to convey a sense of cultural continuity that stresses the importance of women, extended family, and clan-like community organizations among urban indigenous populations. However it is unclear whether the indigenous people she interviewed were, strictly speaking, matrilineal and possessed clans. One must thus use caution in the use of this somewhat problematic term.

peoples and fewer still examined urban Aboriginal peoples and their organizations. And while ethnographic methods were developed to describe the cultures of entire communities they have been retooled for use in describing smaller populations, such as people in city neighbourhoods or in organizations and businesses. Earlier studies within cities examined Aboriginal peoples as having assimilated and adapted to urban living (Stevenson 1968; Nagler 1970; Denton 1970; Price 1979; Weaver 1981; Falconer 1985; Frideres 1988). Problems such as poverty and homelessness, or high levels of migration or churn to and from reserves and cities are interpreted as due to Aboriginal peoples' failure to adapt to city life (Lagasse 1958; Canada JCSHCIA 1960; Zeitoun 1969; Nagler 1970; Brody 1971; Dosman 1972; Stanbury 1975; Krotz 1980; Goldie 1989). During the 1960s and 1970s scholarly interest in urban anthropology increased and scholars began exploring issues concerning urbanization and poverty (Basham 1978; Hannerz 1980; Gmelch et al 2010). Other scholars have repacked urban anthropology as "Anthropology at Home" (Peirano 1998; Morton 1999; and Cattelino 2010).

One of the greatest challenges to urban anthropology and "anthropology at home" research is identifying population samples for study and for describing the culture or cultures of people, such as urban Aboriginal people who may represent many different cultural and linguistic groups. Given the fact that most of the Aboriginal organizations explored in this research are status-blind, providing services to all Aboriginal peoples, including First Nations (with and without Status), Métis, and Inuit, my challenge was to provide an ethnographic description of disparate groups of Aboriginal peoples who do not represent a single ethnic or linguistic group, but who, as far as I can tell, rely on a sharing of commonly-held cultural beliefs and practices. Social networks do not

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necessarily define distinct cultural groups per se. Rather, they represent social

relationships and ties between people, many of whom come from different cultural

backgrounds. These networks may comprise neighbourhoods, business colleagues,

college classrooms, or groups of organizations. In fact, the concept of the social network

is more accurate for capturing the dynamic relations of social interconnections and

exchanges between people in groups than anthropology's classic focus on culture and

community.

In my dissertation I examine a group of Winnipeg Aboriginal organizations that

move beyond the remedial reparative service model. I combine SNA with more

traditional ethnographic methods including interviews and participant-observation to

examine Aboriginal organizations as sources of social capital. This research maps the

social networks of key members (mostly organization leaders) and identifies normally

'invisible' social ties that interconnect and support their respective organizations. My

research is based on one year of ethnographic fieldwork, including SNA of a network of

actors comprising eight Aboriginally-oriented and/or operated urban organizations.

Consultant interviews and participatory research reveal a set of principal

Aboriginal leaders who use computer-mediated-communications (hereafter referred to as

"CMC") technologies to broaden their social ties to important resources, information, and

program development. To complement these qualitative findings, SNA of a snowball

sample of organizational members reveals some actors, or "network brokers," are more

capable of maximizing their social network ties to gain access of information, services,

and resources, and thus more able to influence program development, management, and

services of all organizations connected to them. Analysis of each data-set provides

significant insights on the structures and processes involved in urban Aboriginal social and economic development. Findings reveal a thriving and cooperative community of committed Aboriginal professionals and their self-governing, owned and operated social organizations that are building, strengthening, and demonstrating self-determination and sovereignty as Aboriginal Canadians.

Social capital provides a powerful theoretical perspective to help understand my research findings. Social capital is loosely defined as an estimate of the cumulative capacities and outcomes of investments and favour growing out of networked relations between actors (Bourdieu 1980, 1983, 1986; Coleman 1988, 1990, 1993; and Putnam 1995, 2000). In terms of the organizations in this study, social capital is described both as the outcomes of services and program initiatives, and the availability and ease of access to various organization-based resources (e.g., financial, human, and economic capital). These relations may be built on networks that encourage open access and sharing of information, services, and programs (facilitated by the socially leveling mechanism of CMC), or setup relations of competition between allied leaders and their networked contacts. I will discuss this concept of social capital in more detail, including its limitations, in the next chapter.

Research Problem and Thesis Statement

In my research I found two distinct patterns of how actors who have strong social ties (e.g., a relationship defined by several roles and activities such as kinship, friendship, and work) tend to communicate. The social capital of organizational networks varies according to each leader, their ability as a network broker, and the structure of their communication and interaction with other equally networked leaders. One pattern, found

in organizations like the Southern Chiefs Organization Inc. (SCO) and Onashowewin Inc., is based primarily on face-to-face interactions among a relatively small number of actors. I will call this the traditional "band model" of organization. The other, found in the other six organizations, involves a blend of face-to-face and electronically-mediated communications in a significantly larger network of contacts. I will call this the "hybrid model" of organization.

It is my thesis that organizations using the "hybrid model" are more densely linked to one another than traditional "band model" ones. Within band model organizations, actors rely almost exclusively on face-to-face communications. This limits the size and breadth of social networks. The hybrid-model organizations in this research vastly extend actors' social ties and in so doing create a new kind of organizational cluster based on CMC. The networks that actors in hybrid organizations employ serve as "hubs" which, later in this thesis, I describe as "alliance networks" CMC supplements face-to-face interactions and helps to promote a bicultural identity among network actors and their clients. This is a source of social capital which has not been attested in previous research.

Those organizations fitting the hybrid-model are informed, motivated, and directed by a small and influential group of Aboriginal leaders working within an alliance of organizational network clusters. These leaders relate to each other as kin, similar to the pre-colonial Aboriginal cultural practices based in generalized reciprocity, sharing, and care of all people. The social networks radiating out from them are mediated largely by CMC technologies, such as email, and telephone. The links which are created and maintained using this technology are kin-like. This extended network, built on what my

consultants perceive as 'traditional patterns' of Aboriginal social interaction, is of fundamental importance in developing social capital in Winnipeg's Aboriginal community.

This research is directed to answering three key questions concerning Aboriginal organizations and leadership networks explored in this field study. These questions help clarify and understand the social capital arising within the social networks of urban leaders and their allied organizations.

(1) What is the structure of social network relations interconnecting urban Aboriginal organizational leaders and contacts described in this research? More precisely, does the structure of the total social network facilitate open access of information, expertise and services to all leaders, or does the total network allow a minority of leaders to capitalize on their social relations in controlling and regulating services, program initiatives, and available funding?

(2) What is the relationship between the strength of social ties connecting leaders and their contacts and the methods by which they communicate with each other? What effect do such ties have on the social capital present within their organizational networks?

(3) How does the form of social capital arising between actors using CMC affect the capacity of their organizations in achieving their mandates? More specifically, how do actors use their personal social networks to locate and access resources, and convert various forms of social capital for facilitating, altering or impeding programs and services available within the total network of urban Aboriginal services provided?

These questions help direct the discussion that follows. It is yet to be determined whether urban Aboriginal leaders use their social ties to dominate social capital present within their alliance networks, or use their ties to build partnerships that help distribute information, services and resources as important sources of social capital for the clients of their urban organizations.

Some people may accuse the leaders of these network clusters of nepotism and elitism and emphasize the negative consequences arising from such behaviour (e.g.,

unequal entitlements between the rich and poor). My research suggests the opposite. The strong social ties connecting Winnipeg's Aboriginal leaders actually promote more culturally holistic services and program management, since leaders that work closely with each other are more likely to self-regulate and endorse each other's behaviour. This research shows how one such Aboriginal organization, namely Kanikanichihk Inc., and a cluster of networked individuals at the forefront of urban Aboriginal community development in Winnipeg have innovated ways for providing culturally invigorating and socially bolstering programs and services accessed by their clients. These findings echo findings by Peters (2000:261) who stresses the importance and need for encouraging and supporting Aboriginal cultures in urban places. The network of individuals allied with Kanikanichihk rely on CMC to create, access, and encourage more sustainable and culturally empowering programs and community engagements by Aboriginal people for Aboriginal people.

Mediated communications technologies and the weak social ties they foster help Aboriginal leaders, such as Leslie Spillett of Kanikanichihk Inc., to broker resources and services, and to foster cooperation between Aboriginal organizations, government agencies and the communities they serve, and provide more appropriate and empowering services and supports for Aboriginal persons in need.

Whether working in health, justice and law-enforcement, education and employment, housing and homelessness, with children and their families, or cultural and recreational programs/services, network clusters and their brokers help build and encourage stronger, more well-informed partnerships and communication among urban Aboriginal organizations, provincial and federal levels of government, and the

residentially clustered community of Aboriginal people residing in and outside the City of Winnipeg. The network of alliances interconnecting urban Aboriginal leaders and their contacts are therefore important sources of social capital for urban Aboriginal people. However, it should also be noted there are limitations to my research sample.

While this research provides a set of structural snapshots of the organizational networks represented in this study, such structures should not be assumed to exist or be representative of other urban Aboriginal organizations and their leaders' networks. Further to this, while CMC has been found to facilitate weak social ties that help to produce bridging social capital between networked brokers, communications technologies alone do not produce social capital. While CMC and other forms of mediated communications are more likely to produce and support weaker ties (e.g., a relationship defined by a single role or activities) and face-to-face forms of communications are more likely to produce and support stronger ties, this is not always the case. Sometimes, CMC can be used to maintain strong ties that would diminish for actors who are residentially dispersed from each other.

Leaders found to employ the hybrid model of organizational networking use CMC to maintain contact and communication with their core of network allies; helping to maintain their strong ties with them. However, these leaders also use CMC to diversify their contact and interaction with others who are external to their alliance networks; building bridges that improve their organizations' access and control of information, services and initiatives at their disposal.

To better understand these alliance networks, and the importance of social networking by urban Aboriginal leaders for producing social capital within their

organizations and network clusters, the chapters that follow describe the social capital

theory and methods used in this research and a research sample of actors and

organizations who are the subjects of my analysis.

Summary of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter two presents a literature

review of theory pertaining to social networks, social capital and mediated

communications –focusing its discussion on networks of brokers who control, divert, and

transform various forms of social capital within organizations. Chapter three provides an

overview of the two methodologies employed in this research, including a detailed

description and explanation of the metrics used in SNA, and the ethnographic approaches

used to qualify these measures of networks. Chapter four describes the sample of

Aboriginal consultants and organizations explored in this field research project; providing

organizational profiles on each. This sample includes the Aboriginal Council of

Winnipeg (or "ACW"), the Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development (or

"CAHRD"), the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (or "SPCW"), Kanikanichihk Inc.,

the Southern Chiefs Organization (or "SCO"), Onashowewin Inc., the Eagle Urban

Transition Centre (or "EUTC"), and a division of the President's office at the University

of Winnipeg (or "UW-IGCA"). Chapters five and six present research results and

findings regarding the Aboriginal research consultants who are the primary participants

in this study. More specifically, chapter five examines each leader's social network of

contacts, as well as the total network interconnecting them, and describes and compares

various SNA metrics for measuring the structural characteristics of each leader's (and

contacts') centrality, their social solidarity, and relative social cohesion of their total

network. Chapter six describes qualitative research results based on ethnographic methods. Participant-observation, interviews, and surveys were used to solicit information from consultants and from the field site of each organization. This information was compared to and qualified by anecdotal accounts interpreted using thematic analysis of consultant interview transcripts. This dissertation concludes in chapter seven with a discussion of findings as they relate to my research thesis and the social capital theory informing this study. The importance of CMC for bridging Aboriginal organizational divisions is emphasized in this chapter. Supplemental appendices of additional documents, tables/figures, and other materials are presented at the end of this dissertation.

Chapter 2

A LITERATURE REVIEW:
Social Networking, Communication, and
Urban Aboriginal Organizations as Sources of Social Capital

This chapter examines several theories of social capital which are important for understanding how the social networks of urban Aboriginal leaders in this study enable their organizations to be more closely networked. Two approaches to social capital are emphasized more than the others. While one theory of social capital elaborated by Putnam (1995, 2000) provides insights on how social networks (and more specifically volunteer organizations) facilitate cooperation and collective actions between network actors, the other theory of social capital, elaborated by Bourdieu (1980, 1983, 1986), provides insights for identifying inequalities emerging between leaders and their less connected members. The social capital represented within a social network can potentially hinder or facilitate cooperation and partnerships between Aboriginal organizations. Social capital theory may be usefully applied in clarifying and understanding the divisions existing between hybrid-type urban Aboriginal organizations and their more "traditional" band-type counterparts. It also provides insights on the social impact of partnerships and networking, especially within hybrid organizations.

The sections that follow help clarify the research problem within the context and scholarship of social capital theory. The chapter begins by examining social capital and its nuances and the historical contexts through which scholars such as Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam developed their theories. Social capital is described as the outcome of several important determinants and processes, namely, the social interaction of people, their network of contacts, and structure by which they communicate with each other. The

structures of social networks are shown to produce different forms of social capital that

affect the freedom and constraints people experience in their groups. Leadership styles

and the forms of governance employed by organizational leaders are shown to vary

according to their connectedness to others and the genders of actors involved. Social ties,

social networks, and CMC are explored as places where social capital accrues. To

understand why some groups of people work better with each other than others we need

only examine the structure of their social networks and the processes and modes by

which they communicate. Whether people communicate in an unmediated, face-to-face

manner, or rely on mediated communications such as telephone, email, and text

messaging are shown to affect the type and balance of social ties existing within

networks. The final section of this chapter applies our understanding of social capital in

situating and interpreting the social network relations and exchanges of urban Aboriginal

leaders and their associated organizations, especially the growing number of women

leaders now at the forefront of community economic development (or "CED") in

Winnipeg.

Before we delve into the webs of relations comprising leadership networks and

their organizations, we first need to situate our analysis within an understanding of the

theories regarding social capital and social networks.

Social Capital and its Nuances

Social capital is an index of the capacity of people in social groups to collectively

innovate, administer, and manage culturally and socially appropriate programs and

services that build and strengthen their communities. Social capital is "both the 'glue'

that sticks like people together and the 'lubricant' that allows different people to mix

together more freely" (Putnam 2000:399). While the 'glue' of social capital binds people together collectively, its 'lubricant' promotes coexistence and cooperation among social groups with different access to resources and knowledge. Later in the chapter, we return to this analogy when describing and explaining various forms that social capital expresses itself.

Social capital has been variously described as the benefits and resources individuals may access through their social contact with others, levels of trust, cooperation, and exchange between members of a social network or group. Social capital arises from preferential actions and cooperation among networked individuals and social groups. In other words, our social contacts affect our ability to work with others to achieve common goals. Current theories on social capital and the analysis of the social networks producing such capital were derived from the research of 19th century social scientists: Alexis de Tocqueville (2000 [1840]), Ferdinand Tönnies (1955[1887]) and Emile Durkheim (1997[1893]). A review of this early literature is provided to help to contextualize scholarship based in current social capital theory.

The term "social capital" was first used by political and historical theorist Alexis de Tocqueville, who observed that Americans often met informally in public spaces to discuss issues of economy and state. One outcome of this is that decision-making processes are publically transparent and help promote democracy and more accountable governing bodies.

Tönnies (1955[1887]) later helped to differentiate the structural differences between 'small scale' societies and 'large scale' societies, describing small scale societies as based on what Durkheim (1997[1893]) would later classify as *gemeinshaft* linking

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individuals that share common values and beliefs to a shared sense of identity and collective socio-economic purpose, and large-scale societies structured on *gesellshaft* or social solidarity based on impersonal, contractual and instrumental-based relations between occupationally specialized individuals. Durkheim (1997[1893]) further differentiates Tönnies' scales according to two forms of social solidarity and cooperation: mechanical and organic solidarity. With mechanical solidarity, people with similar skill-sets cooperate with each other to provide for their collective needs; providing a level of redundancy to subsistence systems. With organic solidarity, people with different skill-sets coordinate and exchange with each other so that the collective needs of a much larger society is met. To Tönnies and Durkheim, the main differences between small- and large-scale communities are the structural network arrangements of persons making up their populations.

Tönnies and Durkheim's concepts are useful for conceptualizing what later would be described as forms of social capital. However, the concept of social capital did not achieve its academic and institutional prominence until L.J. Hanifan (1916) described it in relation to the social cohesion of groups and the benefits of collective power inherent in communities.

Later in the 20th century social scientists refined Tönnies and Durkheim's insights, producing theories on social capital that more succinctly captured the net value, or social structure arising through different forms of social relationships between individuals. Despite its earlier manifestations, the concept of social capital was not rigorously applied as sociological theory until the 1990s when it was popularized by Bourdieu (1980, 1983, 1986), Coleman (1988, 1990, 1993), and Putnam (1995, 2000).

Social capital is a multidimensional concept, which loosely describes social relations that have productive benefits to groups and individuals. Definitions of social capital vary according to the focus of a study. Social capital is defined as a (1) substance of our social ties and relationships, (2) the source and process of collective action, and (3) an effect, benefit or outcome of social networks. In the first instance, social capital is the benefits accrued to network actors based on the *structure* their social ties to others, their roles performed, and the method by which actors communicate with each other. SNA, described in chapter three, is employed in this research to determine the structure of social network relations interconnecting leaders and the networks of contacts spanning Aboriginal organizations. Secondly, social capital arises as the *capacity and process* for collective action based on social trust, bonding, and reciprocity. Finally, social capital is the *outcome or net-effect* of our collective actions or networking with others. Client services, programs and partnership initiatives employed within Aboriginal organizations are examples of the net-effects or outcomes of social capital.

Data for ascertaining these last two outcomes of social capital is produced in this study using qualitative interviews and participant-observations of leaders and their network of relations, and corroborated based on the presence and ratios of each leader's stronger and weaker social relations (e.g., strong and weak ties). Leaders, who partner routinely on initiatives and programs, form friendships based on trust, bonding and reciprocity. Such strong social relations help leaders work together in brokering organizational partnerships, joint- initiatives, and programs that benefit their clients. However, leaders also rely on a range of contacts with others in a much broader network, connecting strongly ties others to information and resources present with other networks

of strongly tied people.

For our purposes, I draw on the work of Bourdieu (1980, 1983, 1986), Coleman (1988, 1990, 1993), and Putnam (1995, 2001) to better understand how the social networks of urban Aboriginal leaders in this study enable their organizations to better serve clients and members. While Bourdieu and Coleman describe social capital structures and outcomes of individual agency and economic calculation, Putnam describes social capital as the structural and collective capacities afforded to individuals through their unconscious conformity to group norms, roles, and social consensus. A further distinction can be shown between Bourdieu and Coleman as the former describes social capital in a pessimistic way as the eternal self-reproduction of elite structures and the perpetuation of social inequalities, while the latter describes social capital in a more neutral way as capacities for social change. Each of these theories of social capital can be usefully applied to interpreting the social capital present within and between the urban Aboriginal organizations described in this research.

Bourdieu (1980, 1983, 1986) expands on the work of Hanifan (1916) describing social capital as resources and privileges accrued to individual elites well positioned within their social networks. Using their social contacts, elites may increase their access to information, education and skills development, and wealth that enhance their power, or ability to control others within their social networks. Bourdieu (1983:249) describes social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships." However, Bourdieu also focuses on the social inequalities arising within social network between those who control and direct networks and those who are excluded from such controls.

Bourdieu's understanding of social capital is exclusionary. The "the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent… depends on the size of the network of connection that he can effectively mobilize" through others (1986:249). Larger networks of weakly connected actors enable leaders to maximize their self-interests and to access resources and capital. For our purposes, Bourdieu's idea of social capital helps explain how chiefs in First Nations band-reserves (and a few urban Aboriginal organizations) can develop leadership legacies that can inhibit or prevent economic and social development of their communities and stifle funding of more grassroots Aboriginal organizations. Leaders are able to maximize their network benefits based on their positions within their social networks and the volume of their connections to other influential social contacts. For Bourdieu, it's not what you know, it's who you know that is important. Leaders may use their privileged access to a vaster network of people to maximize their self-interests and maintain power and control.

Social capital is not always as negative as Bourdieu describes it. Coleman (1988, 1990, and 1993) describes social capital more broadly than Bourdieu as a form of social control, present within the social structure of networks that facilitates and fuels the collective actions of individuals or groups. "Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (Coleman 1990:302). Social capital, as a measure of collective welfare and a source of social control, helps to guarantee and enforce group values and norms. Here social capital is defined as a resource readily available to all social network actors, regardless of their socio-economic status and

position. Elites and the powerless and marginal may use their social structural ties to access resources and knowledge to bring about social change. By acting alike, we accrue advantages, resources, and information available through our access to others. Social capital is therefore a byproduct of social networks.

Coleman sees social capital as a vehicle for social change, through the distribution of resources and information to networked individuals. Drawing on Coleman's definition, we could interpret urban Aboriginal organizations as network hubs where socially interconnected individuals –clients, volunteers, and visitors– draw on their memberships to access important information, knowledge and resources simply by respecting and following organizational (and cultural) norms, regulations, and obligations. Both Coleman and Bourdieu assume that people use their social connections in a conscious way to maximize their capital gains (whether such gains are social, financial, or cultural).

To Bourdieu and Coleman, we rationally calculate the benefits of cooperating within groups in order to access and control resources and information contained within those groups. However, as Field (2008:31) observes, people often socially interact with each other for reasons beyond their understanding and control. But the benefits of group participation cannot be fully predicted or known. People may pursue wealth and success by advancing passionless careers only to find that happiness eludes them when they have achieved their financial success. Further, people may pursue relationships with others for money, love, companionship, or to start a family, yet fail to attain them. So although we may act as conscious manipulators of our social networks, the outcomes of our belonging to groups is not guaranteed. For our purpose, we can speculate that even when urban Aboriginal organizations are mandated to provide services and supports to their clients,

such benefits may not lead to increased levels of social capital within organizational networks.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) elaborated Coleman's ideas, describing social capital as a form of personal, public good. "If [an individual comes] into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community" (Woolcock and Narayan 2000:227). Here social capital is described as stocks of public trust, norms and networks people draw on to solve common problems in a conscious and calculating way. However, as Putnam (1995, 2000) argues, people may not be aware of how their actions impact the collective well-being of their network; especially the social capital arising within them.

Putnam (1995, 2000) sees social capital as the net effect of people cooperating unconsciously and in far less calculating ways for the greater good. Here social capital is the benefits accrued through such altruistic motivations and cooperation. Putnam (1995:67) defines social capital as "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit." By networking with people face-to-face, we learn to trust them and cooperate. Collective actions and behaviour viewed as social consensus are emulated by others who observe them, and collectively, social capital is produced. Social capital in this sense of the word is a form of civic engagement and a broad measure of communal health. Norms and trust are the basis through which social capital emerges in social groups. In other words, social capital is "the collective value of all social networks and the inclination that arises from

these networks to do things for each other" (Putnam 2000:24).

Putnam's definition of social capital may be employed to understand why people who work closely and often with each other more frequently form coalitions leading to partnerships (informal or formal) between their organizations. Later, we return to our discussion of Putnam (2000) when forms of social capital are differentiated as either social capital based on social bonding and strong ties, and weaker based social capital based on the ability for actors to network with a larger selection of social contacts. For now, it is also important to recognize that social capital not only produces positive outcome, but as Portes (1988) observes, may have negative outcomes as well.

Social Networks and Forms of Social Capital

Instead of focusing on individuals as sources of social action and community development, we look to how the social connections people have with each other structure the flow and exchange of information, funding, services, and other crucial resources among them. The form and processes inherent to these social networks determine how well people can communicate and socially exchange information, wealth, goods and services with each other in order to achieve mutually mandated goals and objectives. For instance, the network of players comprising professional sports teams are structured on predetermined sets of positions and responsibilities that enable those teams to work collectively. Teams that are missing players are handicapped and less likely to achieve victories. When team players compete rather than cooperate with each other, they are less effective. Where people share common values and norms, and socially interact on a regular basis, they are thought to be strongly connected to each other socially, and work to maintain a status-quo. When people seldom interact and communicate with each other

and do so only to access and exchange information and resources when the need arises, they are weakly connected to each other socially, and more able to redefine the norms and obligations that inform and direct their contracts with each other.

Putnam (2000) distinguishes two main components of social capital: bonding social capital, arising out of social networks between members with direct and frequent face-to-face role-relations with each other (e.g., kin and friends), and bridging social capital, arising out of social networks of people who have more infrequent, indirect and contractual role-relations with each other (e.g., co-workers and friends-of-friends). Bonding (or strong) social capital is more likely to arise between people within socially homogeneous groups, where people know each other personally and interact in a face-to-face manner. These people are likely to possess similar skills, abilities, and social-economic contacts, and interact on a regular basis within multiple fields of social relationships (e.g., kinship, friendship, business, and religious). Examples of groups that produce bonding social capital are kinship groups and households, friendships, urban gangs, and local religious organizations (e.g., churches). Bridging (or weak) social capital, or social relations that help people broker alliances, innovations, and exchanges between parties, is more likely to arise within more loosely-knit, socially heterogeneous groups where people possess different skills, abilities and socio-economic contacts, and interact more sporadically and instrumentally within one or two fields of social relations. The ability of actors within different groups or networks to contact and exchange with each other is represented by "bridging social capital," Cafes and clubs, choirs, school/university classrooms, conferences/conventions, and Internet-based social networking sites (e.g., online social networking sites, such as Facebook, Myspace, and

Twitter) are examples of groups that produce bridging social capital.

Mignone et al. (2008) and Mignone and O'Neil (2005) provide us with one additional form of social capital arising "vertically" (i.e., operating through formal hierarchical structures) between the local networks of First Nations band reserves and formal institutions such as government agencies and offices. Mignone and his colleagues describe such network relations as producing "linkage or linking" social capital. Linkage social capital represents a more resilient form of bridging social capital established through more institutionalized policies and procedures concerning government funding, programs and services provided to local communities. While linkage social capital describes how local networks can leverage institutionalized knowledge, services, and funding, the concept is likely another version of bridging social capital, and thus is not used to analyze the organizational networks of the actors within this study.

For the most part, researchers have focused their attention on measuring levels of bonding and bridging social capital that arise within social networks (Portes 1998, 2000; Adam and Ronvevic 2003; Glanville and Bienestock 2009). In the case of institutionalized healthcare systems examined by Mignone and colleagues, linkage social capital is a strong source of bridging social capital. But in the case of the Aboriginal organizations examined in my research linkage relationships may exacerbate colonial policies and structures currently restricting Aboriginal self-governance and community-led development. My research therefore examines bonding and bridging social capital only, and the effect of CMC usage for producing informal and formal partnership agreements and bridging social capital in Aboriginally-directed community development. The outcomes of the social capital emerging through these partnered networks may have

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unforeseen consequences that require further study.

According to Portes (1988:6), most theorists today employ Putnam's theory of social capital for measuring the "ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structure." These scholars tend to focus their work on the positive outcomes of social capital, and neglect to show how strong social capital sometimes has negative outcomes.

Portes (1988:17) notes four negative consequences of social capital: (1) excluding or restricting outsiders, (2) norms of mutual support may prevent economic mobility, (3) community demand for conformity may alienate youth, and (4) common experience of adversity and opposition to mainstream society may promote enclaves. Negative outcomes are more likely where the structure of a network is comprised of strong or weak ties only, or when one type of tie dominates. If strong ties dominate, people may find it difficult to access information and resources external to their social groups and inequalities in power are likely to arise between well networked leaders and their less networked supporters. Where weak ties dominate within a network, actors may find it more difficult to trust each other. Lacking trust, social and emotional bonding is less likely to arise between members, and common social identities are unlikely to be negotiated. Here, a lack of social consensus stifles outcomes normally produced through succinct organizational objectives and mandates.

Recently, Perkins and colleagues (et al 2002) identified how social capital may have unforeseen negative outcomes. Bonding social capital is very much present within the social networks of people living within urban ghettos, ethnic enclaves, and remote rural towns and reserves. Bridging social capital is reduced or minimized as people spend

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much of their time socially interacting with people in their local neighbourhoods or townships and spend little time forming connections with people (and institutions) external to those networks. Lacking bridging social capital, members of social groups with bonding social capital are likely to develop negative relationships with each other since their access to ideas and norms are restricted to inner-group members only. No 'second opinions' are possible. For instance, the social networks of people in urban gangs are structured mainly on strong social ties that produce an abundance of bonding social capital (Perkins et al 2002:47). However, the violent, criminal offenses often perpetrated by gang members vis-à-vis their collective actions do not serve the common good of all people. Lacking bridging social capital and weak social ties to other members and groups in society, gang members operate on an 'us-versus-them' mentality that drives members to exploit and harm those people who are external to their networks. Bonding and bridging social capital can work together productively if in balance, or they may work against each other when not. However, as social capital bonds and stronger homogeneous groups form, the likelihood of bridging social capital lessens. Therefore, it should be recognized that there are negative consequences to imbalances between bonding and bridging social capital, and the relative presence of strong and weak social network ties.

The next section of this chapter examines some features of social networks that affect the production of social capital. Later, in chapter three, a more detailed account of SNA measures and metrics is presented. These metrics help us identify and substantiate how social capital is distributed and transacted among actors within the Aboriginal organizations comprising the total network of actors examined in this research.

Social Networks and Nodes

All people, whether they are aware of it or not, are members of numerous social networks. A social network represents the structure of all social ties interconnecting individuals and/or organizations. Research in a number of academic fields has shown that social networks operate on many levels, from households to nations, playing critical roles in determining the way problems are solved, organizations operate, and individuals access resources and information. Network actors draw on their social network ties to access, distribute, and contest information, resources, and social support. Social networks are channels for communication and exchange. Social network analysts examine these channels to determine how the structure and interactional component of social networks affect an actor-members' ability to achieve their goals.

In its simplest form, a social network is a structural map of all of the relevant social ties between the nodes being observed. Network theorists define 'nodes' as social network actors. Although nodes may be people, organizations, events/programs, and even pathogens (within epidemiological studies of the spread of disease), this research examines nodes as primary and secondary consultants, along with the tertiary actor-persons connected to their organizational networks. Nodes are also presented as clusters of organizations who have partnered with each other. The connections linking nodes on a network graph are called social ties (or relations) and are represented as lines on a graph.

Social capital present within a social network is measured according to the shape or structure of social ties (or relations) between actor-nodes. Members of smaller, denser social networks are more likely to communicate and socially interact with each other rather than with people who are external to their networks. Here, access to resources and

information is limited to network members, but network relations are more strongly based.

Carol Stack (1974) provides us with an example of dense, strongly based social networks in her description of friendship networks among the urban poor. Members of these networks subsidize their costs-of-living by sharing resources available through their social contacts. The strong ties comprising such networks re-enforce the social status-quo, but also deter social and economic mobility. Since all members have equal access to economic, educational, and social resources, few members are able to improve their social and financial situations. Consequently, the strong ties that are inherent in dense social networks serve to maintain class-divisions between the rich and poor.

Alternately, members of larger, sparser social networks are more able to communicate and interact with people outside of their groups through weaker ties (i.e., relations based on fewer social identities). Members with more diverse social ties to others are better able to access new information, opportunities, and resources than members with fewer, more stronger and redundant ties.

The importance of weak social ties is exemplified in Kapferer's (1969) classic study of work-related social networks. Kapferer's (1969) describes a dispute between two workers in an underground cell room of an electro-zinc plant of a Zambian mine illustrates how information and social relations operate and are exchanged between network members. The ethnography describes a dispute which occurred between plant employees. The dispute began when an older man, Abraham, yelled at a younger man Donald, accusing him of rate-busting[4]. This was followed by a threat on the older man's

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[4] Rate-busting refers to an employee who is highly productive, exceeding formally agreed rates of output for a particular task. Rate-busting is disliked by fellow co-workers because the action provides managers

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part that he would use witchcraft to get the younger man to comply. In the ensuing

dispute, Donald is extremely irritated and annoyed when fellow workers suggest that his

outburst was due to his drunkenness. It turns out that more people aligned themselves

with Abraham than Donald even though Donald's case was considerably stronger. The

dispute between workers was not resolved through diplomatic arbitration, but was

resolved via social contacts common to both workers. This case example helps

demonstrate that even if a person is supported by superior logical and moral sanctions

(e.g., authority of an elder, kinship rights) he may have less power to influence group

opinions than those with more social ties. People who know and interact with each other

in numerous ways (e.g., kin, friend, fellow employee) have denser social relations with

each other based on strong social ties.

People who have multiple relationships with each other trust each other and are

more likely to work together. Those with fewer ties are less likely to interact, unless one

actor has information and/or resources the other actor needs. The strength of a relational

tie is measured based on the number of "activity field" (see Boissevain 1974)

relationships a person has with another, and based on the mode of communication linking

them together (see Wilson and Peterson 2002; Schwimmer 1998; and Miller and Slater

2000). Network experts have termed the strength of network ties, "multiplexity," or the

number of activity fields or social relations connecting two nodes (see Wellman and

Wortley 1990; Kapferer 1969; and Marsden and Campbell 1984). Highly multiplex

networks are composed of many strongly tied actors, but simpler social network relations

also exist.

There are two types of social relations interlinking actors within their social

with the excuse to raise the rate of output for all the other employees.

networks: uniplex relations based on single role-relationships, and multiplex relations based on multiple role-relationships. For instance the role-relations between a merchant and customer, or social worker and welfare recipient are likely based on weak, uniplex tie relations, whereas role-relations between kin and friends who work, socialize, and attend school or university together are based on strong, multiplex role-relations.[5]

Our role-relations are drawn from several activity-fields, such as our neighbourhood, place of employment, household, organizational memberships, and friendships. Our adherence to social norms and obligations increases with the multiplexity of our activity field relations with others. Where multiplexity is lower, social roles, norms and obligations of reciprocity are not easily enforced; this is especially true for uniplex social ties where actors have only two or fewer role-relations with each other. Most city-dwellers socially interact with each other within single activity fields –whether at work, at play, or as neighbours. With little in common socially, our relations with others are impersonal, temporary and contractual. The upside of uniplex social ties, however, is that network members tend to be drawn from a larger array of social-economic classes, ethnic and racial groups, gender categories, and nationalities. Uniplex social relations are especially important to network actors who use their single-stranded ties to access information, social contacts, and resources that are normally unavailable to members of multiplex social networks.

As Kapferer (1973) has demonstrated, social norms, reciprocity, and exchange are more easily enforced in social networks by people who have numerous social role-relations with each other. Moral and cultural sanctions can be ignored by a person who is

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[5] The degree of multiplexity (or diversity of linkages) of interactional social ties can be calculated by dividing the total number of multiplex social ties (relations) by the total number of all social ties (relations).

supported by a majority of social network members. However, individuals who are members of multiple social networks help interconnect people to resources that are not normally accessible. Such persons may act as network bridges or "brokers" and help interconnect people who do not normally interact with each other. Internet communications technologies are specifically designed to allow for such brokered social interconnections.

Given that most community development initiatives, such as those directed by Aboriginal organizations require collaboration involving various organizations, institutions, and individuals, CMC technologies may enable members to better achieve their organizational goals and mandates. By measuring the multiplexity of actor role-relations (or the "density" of social networks), we may determine the character of their ties to each other.

Social Network Ties and Communication

All networks are composed of two types of social ties: 'strong' social ties (Putnam 1995, 2000), also referred to as "bonding ties," and "weak ties" (Granovetter 1973), also referred to as "bridging ties". Strong/bonding social ties exist between people who socially interact regularly through face-to-face relations, such as those based on kinship and friendships. The structure of friendships and kin groups are based primarily on strong social ties. Strong/bonding ties are important in community development, building trust and reciprocal relations between members and fostering a shared sense of ethnic/cultural identity (Putnam 1995, 2000). However, strong ties also inhibit people's social-economic mobility, since information and/or resources accessed through such ties are already shared between network members. People with fewer ties to people beyond

their friends and family are less likely to access and utilize information and resources external to their social networks.

Scholars such as Granovetter (1973) have discovered that although strong bonding ties promote trustful obligations between members who interact with each other regularly, these ties may also restrict members' access to internal network resources only. Increases in social and economic capital have been found to grow out of vast networks of "weak social ties" (Granovetter 1973) that "bridge" individuals and institutions within and external to their social environment (i.e., beyond kinship and residential contexts). It is through these weak ties that members adapt socially and economically to changing socio-economic conditions.

People rely on their social connections with friends-of-friends to access new employment opportunities, financial funding, education and skills-training, to purchase property, and to access child care services. If I ask my close friend to arrange a job interview at her place of employment for my daughter, my daughter and my friend will be linked through a 'weak', indirect social tie. The interview will have occurred as a result of this "weak" social tie. For a visual representation of absent, weak, and strong social ties, please refer to Figure 2.1 below:

Figure 2.1: Absent, Weak, and Strong Social Ties

Weak Tie   Strong Tie   Absent Tie
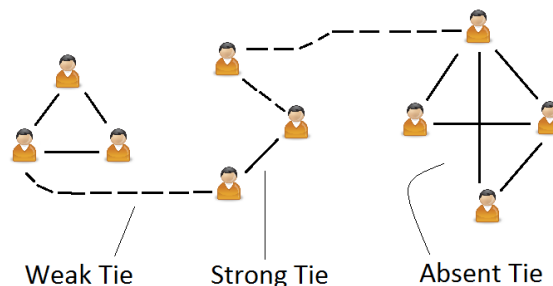
Granovetter's theory on the strength of weak social ties helps clarify Putnam's

(1995, 2000) findings on the decline of social capital and community efficacy in urban

sectors of the United States. People are still concerned with their communities; however,

these 'communities' have become communities of interest, rather than communities of

propinquity. While there are a growing number of these communities of interest found on

the Internet, many more exist, offline.

Granovetter (1973) argues that "weak social ties" are the basis of most social

networks within urban environments. When our contact with others is limited to friends

or family only, we are less able to access knowledge and resources possessed by

strangers, acquaintances and distant friends. New forms of resources and information are

more easily tendered through friends-of-friends, or contacts-of-our-contacts. Two

common sources of weak/bridging social ties are formal organizations and work-places –

where people of different class, gender, ethnicity, and race interact socially to exchange

ideas, resources, and support. Granovetter argues that "the more local bridges in a

community and the greater their degree, the more cohesive the community and the more

capable of acting in concert" (1973:1376). In other words, local bridging ties help to

connect individual network cluster. But not all scholars are in agreement. Putnam, for

instance, interprets the growth of weak ties and shrinking of strong ties as a sign that

people are less concerned or able to work together collectively. This, he says, is related

to an overall decline in civic engagement[6] and community efficacy in the United States.

Controversially, Putnam suggests growing ethnic diversity and the presence of

women in the workforce may be contributing to this decline in civic engagement and

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[6] Civic engagement is defined as "Individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern" (American Psychological Association, Retrieved: June 3, 2009 from URL: http://www.apa.org/ed/slce/civicengagement.html#definition).

collective action (Putnam 1995:65-78). If this is so, then what Putnam describes is surely a short-term phenomenon reflecting a period of significant transition in American society.

A key consideration in Putnman's argument is whether CMC technologies isolate us socially, thereby reducing our capacity to produce social capital within our communities. Scholars, such as Granovetter (1973) and Hampton and Wellman (1999, 2001) disagree with Putnam, stating that new CMC technologies simply expand our ability to communicate and to interact socially.

People may not be bowling as much with each other as they did in the past, but they are socially networking on Facebook, Twitter, and other online social networking media websites. Scholars such as Granovetter (1973), Hampton and Wellman (1999, 2001), Kavanaugh (1999), Hampton (2003, 2005) and Kavanaugh et al (2003, 2005) have shown that within urban social environments in the United States and Canada, CMC technologies, such as the Internet, help interconnect and engage people who are weakly and indirectly connected socially and who may seldom (if ever) meet each other in-person. In other words, people may not be as involved in their local 'face-to-face' communities as they were in the past, but they may be more interconnected to social contacts, resources, and information that bridge residential and national divides.

When the World-Wide-Web[7] redefined our access to the Internet in the mid-1990s, scholars following the work of Granovetter (1973) and Wellman (1979) began investigating how CMC precipitated social relations interconnecting people and organizations at local, national, and international levels. During the late 1990s scholars began questioning the underlying thesis driving the debate (e.g., Homes 1997;

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[7] The World-Wide-Web (WWW) is defined as the complete set of documents residing on all Internet servers that use the HTTP protocol, accessible to users via a simple point-and-click system.

Schwimmer 1998; Wilson and Peterson 2002; and Bakardjieva 2003), namely that mediated communications and interactions are informed and constrained by offline, face-to-face social interactions and needs. Offline inequalities are reproduced online. Furthermore, online social relations are determined by offline interactions. Miller and Slater (2000) demonstrate, in their field study of Internet use in Trinidad, the extent that computers and the Internet are embedded within face-to-face social, political, and economic relationships; computers are simply one way that we extend the range of our social contact with others.

The globalizing technologies of the Internet have increased our interconnectedness to our kin, friends, and fellow employees. The value of our indirect social relations existing between "friends-of-friends" (Boissevain 1974), neighbours, or professional contacts has been applied to the studies of migration networks, employment and e-commerce, and more recently, social networking media websites (e.g., Myspace, FaceBook, and Twitter).[8] As a tool of globalization, the Internet promotes "weak" (or bridging) social ties that link people together socially, regardless of their socio-cultural backgrounds.

When online, people tend to be less constrained by social etiquette, norms, and prejudices that normally regulate their ability to communicate and socialize with others. Mediated communications, especially social networking, and to a lesser degree email and short-message-service (SMS) text-messaging, provide common spaces for people to communicate and exchange anonymously, or at least unrestricted by social norms encouraged through social cues in face-to-face based interactions. With mediated

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[8] Articles by Subrahmanyam and Greenfield (2008) and Gaines and Mondak (2009) are two examples of studies that examine how social ties are affected by online, social networking sites.

communications technologies, one is less aware of the class, race, and socio-political status of others, and unfettered by preconceptions based on appearance. People are more inclined to say what they want to say with little fear of social (and physical) consequences. Whether on- or off-line, social capital produced through people's communication and contact with each other varies according to the dynamics of strong and weak social ties/relations present within their networks.

When people communicate face-to-face they are likely to form enduring social bonds with each other that build strong ties and bonding social capital that unites and binds people together socially. When people communicate through mediated communication technologies, such as email or the telephone, they are likely to form more temporary, instrumental social contacts that build weaker ties and bridging social capital. This latter type of social capital serves to 'bridge' or interconnect people (and their organizations) who would not normally meet nor exchange with each other.

The relationship between communication media, social ties, and social capital haz been further developed by Wellman, Hampton, Kavanaugh, and Patterson. Their research examines the impacts CMC has on people's social relationships and networks. This body of work is particularly relevant for understanding the social capital arising between weakly and distantly connected Aboriginal leaders and their social contacts in my own research. CMC has pronounced effects in producing social capital by connecting people who are potentially geographically or socially isolated to a wider online society of information and ideas, products and services, and agencies and organizations (Boase and Wellman 2005; Boase et al 2006; Hua and Wellman 2010; Haythornthwaite and Kendall 2010). The amount and type of social capital produced through a social network can be

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assessed by examining the presence and distribution of the strengths of social relations (i.e., social ties) produced through the way actors communicate with each other.

Two principle studies of CMC social networks are "Netville" in Toronto, Ontario (Hampton and Wellman 1999, 2001; Wellman et al 2001) and the Blacksburg Electronic Village study in Blacksburg, Virginia (Kavanaugh and Patterson 2001; Kavanaugh et al 2003, 2005). These studies indicate that the Internet is especially useful for helping people communicate and network with others living nearby (i.e., within 50 km), but who may seldom interact.

CMC and other mediated forms of communication enable people to quickly and regularly communicate with each other, which help them to maintain and support their activity field relations, or to strengthen the ties between them. However, these forms of communication, including SMS text-messaging, email, and messaging on social networking media (e.g., Facebook) do not allow for more in-depth and meaningful conversations, nor do communicators access social cues normally provided through a person's body language and facial expressions. While telephone and cellphone conversations allow for a greater volume of information to be exchanged, and are forms of mediated communications technologies, such media restricts social interactions to more instrumental and temporary forms. Comparatively, face-to-face communication, although involving a greater amount of personal dedication and planning, allows for more meaningful and deeper levels of social interaction and communication exchanges.

Recalling our earlier discussion of Boissevain's (1974) "activity field relations" (e.g., kin, friendships, co-workers), two actors are said to have multiplex ties with each other when socially connected by three or more activity field relations. These actors are

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said to be strongly tied to each other. Where two or fewer activity field relations connect actors, more uniplex or weak ties exist. CMC-based interactions directly affect the volume and range of their social ties to others and thus the level of bonding and bridging social capital existing within their networks. Where CMC predominates, more weak ties are likely to exist. Such ties help increase the speed by which people identify, contact and exchange with each other, and consequently the level of bridging social capital among them. However, in order for actors to build social trust and bond with each other, more face-to-face based communication is necessary. Such relations produce stronger, more multiplex ties that help increase levels of bonding social capital in networks.

In other words, as social networks are expanded and increased in volume through CMC, and as social ties connecting actors become weaker and more instrumental and contractual, individual actors within such networks are less able to benefit from the social capital resulting from such expansive and pervasive social connections. For instance, Facebook and Twitter extend and expand our social networks by connecting us to many more people (friends of friends and even strangers) than we would likely meet or communicate with offline. Although online relationships are based mainly on shared interests, CMC acts as a social lubricant helping people work together (Steinfied et al 2009). However, other scholars also recognize that social networks primarily based in online CMC may reduce bonding social capital in lieu of more bridging social capital (Cummings et al 2002). It is with this latter correlation in mind that this research examines Aboriginal organizational leaders and their predominately women-headed networks.

Women Network Brokers and their Social Capital

'Power' within organizations, or a person's influence over others, often arises more from the degree that the person is centrally positioned within their social networks than from their job titles. How one is perceived as a broker may differ according to gender as well. Men who are well positioned within and between social networks are likely to be viewed as political leaders making decisions on behalf of reserves and urban communities (Harell 2009). On the other hand, women may be perceived as performing more traditional roles that are perceived as apolitical.

According to Harell (2009) and other feminist scholars, women (in Western cultures) are perceived to organize themselves politically in a different way than men. The actions and roles of women leading or rallying collective actions are perceived as more private and personal, than public and procedural. Women's networks concern social care and supports and thus are perceived in certain ways as being apolitical and lacking in social capital (Eliasoph 1998). The memberships of these groups are directed 'by women for women' who use their wider networks of contacts and the social consensus achieved through them to innovate and develop programs that promote and encourage their cultural beliefs and practices. According to Vickers (1997), within Aboriginal populations, women are more likely to engage in local politics and social movements rather than concern themselves with formal band and tribal politics, effectively freeing themselves from many of the constraints laid out by the Indian Act.

Of course, the perception of women's social capital as "apolitical" is largely a matter of perspective. What seems apolitical from a male perspective can actually seem highly political (and subversive) from a female one. The informal character of female

social capital enables women to politicize apolitical actions and mandates, without conforming to the highly-gendered standards of Western, male-dominated leadership. For example, many of the leaders of hybrid Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg are women. My interviews with them reveals that they exercise a critical role in directing innovative models of service delivery, programming, and guidance to Aboriginal women, youth and children in core areas of Winnipeg. According to Eliasoph (1998), many researchers have overlooked how this focus on caregivers in largely matrifocal families is an important source of social capital. It is only recently that scholars such as Harell (2009) began describing social capital as a tool for female political engagement and women leaders as contributing to the development and governance of their organizations and communities.

To substantiate and describe the social capital produced through leadership networks of Aboriginal women and the significance of these in CED we have only to examine studies by Gittell et al. (1994, 1999), Lobo (2003), Lévesque (2003), Janovicek (2003), Skotnitsky and Ferguson (2005), and Steffy (2008). While only the first three studies focused on Aboriginal women, all help to illustrate the power of women and their social networks for supporting and building social capital within their urban communities.

Susan Lobo's (2003) fieldwork in the San Francisco Bay area provides important insights into how women are assuming leadership roles among Aboriginal people living in cities. According to Lobo, Aboriginal people in the San Francisco Bay area are residentially dispersed within fluid social networks spanning rural and urban environments. The composition of these communities change as people change

residences, visit relatives and friends, or move from shelter to shelter. Aboriginal women (so-called "urban clan mothers") assume an important leadership role in these fluid new communities. Charismatic and energetic, they forge important informal networks, often based on extended family ties, linking urban Aboriginal households with nearby reservations (known as "reserves" in Canada), as well as local urban Aboriginal organizations, and a network of largely female community leaders. While Lobo's use of the term "urban clan mothers" is potentially problematic, it is undeniable that these community leaders are an important source of social capital for Aboriginal people in the Bay area and beyond.[9]

"Despite all the changes endured by indigenous people, many aspects of the traditional Native women's role have remained constant. Women are still responsible for maintaining culture, stabilizing the community, and caring for future generations. They still play an influential yet unrecognized and unappreciated role in the community" (Voyageur 2000:82). Like the matriarchs of Iroquois communal longhouses[10] (see Druke 1986), Aboriginal women elders are the core and foundation of urban Aboriginal social networks in the San Francisco Bay Area (Lobo 2003). In some cases, these urban clan mothers are members of several Aboriginal organizations. Their organizational ties,

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[9] The crucial role of Aboriginal women as organizational leaders at the hub of emerging urban social networks has also been documented by Fixico (2000), Peters (2000), Lagrand (2002), Peters and Starchenco (2005), Silver (2006), Ramirez (2007), and Thrush (2007). Although addressing different aspects of urban Aboriginal experiences, all of these scholars point to the need for extensive research on the flexible nature of urban Aboriginal communities.

[10] "Kinship was matrilineal and residence was matrilocal, each longhouse *was inhabited by a group of related adult women, their spouses and children*…. Within villages, the main organizing units were *matrilineally grouped women, who directed communal activities* such as planting and gathering, and councils of peace and war chiefs, the former arbitrating internal disputes and making alliances, and the latter deliberating on military actions. Decisions in council were generally made by consensus. No one was bound by a decision, however, although social pressure acted to induce acceptance of decisions made" (Druke 1986: 305). Lobo's (2003) uses the term, "urban clan mother" merely to suggest a symbolic likeness between matrilocal, Iroquoian clan mothers and the women elders described in her research in the San Francisco Bay area. I have elected to use Lobo's term within my dissertation for referencing the unofficial roles women leaders perform within their urban Aboriginal organizations.

combined with their active role as informal clan mothers, help them fulfill their traditional lead-roles within multi-family (extended households) groups that are the basis of pre-colonial Aboriginal social organizations.

As nodes within Aboriginal social networks, Lobo's (2003) "urban clan mothers" and their households act as anchors that stabilize their urban and rural communities. Some of these women are the heads of key households within their social networks. Within these households, women elders provide shelter, food, and other necessities as they are required (and as they can be financially afforded) (Lobo 2003:515-516). During the course of a single month, 38 people shared accommodations with one woman, her aunt, and their children. Lobo (2003) describes this household as comprising a shifting set of relatives, male friends, and their children. This apartment was not located in any United States Census tract; meaning that no household members filled out census forms delivered to their households. Often children and youth move fairly frequently between the households of extended family members. Specific case examples of urban clan mothers and their households are described below.

Lobo (2003:516) describes Delphina's kitchen as a "place to go to dip into the stream of information and communication that constantly flowed" about "what was happening in the community." Delphina was respected as a clan mother. Her kitchen served as an anchor-point within the Bay Area Aboriginal community. In another example, Lobo describes Bernice as a former Lakota Aboriginal activist (circa 1970s). Bernice often used her home as a meeting-place for activists. She acted as an elder and role-model, providing younger people a space for planning 'Indian Rights' actions, occupations, and marches in the Bay Area (Lobo 2003:518), and helping to encourage a

cohesive, shared cultural identity among local community members. Her house was also used for board meetings, potlucks, informal social gatherings, and for hosting religious ceremonies. There are obvious parallels between the key households Lobo describes and some of the Aboriginal organizations explored in this research.

Other nodes within Aboriginal social networks consist of organizations (e.g., community organizations, daycares, schools, churches, etc.), the majority of which were staffed by women. Some of these women were respected elders who had long-standing relationships of influence with community members. Many of these women had families of their own, but also held various positions within several key organizations (e.g., director, cooks, receptionists, counselors, etc.). Membership within these organizations was very flexible. Members would routinely move from organization to organization as they closed, downsized, or expanded (Lobo 2003:510). Some of these women also headed key households that housed visiting relatives, homeless kin and friends, coworkers, and colleagues on a temporary basis. All of these women played vital roles in supporting extended family-members, mobile individuals, and other circulating Aboriginal people.

After 30 years of study, Lobo has observed several unique features of the social networks of urban Aboriginal people in the San Francisco Bay area. Urban Aboriginal social networks: (1) contain key households and other Aboriginally-owned and operated organizations, (2) are multi-generational, (3) are multi-tribal, (4) are interlinked with rural communities (e.g., Tribal reservations, or reserves), (5) are increasing socio-economic class diversity, and (6) "create a framework for shared identity" and cultural history (Lobo 2001:78-79). Lobo's findings have advanced our understanding of cultural change

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within urban settings.

In another study, Skotnitsky and Ferguson (2005) found that women leaders developed "learning networks" spanning multiple organizations. More precisely, their consultants "revealed themselves to be a part of an interrelated network of community members… [and] members were often familiar with each other and brought with them an extensive web of relationships from which to build a learning network" (Skotnitsky and Ferguson 2005:37). These networks were also found to be "gold mines for peer mentoring and problem solving, mutual support, learning partnerships," connecting leaders to an "exponential number of other people outside the group who are resources and members of their own networks" (Skotnitsky and Ferguson 2005:37).

Other scholars demonstrate the differences in program development and social networking between male and female leaders. For instance, Wotherspoon (2003) found urban Aboriginal women living in cities are likely to be employed in managerial or professional occupations, working in the public sector and in Aboriginal organizations, and in private industries. Gittell and colleagues (1994, 1999) and Steffy (2008) found that when more women make up the boards of community organizations, they are likely to pursue more holistic and comprehensive programming directed at women, children and their households. The programs developed by these women are likely to include, but are not limited to, housing, education, health, arts and culture, economic development, politics and leadership training.

Women-led organizations (those with at least 60% female board members) focus more on the process of CED and less on their outcomes. Boards are less hierarchical, and in the case of Aboriginal organizations, operate based on a "sharing circle" and "council"

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forum rather than typical board hierarchies. Organizations (and many First Nations bands) that are led by male chiefs and directors tend to be more hierarchical in design and leaders tend to pursue more traditional "brick and mortar" (Gittell et al 1994) approaches to development, such as larger-scale economic development projects that may not help the people that need it most, such as women and families.

Further to this, Gittell and colleagues (1999) and Steffy (2008) found that women-based social networks were inclusive of local municipal and provincial political officials, as well as funders and intermediaries, yet lacked access to key funding and political networks (usually dominated by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men). Collaborations and coalitions are more likely to arise between organizations that make referrals to each other for services and where women leaders act on each other's boards. Silver (2009:44) confirms these findings stating that at least in Winnipeg, "these organizations are also, for the most part, led by exceptionally skilled and politically progressive Aboriginal women leaders."

Léveque (2003) found similar networks of CED in her study of Aboriginal people in Montreal. Léveque describes the networks she discovered in her study:

> Networks are being created whose effectiveness is seen when it is time to hire more staff or fill vacant positions. But these networks are also working in other circumstances, distributing information, encouraging mutual help, providing support, ending isolation and, at times, performing a mediatory role between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In addition, these networks do not only operate in the city. Their impact extends to the communities, given, as was underscored previously, the great mobility of the population as well as the new attitudes toward moving to the city or leaving the city. Ties forged between people from different communities or backgrounds are often maintained beyond the place of residence.
>
> (Leveque 2003:28)

While the Léveque (2003:27) study did not specifically examine women as leaders, one

survey she completed indicated that 23 out of 26 of her consultants were employed (or had been employed) in urban Aboriginal organizations. The question remains why Aboriginal women are drawn to work for urban organizations. The answer may be found in Indian Rights for Indian Women organizations, as discussed below.

Janovicek (2003) explains why there is a predominance of women leaders in Aboriginal organizations in Thunder Bay, Ontario. The repeal of the White Paper in 1969 helped galvanize efforts by First Nations for a new form of native activism, which would later encourage activism among Aboriginal women. Janovicek (2003) argues that the Indian Rights for Indian Women organizations founded in 1971 helped galvanize the activism of a growing population of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women protesting Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act and their subsequent loss of status. The Indian Rights for Indian Women helped mobilize support for legal action against the amendment and created new political opportunities for women in the organization. Janovicek (2003) also argues that the IRIW and other Aboriginal women movements rallied against male First Nation leaders' defense of Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act and their critique of Bill C-31. According to these male chiefs, Bill C-31 not only led to the reinstatement of Treaty status to Aboriginal women who had been stripped of their band-status, but also placed extreme financial pressures on First Nations band-councils to provide for larger population of members drawing on reserve funding.

In Manitoba, the lack of a more concerted effort between First Nations political organizations (such as the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs [or "AMC"] and the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak [or "MKO"]) and Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg is testimony to the fact that Aboriginal leaders are divided on how federal and provincial

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funding for Aboriginal people should allocated. How much should go to cities and how much to reserves? Male Aboriginal leaders tend to argue that urban Aboriginal organizations, now dominated by women, are competing for funds earmarked for First Nations band usage.

The Urban Aboriginal Strategy (or "UAS") and the federal government's relinquishing of control of urban Aboriginal people to the responsibilities of provincial and municipal governments has resulted in a redistribution of funds normally only available to First Nations band members to Aboriginal people living in Canadian cities. One of the organizations included in my dissertation research - the CAHRD receives federal funding through the Aboriginal Human Resource Development Agreement (or "AHRDA") and the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training (or "ASET") program. This organization receives funding for its urban programs, funding that would normally be directed to supporting the First Nations bands through organizations such as AMC and MKO.[11]

The jurisdictional division in funding between First Nations service providers and political organizations on reserve and those in cities is one outcome of negative social capital arising within and between their respective social networks. It is what Bourdieu (1980, 1983, 1986) attributes to leaders who have maximized their self-interest and control of contacts and the information and resources at their disposal. Later in chapter five, we will return to this discussion when Granovetter (1973), Bourdieu (1980, 1983, 1986), and Putnam's (2000) concepts of social capital are applied to understanding a hybrid type of organizational network observed within this study.

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[11] Additional information on the AHRDA can be found on the Government of Canada's website. Please refer to URL: http://www8.hrsdc.gc.ca/edrhe-ahrda/ententes-agreements-eng.asp

For now, we must acknowledge the lack of research that explores social capital accrued within the social networks of Aboriginal women leaders. Findings in this research confirm that women do dominate as leaders within a selection of the urban Aboriginal organizations sampled. These women are network brokers within the total network of Aboriginal organizations examined.

Today, women leaders, and to a lesser degree, their male counterparts, are heading community-based, urban grassroots Aboriginal organizations and are taking back what was taken from them. A new form of social capital is emerging within the networks of these organizational leaders that may more fairly and equally distribute benefits arising within them. The next section of the chapter presents a short literature review on research that examines urban Aboriginal organizations, especially those studies concerning social networks as sources of social capital.

Social Capital in Urban Aboriginal Organizations and the Communities they Serve

The movement of Aboriginal peoples from reserves to cities in Canada has resulted in increased interest by government agencies, academic researchers, and Aboriginal people in addressing the socio-economic and political challenges Aboriginal people are facing in cities such as Winnipeg. Two types of organizations have been developed to provide services to Aboriginal peoples and to represent their interests (Sookraj et al 2010). The most prominent of these organizations are First Nations, tribal councils, and Métis and Inuit political and advocacy organizations. Less well known, and less well studied, are urban organizations with pan-Aboriginal or status-blind mandates to provide services and programs to urban Aboriginal peoples, especially those found in low-income urban neighbourhoods. This section focuses on the latter type of urban

organization, examining problems faced by their leaders and the benefits accrued by their clients and members. What will become apparent is the lack of substantial research on this area of urban Aboriginal studies, especially concerning social capital.

Newhouse (2003) explains that Aboriginal people's interest in urban organizations began with community clubs and friendship centres formed in Canadian cities during the 1950s. Winnipeg's Indian and Métis Friendship Centre was established in 1954. By the 1960s, Indian and Métis Friendship centres had spread throughout Canada, growing from three in 1960 to 117 by 2002 (Newhouse 2003:244). Since 1970 friendship centres across Canada have assumed an informal social service role, helping to provide Aboriginal people services and programs within the contexts of their cultural values and practices. Such practices laid the groundwork for the emergence of more specialized urban Aboriginal community service organizations, including the ones that are the focus of this dissertation.

Silver (2009:42-43) estimates as many as 70 community-based Aboriginal organizations were in operation in Winnipeg alone by 2009. The first of this second wave of community service organizations was the Native Addictions Treatment Centre, followed by the Urban Circle Training Centre, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre (or "Ma Mawi"). By the 1990s a third wave of umbrella organizations began to appear, including the ACW and Thunderbird House.

Scholarship and research interest exploring these urban organizations has been slow to emerge. Early studies include: *Indian in the City* (Nagler 1970), *Indians on Skid Row* (Brody 1971), *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (Dosman 1972), *Success and Failure: Indians in urban society* (Stanbury and Siegel 1975), and *Urban Indians: The Strangers*

in Canada's Cities (Krotz 1980). Few of these studies actually examined the organizations that we now recognize are at the center of urban Aboriginal community development. It is only within the past ten years or so that studies by Peters (2000), Graham and Peters (2002), Hanselmann (2002), Loxley and Wien (2003), and Silver (2009) have provided substantial insights into the urban Aboriginal situation in Winnipeg, as well as the need for further studies into their organizations.

Peters (2000:258) raised research awareness regarding the importance of urban Aboriginal organizations for CED and "to examine political strength and visibility and provide support for resilient cultural identities". Hanselmann (2002) recommended that researchers focus their attention on an emerging cohort of exceptional leaders who were directing these organizations. Loxley and Wiens (2003) suggested that more innovative CED strategies and linkages were needed to help address problems faced by both urban and rural Aboriginal people alike. They noted that urban Aboriginal organizations, especially political ones, are probably important vehicles for CED. Silver (2009) raised awareness of the anti-poverty initiatives at the core of many of these organizations' mandates and the culture-based approaches by which these initiatives were informed. Finally, Graham and Peters (2002:11) described problems and challenges faced by these services and advocacy providers, namely: (1) tensions between service providers and Aboriginal political organizations, (2) limitations placed on organizations with charity status for spending no more than 10% of their budgets on advocacy, (3) a heavy reliance on provincial and federal government funding with complex reporting and accountability requirements, and (4) the distances separating urban organizations that pose challenges for them to network with each other.

The findings of these Canadian scholars (many of whose work focuses on Winnipeg) are echoed in similar studies in other cities across North America. However, there have been few contemporary studies examining and analyzing urban Aboriginal organizations. A few of note are: Weibel-Orlando's (1991) study of Aboriginal people and organizations in Los Angeles, California; Clatworthy and colleague's (1995) study of organizations in Edmonton, Toronto and Winnipeg; Janovicek's (2003) study of Aboriginal women in Thunder Bay, Ontario; Peters (2000), Skotnitsky and Ferguson (2005), and Silver's (2009) studies of organizations in Winnipeg; and Sookraj and colleagues (2010) study of organizations in Penticton, Kelowna, and Vernon, British Columbia. None of these studies, however, explore how leaders use their social networks to build social capital within their organizations.

The only research that has come close to achieving a comprehensive understanding of urban Aboriginal organizations was conducted by Gittell and colleagues (1999) who examined social capital and social change in community development organizations with female leaders. Other studies, such as Mignone and O'Neil (2005), Mignone and Henley (2009) and Lahn (2012), focus on the social capital emerging within rural and urban Aboriginal communities, but less on the organizations that stabilize and maintain them.

By focusing on the social networks of urban Aboriginal leaders in the City, my dissertation helps provide critical information currently missing from scholarship on urban Aboriginal organizations and people. While SNA is used to measure the social structure of actor network ties, we can determine levels and forms of social capital according to the total structure of all actors within the network and their collective ability

to produce measurable outcomes, such as joint program initiatives and partnerships.

Conclusions

This chapter has surveyed literature pertaining to theories of social capital and social networks, and situates urban Aboriginal organizations as one place were such capital is emerging. Communications technologies feature prominently in understanding the balance of strong and weak ties comprising the social networks of leaders in organizations explored in this research.

For our purpose, Bourdieu's definition of social capital helps to describe inequalities and hegemonies present between governmental and political bodies representing the community economic welfare and development of reserve and urban Aboriginal communities. Jurisdictions and policies spelled out in the Indian Act and enacted and controlled by the federal government (and to a lesser extent the provincial governments), have resulted in First Nations bands and the regional councils representing them maximizing control over resources and social capital spanning their networks. Band chiefs and Grand Chiefs of political organizations such as the AMC and Assembly of First Nations may benefit from their positions and access to knowledge, funding, and human capital within their networks. From this perspective, the average Aboriginal person, with few direct connections to councils, government agencies, and community groups has little choice or opportunity for improving their social capital. Similarly, the leaders of urban Aboriginal organizations may also benefit from "leadership legacies" if their networks do not create partnerships between the members of alliance networks present in the total network of actors examined in this study.

To succeed within this environment, the leaders of urban Aboriginal organization

must benefit from alliances with each other to form a common front. Such alliances, no doubt, increase levels of bonding social capital within the social networks of those interconnected leaders. However, as we learned earlier in our discussion of the negative consequence of social capital (i.e., leadership legacies), these urban organizations may inadvertently serve to exacerbate inequities and hegemonies existing within First Nations governance and control. Yet, with the advent of the Internet and other CMC technologies, it is becoming harder and harder to control access to information and resources. Perhaps this is why band-type organizations rely so much more on face to face interactions, and so much less on CMC, than do the hybrid ones which proliferated in the past three decades in cities like Winnipeg. It is in understanding the rise of grassroots urban organizations that the work of Coleman (1988, 1990, and 1993) and Putnam (1995, 2000) is most helpful. Their work helps explain how the leaders of key urban Aboriginal organizations are using their social networks to coordinate and deliver services to members of more inclusive urban Aboriginal communities, thereby promoting the development of social capital and CED.

What is important to note here is that there are costs associated with the arrangement of social ties interconnecting people within social networks. Many weak ties indicate low levels of social trust and reciprocity, indicating more instrumental and temporary social arrangements. Many strong social ties indicate higher levels of social trust and reciprocity. But lacking weak ties, group behaviour may become insular and thereby limit peoples' ability to innovate and to network with people and organizations that are external to such networks. Without such contacts, new sources of capital and potential partnerships are limited. Therefore, a balance of strong and weak ties within

social networks is required. Such balanced relations involve the use of both mediated and

unmediated communications: mediated forms for accessing new entities and unmediated

forms for building strong connections with those entities.

Aboriginal organizational leaders who have more balanced levels of weak and

strong ties are well positioned to learn about and access resources, partnerships with other

organizations, and through their network alliances, innovate new ways of providing

services and support to clients of all organizations within their networks. Together these

actors will help to bolster social capital within their organizations. These community

brokers are the social entrepreneurs and innovators who are not only brokering resources

and funds for their individual organizations but also helping to socially interconnect

Aboriginal people throughout Canada. To combat urban poverty, 'ghettoization' and

social-cultural fragmentation, organizational members may use their social network

connections to maximize their access to information, resources, and social contacts.

It remains to be seen how the structure of the total network of actors spanning the

eight organizations in this study bridge social and cultural divides affecting how

successful these organizations can be in achieving their particular mandates and

community development objectives. I argue that some Aboriginal organizations are

serving as coalition-factions[12] or political agents for advancing Aboriginal rights, self-

governance, and community development. These factions are comprised of network

actors who are members of several Aboriginal organizations described in this study. Such

alliances represent sources of social capital for urban Aboriginal people.

Some organizations are partnered, while others are not. Partnered organizations

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[12] Coalitions are temporary alliances of "distinct parties for a limited purpose" functioning to produce
social and cultural capital in urban settings where formal structures are either inaccessible or avoided
(Boissevain 1974:171).

seem better able to assist each other and are more likely to support each other's visions, mandates, and policies. However, partnerships do not occur naturally but are brokered by individual actors who use their positions and connections within and between other members to communicate and exchange with each other. How actors communicate has a profound effect on their ability to broker partnerships and exchanges, not only between organizations, but with government and other funding agencies.

Whether or not these organizations are succeeding in their missions and mandates for socially networking with the wider Aboriginal community in Winnipeg is yet to be determined. Do members of residentially mobile communities, such as Aboriginal people in the Winnipeg census metropolitan areas, form social ties and networks that differ in structure from the networks of less residentially mobile people? Why might Aboriginal neighbourhood and community organizations be important for such people? If Aboriginal social networks and key nodes help provide social support and social stability to urban dwellers that are residentially mobile, what role does the Internet and other CMC technologies play in unifying their goals, interests, and needs? Do Aboriginal women act as network nodes within their informal and formal circles of colleagues and friends? The remaining chapters address some of these questions while leaving others to future research.

Later, in chapter four, I will describe each organization in this study according to whether it fits an "institutional" social structure –producing more bridging social capital based on an abundance of weak social ties, or a "grassroots" social structure –producing more bonding social capital based on an abundance of strong social ties. A third social structure is also possible –namely when leaders and their contacts employ a hybrid of

institutional and grassroots approaches that produce a balance of strong and weak ties, along with their product, bonding and bridging social capital. Examination of these categories serves to generalize the basic arrangements of social ties, and subsequently the types of social capital arising within the network of leaders connected to them. A measurement and assessment of this social capital is provided through two specific research methodologies explored in the next chapter of this dissertation, that is, SNA and more participatory, urban ethnographic techniques.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODS & DESIGN:
Social Network Analysis and Urban Ethnography

The methods used in this research project included formal and open-ended in-person interviews with leaders of Aboriginal service agencies, written surveys administered through online Internet-based programs, and participant-observation of the daily operation of each organization. This research also incorporated special methods and protocols for engaging in social scientific research with Aboriginal people, as outlined in the National Aboriginal Health Organization's, "OCAP–Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession" (NAHO 2007) document. Every effort was made to address and follow guidelines and principles set out in the OCAP. This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba's Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board according to the "Tri-Council Policy Statement" on ethical conduct for research involving human subjects (see Appendix 1, Section A).

The focus of the data gathering was to identify significant information and support networks among organization leaders. Network graphs were generated through the application of SNA software that applied mathematical algorithms to the survey data. These graphs illustrate and map existing and perceived social network structures linking eight Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg, and provide information on social capital. Participant-observation and interviews provide detailed, anecdotal information on consultant network interactions, organizational partnerships and communication strategies, and consultant-actor interpretations of their relations.

Methods and Protocols Regarding Research on Aboriginal People

I am well aware of the special methods and protocols involved in doing research with Aboriginal people and their communities. This section describes special methods regarding the research process (Page 1988; Briggs 1994) and problems associated with researcher "positionality" (Kondo 1990; Narayan 1993) and the interpretation of data (Dwyer 1982). I not only comprehend these fieldwork challenges but have applied my understanding to working with my research consultants and their organizations.

Research involving First Nations and Aboriginal peoples and communities involve a special set of methods, ethics, and protocols. Above all, I was guided by regulations outlined in OCAP (or "Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession"), an internationally recognized policy that has been sanctioned by the Assembly of First Nations. The policy was developed by the National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO 2007) and gives Aboriginal people and their communities the "right to make decisions about what, why, how, and by whom information is collected, as well as how it will be used and shared" (NAHO 2007:4). The policy is divided into four sections. OCAP regulations are clearly presented in this National Aboriginal Health Organization manual (2007:4-5):

- *Ownership*: "a community or group owns information collectively in the same way that an individual owns their personal information."

- *Control*: "First Nations, their communities, and representative bodies are within their rights in seeking to control all aspects of research and information management processes which impact them… from conception to completion."

- *Access*: "First Nations people must have access to information and data about themselves and their communities, regardless of where it is currently held."

- *Possession*: "although not a condition of ownership per se, possession (of data) is a mechanism by which ownership can be asserted and protected."
  The principles of the OCAP have been adopted throughout the research process.

I was respectful and honest while working with the consultants, and organizational staff and volunteers at each research site. Values of respect and honest were also followed by the staff, volunteers and clients at each organization; being two principle aspects of Aboriginal cultural philosophies described within various iterations of the Seven Sacred Teachings.

Strictly speaking, the Seven Sacred Teachings employed by organizational staff are what Hobshawm and Ranger (1983) calls an "invented tradition". They have arisen from traditional cultural values that transcend particular First Nations groups (though perhaps they are most closely aligned with traditional Ojibwa spiritual values). These have been adapted to an urban milieu over the past two or three generations to inform and situate revitalized cultural practices which grassroots organizations tend to apply through their programming. Such values are important for building rapport with consultants, but more importantly for applying indigenous ethics to the research process in a meaningful way. However, to clarify the actual processes involved in the OCAP, more precise protocols have been gleaned from "Reflections on Research With, For, and Among Indigenous Peoples," by Charles Menzies (2001).

There are four basic steps described in Menzies (2001:22): (1) initiate dialogue, (2) refine research plan, (3) conduct research, and (4) writing, analysis, revision and distribution. In the first stage Damon Johnston, the President of the ACW and this researcher's first consultant, was given a research proposal outlining what and how research would be carried out within his office and within the Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg Inc. (or "ACWI"). As a member in good standing within the ACWI, the ACW was the perfect place to begin my research project. Johnston was also one of the first

people I met when I first visited the ACWI in 2008. Johnson was very interested in my project, and after consulting with his council and board, he provided me with verbal and written consent to begin research at the ACW (see Johnston's letter in Appendix 1, Section B). The process of contacting and receiving consent was repeated within the boards and/or councils in each of the Aboriginal organizations explored in this research.

Throughout this research, consultants would occasionally ask for clarification of the purpose, processes, and instruments to be used in this study. I have interpreted these queries as an expression of each consultant's level of interest in the research process itself.[13] Aside from the ACW and SCO, the organizations in this research are not representative of any specific Aboriginal "community" or First Nation, but according to the principals outlined in the OCAP, may be treated as such. This brings us to the next stage in the research process, refining the research plan.

The second stage involved refining the research plan according to consultant availability. In a few instances, the formal interview of a consultant occurred weeks after I had moved on to another Aboriginal organization within this project.

The third stage of the research process concerned how data was to be gathered and research conducted. In respect of the knowledge and needs of people involved, it was important to treat consultants and others as research partners. A research partnership helps guarantee that knowledge and information learned in a study is transferred back to the research community (or organization). Most consultants' work schedules prevented them from actively participating as co-researchers. However, all consultants participated

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[13] Proof of consultant interest in the research process is provided in their adoption of tools and techniques used in this project. For instance, there were several occasions when a survey instrument, such as "Survey Monkey," was adopted for use within an organization, or when a staff re-evaluated the roles and value social network contacts play in CED within their organization.

as equals in the research process by helping me to refine how data was gathered (e.g., by an online survey instrument), and each person volunteered new information as it became available. Consultants also invited me to attend meetings, community events, and other activities associated with their organizations. Additionally, it became apparent that consultants spoke to each other about the research being completed within their offices and were often privy to the research plan even before it was formally introduced to them. This should come as no surprise, given this project's focuses on consultant social network ties and their interconnectivity.

The final stage of the research involved analyzing data, composing the dissertation, revising, and distributing the document to organization representatives. Menzies (2001) recommends that every effort be made by the researcher to apprise consultants of research results, or minimally, to present organizations with final drafts. The aim here is to "democratize access to specialized research skills and resources as much as possible so that research can be conducted in the community and by the community" (Menzies 2001:22). While I attempted to maintain communication with consultants throughout the research process, scheduling conflicts resulted in infrequent exchanges once interviews had been completed. Given that consultants were disinterested in the process of analyzing research findings, or of composing the dissertation, this researcher promised to provide a copy of the dissertation to each organization, as well as an abridged version of the document summarizing key pieces of information. Raw data gleaned from personal information obtained from consultants who wished to remain anonymous would be shared with those consultants only. All other references to those consultants in this research are coded using special pseudonyms, described in chapter

four.

The research protocol outlined by Menzies (2001) provides a guideline that I have followed to the best of my ability throughout the research process. I also am aware that my presence as a non-Aboriginal person may have affected how consultants and others within each organization acted or shared information. Therefore a brief examination of researcher "positionality" and the research process itself is to follow.

The concept of "positionality" in cultural anthropology pertains to how an anthropologist describes his or her own social position in relation to the people he or she is working with and describing. In my case, this involved working within the offices of Aboriginal organizations where a majority of people encountered there were of "Aboriginal Identity."[14] I am a Caucasian, middle-class academic, who was born and raised in Winnipeg. I was recognized as a minority in my organizational field sites and was, initially, continually reminded of this fact while doing research with Aboriginal consultants or observing within their offices.

I am very fortunate to have been accepted and encouraged by not only my consultants, but also other leaders within the Aboriginal organizations examined in this research. I respect and hold in high regard, all participants in this research project. I am well aware that my presence may have interrupted (or delayed) regular daily business routines and practices. I attempted to be respectful and thankful to people when they provided assistance, advice, or information. The practices of cultural relativism and

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[14] Aboriginal Identity, "refers to those persons who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group, that is North American Indian, Métis, or Inuit" (Statistics Canada 2006, Census Dictionary). Also included are individuals who did not report an Aboriginal identity, but did report themselves as a Registered or Treaty Indian, and/or with Band or First Nation membership. Eighty-nine percent of people self-identifying as being of 'Aboriginal Identity' also have Aboriginal Ancestry (Newhouse and Peters 2003: 17; Statistics Canada 2006d).

reflexivity were employed throughout the research process and during the composition of this dissertation.

Thankfully, I felt very welcome in each of the Aboriginal organizations that I worked within, but was well aware that my presence may have altered how people normally communicated and socially interacted (i.e., the observer's paradox). The observer's paradox was minimized due to the fact that over 40 hours of participant-observations were completed within the offices of each organization. Rapport between my consultants and me was unevenly distributed. While the majority of consultants were very friendly and accommodating, others acted more restrained and "business-like". Rapport with my consultants (and others within each organizational office) improved over time, especially when I attended board meetings, ceremonies (e.g., pipe ceremonies), workshops, seminars, or large conferences pertaining to community development.

Having followed principles and protocols outlined in the OCAP, as well as guidelines presented in Menzies (2001), I commenced research by contacting the first of my consultants. The process and methods through which these consultants and organizations were revealed is outlined in the section that follows.

The Research Participants

Study participants, or consultants, were identified through the method of 'chain-referral' or snowball sampling. This technique is widely used in SNA and is especially useful in locating hard-to-reach or hidden populations (see Coleman 1958; Goodman 1961; Frank 1979; Spreen 1992).

A snowball sample begins when the researcher selects the first participant to be

surveyed and interviewed. This person (an "actor" in SNA parlance) is asked to refer the researcher to one or two other key social contacts within their social network. The second and third actors are then contacted and asked to refer the researcher to one or two of their key contacts, and so on until the network is saturated, or the researcher draws the sample to a close.

I chose not to use random sampling methods in my research for three reasons. First, the number of primary and secondary network consultant-actors who completed my survey is too small for reliable statistical analysis. Second, the diverse nature of the organizations of which these actors are members poses challenges to their statistical analysis. Finally, it would be counterproductive to sample the entire population of organizational actors currently aiding and supporting Aboriginal people in Winnipeg since this research identifies the informal (and normally undisclosed) social networks of contacts actors use to partner, access and share information and resources.

Fieldwork for this project began on October 1, 2010, at the offices of the ACW and ended at the offices of the EUTC on September 30, 2011. Before commencing my fieldwork at each of the eight research sites selected for this research I explained my research project to key consultants at each organization and asked them to sign informed consent forms. I asked these primary consultants to complete the online surveys. A template of this consent form can be found in Appendix 1, Section C. I later met with consultants to review their survey responses for accuracy and completeness. These interviews were labeled, "post-survey interviews." These informal interviews also allowed me to validate other observations and assessments I made while compiling data from other social network surveys.

Research began with Damon Johnston at the ACW. Once he had completed my online survey and had been interviewed, he referred me to three important contacts, an independent consultant (described as ACW-1 later in this report), CAHRD's executive director Marileen Bartlett, and SPCW's executive director Wayne Helgason. Surveys were completed with these contacts and new key contacts were provided at the University of Winnipeg through Jennifer Rattray, and Kanikanichihk through Leslie Spillett. Helgason was contacted once several other actors identified him as a person of importance. After Helgason had completed surveys and interviews, he identified four important contacts (SPCW-1, described later in this report) and three others I had already surveyed and interviewed. I established contact with SPCW-1, who identified Helgason as the most important and influential contact in her social network.

The chain-referral sample continued within the offices of Kanikanichihk with Leslie Spillett, who was a very important 'grassroots' leader referred to me by Marileen Bartlett. Before Spillett would agree to participate in my research she asked me to present her with tobacco, which is a traditional Aboriginal protocol when asking advice from an elder. I respectfully complied with her request and she agreed to be my consultant. Spillett asked me how my research would undo the effects of colonialism on Aboriginal peoples. I discussed my research thesis with her and described how I hoped that my work would reveal how Aboriginal community organizations in Winnipeg combined traditional Aboriginal and mainstream Canadian cultural values that bolstered their communities. Reassured, she agreed to be my consultant and was surveyed and interviewed.

Spillett referred me to four contacts, two of whom were not identified by my other consultants. Both worked at Kanikanichihk, including the chief financial officer (Kani-1),

and a council member (Kani-2). Both were surveyed and interviewed. They in turn

referred me to Jennifer Rattray at the University of Winnipeg and Nahanni Fontaine at

the SCO. I established contact with these women, who completed the surveys and

interviews, as well as supplying me with additional contacts – including Cora Morgan at

Onashowewin and one of her key contacts (Onash-1), and Jason Whitford at the EUTC

and two key contacts (EUTC-1 and EUTC-2). Due to time constraints, I concluded my

fieldwork at this time.

Methods in Urban Anthropology: Participant-Observation and Interviews

Given that this research seeks to understand the social networks of Aboriginal

organizations based in Winnipeg, the methodology of urban anthropology (Foster and

Kemper 2010), or "anthropology at home" (Peirano 1998) is utilized. In contrast to

classic cultural and social anthropological studies examining "exotic" non-Western

peoples in rural contexts, urban anthropology focuses its attention on people living in

cities and towns. The former type of anthropology was believed to produce accurate and

holistic ethnographies on peoples living within bounded locales, such as within village

camps or on islands.

The basic argument in support of such studies –and in fact most studies prior to

the 1980s– was that the study of "the other" made it possible for anthropologists to

identity patterns and relationships in people's behavior and beliefs that would normally

be hidden. By situating the anthropologist as the "outside" observer and participant, the

anthropologist was thought to be objective and academically productive. With urban

anthropology, where anthropologists often work within industrialized cities and study

people in social contexts that are very familiar to them, the insider-outsider advantage is

of little benefit.

A counterargument to this limitation of urban studies comes from post-modern critiques of the anthropological enterprise itself (Derrida 1974; Lyotard 1984; Clifford and Marcus 1986). Anthropology is described as a discipline of and for colonialism (Asad 1974; Said 1977). Nineteenth-century and early twentieth century ethnographies of non-Western peoples presented cultures as reified and frozen in the "ethnographic present." The 'voices' of the people anthropologists were said to represent were obscured, hidden, misunderstood, or in some cases, misrepresented altogether. Add to this the fact that globalization has resulted in increased migration rates of people from rural areas to urban areas, and from peripheral-third world (where many of the early studies of people were based) to core-first world nations. These migration flows have resulted in many more people living in ethnically, culturally, and linguistically 'mixed' or blended city neighbourhoods, than in prior times.

The "process by which rural emigrants settle in and adjust to urban life" is called urbanization (Foster and Kemper 2010:11). Until the 1960s few anthropologists would have regarded such formerly rural peoples as valid subjects for their historically rural and "exotic-oriented" studies of "the other." Since anthropologists typically immersed themselves within the cultures of their subjects, using ethnographic methods to solicit normally unthought-of and often unacknowledged details of peoples' cultural lives, an urban anthropology and its "insider ethnographic techniques" were thought to be antithetical to the whole anthropological enterprise. The trouble was that the classic ethnographer's subject, the "exotic" outsider, was gradually disappearing into the decontextualizing and homogenizing landscape of the city.

One of the first and boldest attempts to introduce an urban anthropology was suggested by two scholars during the 1980s. Book titles of "Anthropology at Home" appeared in publications by Messerschmidt (1981) and Jackson (1987). Scholars began to denounce anthropology's colonial proclivity in studying the exotic and non-Western, and helped deconstruct and set aside dialectics of 'home vs. abroad,' 'primitive vs. civilized', and 'exotic vs. commonplace' (Spindler and Spindler 1983:73). The bi-focal perspective of the outsider studying the insider may have worked in the past when European colonies had spread across the world, but now the other has migrated into 'our backyards' and are living in 'our cities'.

According to Messerschmidt (1981:1), anthropology-at-home "is not a fad; neither is it a stop gap for unemployed Ph.Ds. It is, instead, a well-established branch of anthropology that has deep roots and a strong heritage." According to Peirano (1998: 122-123), anthropology-at-home is a "kind of inquiry developed in the study of one's own society, where 'others' are both ourselves and those relatively different from us, whom we see as part of the same collectivity." Peirano, Messerschmidt, and Jackson's assessments of urban anthropology as a legitimate social science are supported by other scholars, including Srinivas (1966), Geertz (1983), Moffat (1992), Kuper (1994), Marcus (1995), Rabinow (1996), Gupta and Ferguson (1997) and many others. Yet there are many challenges to urban cultural studies that need to be considered, mainly concerning the ethnographic research process itself.

Classic ethnographic approaches rely on first-hand, holistic portrayals of homogenous cultural and ethnic populations that reportedly describe the 'whole' of social life. The amorphous and heterogeneous quality of city populations poses challenges to

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this, our ethnographic endeavour. The greatest challenge to urban anthropology, however, lies with assumptions sustained within the discipline as a whole, namely, that the value of anthropology is "making the strange familiar and the familiar strange." What is lost when the subjects of this new urban anthropology are people within our own culture, or are people who have acculturated to Western values? The answer, of course, is that insights are not lost, but anthropologists are forced to recognize their discipline as based on a colonial mindset, reinforced by a positivistic disposition.

Objectivity is no less guaranteed by the practice of classic ethnography for describing rural, non-Western peoples as "insider ethnography" (Messerschmidt 1981) or "ethnography at home" (Rabinow 1996) as it is for describing peoples in an ethnic enclave or inner-city slum. Good ethnography is based on establishing rapport with people within a particular community, and allowing them as co-authors of the research process to act as expert witnesses and interpreters of their own 'brand' of cultural or ethnic experience.

Urban anthropology is especially relevant in the study of Aboriginal people who have migrated from reserves to the city. As will be demonstrated in chapter four, Aboriginal people have mainly clustered within inner-city neighbourhoods in the North End and downtown areas of Winnipeg. Despite the many Aboriginal cultures these people represent, they are an identifiable and distinct population with specific population demographics. When we narrow our research focus to the set of people comprising the leaders and supporting contacts of a host of urban Aboriginal organizations in the city, our project is refined even further. My research examines the social capital arising through social networks spanning these organizations and members. There is no need to

identity or describe particular cultural or ethnic groups. In fact the idea of the 'social group' (bounded and complete) is dispensed with altogether in SNA, which views populations as sets of nodes or actors socially interconnected for achieving common agendas and/or for collectively constructing, defending, and reinforcing a common identity. Also, the research methods used in urban anthropology (see Foster and Kemper 2010) parallel similar methods underscored in the protocols and methods used in research involving indigenous communities and organizations (Menzies 2001).

The only difference between the ethnographic methods used in this research and those used in classic, rural ethnographies is the depth of participant-observation experienced by the anthropologist within the field. Gold (1958), Schatzman and Strauss (1973), and Spradley (1980) all describe typologies of the participant observer's role that identify four levels of participation. These typologies include: (1) the complete participant, (2) moderate participation in order to observe and learn the cultural rules of behaviour, (3) passive participation, predominantly observing with limited participation, and (4) the complete observer with no interaction.

Passive participant-observation was employed to learn the day-to-day operations of each of the eight organizations within this study. The researcher assisted staff within each office, spoke with fellow employees, and read and took notes on various reports and bylaws. My focus was on the interactions of staff, volunteers and clients. I spent 35-40 hours at each organization over the course of two to three weeks. In total, 240 hours were dedicated to observing staff, volunteers, and clients. A profile of each organization was produced and key network actors were surveyed and interviewed.

Twenty-five hours of interviews with primary and secondary consultant-actors

were recorded and transcribed. Secondary consultants are the key network contacts primary consultant-actors rely on most closely for achieving the mandates of each organization. Interviews of primary and secondary consultants took place after I had completed my participant-observation of all Aboriginal organizations included in this study. An interview guide was developed using a combination of my observations, post-survey interview results, and questions that arose regarding the network of contacts each consultant constructed via the social network survey instrument. Examples of these questions include: list of contacts, length of contact relationship, primary form of communication, contacts' relationship (co-worker, family, friends, etc.), types of exchanges (assistance, social/emotional support, brainstorming, etc.), who is an up-and-coming leader, and whether or not each consultant contact knows and interacts with each other contact. A full list survey and interview questions are provided in Appendix 2, Sections A–D.

While participant-observation was used to build profiles of each Aboriginal organization and provide information on the day-to-day operations of each organization, interview questions provided expert emic accounts and anecdotal interpretations of my own social network and participant-observations. Data from consultant interviews helped substantiate and clarify social relations identified in each consultant's social network survey. The online demographic and communication-usage surveys yielded information on each consultant's personal background, and the types and frequencies of their use of communication media.

When my field research was completed, the total social network of 151 individual network actors, comprising eight primary actors (who were surveyed and interviewed),

nine secondary actors (contacts of primaries, who were surveyed and interviewed), and 134 tertiary or subsidiary actors who were linked by a total of 213 undirected ties (also called relations). Two hundred and ninety distinct social ties link this network of actors together, effectively interconnecting (formally and informally) all eight organizations of interest in this study.

Primary consultant actors are the people that I initially contacted at each organization. These people occupy key positions in their organizations, such as executive director, president, or lead coordinator, and they were my principal consultants. Each participated in two online surveys (demographic and social network) and two separate in-person interviews (informal post-survey, and formal and closed-format). Through snowball sampling each primary consultant provided me with lists of their key social contacts (i.e., secondary consultant-actors). In the jargon of SNA, primary consultants are likely to function as network bridges, brokers, and gatekeepers[15] within their social networks.

Secondary consultant actors are important social contacts comprising each primary actor`s organization-related social network. Each secondary actor participated in two online surveys (demographic and social network) and two separate in-person interviews (informal and open-ended, and formal and closed-format). These actors were fellow employees, volunteers, and/or clients within the organization of each primary actor. Each primary actor was asked to name two to three secondary contacts with whom

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[15] *Network bridges* are people that interconnect other clusters of people, or an organization that interconnects with other clusters of organizations. *Network brokers* are people or organizations who are located between other people or organizations, and thus act to transmit, translate, or block communication between parties. *Network gatekeepers* are similar to network brokers, but do not possess the knowledge/expertise, resources, or social connections to control information flow or to translate information. *Gatekeepers* either allow or prevent communication and resource flows between people, and/or organizations in which they are adjacent (in network terms).

they routinely and actively interacted and communicated with in their daily operations of their organizations.

Tertiary actors consist of all other social network contacts in the social networks of each primary and secondary actor. Tertiary actors were not interviewed, nor did they participate in online surveys as the secondary and primary actors had done. Information on each tertiary actor's social relations and ties is limited to direct ties to specific primary and secondary actors. Relations interconnecting tertiary actors could not be assessed and described due to confidentiality issues concerning the naming of all individuals in the network and due to the fact that few tertiary contacts responded to the requests of primary and secondary consultants to participate in the social network survey.

Limitations of the snowball sampling method include oversampling people who are socially connected (i.e., have large networks of contacts) and under-sampling of outliers (who have fewer social connections), as well as those people who are unconnected to the total network (Bernard 2006:193). I attempted to correct for this by using a formal interview guide that directed all consultants to describe and substantiate their actual social network relationships (including those not mentioned on the social networks survey). All consultants were asked to identify twelve to fifteen social contacts they relied on and communicated within and external to their organizations. Primary consultants were also asked to identify one to three key secondary contacts they relied on more extensively and frequently.[16] Social network contacts who wished to remain anonymous were not surveyed or interviewed in this research. The impacts of "masking" or not naming contacts contained in each consultant's network were minimized given that

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[16] An ethical concern that may have arisen when one consultant identified a social contact who wished to remain anonymous was rectified by asking each primary consultant to inform and gain the consent of each of their social contacts before releasing their names to the researcher.

the names and identities of all tertiary and some secondary actors were not specifically identified in the final report.

Research Design and Measures

Quantitative data on consultants observed and interviewed in this research was collected using two online survey instruments: Survey Monkey[17] and Network Genie.[18] All primary and secondary consultants were directed to a secure, password-protected list of questions that directed them to provide multiple choice answers to survey questions based on survey-specific scales.

Demographic and communications data were elicited from research consultants who answered survey questions on the Survey Monkey website – including general information on each consultant. Consultants were asked to provide their name, gender, age, cultural identity and status (i.e., treaty and/or registered), band/tribal membership, postal code of residence and whether they owned or rented their place of residence, number of persons in their household, marital status and presence/number of children, education and employment, and current occupation and yearly income. The Survey Monkey instrument also asked consultants to provide information on the types and frequencies of their communication technology and media usage at work and at home, including face-to-face relations. Communication media included were land-line telephone, and CMC media including cellular and smart phones, computer-directed Internet browsing and email. Consultants were also asked to provide their frequencies of usage of each mode of communication and whether such media were used at work, home,

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[17] *Survey Monkey* is a pay-per-use online survey instrument located at http://www.surveymonkey.com.
[18] *Network Genie* is a pay-per-use online social network survey instrument located at https://secure.networkgenie.com.

or both. Scales of usage included: never, rarely (1-3/year), once or less per month (1</month), few times a month (2-7/month), few times per week (2-6/week), once or twice a day (1-2/day), or several times per day (3-10/day).

SNA data was elicited from research consultants using survey questions accessed via Network Genie. Both name-generators and name-interpreters were used to produce lists and descriptions of each consultant's social network of contacts. The objective of these surveys was to elicit information on each research consultant, but also to describe the social structure of relationships comprising their personal social networks (as pertaining to their organizations of membership). Binary and multi-category nominal scales helped restrict (and reduce) each consultant's answers to a selection of possible outcomes, thereby allowing for statistical application and mathematical network analysis. These surveys are presented in Appendix 2 Sections A and B.

A binary scale was used for each name-generator questions for identifying actors composing each consultant's social network, highlighting those contacts a consultant worked extensively during the six-months prior to them being surveyed. Relations were presented as either present (described as "1") when a contact was named, or absent (described as "0").

Multi-category nominal scales were used to interpret and qualify the duration of each relationship (i.e., 5+ years, 2-5 years, 1-2 years, 6 months to 1 year, less than 1 year), communication media utilized (i.e., in-person, telephone/cellular, email, text messaging), the types of relations (i.e., family/kin, close friendship, acquaintanceship, business contact), and the content of each relation (i.e., advice/info/brainstorming, business assistance, social/emotional support). Consultants were asked to name one

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contact who was likely to become a leader in the Aboriginal community of Winnipeg.

And finally, and most importantly, each consultant was asked to identity social network

contacts that communicated and socially interacted with each other. Although subjective

in nature, this last question produced 'likely' social interconnections linking tertiary

network actors with each other. These relations are expressed on the network maps as

'possible' social ties (expressed as dotted lines on the graph) and cannot be validated

without asking each tertiary actor about their 'actual' relationships with all actors on the

total network.

SNA was employed to better understand the networks of social relationships that

inform, communicate, and socially connect Aboriginal organizations with Aboriginal

leaders, organizational clients, and/or volunteers. Structural measures are statements

about the theoretical likelihood that a person will "transact" (or interact) with others

within their social network. SNA provides information on three sets of subjects: actors,

dyads (social relations or ties between two actors), triads (social relations among three

actors), and sub-graphs (clusters, factions, or cliques). This research project focused both

on actors and the sub-graphs describing their various allegiances, partnerships, and

coalitions.[19]

Micro-level analysis focuses on the actors (i.e., nodes) and ties comprising each

actor-consultant's personal social network. Network mapping begins by establishing the

social network of the first consultant surveyed and moves out to the networks of other

actors. Each primary and secondary consultant surveyed in this research makes up an

anchor point within the total social network spanning the eight Aboriginal organizations

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[19] While some researchers equate "actors" with "nodes", in this dissertation I distinguish actors, who are living individuals, from nodes, which are the representation of actors in network graphs that are generated from quantitative data using SNA software.

included in my research. While each anchor's primary zone consists of their personal network of contacts, their secondary zones overlap and comprise the total network of all nodes examined through SNA. For more information on anchorage in social networks, please refer to Mitchell (1969, 1973, 1974), Kapferer (1969), and Boissevain (1974).

Three key areas of analysis of social networks are network Centrality, Social Cohesion, and Brokerage. Centrality measures provide local network, or micro-level data on the contacts comprising each consultant's personal network. Degree-centrality is a measure of the number of contacts each actor is connected to within their personal networks. Closeness-centrality is a measure of how close an actor is to all other actors within the total network. Betweenness-centrality is a measure of how well positioned each actor is between other members of the total network. The remaining two areas of analysis provided meso- and macro-level data pertaining to the overall social cohesion and levels of communication of actors' total network relations, along with more detailed data on those actors occupying key positions as brokers, gatekeepers, and/or communication hubs within the total network. While social network cohesion was examined through measures of density, fragmentation, and sub-group or social cluster-formations including social cliques, brokerage measures highlight those actors who direct, block, translate, or steer communications and service resources between Aboriginal organizations. Brokerage is calculated using an algorithm for determining eigenvector-centrality. Eigenvector-centrality is a measure of how well connected an actor is to other well-connected actors within the global network, or total network of actors.

Local Network Metrics (Micro- and Meso-Level)

Centrality-measures help us identify the extent that social networks facilitate, restrict, or regulate the flow of information and social resources between members of a particular social network. According to Freeman (1977, 1979), and more recently, Hanneman and Riddle (2005), measures of centrality are measures of an actor's relative 'power' over other actors in their network. "Actors who have more ties to other actors may be advantaged in their positions. An individual does not have power in the abstract, they have power because they can dominate others; ego's power is alter's dependence" (Hanneman and Riddle 2005:147). More power can be wielded in networks containing members who have close, face-to-face, regular communications and multiple social relationships (e.g., kinship, friends, and co-workers) with each other. However, network analysts are more likely to treat their approaches as descriptions of centrality rather than descriptions of power.

My research measures: degree-centrality, closeness-centrality, betweenness-centrality, and the eigenvectors of actors within the total social network of eight Aboriginal organizations. Actors with higher scores on degree, closeness, and betweenness tend to be 'closer' to the center of the action in a network. Their relative positioning with other more influential members increases their capacity to contact others, receive and send information, access and control resources and services, and to petition private and governmental organizations for financial funding and support.

Degree-centrality is the most simple of social network metrics measuring how well an actor is connected to other actors in the network. An actor's importance within a network is measured according to the number of social ties connecting him or her to others. By definition, degree-centrality is the number of ties a node has within its

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network, or the total number of people a node can reach directly through his or her social ties. It is illustrated using a hypothetical example in Figure 3.1. In this example Iris is directly connected to six different individuals while Frank and Thomas are directly connected to only three people respectively. Iris has the highest level of degree centrality in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 – Illustration of Degree-centrality in Network Analysis
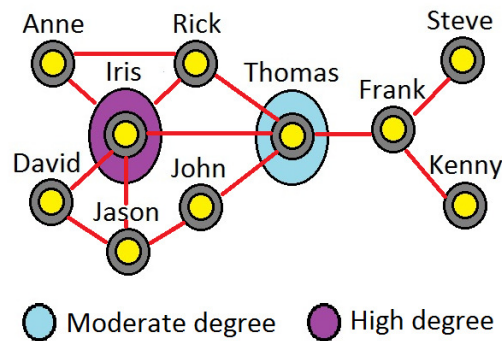
An actor's degree-centrality[20] measures the number of direct social ties with others in their social network. The more accessible an actor is to others in their social networks, the greater their potential social capital. Centrality varies inversely with total network density. The greater the density, the less central actors are within the network. The influence an actor can exert on other actors within a network rises with network size (Braungard 1976:202), or the volume of his or her social contacts. Degree-centrality can sometimes work to an actor's disadvantage, however, if they are connected to others (i.e., alters) who are themselves well-connected (Bonacich 1987). In such cases, highly connected alters are not dependent on their relations with a particular actor, regardless of the actor's degree-centrality.

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[20] Degree-centrality is the 'sum of the shortest distance from every member of a network to every other member of a network,' divided by the 'sum of the shortest distance from an actor to every other member.' Degree-centrality is a measure of how socially accessible an actor is to other network members.

Closeness-centrality is a measure of network social integration and cooperation, and the effectiveness of communication between actors (Braungard 1976). "Actors who are able to reach other actors at shorter path lengths, or who are more reachable by other actors at shorter path lengths have favored positions" (Hanneman and Riddle 2005:146). This is illustrated by the social network in Figure 3.2. Thomas can reach more people, through shorter paths than anyone else. This is because he is directly linked to both Iris and Frank, and through them to their social networks. As such, he has the highest closeness-centrality. He is at the center of the total network.

Figure 3.2 – Illustration of Closeness-centrality in Network Analysis:
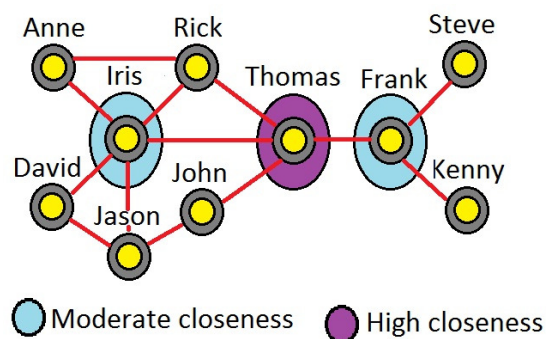
Closeness-centrality measures how quickly an actor can access other alters within their network. Closeness-centrality is based on "geodesic distance" (Bonacich 1987) and is defined as the sum of geodesic distances from a given node to all others, where geodesic distance refers to the "length of the shortest path between two points," or a "node's positional advantage." The simplest way to calculate closeness-centrality is to compare the geodesics of one node to each other node in a network (Wasserman and Faust 1994). Closeness is calculated by the average length of all shortest paths from a node to all other nodes in the network. The lengths of ties in Figure 3.2 do not represent 'the length of paths'. Closeness-centrality is an average of the shortest number of ties

connecting a node to it's alters divided by the total number of ties. This SNA metric is used to estimate of how quickly information and resources spread from one node to another within a total network. If a node is more closely connected to it's alters than other nodes are connected to alters, the former node is more centrally positioned and is able to send and receive messages/resources more efficiently. Therefore, closeness-centrality estimates the theoretical speed of information and/or resource exchange from a node to other nodes within its network.

Closeness-centrality is also a measure of freedom from the control of others. Those actors who are 'closer' to more alters may be able to exert more power than those who are more distant from more alters. Denser networks have smaller geodesic distances, and information travels more quickly.

Betweenness-centrality (sometimes called "reachability") is a measure of an actor's accessibility to other network actors, or how many relational ties it takes for one actor to reach every other actor in a network. Betweenness-centrality reveals network dependency and vulnerabilities. If some actors cannot reach others, there is potential for a division in a network, or the population is split into sub-graphs (e.g., cliques, or other clusters). If many pathways connect two actors together they have high reachability, or connectivity. Figure 3.3 illustrates betweenness-centrality. In this example Thomas is between Iris and Frank who is 'between' seven other alters. Therefore Thomas has a higher degree of betweenness than Iris and Frank.

Figure 3.3 – Illustration of Betweenness-Centrality in Network Analysis:
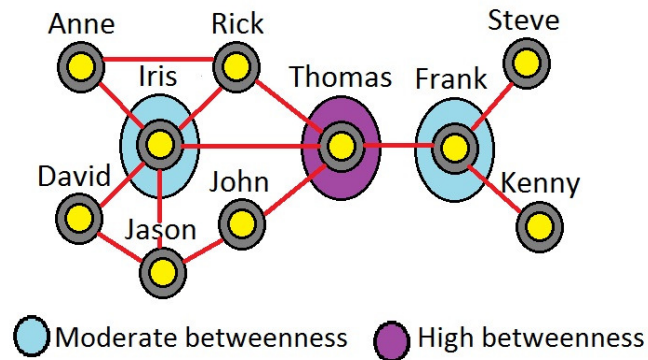
Betweenness-centrality relates to the number of social relations connecting an actor to other actors in a network. It is measured by calculating the number of shortest paths passing through a node, divided by all the shortest paths in a network. An actor with a high level of betweenness is directly situated between two or more network actors. Such a person is better able to interpret communication, transact services and/or resources which they can access (or control).

Actors with high-levels of betweenness are located between major hubs or nodes that have high degrees of connection. They can either facilitate or block network communication and actions. Actors who connect sub-graphs (or sub-groups) are well-positioned to be innovators, since they have access to ideas and information which they may combine in new ways. They may facilitate, obstruct, or translate information passed through them, or act as brokers. We are all brokers within our own personal/ego-based networks. However, when no broker exists to bridge local networks, or when few social ties link local networks, then "structural holes" are likely.

"Structural holes," or absent or missing relations spanning sub-graphs or social clusters (Burt 2004) may be created if an actor with high betweenness-centrality does not

transmit information/resources from party to party – effectively compartmentalizing a network into more than one sub-graph or social cluster. According to Burt (2004:349-350), "people who stand near [structural] holes in a social structure are at higher risk of having good ideas." This is due to the fact that members of a social group tend to share ideas homogenously, whereas alternate groups share other ideas in common. So access to alternate group-discussions and ideas are sources of social capital for brokers and the subgroup-networks with which they are affiliated. Brokers that interconnect previously disconnected portions of networks can access and perhaps control resources unavailable within their own local networks or subgroups (Rowley et al., 2000). Obstfeld (2005) named this network interconnection the *tertius gaudens* (i.e., third that unites) orientation. The *tertius gaudens* broker not only connects disconnected people and organizations so as to fill potential structural holes, but may also connect disconnected people and organizations to utilize closures or structural holes between groups for establishing partnerships between normally competing groups. Therefore brokers have the capacity to fill structural holes present between sub-group networks by establishing weak ties with members of other groups.

The various forms of centrality discussed describe local relations among actors, represented as individual nodes on network graphs. This is a micro-level of SNA. Eigenvalues and eigenvectors operate at a meso-level in SNA, mapping relations relative to the entire network structure.

The eigenvalue, or local eigenvectors of a node, is a node's (i.e., actor's) location with respect to all other nodes and clusters that comprise a social network. A node's eigenvalue provides us with a 'cleaned-up' version of closeness-centrality by comparing

the closeness of each node to all other nodes in the total network. A node's eigenvalue is proportional to the sum of the eigenvector centralities of all nodes directly connected to it. This is illustrated in Figure 3.4, in which the nodes representing Iris and Thomas have higher eigenvalues than the nodes representing Rick and Jason.

Figure 3.4 – Illustration of Eigenvalue-centrality in Network Analysis:
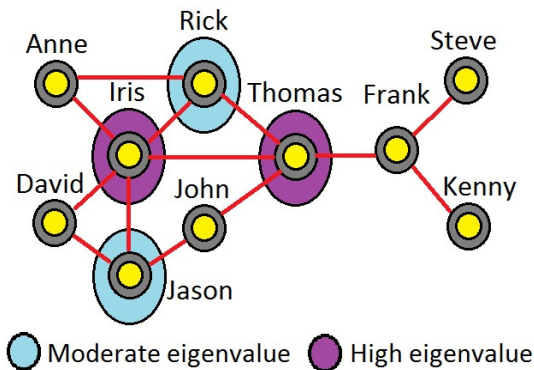
Eigenvector measures (or global eigenvectors) identify the most central actors within a total network. They are an aggregate of the eigenvalues of all nodes in a network that is mathematically calculated using Factor Analysis. Eigenvectors take into account not just the degree of a node's connections to other connected nodes within a network, but also the number of ties a node has to other more connected nodes. A node with few degrees of connection occasionally is well connected to nodes that are well connected to other nodes. The actors represented by these nodes are able to influence the actions and ideals of the whole network. In this case, an actor's power to influence others may be derived from their overall position within a total network of social relations.

Eigenvalues capture the closeness-centrality of more specific and local sub-structures, such as cliques or clusters, whereas eigenvectors capture the global aspects of distances among actors, or how close an actor is to other very close actors. High eigenvalues point to an actor's 'positional advantage', or connection to other well-

connected nodes within a local social network, whereas high eigenvectors represent the global aggregate of all interconnections between actors, as well as the power each actor wields within their personal network.

The eigenvector of each node within a total network is useful for determining the social cohesion or solidarity of network actors, or whether sub-groups or clusters within such a network interact and exchange information and resources. Inequalities and disparities exist between network actors when eigenvectors vary considerably (based on standard deviation) from the mean eigenvector value. Once we have determined how well-positioned and connected actors utilize their structural advantages for accessing and exchanging information and resources important to their organizations, additional properties of a more global network of relations can be analyzed and expressed.

While degree, closeness, and betweenness centralities are micro-level measures, local nodal centrality and eigenvalues/eigenvectors are meso-level measures of global centrality – all metrics described above help determine how well positioned actors are within their local networks. The remaining metrics described below concern how the total network of all actor-relationships affects the social structure of the global network.

Global Network Metrics (Macro-Level):

Rather than examining individual nodes and networks, macro-level measures trace outcomes of social interactions and ties. These might include information and resource exchange between organizations, and sub-graphs or network clusters. Macro measures help identify broad-spanning global features of networks, including sub-graphs or clusters (i.e., cliques, coalitions), structural holes and systems of brokerage, and how these social structures impact and direct people's behaviour within their networks. Macro

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metrics measure the social cohesion of total (or complete) social networks, according to measures of size (including range and diameter), density, and the clustering-coefficient. When clusters exist, network sub-graphs are often interconnected by more influential and structurally advantaged actors, formally named, network brokers. Network brokers act as bridges between organizations and clusters. But prior to discussing these very important nodes, and their role within the total network of Aboriginal organizations examined in this research, the variables of size and density must be discussed.

The primary feature of a social network is "size," or the number of social links within it. All other measures are determined through the size of a network. Network size is the number of nodes/actors or relations comprising a network (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Social complexity increases with network size. It is hard to know and relate to people in larger networks. Given its importance as a base-line measure for other structural measures, social network analysts should not view network size as a measure of 'actual' social connections, but as a measure of 'probable' relations – since not all relational ties are acknowledged by all individual actors. Network size is equal to the number of nodes (actors) and relations (ties) comprising a total or complete network of study, bounded by a set population sample. The population set used in this research consists of a snowball sample of eight Aboriginal organizations and the social ties and relations interconnecting them.

The second and perhaps most important structural measure of SNA is Density.[21] It is the proportion of all social ties actually present within a network, and the strength of

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[21] The mathematical formula for calculating percentage "density" of a social network is expressed as 100 Na divided by 1/2N(N-1) – where Na refers to the "total actual number of links/persons", N refers to possible number of links, and N-1 refers to the potential number of links minus EGO (i.e., the node being measured).

connections among nodes in a network, and is calculated by dividing the number of actual social ties/relations among network members by the total number of possible relations (Marsden 1987). The greater a network's density, the more likely network actors all know and socialize and/or work with each other regularly.

Density tells us the "speed" at which information (and other resources) diffuses among actors, and the extent to which actors have high levels of social capital and or social constraint. People who live their entire lives in one residential location usually have high density social networks compared to people who relocated themselves more frequently. Behaviour and beliefs expressed by actors in denser network are more homogenous, than those expressed by actors in 'loosely-knit' network (which are comprised of more indirect, weakly-based social ties). Less dense networks have higher ranges (or the extent to which a unit's network links it to diverse other units). A 'complete' network is one in which all the nodes are adjacent to one another. Such a network would have a density of 100% (or 1.0). High density networks are said to be "close-knit" (see Bott 1957) and based on 'many-stranded' or multiplex relations among members who know each other. "If people are tied to one another by a variety of different links, then they will find it difficult to sever social relationships and therefore are obliged to carry out the expectations and obligations entailed in those relationships" (Mitchell 1969:283). Low density networks are said to be "loose-knit" (see Bott 1957) and members generally interact based on 'single-stranded' or uniplex role-relations or ties.

Density varies directly with the degree of reachability and inversely with network size. In other words, denser networks are composed of actors with higher degrees of reachability, but also comprise a network of a smaller size. "If a network is large and has

the same density as another but smaller network, then the degree [of 'reachability'] will be greater" (Niemeijer 1973:48). Dense networks do not in and of themselves make people interact socially, but simply establish the necessary preconditions of communication.

Density is difficult to measure when a network is broken into sub-graphs or clusters (Friedkin 1981). Networks with low density and high reachability-centrality scores produce fewer clusters, but are more able to disseminate, locate, and exchange information and resources more so than networks with clusters. The presence or absence of possible structural holes within the total network, or the presence of sub-graphs is directly related to network size and density, as well as the presence or absence of actors with high levels of betweenness-centrality and eigenvalues. The algorithm designed to take all of these metrics into consideration is called the clustering coefficient (Luce and Perry 1949).

The clustering coefficient identifies subgraphs, clusters, and the structural holes existing between them, examining both local networks (i.e., subgraphs or personal networks of consultants/organizations) and the global network (i.e., all actors and organizations). The local clustering coefficient measures the proportion of 'actually utilized' connections a node has with its neighbours compared to the total number of all possible connections. Clusters are usually comprised of a core of three nodes that are well connected to each other. These local sub-graphs tend to be structurally dense. Alternately, the global cluster coefficient measures the density of all local neighbourhoods (or sub-graphs) present within a network. Where a network's global cluster coefficient is greater than its density, network clusters likely exist. Such a network

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is called a "small world" network, named after the network described by Stanley Milgram (see Milgram 1967; Milgram and Travers 1969). Structural holes are likely to be present when only one node connects two cluster/subgraphs together. Such a node may be a broker. And finally, networks with lower density and greater clustering risk fragmenting if brokers do not connect them. It is common for a network to have a "small world" structure due to the transitivity (or dense level of communication) of strong social ties connecting clustered actors, and the capacity of brokers to use weak ties for bridging clusters with other important social clusters.

By taking into account nodal degree-centralities, degree-betweenness, eigenvectors, and local clustering coefficients, we can identify interconnections, including social cohesion and structural holes, uniting and separating each Aboriginal organization. According to Hanneman and Riddle (2005:171), overlapping clusters and local networks may facilitate and share information, services, and resources more readily than clusters and local networks that are more isolated from each other. Conflict may arise between groups who have little or no connections to each other. Structural holes exist between groups that do not interconnect through a common node. The concept of a "structural hole" refers to some very important aspects of positional advantage/disadvantage individuals may experience based on how they are embedded within the total network (Burt 2004). As network density increases, these structural holes produce inequalities among actors embedded within the network, and may isolate members and organizations from resources provided by other organizations within the wider network.

Table 3.1, below lists all SNA metrics used in this research to describe and

interpret the social structure of nodes and flows comprising the total network of

Aboriginal actors examined in this research. For a complete list of the terminologies and

definitions of SNA metrics and labels, please refer to Appendix 2, Section E.

Table 3.1 – Summary of Graph Metrics and their Social Capital

Graph Metric	Level of Analysis	Structural Measure	Social Capital
Degree-centrality	Micro-level (i.e., nodal); Local networks	Degrees of Separation. Nodes that have more ties to other nodes may be socially popular.	Bonding social capital increases with overall degree-centrality of network actors.
Closeness-centrality	Micro-level (i.e., nodal); Local networks	Speed of information flows between actors. A node that has a higher number of shortest-paths to all other nodes has a higher closeness centrality.	Bonding social capital increases with overall closeness-centrality of network actors.
Betweenness-centrality	Micro-level (i.e., nodal); Local networks	Gatekeeping. Nodes that are more central assist nodes in better dissemination of information.	Bridging social capital increases with overall betweeenness-centrality of network actors.
Eigenvector	Meso-level (i.e., nodal); Local networks	Brokerage. Nodes connected to well-connected others can access, receive, and transact information and ideas more efficiently than those who lack such connections.	Bridging social capital increases with overall global eigenvector scores.
Size	Macro-level (i.e., network); Global Networks	Total number of actors within a social network.	Bonding social capital decreases with size of network. Bridging social capital increases with size of network.
Density	Macro-level (i.e., network); Global Networks	Cohesiveness and solidary of all actors within a network. The degree that everyone knows each other.	Bonding social capital increases with density of ties. Bridging social capital decreases with density of ties.
Cluster-Coefficient	Macro-level (i.e., network); Global Networks	The proportion of subgraphs or social clusters of actors within a network.	Presence of potentially isolated local networks comprised of bonding social capital. If nodes with high levels of eigenvecter and betweenness-centrality are present, bridging social capital may arise between local clusters.

Caution should be observed in using SNA metrics as measures of social capital. Since social capital is an aggregate of all actual and potential cooperation, communication and exchange between networked members (and non-members in the case of bridging social capital); we should not mistake high degrees of connection (i.e., degree-centrality), closeness, or network density as proof of bonding social capital. To determine the character of social capital, we not only must examine the structural aspects of networks, but we also need to examine the multiplexity (or strength) of ties interconnecting actors, the modes of communication used by them, and the frequency and content of what is exchanged. The section that follows introduces another methodology which has been used in this research to identify and determine the interactional contents of social relations described by SNA metrics. By consulting with the actors, we are better able to access levels and forms of social capital that grows out of networked relations of the eight Aboriginal organizations in this study.

SNA metrics estimate likely social interactions, exchanges and other behaviours of network actors, based on the structure of their social ties. Social capital, however, is not simply a product of the structure of social ties measured through these metrics. These metrics only suggest what aspect of the network may produce or reduce social capital within the communities of individuals comprising a total network.

Two micro- and macro-level graph metrics that are used to identify and measure possible sources of bonding social capital within a network are degree-centrality and closeness-centrality, and the size and density of a total network. A third macro-level metric, the clustering coefficient, may also point to potential clusters where bonding social capital is likely, however, the same metric may also reveal interconnections

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between clusters that stimulate bridging social capital.

Since social capital is the outcome of the multiplexity of social relations (or the strength of ties), and the frequency and content of interactions between actors –with strong social ties producing bonding capital and weak social ties producing bridging capital– centrality metrics, such as degree and closeness may point to possible sources of bonding, trust, and cooperation between network actors. Bonding social capital tends to increase as degree-centrality is reduced and decrease when degree-centrality is increased. This is due to the fact that people have more frequent contact and more in-depth communications and social interactions with fewer friends, family and coworkers that build social bonds, while such bonds are reduced or minimized as the number of social relations increases in volume. However, bridging social ties are produced in exactly the opposite way – with more bridging social capital produced as degree-centrality increases in volume.

Bonding social capital also increases with closeness-centrality, since network contacts that are more directly connected socially are more likely to interact and communicate with each other. For example, the closeness–centrality between a child and his or her parent is usually quite high, pointing to the likelihood that a parent will learn of their child's actions. Parents may learn that their child has skipped school through other children, teachers, and the parents of their children's friends. However, closeness also decreases as degree increases. Parents with many children are less likely to have the time to track the actions or control the behaviour of all of their children.

Bonding capital decreases as the size (number of nodes) of a network increases. For instance, compare the social relations and capital of small towns or small urban

neighbourhoods to the social relations of individuals living in overcrowded, densely populated metropolises. The latter networks make it impossible for bonding social capital to arise within the total network, but may be more likely to arise where degree and closeness centralities between actors are greater; and sub-graphs or clusters are present. On the other hand, bridging social capital may increase as size increases, especially if people can access CMC technologies; with more people, come more opportunities to communicate and exchange.

Network density also impacts the presence and levels of social capital present within a network. Bonding social capital increases and bridging social capital decreases as network density increases. Since density is a measure of tightness of social relations, actors in denser networks are more likely to interact and communicate with each other on a regular basis, whereas actors within more loosely knit networks are less likely to interact, but when they do so, they are more likely to produce bridging social capital based on more contractual and instrumental exchanges.

And finally, the SNA metrics of betweenness-centrality, eigenvectors, and clustering coefficients directly impact the volume of bridging social capital present within networks. Since the former two metrics determine the likelihood that brokers and gatekeepers are present within a network, and these actors help intercept and transact information and resources between subgraphs or social clusters, betweenness-centrality and eigenvector measures highlight likely sources of bridging social capital. The clustering coefficient is also a good measure of the likelihood that a total network is divided up into sub-graphs, such as cliques (see Luce and Perry 1949) and coalitions (Anderson and Chambers 1985; Stevenson et al 1985). The greater the global clustering

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coefficient the more likely a network is divided into subgraphs. Clusters are sources of both bonding and bridging social capital, since within clusters, people are more likely to interact and trust each other, but weak social ties connecting clusters may produce more instrumental and contractual relations as well.

Together, the SNA metrics described above help to describe the structural form and communications flows of messages exchanged between organizations and individuals. SNA is useful for predicting how people socially network to achieve common and individually motivated goals. However, metrics alone cannot tell us why people chose to network with certain people and not others. SNA measures say little about why people interact as they do.

To substantiate and confirm how SNA metrics can be used to measure social capital, we must rely on the words and stories of the actors themselves. Social capital may be identified and explained using ethnographic methods, such as participant-observations of people's actual interactions and the anecdotes and stories they tell during interviews. When these data are combined with SNA metrics, a more probable interpretation of social capital is produced, helping to substantiate and explain how the structural variables present in social networks impact the social interactions and content of exchange present within organizational networks.

While SNA metrics help us visualize and predict the social group's cohesion, isolation, and interactions and the behaviour of actors within those networks, structural data alone are merely an approximation of probable relationships of all member-actors. A truer or more accurate portrayal of these relations can only be realized by using more qualitative research methods, and involving the actors themselves in the research process.

It is for this reason that ethnographic methods (based in urban anthropology) were employed in this project to observe, question, and deliberate the actual social relations operating behind the scenes that unite and partner some organizations, while isolating and obstructing others. By combining participant-observation and interviews of research consultants, are more in-depth understanding of the total social network is revealed. Themes emerged through analysis of interview transcripts which help explain why actors observed through SNA network as they do.

Themes of information were identified in interview transcripts using a manual technique based on phenomenology. This technique enabled me to identify common and frequent expressions, ideas and concerns, and practices and behaviours present in the interviews of all research consultants, but also to preserve the 'voices' of the consultants.

Phenomenology and the Thematic Analysis of Interview Transcripts

Interview data in this research was transcribed and then interpreted according to phenomenological theory and thematic analysis. While grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) is typically used in thematic analysis, this project is opposed to any form of analysis that does not allow the subjects to 'speak their own words.' Grounded theory is predictive, relying on themes identified in the thematic analysis of interview transcripts. This research process would obscure and silence the 'voices' of my consultants, and thereby contravene protocols outlined in the OCAP. Given my promise to accurately and honestly represent my consultants' thoughts, values, and experiences, phenomenology was employed to help make sense of themes identified in the interview transcripts.

Phenomenology seeks to provide a sense of reality through words, rather than numbers. The theory emphasizes the common experience of all human beings and our

ability to relate to the feelings of others (Veatch 1969). The theory was originally developed by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) who believed more 'scientific' (i.e., positivistic) approaches were inappropriate for the study of human thoughts and actions (Husserl 1964 [1907]). Alfred Schutz (1962) expanded on Husserl and popularized phenomenology within psychology and anthropology. According to both of these scholars, the only way to understand the social and psychological lives of others is through their words.

Participants' perceptions, feelings and experiences are paramount and are the only object of such studies. In other words, phenomenology involves "seeing through the eyes of the other"; a technique most anthropologists would agree is a valuable aspect of the ethnographic experience. Often open-ended interview questions are used to allow consultants to talk about a topic in their own words, free from the constraint of survey based questionnaires. Additional informal interviews are later used to clarify expressions or meaning and to further encourage consultants to "tell their story". The post-survey and formal interviews used in this research followed this approach, generating consultant interview data that captured not only what consultants believed and understood, but also the emotions motivating their actions. Once interviews were completed, transcripts were interpreted using thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis is useful for identifying patterns of beliefs and behaviour. The themes identified in this research were analyzed according to similar forms of thematic analysis explored in Taylor and Bogdan (1984), Moustakas (1994), Giorgi (2009), and Smith and colleagues (2009). These scholars highlight several important phases within thematic analysis. These phases include: (1) collecting data and identifying information

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patterns (called codes) within transcripts, (2) grouping data and expounding on patterns, (3) combining and cataloguing related patterns into sub-themes, and (4) building a valid arguments for choosing themes supported by principle theories directing research. During the first phase, the researcher transcribes the interviews and identifies any common patterns of information emerging from the work. These patterns are preliminary codes. Codes are simple words or phrases describing ideas, experiences, or knowledge commonly expressed by an interviewee.

During the second step, all coded data are grouped and more precise codes are produced. In other words all the anecdotes that fit under a specific pattern (or code) are identified and placed with the corresponding pattern. The coding process evolves through an inductive interpretation of interview data and does not follow a linear process. Patterns only emerge after several read-throughs of transcripts. In my research, labels (like codes) emerged and transcripts were sorted and portioned according to these labels. Examples include: "tightly-knit community," "diverse community," "resiliency and perseverance," Indian Act," "racism and colonialism," "charity model," "leadership dynasties," "traditional teachings," and "supports."

The third step to thematic analysis involves combining and cataloguing related patterns into sub-themes. Themes are defined as units derived from patterns such as "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, and proverbs" (Taylor and Bogdan 1989:131). This is achieved by bringing similar patterns and examples together under the same sub-theme. Experiences and ideas are brought together to form a comprehensive picture of the collective experiences of all consultants. It is important, however, that while grouping consultants' words together, the contexts of their

statements are not lost. Context and text should accompany each other when anecdotes are sorted according to the sub-themes.

During the final phase of thematic analysis, the researcher attempts to identify correlations between sub-themes and other data supporting the main thesis of the project. The thesis of this research predicts that certain hybrid-model organizations are emerging consisting of partnered or highly networked Aboriginal leaders. Therefore, social networks, partnerships, and alliances are important items to be correlated with the sub-themes. Key themes emerge when sub-themes are sorted in correlation to major SNA findings derived from social network data. Supporting literature may be used to explain or interpret key themes, and to substantiate arguments present in consultant anecdotes. Together these anecdotes form the basis for a narrative where a selection of consultants' stories are told to help substantiate SNA findings and to underscore and support the research thesis.

By combining SNA and ethnography, a more thorough picture of the social capital emerging within and between actors' social networks is identified and explained. While the former method is useful for capturing the structure of social ties and communication linkages binding the total network of actors together, thematic analysis emerging through ethnography helps to qualify the reasons why actors socially interact as they do; including why some chose to cooperate while others do not.

This chapter has provided an overview of the data gathering methods and protocols, metrics and measures, techniques and tools utilized in this research project. While the first section described the special set of ethical approaches and protocols used for working with the Aboriginal people in this project, the second section defined the

snowball sample methods used to identify the research population. In the third section, qualitative research methods were introduced for doing urban anthropology, namely participant-observation and interview methods. Research techniques and designs concerning SNA were described in the fourth to sixth sections of this chapter, outlining and describing the various metrics and measure that were later utilized to analyze the social networks of consultants surveyed in this project. Finally, this chapter concludes with a description of the phases involved in exploring consultant interview transcripts for themes supporting SNA findings. Themes are identified through a phenomenological process involving thematic analysis. Together, qualitative methods (interviews and participant-observations) and quantitative methods (SNA and surveys) are the primary tools used to elicit information from this project.

The next chapter in this dissertation situates the people and places making up the population of study of this research. It also introduces the context that Winnipeg Aboriginal leaders and their organizations find themselves in today.

Chapter 4

POPULATION OF STUDY:
A Sample of Aboriginal Organizations in Winnipeg

This chapter investigates the demographics of Aboriginal people in Canada and Manitoba and situates urban Aboriginal organizations[22] and the emerging cohort of Aboriginal women leaders at the forefront of community social and economic development in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This information is primarily from the 2001 and 2006 censuses. Significantly, the census data reveals that more Aboriginal women are graduating from high school diploma and university degree-programs than Aboriginal men, and furthermore that there is a strong tendency for these women to gain employment in the social service sector, where on average they earn more than Aboriginal men and non-Aboriginal women. This data helps explain why Aboriginal women occupy the positions they do in a growing number of urban Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg. These women are at the forefront of a new form of CED involving networks of allied Aboriginal organizations.

Yet, as will become clear, divisions established and perpetuated by the Indian Act as well as by various levels of government policy pose financial and jurisdictional challenges to urban Aboriginal organizations representing the growing population of Aboriginal people residing in cities such as Winnipeg. Jurisdictional divides between reserve-based band organizations (e.g., band councils) and urban organizations exacerbate problems faced by urban Aboriginal peoples, especially those lacking

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[22] According to the Human Resources and Skills Development Canada website, an "Aboriginal organization" may include organizations incorporated for-profit or not-for-profit, be unincorporated and Aboriginal controlled, by Indian band/reserve communities, be band or tribal councils, or Aboriginal self-government entities.

Treaty/Status identity (Graham and Peters 2002; Hanselmann 2003; Loxley 2010; Leo 2011). Given that the population claiming Aboriginal identity is increasing faster than other ethnic or cultural groups in Canada, the challenges posed by high levels of unemployment and residential mobility combined with low levels of education and income (relative to the rest of Canadians) are considerable. First Nations bands already have to stretch their funds to meet the needs of their members on and off of their reserves. At the same time, urban Aboriginal organizations are struggling to survive – sometimes in competition for the same federal and provincial funds as band councils and other reserve organizations. In response to these needs, several new approaches to CED have been implemented over the last 20 years in Winnipeg.

The Aboriginal organizations examined in this research rely on one of three approaches, a "business incubator" or Neeginan approach (Fulham 1981), a "community-based, grassroots" or Neechi approach, and the more eclectic model adopted by the AMC that relies on aspects of both the Neeginan and Neechi approaches (Loxley and Wien 2003; Loxley 2003; and Silver 2009). Before describing the organizations and people who comprise the population of study of this research, a brief description of CED approaches is provided. This establishes a framework for understanding the rise of urban organizations which provide services and programs to Winnipeg's urban Aboriginal population, as well as the complications arising from the funding jurisdictions within which these organizations must operate.

Later in this chapter, profiles are presented on each urban Aboriginal organization sampled in this research. These profiles are preceded by brief biographies of each primary and secondary consultant associated with each organization. The profiles and

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biographies help situate the people and partnerships, resources and programming, and social networks of collective action that are uniting (and dividing) initiatives for educating, employing, and building cultural pride within the Winnipeg's Aboriginal communities. The people comprising the social networks of actors (i.e., leaders, staff, and volunteers) employed or informally supporting these organizations are all contributing to the development of social capital within their network of client services and supports.

Demography of Aboriginal People in Canada and Manitoba

Aboriginal peoples comprise one of the most rapidly growing populations in Canada. According to Statistics Canada, no other ethnic population or cultural group has increased in population as much as people of Aboriginal identity. Such growth is attributed to higher fertility rates, but is also due to increasing Aboriginal self-identification (Guimond 2003).

According to the 2006 Census (Statistics Canada 2010), 3.7% of the 31,612,897 citizens of Canada are of Aboriginal identity, the majority of who self-identify as North American Indians.[23] Population figures in Manitoba are even more striking with 15.5% of people self-reporting as having Aboriginal identity. See Table 4.1 below for details. Most importantly for the purposes of this research, the number of females of Aboriginal identity is growing more rapidly than the rest of the female population in Canada. Between 2001 and 2006 females of Aboriginal identity increased in population by 20.3 percent (Métis 91% and North American Indians 30%), compared to an increase in the non-Aboriginal female population of 5.1%. This is likely due to changes in band status

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[23] Statistics Canada has tended to use the term "North American Indian" (abbreviated in the tables which follow as "NAI"). Following Section 35 on the Constitution Act, this term has generally been replaced by the term "First Nation". I reluctantly use the term favoured by Statistics Canada. In the tables in this chapter I have abbreviated the term "Aboriginal" (comprising First Nations, Métis and Inuit) to "Ab".

and patterns of self-identification among Aboriginal women since the amendment of the

Indian Act under Bill C-31 in 1985. For more information see O'Donnell and Wallace

(2011:10)

Table 4.1: Population Profile: "Aboriginal Identity" by Gender in Canada & Manitoba

Population Profile[24]	2006 Population	Males	Females	% change Since 2001	M	F
Total Canada	31,612,897	15,326,270	15,914,760	5.4	5.2	5.6
-'Non-Ab Identity'	30,668,240	14,754,175	15,314,065	4.9	4.7	5.1
-'Ab Identity'	1,172,790	572,095	600,695	20.1	20.0	20.3
~NAI.	698,025	338,050	359,975	14.6	14.8	14.4
~Metìs	389,780	192,500	196,285	33.3	32.4	34.3
~Inuit	50,480	25,025	25,460	12.0	11.0	13.1
Total Manitoba	1,133,515	556,925	576,590	2.7	2.6	2.8
-'Non-Ab Identity'	958,120	471,200	486,915	0.5	0.3	0.6
-'Ab Identity'	175,395	85,725	89,675	16.8	17.3	16.4
~NAI	100,645	48,710,	51,935	11.2	12.0	10.5
~Metìs	71,810	35,620	36,190	26.4	26.4	26.5
~Inuit	560	280	280	64.7	75.0	55.6
Cities with largest 'Ab Identity' populations						
-Winnipeg	68,385	32,475	35,905			
-Edmonton	52,105	24,730	27,375			
-Vancouver	40,310	19,020	21,290			

(Statistics Canada 2008)

People of Aboriginal identity (particularly women) are not only increasing in

numbers faster than other ethnic and cultural groups, but the population is much younger,

on average compared to the average age of the general population in Canada. The median

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[24] Data for this table is drawn from the 2001 and 2006 Census (Statistics Canada 2008). The survey sampled 20% of households in Winnipeg, MB, and excluded institutionalized people (such as those in prison, detention/remand centers, and hospitals), underreporting, and incomplete enumerations. See URL: http://winnipeg.ca/census2006 for more details.

age of the overall population of people in Canada is 39.2 years, while the median age of people of Aboriginal identity is 26.5 years. This is a spread of 12.7 years. The median age differential is even more striking when comparing Aboriginal identity and general population of Manitobans. People of Aboriginal identity are 16 years younger in median age (23.9 years) than the median age of the overall population of Manitobans (40 years).

Statistics Canada data compiled in Tables 4.2 to 4.6 of this chapter indicates that Aboriginal Canadians face severe challenges when compared to the overall population of Canadians. In 2006 there were income gaps of CA$13,510 for males and CA$4,806 for females, respectively, between the overall population of Canadians and the population of Canadians of Aboriginal identity. The unemployment rates for people of Aboriginal identity was 16.1% for males and 13.5 for females, respectively, compared to 6.5% for males and 6.6% for females in the general population. Nearly one-third of Aboriginal Canadians lived below the Low Income Cut-off-Point [25] (three times the rate for overall Canadians). The 2006 census indicates roughly comparable levels of high school graduation among Aboriginals and the overall population, but this data underestimates discrepancies between the two populations by calculating graduation rates based on the population of people of Aboriginal identity and the overall population, rather than specific cohorts.[26] The overall population of Canadian males is nearly three times more likely to obtain a Bachelor's degree than Aboriginal males; the situation is somewhat

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[25] Low-Income Cut-Off is a statistical measure of the income level below which Canadians are estimated to devote at least 20% of their income to food, shelter, and clothing (Statistics Canada 2006). An 'economic family' is a "group of individuals related by blood, marriage, or adoption who shared a common dwelling unit at the time of the survey" (Statistics Canada 2006).

[26] When high school graduation is calculated for 20-24 year olds, 67% of Aboriginals graduate from high school as compared to 84% of non-Aboriginals (Mendelson 2004). This figure is consistent with figures cited by the Auditor General of Canada (2004: 10), but may be considerably lower for First Nations students living on reserve. Based on nominal rolls kept by the Department of Indian Affairs between 1994-2000 the Assembly of First Nations estimated that the high school graduation rate for First Nations students on-reserve was 30% (Assembly of First Nations nd).

brighter for Aboriginal females, who still lag significantly behind their counterparts

within the overall population of female Canadians. One hopeful finding, which will be

discussed below, is that Aboriginal women are faring better than Aboriginal men and the

overall population of Canadian women in some key employment sectors.

Table 4.2: Age, Income, & Employment Rates of People of "Aboriginal Identity"

Demographic Profiles (values and percentages)	2001 Census		2006 Census	
	Males	**Females**	**Males**	**Females**
Median Age of 'Ab Identity' Population (Years) [27]				
-Canada	23.5	25.7	25.2	27.7
-Manitoba	21.6	23.9	22.8	25.1
Median Age of 'Overall' Population (Years)				
-Canada	36.8	38.4	38.6	40.4
-Manitoba	35.8	37.8	37.0	39.3
Median Personal Income in Canada ($ CAN)				
-'Ab Identity' Population	$15,512	$12,311	$18,714	$15,654
-'Overall' Population	$32,823	$19,206	$32,224	$20,460
Economic Families at Low-Income Cut-Off in Canada (Percentage)				
-'Ab Identity' Population (Percentage)	25.0%	25.0%	31.0%	31.0%
-'Overall' Population (Percentage)	11.9%	11.9%	10.8%	10.8%
Employment Rate in Canada, 15 years or older				
-'Ab Identity' Population (Percentage)	52.5%	47.1%	56.5%	51.1%
-'Overall' Population (Percentage)	67.2%	56.1%	67.6%	57.5%
Unemployment Rate in Canada, 15 years or older				
-'Ab Identity' Population (Percentage)	21.4%	16.7%	16.1%	13.5%
-'Overall' Population (Percentage)	7.6%	7.2%	6.5%	6.6%

(Statistics Canada 2001, 2006, 2006b, 2006c – 2001 and 2006 Censuses)

More surprising than population growth, unemployment rates, or age patterns is

the extent that people of Aboriginal identity are moving to towns and cities. Rates of

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[27] Nearly 50% of the 'Aboriginal Identity' populations in Canada are 24 years old or younger, compared to 31% of the general population of Canada.

urbanization and residential mobility[28] among Aboriginal people have continued to rise since the 1990s.

Currently, over 60% of Aboriginal people are living in urban areas while only 35% reside in rural areas or on-reserve (Statistics Canada 2010, Census 2006). The number of Aboriginal people living in census metropolitan areas has increased by 14% since the 2001 Census. Nearly 30% of Aboriginal people live in Canada's top census metropolitan areas –including (in order of highest Aboriginal population): Winnipeg, Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, Saskatoon, Calgary, Ottawa, Montreal, Regina, and Thunder Bay

Despite the large number of Aboriginal people living in urban centers in Canada, current censuses do not reflect how frequently Aboriginal people migrate to and from rural-reserves and reservations and urban centers, nor how often Aboriginal people move within cities. According to the 2006 Census, one out of every five people of Aboriginal identity changed residential locations in the year prior to the census. When we account for Aboriginal residential mobility over the course of a five-year period, one out of two Aboriginal people are likely to change residences. What accounts for these high levels of residential mobility? Only one in eight Canadians move residentially, whether we calculate rates over one year or five years. Please refer to Table 4.3 below:

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[28] 'Residential mobility' refers to the rate of internal migration and relocation of people from one census tract to another, whether relocation occurs within urban neighbourhoods, between urban neighbourhoods, or between rural locations such as townships and/or reserves.

Table 4.3: Urban-Rural Distribution and Residential Mobility Rates of People of "Aboriginal Identity" in Canada

Demographic Variable (Percentages)	2001 Census	2006 Census
People of 'Ab Identity' Residing in Urban Areas (Metro Areas and census metropolitan areas)	51%	64%
People of 'Ab Identity' Residing in Rural Areas	20%	4%
People of 'Ab Identity' Residing in Band Reserves	29%	32%
Residential Mobility – Moved within last 12-months		
-'Ab Identity' population (1 in 5 moved in 1 year)	22%	19%
-'Overall' population	14%	14%
Residential Mobility – Moved within last 5 years		
-'Ab Identity' population (1 in 2 moved in 5 years)	51%	45%
-'Overall' population	42%	41%

(Statistics Canada 2001, 2006, 2006b, 2006c – 2001 and 2006 Censuses)

One obvious interpretation of these statistics is that Aboriginal people who choose to live in cities find it harder to adjust and establish stable lives than those people within the overall population of Canada. The greatest challenges for urban Aboriginal people who have recently moved to the city are to locate, finance, and maintain affordable quality housing. These problems are more pronounced in cities that have larger Aboriginal identity populations, such as the case in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Demography of Aboriginal People in Winnipeg

Winnipeg is home to the largest population of Aboriginal people living in Canada. More than 10% of the City's residents (63,745 people) identify as being Aboriginal. This compares to 5% of the population in Edmonton and 2% in Vancouver. A comparison of the 1996 and 2006 censuses indicates a 45% growth in the Winnipeg Aboriginal identity population, with the largest growth being among those of Métis ancestry. According to the 2006 census approximately 40% of Winnipeg's Aboriginal people identified as

"North American Indians,"[30] 59% identified as Métis, and 1% identified as Inuit. Similar to the national age profile, 50% of Winnipeg Aboriginal people are 24 years or younger,[31] with a median age of 26.5 years, compared to 39.7 years for non-Aboriginals.

Many of Winnipeg's Aboriginal people reside in the inner city, presumably because this is where most of Winnipeg's low-cost housing is located.[32] Aboriginal people in Winnipeg's downtown core are, as already noted, more residentially mobile than non-Aboriginal people in the same areas, frequently moving within the city and to and from urban centers and reserves (Norris and Clatworthy 2003; and Silver 2006).

According to Statistics Canada (2006), the proportion of inner-city households below the Low Income Cut-Off is three times greater than that of the city overall and a large percentage of these households contain Aboriginal people. Maxim et al (2003:82) observe that Aboriginal people settle in core areas to access low-cost housing and reside close to friends and family. The inner-city neighbourhoods containing the largest percentages of Aboriginal residents include Point Douglas (South 43.7% / North 20.5%), Inkster East (24.7%), Downtown (East 23.9%/West 13.6%), River East South (17.7%), and St. Boniface West (12.3%). Figure 4.1 below illustrates the areas where Aboriginal people are residentially concentrated.

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[30] The term 'North American Indian' refers to "those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a Registered Indian, as defined by the Indian Act *of Canada,* and/or those who reported they were members of an Indian band or First Nation" (Statistics Canada 2006d, as cited in Aboriginal People's Survey 1991). Registered, Status, or Treaty Indian refers to those who reported they were registered under the Indian Act of Canada and can prove descent from a Band that signed a Treaty. The term "Treaty Indian" is a widely used to refer to Aboriginal people who reside in the prairie provinces of Canada.
[31] Nearly 53% of people of 'Aboriginal Identity' in Canada are 24 years old or younger, compared to 31% of the general population.
[32] The 1980 Winnipeg Core Area Initiative program defined the "inner city" as bounded in the west by Aubrey Street, Ingersoll Street, and McPhillips Street, in the north by Church Avenue and the Red River, in the east by the Red River and Archibald Street, and in the south by Marian Avenue, the Red River, Corydon Avenue, Cockburn Street and the Assiniboine River.

Figure 4.1: Percentage of 'Aboriginal identity' Residents in Winnipeg Neighbourhood Clusters & Census Tracts
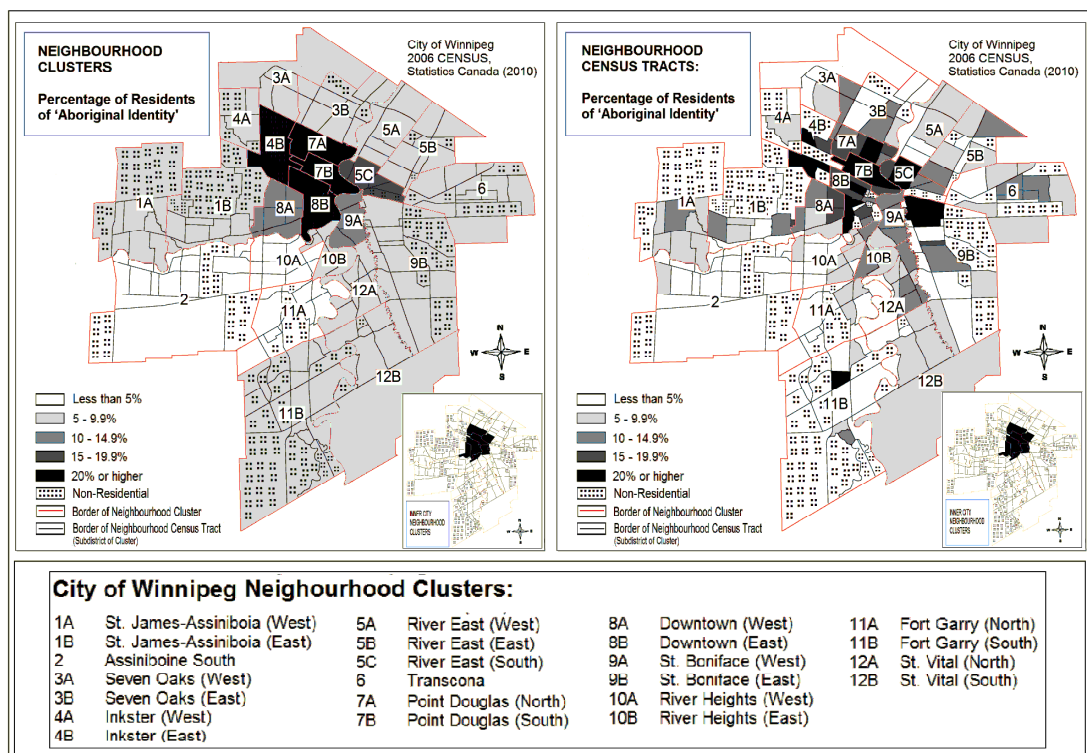
Source: City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Profiles / URL: http://winnipeg.ca/census/2006/

A majority of people of Aboriginal identity are residentially clustered in Winnipeg's inner-city neighbourhoods, including downtown, West End, and North End areas. These areas of Winnipeg are dominated by low-income and low-cost housing and housing in need of repair. Like many immigrant populations who settle in the same areas, Aboriginal peoples who are forced to migrate from their reserves to live in Winnipeg must settle in low-cost housing in these core areas of the city. Further to these findings, mobility varies quite significantly according to gender. Aboriginal women dominate as migrants to these urban neighbourhoods.

Aboriginal women tend to migrate from reserves to cities more than Aboriginal men while Aboriginal men tend to migrate from cities to reserves more than Aboriginal

women (Norris et al 2004; Norris and Clatworthy 2011:68). While women migrate to be with family and seek education (Norris 1985, 1990, 1996; Peters 1995; Clatworthy 1996) men typically migrate for employment (Clatworthy and Hull 1983).

Table 4.4 summarizes data on the Aboriginal population and overall population based on educational attainment based on gender. The "education gap" identified by the Auditor General of Canada (2004) is particularly vexing, and likely has impacts on the employment and income levels of Aboriginal people.

Table 4.4: Educational Attainment by Gender & Cultural Identity

Education Received (age 15+)	Ab MALES	Ab FEMALES	Overall MALES	Overall FEMALES
No Certificate or Degree	41%	38%	23%	23%
High School Diploma	24%	25%	28%	29%
Trade School or College	24%	24%	30%	29%
University Bachelor's Degree	7%	9%	19%	20%

(Statistics Canada 2006c – Highest Certificate, Diploma or Degree)

Table 4.4 reveals that the graduation rates of Aboriginal women are higher than those of Aboriginal men in high school and university, whereas Aboriginal men tend to succeed slightly better in college and trade school. According to O'Donnell and Wallace (2011:37) women comprised 63% of Aboriginal people 25 years or older who obtained university degrees in 2006.   This gender divide is not observed in the overall population.

Table 4.5: Employment Rates, Income, & Occupations by Gender & Cultural Identity[33]

Description	Ab Males	Ab Females	Overall Males	Overall Females
Employment Rate, 15 years or older	63%	54%	69%	60%
Unemployment Rate, 15 years or older	11.5%	11.1%	5.2%	5.3%
Median Income ($ CAN)	$21,167	$17,430	$32,639	$20,640
Occupation (Overall):				
-Management	6%	6%	11%	7%
-Business, Finance, Administration	12%	29%	12%	28%
-Natural & Applied Sciences	6%	2%	9%	3%
-Health occupations	1%	9%	3%	11%
-Social Science, Education, and	6%	**15%**	7%	**12%**
Government Services.	2%	2%	3%	3%
-Art, Culture, Recreation and Sports	22%	33%	22%	29%
-Sales and Service	34%	4%	24%	2%
-Trades, Transportation, Equipment				
Occupation (w/ Bachelor's degree):				
-Education	19%	27%	3%	6%
-Social Science, Education, Government Service, and Religion	20%	23%	4%	6%
-Business, Finance, Administration	16%	18%	9%	12%

(Statistic Canada, Census of Population 2006, 2006b, 2006c; and O'Donnell and Wallace 2011: 27)

As Table 4.5 indicates, Aboriginal people 15 years or older earn less than Canadians in general. And although a comparison of national and municipal unemployment rates indicate that more Winnipeg Aboriginal people are employed (11.7% unemployed) than elsewhere in Canada (14.8%), a greater percentage of households are at the Low Income Cut-Off than households at the national level.

Wotherspoon (2003:154) elaborates on these findings stating that "both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women are much more likely than men to be engaged in professional work" and, in the case of Registered First Nations living on-reserve, "band economy and structures of governance and economic development foster opportunities

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[33] Percentages gleaned from Table 9 of O'Donnell and Wallace (2011: 27) "Labour Force Indicators, Median Income, Population Aged 15 or over by Aboriginal Identity, Canada 2006."

for both managerial and professional work, albeit in a manner that reproduces prevalent gender divisions of labour." However, within cities, where more highly educated Aboriginal women outnumber less educated men, such women are taking lead roles as managers, executive directors, and program coordinators in a growing number of urban Aboriginal organizations. These findings are supported by my own research and by findings in Lévesque's (2003) study of Aboriginal people in Montreal. While only 60% of my research consultants are women, Lévesque found that 23 out of 26 women (88% of the women in his sample) held jobs in Aboriginal organizations (2003:27). These findings are also supported by Cooke and Bélanger (2006:145) who found that Registered Frist Nations women are not only more likely than men to attain degrees in post-secondary education, but may be better suited to urban employment markets.

Even more revealing is that Aboriginal women with Bachelor degrees enjoy higher median incomes than their non-Aboriginal counterparts with the same level of education, and are more likely to be employed in business, financing and administration, or the social sciences, education and government services (Statistics Canada 2008b). Aboriginal women earn between 9-10% more than non-Aboriginal women with the same qualifications in these areas. Income inequality is totally eliminated for Aboriginal women with Bachelors or Masters Degrees, whereas in 2001 Aboriginal women earned less than men. See Table 4.6 below for details.

Table 4.6: Median Income by Gender, Educational Attainment, & Cultural Identity

Post-Secondary Degree	Aboriginal MALES	Aboriginal FEMALES	Non-Ab MALES	Non-Ab FEMALES
University Bachelor's Degree ($ CAN)	$45,000	$37,000	$48,000	$34,000
University Master's Degree ($ CAN)	NA[34]	$49,000	$57,500	$44,500

(Wilson and MacDonald 2010:20)

To conclude, the demography of Aboriginal peoples living in Winnipeg is due to differences in outcomes of migration rates to and from reserves, educational achievements, employment and income between Aboriginal people and the overall population, and more importantly, between Aboriginal women and men.

One consequence to the preponderance of educated Aboriginal women in Winnipeg is that many of these women have found employment in businesses, government offices, and urban services and program agencies, such as Aboriginal organizations. Aboriginal organizations are one place where like-minded people can meet to innovate and coordinate their efforts for providing services and other supports to a growing population of Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg's inner city.

The Jurisdictional Milieu of First Nations and Aboriginal Organizations

There are at least 110 aboriginally owned, operated, or mandated organizations in the City of Winnipeg (see Glendinning 2011). Fourteen of these organizations (13%) are located within the ACWI on Higgins Avenue.

The vast majority of these Aboriginal organizations are mandated to provide services and programs in the areas of education, employment and skills training, health, economic and financial assistance, legal advice, cultural and spiritual counseling, and

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[34] Represents less than 1% of sub-population and is therefore excluded from census.

sports, culture, and recreational opportunities. Many of my consultants indicated that these programs were designed primarily to alleviate social and economic structural problems affecting Aboriginal people in the City. However, many of these organizations are not likely to be operating in two years' time, since most rely on funding provided by municipal, provincial, or federal government agencies which have been subject to ongoing and severe cutbacks.

Who is responsible for the funding of Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg? This is a complex question and the root of much misunderstanding. Section 91(24) of the Constitution Act 1867 confers responsibility and jurisdiction over "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indian" to the federal Government of Canada. Between 1871 and 1930 eleven numbered treaties were negotiated between First Nations and the Government of Canada. A central feature of these was the formal cession of title for traditional lands in exchange for reserves (based loosely on the formula of between 0.6-2.5 square kilometers for each family of five), the promise of perpetual hunting and fishing rights in the lands surrounding the reserve, and various fiduciary obligations of the federal government towards treaty signatories. Section 35(1) of the Constitution Act 1982 clarified that "existing Aboriginal and treaty rights" applied to "Indian, Inuit, and Métis" peoples. Further to this, provinces were given the right and responsibility for public lands, health, welfare, education, administration of justice and municipal institutions.

Up until the 1950s there was little migration from First Nations reserve communities to Canadian cities. The assumption underlying the Indian Act and numbered treaties was that First Nations people would remain on reserves and be distinct from mainstream Canadians. However, today more than half of Aboriginal Canadians

live in urban areas. According to Graham and Peters (2002:5) this demographic shift, and the underlying assumptions and historical momentum behind the Indian Act and treaties has created "the urban Aboriginal public policy maze" seen in Canadian cities today, precipitating what Hanselmann (2003:168) describes as "jurisdictional wrangling". Making matters worse is the federal government's distinction between "status" and "non-status Indians" which until recently disenfranchised Inuit and Métis people, and First Nations women who married non-Aboriginal men. Status Indians receive rights and privileges while residing on their reserve lands. Aboriginal people moving off reserve risked losing their status rights.

Four key public policy developments have extended rights of status Indians, but at the cost of forcing First Nations bands to overextend their funding to support growing population of band members living both on and off reserves. These developments included the extension of post-secondary education to off-reserve band members, and the restoration of Treaty status to Aboriginal women stripped of their band rights when they married non-Aboriginal men. These later changes were made through Bill C-31 and the 1999 Cordiere-Lavell Decision of the Supreme Court of Canada (Graham and Peters 2002:6).

These policy changes, which together extend rights to off-reserve status Indians, also put strains on First Nations band governments and set up obstacles between First Nations bands and tribal councils and urban Aboriginal organizations. These obstacles have prevented (or at least 'muddied the waters' in) the negotiation of partnerships and contribution agreements that would provide better and more consistent services and support to urban Aboriginal peoples. The main barrier, of course, is that some urban

Aboriginal organizations represent all people of Aboriginal identity and are status-blind, while First Nations governments and councils and some other organizations represent the interests of Status First Nations people only.

In recognition of the growing numbers of Aboriginal peoples living in Canadian cities, in 1998 the federal government initiated its UAS. The initial strategy, implemented between 2003 and 2009, provided CA$50 million in program development and pilot projects to be held in twelve cities across Canada. Project leaders were tasked to find ways to narrow the income gap between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations. The strategy rested on two objectives: to build organizational capacity within urban Aboriginal organizations to enhance community leadership and to build government and local community group partnerships.

Manitoba's response to the UAS was the creation of the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement which is a tri-level agreement (part of the Core Area Initiative which began in 1981) linking federal, provincial and municipal levels of government together to provide CA$25 million in revenue for downtown development and renewal.

One outcome of the UAS and WPA in Winnipeg was the establishment of the ACWI as an incubator of Aboriginal services and supports, businesses and non-profits, along with the incorporation of several other non-profit social, economic and educational agencies and organizations designed and administered by Aboriginal people for Aboriginal people using grassroots, community-based approaches. These approaches to CED are explored in the next section of this chapter. For now, it is important to understand how jurisdictional funding polices have affected the development and operations of Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg.

One major challenge experienced by all eight urban Aboriginal organizations that are the focus of my research is the competition for funding that has arisen between First Nations band and tribal councils on the one hand, and urban Aboriginal organizations on the other. These disputes prevent the creation of a rational centralized funding structure to meet the needs of Aboriginal peoples living off-reserve, and exacerbate challenges regarding the fiduciary obligations of various levels of government to urban Aboriginal peoples.

One Winnipeg case study (Leo 2011) explored these tensions and divisions to discern if Aboriginal communities were benefiting from the UAS and WPA. Respondents' comments are summarized in the following excerpt:

> Built upon a centuries-old, deeply troubled neocolonial relationships between Aboriginal people and the Federal government, Aboriginal policy is marked by apparently disingenuous reporting of funding levels, a paternalistic attitude towards the Aboriginal leadership, a conspicuous failure to consult meaningfully with community stakeholders and –perhaps most serious of all– implementation methods that could hardly have been better calculated to exacerbate the already sharp division within the Aboriginal community. (Leo 2011:91)

The situation identified by Leo highlights the need for Winnipeg's Aboriginal organizations and their leaders to find ways to partner with each other to eliminate duplication of programs and pool their resources. Their primary challenge is to find creative ways to work effectively within the service and resource constraints set out in funding agreements between organizations and government agencies. A few of the Aboriginal organizations explored in this research have been more successful in overcoming these challenges than others. These organizations differ according to approaches to their CED. The next section explores these approaches to urban development.

Approaches to Community Economic Development (CED)

The eight organizations examined in this research embrace one of four organizational approaches which can be organized along two axis'. These approaches are for-profit versus non-profit on one axis, and institutional versus grassroots on the other. It must be emphasized that the axis should be viewed as continuum rather than polarities with organizations situated at any point along the axis rather than at one end or the other. Furthermore, an organization can exhibit features from opposing models (e.g., employ grassroots rituals such as an opening prayer before convening a meeting, yet operate according to institutional protocols such as Richardson's Rules of Order). While all the organizations which I studied provide some sort of service and support to the Aboriginal people they serve, how this is achieved varies from organization to organization. Seven of these organizations were formed in the early 1990s (ACW and CAHRD), or early 2000s (Kanikanichihk, SCO, Onashowewin, the EUTC, the University of Winnipeg's Indigenous, Government, and Community Affairs (or "UW-IGCA") office. The eighth one was founded as a consequence of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg Inc., formerly known as the Welfare Council of Winnipeg). SPCW is not an Aboriginal organization, though many of the organizations it funds are.

The organizations examined in this research often incorporate versions of the "Seven Sacred Teachings" in their programs. Institutional organizations, on the other hand, tend to favour more mainstream business models. A few of the consultants in this research (i.e., Spillett, Fontaine, Whitford, Kani-2, SCO-1, Grand Chief, and Onash-1) regularly participate in what some scholars refer to as pan-indigenous (Proulx 2006) cultural events and ceremonies, such as pipe ceremonies, sweats, Sun Dances, and pow

wows. The coordinators of these events draw on several Aboriginal cultural beliefs and practices, but like the principles of the "Seven Sacred Teachings", they represent reinterpretations, (re)inventions, and syncretism. It is worth noting that more mainstream Canadian organizations such as the Freemasons, Shriners and even the Rotary Club share many of the qualities of "invented traditions" as well.

CAHRD, the UW-IGCA, SPCW, SCO, and ACW employ what I call an "institutional" approach, while Kanikanichihk, EUTC, and Onashowewin employ a grass-roots one. To exemplify the difference between these approaches, during my fieldwork I witnessed the burning of sweet grass at grassroots organizations such as Kanikanichihk, but seldom witnessed this ritual at more "institutional" organizations such as CAHRD. Both institutional and grassroots organizations are financially and fiscally accountable and transparent. However, those employing grassroots approaches tend focus on people and their communities, while institutional organizations tend to focus on individual clients themselves.

Organizations using an institutional approach tend to be more hierarchical, formal and impersonal than those operating in the grassroots paradigm. They often work within and accept Euro-Canadian values associated with mainstream education, health and judicial systems. Organizations with institutional approaches often operate on a business model, where appointments are made and services delivered to clients according to pre-established and tested strategies. People coming to such organizations for help are likely to be conceptualized as "clients".

Grass-roots organizations are generally egalitarian in their administrative structure and more informal and personal in their management style. In her interview, Rattray says

that grassroots organizations such as Kanikanichihk, Onashowewin, Ma Mawi, and Ndinawe rely on their leaders' experiences of hardships to understand and support challenges faced by their clients; they are more emotionally dedicated to resolving issues than supplying skills training. Morgan says grassroots organizations involve 'common people" rather than "experts" as frontline workers. People coming for help are viewed less as clients and more as fellow human beings in need of family, community, and friendship. Organizations employing such "people-first" approaches are more grassroots in structure and to be more holistic in their approach to development. Alternately, organizations that are more hierarchical in structure and more service-oriented provide specific services and resource supports to people who are "clients" only. Such organizations are less holistic in their approaches to CED.

The CED approaches employed by employees and volunteers in the Aboriginal organizations in this research use one or two of the following approaches: the "incubator" or Neeginan (Fulham 1981) approach, or the more eclectic Neechi approach (Loxley 2010:171).

--The Incubator-Neeginan Approach:

The 'incubator' (or franchise) approach was articulated by Stan Fulham (1981). The approach emphasizes the creation, investment, and management of centralized private businesses properties and financial ventures that attract a diversity of business and non-profit organizations as tenants.

There are several criteria common to all incubator-based CED models. According to Bergek and Norrman (2008) incubators encourage financial and equity-based capital investments, have 'mainstream' institutional administrations, and centralize all businesses

and service organizations within one government funded facility. More precisely, incubator-based organizations share: (1) office space, (2) services and utilities such as telephone, information technology, and water, (3) professional business supports and expertise, and (4) networks (both internally and externally) with other organizations and businesses so as to facilitate and expand their businesses (Bergek and Norrman 2008:21).

Stanley Fulham said the incubator approach could be used by leaders of Aboriginal organizations, tribal councils, and senior government officials to bolster CED of urban Aboriginal people. The umbrella organization to oversee this was to be named the Native Economic Development and Employment Council, which had the goal of establishing a Native Development Corporation. The Native Development Corporation would operate various franchise businesses (e.g., credit unions, barbers, hairdressers, shoe repair shops), but rely solely on Aboriginal employees and government funding for its operation. The focus of this venture was to "establish and promote a private business sector for Native people" (Fulham 1981:74).

The Native Economic Development and Employment Council proposal was approved, rather than another equally ambitious proposal to build an urban reserve 10 miles outside of the City of Winnipeg. The Council was renamed Neeginan. *Neeginan* is a Cree expression loosely translated as "Our Place" (Damas and Smith Limited 1975; Loxley and Wien 2003). One of the first products of the Neeginan-Incubator approach was the ACWI.

Formed by the ACW in 1992, the ACWI is the first centre of its kind in Canada to provide centralized Aboriginal-oriented and mandated activities.[35] The ACWI is located

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[35] According to the ACWI website, the ACW oversees the operation of the following organizations: CAHRD, the Aboriginal People's College: Neeginan Technical Institute, Aboriginal Community Campus,

in what was formerly the Canadian Pacific Railway Station at 181 Higgins Avenue – which had lain derelict and unused since it closed its doors in 1978. The ACWI houses several agencies, organizations and businesses, not only owned and operated by Aboriginal people, but also serving the greater urban population of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. It is within the ACWI that my investigation of Aboriginal organizations and social networking began, with two principle tenants, the ACW and the CAHRD.

To make the ACWI a reality required the collective supports of Aboriginal people, organizations, and government. It was the ACW who partnered with the municipal and provincial governments to create this 'one stop place' for urban Aboriginal social, cultural, and economic development services. The project was the City's response to the UAS and WPA. An Aboriginal cultural quarter had effectively been established, drawing Aboriginal investments, clients, and cultures together in one place. The ACWI was incorporated in 1990 as a non-profit organization, and by the end of 1992 had purchased the former railway station, renaming it the ACWI Heritage Corporation.

Despite ACWI's successes in attracting tenants and capital investments for supporting aboriginally directed community development, Loxley cites several problems with its development approach. He warns (2010:167) that tenants within such "incubation" centers may not complement each other. In addition, their incomes depend largely on government funding, causing a depletion of such funding for organizations outside the incubator. Furthermore, by concentrating all services and businesses in one area of the city (i.e., Higgins and Main) these development ventures may not serve the needs of the wider urban Aboriginal community.

Shinnecock Native Printers, Canadian Plains Gallery, Aboriginal Health & Wellness Centre, Aboriginal Literacy Foundation Inc., Aboriginal Centre Computer Lab, Kookum's Daycare, and Aboriginal Single Window Service Canada.

Despite these criticisms, the incubator approach was popularized by several Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg during the 1990s. The majority of the organizations examined in this research employ institutional approaches, though in less industrious and expansive ways than ACWI. Organizations such as CAHRD, SPCW, SCO, UW-IGCA, and to a lesser degree, the EUTC employ Neeginan-like CED approaches and are similarly structured as top-down 'businesses.' However, the Neechi approach to CED had proven to be even more successful in allowing organizations to access and aid a wider population of Aboriginal peoples. Therefore, urban Aboriginal organizations are turning to and adopting the Neechi model of CED.

--The Neechi Approach:

Inspired by Neechi Foods Co-op Ltd., the Neechi model of economic development applies grassroots methodologies that encourage and demonstrate Aboriginal cultural self-respect and pride, while bolstering community-led development projects that benefit local peoples within inner-city neighbourhoods. Loxley (2010:171) describes the Neechi model as an Aboriginally-focused and holistic approach to solving the problems faced by many Aboriginal people transitioning from reserve life to life in the City. This approach does not dwell exclusively on a mainstream model of economic development, but encourages people to care for each other while promoting and celebrating their local cultures, languages and customs. The approach also encourages inner-city citizens to earn incomes and use their collective purchasing power to benefit their local neighbourhoods. The approach encourages local social and economic development supporting long-term employment, education and skills training, local decision-making through cooperative ownership and control, public health and safety,

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more stable and long-term housing solutions, and the safeguarding and enhancing human dignity, community spirit, and social equality.

Organizations employing the Neechi CED approach provide or produce the following: (1) local goods and services in support of a local economy, (2) reinvestment in the local economy, (3) long-term employment to local citizens, (4) services for skills development and training, (5) cooperative decision-making, (6) public health, (7) safe neighbourhoods, (8) long-term affordable and dependable housing, (9) Aboriginal cultural pride and knowledge, and (10) networking between organizations and businesses.

Based on the criteria listed above, ACW, Kanikanichihk, Onashowewin, and to a lesser degree, EUTC utilize Neechi-based CED approaches in their operations. These organizations operate on more grassroots, community-based structures. A comparison of these organizational approaches is found in the practices inspired by Aboriginal training programs development in the 1980s. Loxley and Weins (2003:234) comment on these practices in the following passage, citing the Manitoba Métis Federation (or "MMF") and the AMC's 'All-Chief's Budget Committee' as examples.

> The Neechi approach to economic development is not merely an intellectual one. It is rooted in and shaped by practical experience. The principles evolved during two training programs conducted in the early 1980s for Métis and Indian economic development and finance officers… Sponsored by the MMF and the All-Chief's Budget Committee of the AMC, but run independently, these programs have produced over 50 well trained Aboriginal staff, most of whom are now employed by Aboriginal organizations in the province. Out of these courses, which combined rigorous classroom work with practical on-the-job experience, came a series of community planning meetings in the summer of 1985, run by the trainees.

These training sessions and workshops have inspired new generations of Aboriginal leaders and community development experts. These people are now at the forefront of CED organizations in Winnipeg.

The ACW is a product of the Neechi mode of community social and economic development. Another organization employing the Neechi CED approach is Kanikanichihk. Located in the North End of Winnipeg, Kanikanichihk employs principles of activism whereby social, cultural, and spiritual values are viewed as the foundation upon which economic and financial investments and capital development must be based. The administration of Kanikanichihk is institutional in structure and has been proven to be fiscally responsible and accountable. Yet, based on my fieldwork I can attest that employees and volunteers never lose sight of the people they serve; and therefore espouses grassroots agendas. Clients at Kanikanichihk are treated as members of the "extended family" which comprises Kanikanichihk and the neighbourhood it resides.

The Neeginan and Neechi approaches have two things in common. The first is that each requires a supportive public sector, and policies and programs that encourage cooperation between developers. Also, each approach argues for "the importance of providing decent long-term housing, and both admit the social desirability of non-Aboriginal support for Aboriginal ventures, even when more lucrative investment outlets or cheaper purchases could be had elsewhere" (Loxley and Wien 2003:235). In other words, regardless of their differences, both CED approaches require that organizational directors and managers socially network with other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations, government agencies, and the like, guaranteeing that the initiatives and programs developed benefit the community of Aboriginal people they are designed to serve. The Neeginan and Neechi approaches have one other commonality: they both employ strategies operating within an Aboriginal cultural paradigm that helps to de-

colonize people and reverse hierarchical and demeaning practices and policies that have so negatively affected peoples' lives. The organizations emphasizing these approaches are also, for the most part, led by "exceptionally skilled and politically progressive" Aboriginal women leaders (Silver 2009:44).

Many of the eight organizations in this study partner with each other to minimize duplication of services and to reduce completion for limited government funding. Yet jurisdictional divides still present enormous challenges. Biographical profiles of my consultants and thumbnail descriptions of the organizations in which they work are presented below to elucidate emic views on the development social capital and CED. Later, SNA is employed to describe and analyze the social networks and communications media that employees and their contacts are using to unite their organizations in ways that increase their combined capacity not only to provide services to the 'needy' but also to encourage Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal investments and participation in building more sustainable and inclusive urban communities.

Population of Study: Aboriginal Organizations and their Leaders

While my initial interest and contact with the ACWI grew out of my communication and contact with a former ACW Board member in 2008, field research on the ACW and CAHRD did not begin until October of 2010. My former ACW contact had subsequently resigned her position on the ACW board and moved out-of-province. However, my project was not without a starting point as Damon Johnston, the current President of the ACW board, welcomed me and placed my research proposal before his board of directors. My official request to commence research within the ACWI was approved in May 2010 by the ACW board, and I began my field study within the offices

of the ACW on October 1, 2010.

This research relied on the expert opinions, perspectives, and arrangement of social network contacts of both primary and secondary consultants. Primary consultants consist of Aboriginal people who held leadership positions (i.e., management or board positions) within their organizations, and were identified in my snowball sample as working to provide programs and services to Aboriginal clients in Winnipeg. The actual names of these consultants are used to identify them in this research, and written consent has been attained. Consultant anonymity was waived since all primary consultants occupy administrative or leadership positions within their organizations and could easily be identified regardless of whether pseudonyms were used or not. Primary consultants include: Damon Johnston (ACW), Marileen Bartlett (CAHRD), Wayne Helgason (SPCW), Leslie Spillett (Kanikanichihk), Nahanni Fontaine (SCO), Cora Morgan (Onashowewin), Jason Whitford (EUTC), and Jennifer Rattray (UW-IGCA).

Secondary consultants represent key actors within the organizational social network of each primary consultant. Primary consultants rely on these secondary consultants to provide services within or for their organizations, assist with program development and implementation, and help primaries brainstorm community development initiatives. The real names of all secondary consultants, along with all tertiary actors (the social network contacts of all primary and secondary consultants) have been replaced with coded pseudonyms so as to guarantee their anonymity. One exception is secondary consultant actor Grand Chief of the SCO. Since he occupies a rather important public position of authority within the SCO, he is easily identifiable. I therefore refer to him as Grand Chief rather than SCO-2.

Each secondary and tertiary contact is identified using the acronym of their organization, followed by a numerical code. For instance, Johnston's network contacts pertaining to the ACW are coded as ACW-1, ACW-2, ACW-3, etc. The first (and or second) numerals in each sequence represent each primary consultant's secondary contact(s).

In total, 151 actor-persons are identified on the total social network graph of all members connected to the eight Aboriginal organizations. Of these, 134 actors are 'tertiary actors' (i.e., the social contacts of primary and secondary consultants). There are eight primary actors (Johnston, Bartlett, Helgason, Spillett, Fontaine, Morgan, Whitford, and Rattray) and nine secondary actors (the primary contacts of primary actors; namely: ACW-1, SPCW-1, Kani-1 and Kani-2, SCO-1 and Grand Chief of SCO, Onash-1, and EUTC-1 and EUTC-2).

Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 present information about the network consultants in this research. Table 4.7 lists primary and secondary consultants, along with their organizational affiliation and positions. Table 4.8 expands the information in Table 4.7, with a focus on organizations rather than consultants. This Table includes network actors[36] within each organizational network and distinguishes actors who are socially connected to more than one organization in this study. Table 4.9 presents the demographic information on the primary and secondary consultants.

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[36] Consultants were surveyed and/or interviewed by the researcher. Network actors comprise all individuals identified through surveys and interviews that appear in SNA maps. Network actors were not usually interviewed or surveyed.

Table 4.7: Research Consultants and their Network of Organizational Contacts:

Consultants & Network Actors	Key Organization and Position	Positions and Affiliations with other Organizations
Primary Consultants		
Damon Johnston	ACW Board President	ACWI Board
Marileen Bartlett	CAHRD Executive Director	ACW Board Treasurer; ACWI Chair
Wayne Helgason	SPCW Executive Director	ACW Board Secretary; CAHRD Board Chair
Leslie Spillett	Kanikanichihk Executive Director	CAHRD key contact
Nahanni Fontaine	SCO Director of Justice	Kanikanichihk key contact
Cora Morgan	Onashowewin Executive Director	-
Jason Whitford	EUTC Program Manager	-
Jennifer Rattray	UW-IGCA Associate Vice-President	Kanikanichihk Council Co-Chair
Secondary Consultants:		
ACW-1 (Johnston's contact)	ACW Business contact	SPCW Business contact
SPCW-1 (Helgason's contact)	SPCW Communications Officer	ACW Board director
Kani-1 (Spillett's contact)	Kanikanichihk Senior Financial Officer	-
Kani-2 (Spillett's contact)	Kanikanichihk Council Treasurer	-
SCO-1 (Fontaine's contact)	SCO Justice Coordinator	Gang-Action Interagency Network
Grand Chief (Fontaine's contact)	SCO Grand Chief	-
Onash-1 (Morgan's contact)	Onashowewin Justice Worker	-
EUTC-1 (Whitford's contact)	EUTC Case Worker (Eagle's Nest Program)	-
EUTC-2 (Whitford's contact)	EUTC Case Worker (Eagle's Nest Program)	-

Table 4.8: Network Actors and their Organizations:

Organization	Actor	Role
Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg	Damon Johnston (Primary consultant)	ACW Board President
	ACW-1 (Secondary consultant)	ACW Business contact
	ACW-2	ACW Youth Intern
	ACW-3	ACW and CAHRD Business consultant
	ACW-4	Aboriginal & Northern Affairs Development Canada
	ACW-5	Office of the Federal Interlocutor, ANADC
	ACW-6, ACW-CAHRD-1	Manitoba Aboriginal & Northern Affairs (MANA)
Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development	Marileen Bartlett (Primary consultant)	CAHRD Executive Director
	CAHRD-1	CAHRD Board Vice-President
	CAHRD-2	CAHRD Executive Assistant
	CAHRD-3	Office of the Federal Interlocutor, ANADC
	CAHRD-4, CAHRD-5, CAHRD-10 to 13	CAHRD contacts
	CAHRD-6	CAHRD Director of Education
	CAHRD-7	Administer of NIAT
	CAHRD-8	ACWI Superintendent
	CAHRD-9	CAHRD Coordinator of Employment Services
	ACW-CAHRD-1	Manitoba Aboriginal & Northern Affairs (MANA)
Social Planning Council of Winnipeg	Wayne Helgason (Primary consultant)	SPCW Executive Director
	SPCW-1 (Secondary contact)	SPCW Communications Officer
	SPCW-2	SPCW Office manager
	SPCW-3, SPCW-4	SPCW Board directors
	SPCW-5	SPCW Administrative Assistant
	SPCW-6, SPCW-7, SPCW-10 to 21	SPCW contacts
	SPCW-8	SPCW Student intern
	SPCW-9	Winnipeg Harvest contact

Organization	Code	Role
Kanikanichihk	Leslie Spillett (Primary consultant)	Kanikanichihk Executive Director
	Kani-1 (Secondary consultant)	Kanikanichihk Senior Financial Officer
	Kani-2 (Secondary consultant)	Kanikanichihk Council Treasurer
	Kani-EUTC-1	Kanikanichihk Council director
	Kani-SCO-1	Kanikanichihk Council Secretary
	Kani-3	Kanikanichihk Residential Services
	Kani-4, Kani-20	Kanikanichihk Information/Office Administration
	Kani-5	Kanikanichihk Council Co-Chair
	Kani-6, Kani-7, Kani-17	Kanikanichihk "Keeping the Fires Burning" program
	Kani-8	Public (Civil) Service of Canada
	Kani-9, Kani-10	Kanikanichihk Daycare program
	Kani-11	Kani. "Youth Leadership & Mentorship" program
	Kani-12, Kani-19	Kanikanichihk administrative assistants
	Kani-13, Kani-15	Kanikanichihk contacts
	Kani-14	Kanikanichihk "Circle of Courage" program
	Kani-16	Elder
Southern Chiefs Organization	Nahanni Fontaine (Primary consultant)	SCO Director of Justice
	SCO-1 (Secondary consultant)	SCO Justice Coordinator
	Grand Chief (Secondary consultant)	SCO Grand Chief
	SCO-2	Manitoba Women's Advisory Council
	SCO-3	RCMP officer
	SCO-4, SCO-11 to SCO-13, SCO-15, SCO-17	SCO contacts and First Nations chiefs
	SCO-5, SCO-6, SCO-7	SCO Justice Workers
	SCO-8	Gang-Action Interagency Network
	SCO-9	SCO Executive director and political advisor
	SCO-10	Chief of Staff
	SCO-14	Elder
	SCO-16	SCO Executive committee

Onashowewin	Cora Morgan (Primary consultant)	Onashowewin Executive Director
	Onash-1 (Secondary consultant)	Onashowewin justice worker
	Onash-2 to Onash-6, Onash-8, Onash-12	Onashowewin justice workers
	Onash-7	Onashowewin mentor, Senior MB Justice, retired
	Onash-10 to Onash-14	Lawyer
	Onash-15	Kanikanichihk joint-project coordinator
Eagle Urban Transition Centre	Jason Whitford (Primary consultant)	EUTC Program Manager
	EUTC-1 (Secondary consultant)	EUTC Case worker (Eagle's Nest)
	EUTC-2 (Secondary consultant)	EUTC Case worker (Eagle's Nest)
	EUTC-3, EUTC-4	AMC, EUTC Advisory committee
	EUTC-5, EUTC-9, EUTC-14, EUTC-15	EUTC contacts
	EUTC-6	Wii Chiiwaakanak Learning Centre (UW-IGCA)
	EUTC-7	AMC Board director
	EUTC-8	Elder
	EUTC-10, EUTC-11	EUTC case workers
	EUTC-12	EUTC employment and training counsellor
	EUTC-13	EUTC resource coordinator
Indigenous, Government, and Community Affairs, University of Winnipeg (UW-IGCA)	Jennifer Rattray (Primary consultant)	UW-IGCA Associate Vice-President
	UW-IGCA-1 to UW-IGCA-26	UW-IGCA contacts (confidential)

Table 4.9: Demographic & Communications Media Data of Primary and Secondary Consultants (n=17)

Gender 59% Female / 41% Male **Age** 59% 25-44 years in age 18% 45-54 years in age 23% 55-64 years in age **Cultural Identity** 65% Ojibwa cultural identity 6% Cree cultural identity 23% Métis cultural identity 6% Non-Aboriginal identity	**First Nations Band Membership** 29%, Band Member, Southwest Manitoba 6%, Band Member, Southeast Manitoba 6%, Band Member, Southern Manitoba 6%, Band Member, Central Manitoba 6%, Band Member, Interlake Manitoba 12%, Band Member, Saskatchewan 24%, Non-band members	**Marital Status** 41%, Married 18%, Divorced 12%, Common Law 18% Single **Children** 65% with children 35% without children
Education 35%, Post-secondary, Graduate 35%, Post-secondary, Undergrad. 23% Trade School/College 6%, High School **Income** ($ CAN) 6%, $100,000+ annual salary 23%, $80, 000-89,999 23%, 70,000-79,999 6%, $60,000-69,999 12%, $50,000-59,999 17%, $40,000-49,999 12%, $30,000-39,999	**Residency** 76%, Own house/condo 24%, Rent house/apartment **Neighbourhood** 29% North End, Winnipeg 23%, Northeast, Winnipeg 18%, South-Central Winnipeg 6%, Southeast, Winnipeg 6% Northwest, Winnipeg 6%, Downtown/Core, Winnipeg 6%, Other city or rural	**Primary Mode of Communications (Primary/Secondary Actors)** 56% Face-to-Face 29% Email 11% Telephone/Cellular 3% Various modes 1% SMS Text Messaging

There are significantly more female (59%) than male consultants (41%) present in my sample. Most consultants are between 25 and 44 years in age, are married with children, and are registered as Status and Treaty Indians. A majority of consultants (70%) have university degrees (half have Bachelor's degrees and half have graduate degrees) and half earn incomes of over CA$60,000 per year. Most consultants own their own homes and reside in northern neighbourhoods within the City of Winnipeg (e.g., North End, North and West Kildonan, and North St. Boniface). Areas of residence most likely reflect income levels and the costs of housing. While the majority of the urban Aboriginal population resides in the inner city and core areas of downtown and the North End of Winnipeg (City of Winnipeg & Statistics Canada 2006), Aboriginal organizational leaders live in suburban, middle-class neighbourhoods.

Analyses of my surveys reveal that most consultants use the Internet one or more times a day for web-browsing for personal and work-related activities. In addition, they browse the Internet for family and friends an average of once a day. Consultants indicated the main reason they "surf the net" is to seek/access information and knowledge. Email is used primarily for communicating with work-related clients and fellow employees (3-10/day); consultants emailed their friends slightly more often than they emailed their family members (2-6/week). While social networking sites were accessed at work by consultants, such activities are highly restricted and in most cases, prohibited by individual administrations, and when such sites are accessed at home, it is primarily to communicate and socialize with friends and then family (2-6/week or more). Blogging sites were seldom used or accessed by consultants, but when consultants did so it was for work-related activities and to share information and knowledge with friends

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and colleagues.

Overall, consultants communicated mainly through face-to-face interactions (56% of relations), while email, telephone and cellphone and SMS texting comprised 29% of their relations. Email was used mainly between primary and secondary actors, but also between primary, secondary and tertiary actors. Surprisingly, only 11% of actors communicated via telephone and/or cellphone – and mainly to reach primary and/or secondary actors and contacts located outside of their offices. Another 1% of actors utilized SMS texting for communicating with each other and their contacts. And finally, 3% of actors used "various" media modes for communicating with each other. Those actors who used multiple modes tended to have stronger relations with each other. Examples of such persons are Helgason-Johnston-Bartlett, Spillett-Rattray, Fontaine-SCO-1, and Whitford-Morgan-Onash-1. Chapter five, SNA Results and Findings, includes network graphs (or maps) highlighting and distinguishing the various modes of communication used by network actors. Additional data on nodal and global SNA metrics can be found in Appendix 3, Section B.

The modes of communication actors use to establish and maintaining informal and formal partnerships with other organizational actors have a profound effect on the social capital produced between them. Later, in chapters five and six, the networks and the modes of communication used by actors are analyzed, and the structure of social capital growing out of them is described. What follows are short biographies on each network consultant-actor. These bios help contextualize the people comprising the total network examined in this research.

--Damon Johnston, Primary Consultant (ACW):

Damon Johnston is between 55 and 64 years of age. He received his education from a trade school and/or college. Johnston is a Treaty registered First Nations person, and member of Fort William Ojibwa First Nation in Thunder Bay, Ontario. He was former Chief of his First Nation. As ACW's president, Johnston receives an annual salary of CA$50,000-$59,999. He is married, without children, and lives with his wife in a house rented in Winnipeg.

--ACW-1, Secondary Consultant (ACW):

ACW-1 is male, between 55 and 64 years of age. He received his education at an undergraduate university. ACW-1 is non-Aboriginal in descent. As a consultant and trainer, ACW-1 receives an annual salary of CA$70,000-$79,000. He is unmarried, without children, and owns his own house in Winnipeg. Johnston identified ACW-1 as one of his secondary network contacts. He has worked as an independent consultant for the ACW for the past decade.

--Marileen Bartlett, Primary Consultant (CAHRD):

Marileen Bartlett is between 55 and 64 years of age. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Education, and later completed a Master's in Education. Bartlett is Métis, and non-status. As CEO and Executive Director of CAHRD, Bartlett receives an annual salary of CA$90,000 to $99,000. She is divorced, and lives with one of her adult children in a house she owns in Winnipeg.

--Wayne Helgason, Primary Consultant (SPCW):

Wayne Helgason is between 55 and 64 years of age. At the time of this research Helgason had worked as the executive director at SPCW for over 16 years. He holds a Bachelor of Arts from Carleton University (1973) and a Certificate in Negotiation and Nation Building from Harvard (2001). He is the winner of numerous awards, including the "Queen's Jubilee Medal" and the "2000 Social Justice Research Award" from the Catholic Centre for Catholic Studies at the University of Manitoba. He worked with Winnipeg Child and Family Services (or "CFS") for many years before joining Ma Mawi as its first executive director in 1984. Helgason is a Treaty registered First Nations person, and a member of Sandy Bay First Nation in Sandy Bay, Manitoba. During his tenure as SPCW's executive director, Helgason received an annual salary of CA$80,000-$89,999. Helgason is married, without children, and lives with his wife in a house they own in Winnipeg.

--SPCW-1, Secondary Consultant (SPCW):

SPCW-1 is female, between 45-55 years of age. At the time of this research SPCW-1 worked as a communications coordinator at SPCW. She holds an undergraduate degree and is trained in journalism and media relations. She has extensive experience working for media companies as a journalist, and with government. SPCW-1 is a Treaty registered First Nations person, and a member of Key First Nation in Norquay, Saskatchewan. As communications coordinator, SPCW-1 receives an annual salary of CA$40,000 to $49,000. She is married, with adult children who do not live with her and her husband in a house they own in Winnipeg.

--Leslie Spillet, Primary Consultant (Kanikanichihk):

Leslie Spillet is between 55 and 64 years of age. She is co-founder of Kanikanichihk, and at the time of this research was the executive director. She holds a diploma in journalism and administration from the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (1972), and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from the University of Winnipeg, and worked as a journalist and photographer prior to moving to Winnipeg in 1977. She is the founder and former provincial president of Mother of Red Nations women's council, winner of the YM/YWCA Women of Distinction Award, winner of the Neeginan Institute of Applied Technology Vision Award and the Joe Zuken Citizen Activist Award. Spillet has been a board member of many local organizations, such as the Native Women Association of Canada (2003-2007) which spearheaded "Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women campaign in Canada" (2003-Present). She was also on the National Advisory Committee for the United Nations World Conference Against Racism and attended the 2005 UNESCO conference. She is a member of the Council for the Masters in Indigenous Development Practice at the University of Winnipeg. In 2011 Spillett was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Laws from the University of Winnipeg, and most recently was inducted into the Order of Manitoba. Spillett is well educated, highly driven, and dedicated advocate/activist on issues including child welfare, justice, education, health, environment, employment, and women's rights. She is a Treaty registered Cree person, and a member of Opaskwayak First Nation. Spillett receives an annual salary of CA$80,000-$89,999. She is single and owns her own house in Winnipeg. She has adult children and is a grandmother.

--Kani-1, Secondary Consultant (Kanikanichihk):

Kani-1 is female, between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research Kani-1 had worked as the chief financial officer at Kanikanichihk for several years. She has college training and certification in accounting and financial administration. Kani-1 is a non-band Métis person. She receives an annual salary of CA$50,000-$59,999. She is married, without children, and lives with her husband in a house they own in Winnipeg.

--Kani-2, Secondary Consultant (Kanikanichihk):

Kani-2 is female, between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research Kani-2 was treasurer of the Kanikanichihk council and worked as senior executive coordinator with the Manitoba Government. She received an undergraduate university degree from the University of Manitoba. She is an Ojibwa, Treaty registered First Nation person from Sandy Bay Ojibway First Nations in Marius, Manitoba. Kani-2 receives an annual salary of CA$70,000-$79,999. She is married, and lives with her spouse and children in a house they own in Winnipeg.

--Nahanni Fontaine, Primary Consultant (SCO):

Nahanni Fontaine is between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research she had recently resigned her position as director of justice at SCO, but continues to act to support SCO-1 in her role as justice coordinator. Fontaine holds a Master of Arts degree in Native Studies, Women's Studies and Critical Theory from the University of Manitoba, and at the time of my research, was working on an Interdisciplinary Ph.D. program in the departments of Native Studies, Anthropology, and Sociology at the University of Manitoba. Fontaine is a self-acknowledged Aboriginal activist and

advocate for women's rights. Fontaine, SCO Grand Chief, and Johnston of ACW were jointly responsible for establishing Manitoba Justice's Aboriginal restorative justice programs at Onashowewin. Fontaine is a Treaty registered Ojibwa person and a member of Sagkeeng Anishinaabe First Nation in southern Manitoba. Fontaine was originally hired by former Grand Chief Margaret Swan (SCO, 2000-2004) to design and implement the SCO's Justice Division – especially as it pertained to Aboriginal gangs, incarceration of Aboriginal people, police conduct and inquiries, and other matters pertaining to Aboriginal youth. Fontaine received an annual salary of CA$70,000-$79,000 while working at the SCO. She is a single parent, who lives with her children in a house she owns in Winnipeg.

--SCO-1, Secondary Consultant (SCO):

SCO-1 is female, between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research SCO-1 worked as a community justice coordinator at SCO. She holds a high school diploma, and was raised in the North End of Winnipeg. SCO-1's employment at SCO began a short time after her brother was killed. The case enraged Aboriginal parents and community members and engaged Nahanni Fontaine to co-spearhead a media-led enquiry into the matter. The high-profile inquest served to connect SCO-1 to the broader community of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. The support she and her family received from the greater Aboriginal community galvanized SCO-1 to actively work to defend Aboriginal people involved in the criminal justice system in Manitoba. SCO-1 is also co-chair of the Gang Action Interagency Network. SCO-1 is a Treaty registered First Nations person and a member of Keeseekoowenin First Nations at Elphinstone, Manitoba. She receives an annual salary of CA$40,000-$49,999. She is divorced, and

lives with her children in a house she rents in Winnipeg.

--Grand Chief, Secondary Consultant (SCO):

SCO Grand Chief (now after referred to as "Grand Chief") is male, between 45 and 55 years of age. At the time of this research he was serving his second term at the SCO. He was first elected in June 2007 and was re-elected in June 2010. Prior to becoming Grand Chief, he served ten years as chief of the Rolling River Anishinaabe First Nation, near Erickson, Manitoba. Grand Chief received a Bachelor of Arts in Community Economic & Organizational Development from the University of Manitoba, and has seven years of experience working as an economic development officer at Red Core Industries. He also owns his own businesses. Grand Chief is an Ojibwa, Treaty registered First Nation person from Rolling River Anishinaabe First Nations. He receives an annual salary of CA$80,000-$89,999. He is married, and lives with his spouse and children in a house they own in Rolling River, Manitoba.

--Cora Morgan, Primary Consultant (Onashowewin):

Cora Morgan is between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research she held the position of executive director at Onashowewin. Morgan holds an undergraduate degree in Native Studies from the University of Manitoba. She was hired by the chief of Sagkeeng Anishinaabe First Nation to revitalize and start up several businesses and programs on the reserve. She then worked at CARHD before going to work at Ndinawe Inc. for one summer. It was there that she met Leslie Spillett and began working for her at Kanikanichihk in a temporary position. Morgan was hired as executive director by SCO justice director Nahanni Fontaine to revitalize Onashowewin's programs and

services. Morgan is a Treaty registered Ojibwa person and a member of Sagkeeng Anishinaabe First Nation in southern Manitoba. She receives an annual salary of CA$60,000-$69,000 and is a single parent, who lives with her child in a house she owns in Winnipeg.

--Onash-1, Secondary Consultant (Onashowewin):

Onash-1 is male, between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research he worked as a justice and cultural worker at Onashowewin Inc. Prior to beginning his work in restorative justice, Onash-1 was a member of a street gang in the North End of Winnipeg where he lived. By his own admission, his life in gangs and as a drug dealer and trafficker nearly killed him. When his son was born an elder recommended that he reform his behaviour and begin acting according to the Ojibwa warrior role-model, which he did. Onash-1 has since attained a trade school and college diploma, worked for Brokenhead First Nations Child and Family Services as a role-model for Aboriginal youth, and worked for SCO as a justice worker in his community. Fontaine hired Onash-1 to work as a justice and cultural worker at Onashowewin. Onash-1 uses his experience as a former gang member to engage his clients at Onashowewin. Onash-1 is a Treaty registered First Nations person and a member of Brokenhead Ojibway First Nation in Scanterbury, Manitoba. Onash-1 receives an annual salary of CA$40,000-$49,999. He and his wife live with their children in a house they rent in Winnipeg.

--Jason Whitford, Primary Consultant (EUTC):

Jason Whitford is between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research he held the position of program manager of AMC's EUTC program. Whitford holds a

Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Manitoba. Whitford's passion for helping urban Aboriginal people began during his youth when he realized (as a second generation Winnipegger) the hardships and challenges that many Aboriginals faced while living in the City. It was EUTC-7, a legal policy analyst and lawyer at the AMC, who helped Whitford attain his position as program manager at the EUTC. Whitford is a Treaty registered Ojibwa person and a member of Sandy Bay Ojibway First Nation near Marius, Manitoba. Before joining EUTC in 2008 Whitford was a youth council coordinator at AMC. Whitford receives an annual salary of CA$70,000-$79,000. He is unmarried, and lives with his children in a house he owns in Winnipeg.

--EUTC-1, Secondary Consultant (EUTC):

EUTC-1 is female, between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research she was project coordinator of the EUTC's Eagle's Nest program. She received a Master of Arts degree from the University of Manitoba. EUTC-1 is an Ojibwa, Treaty registered First Nation person from Lake Manitoba First Nations in Easterville, Manitoba. She receives an annual salary of CA$30,000 to 39,000. She is unmarried, and lives with her children in a house she rents in Winnipeg.

--EUTC-2, Secondary Consultant (EUTC):

EUTC-2 is male, between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research he was project coordinator of the EUTC's Eagle's Nest program. He has a trade school/college certificate. EUTC-2 is a Métis person from Winnipeg, Manitoba. He receives an annual salary of CA$30,000 to 39,000 and lives with his wife and children in a house they own in Winnipeg.

--Jennifer Rattray, Primary Consultant (UW-IGCA):

Jennifer Rattray is between 25 and 44 years of age. At the time of this research she held the position of associate vice-president of the University of Winnipeg's IGCA program and was co-chair of the Council at Kanikanichihk. Prior to joining the University of Winnipeg in 2004, Rattray spent fifteen years as an award-winning journalist with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. She was one of the first Aboriginal women to anchor the news in Canada. Rattray recently attained a graduate degree from the Joint Masters of Public Administration program at the University of Winnipeg and University of Manitoba. University of Winnipeg President Lloyd Axworthy hired Rattray as the first associate vice-president of IGCA. It was at this time that she met Spillett, who became Rattray's mentor, teacher, and colleague. Based on my interviews with Rattray and Spillett it is clear that they share similar philosophical and ethical perspectives on the challenges faced by most Aboriginal peoples today and that both women are dedicated to dispelling negative stereotypes. Rattray is a Treaty registered Cree person and a member of Peepeekisis First Nation near Balcarres, Saskatchewan. She receives an annual salary of over CA$100,000. She is married, and lives with her husband and children in a house they own in Winnipeg.

The primary and secondary consultants described above all have one thing in common, they are employed by an organization providing services and supports to Aboriginal (and other) people and communities and each is a core member of the total social network linking them to each of the tertiary social contacts comprising their personal social networks. However, before we examine this total network of relations, we must first introduce and describe the individual organizations explored in this research.

• <u>The Organizations of Study</u>:

There are three types of organizations described in this research, although one type of organization is more prevalent than the others. The main type of organization described in this research is an Aboriginal owned and operated non-profit organization that provides programs and services to clients. Organizations of this type offer specific services, such as employment services, education and training, social assistance and cultural advisement, legal advice or services, health and housing, or provide advocacy and other supports for Aboriginal clients, or a combinations of such services. The following organizations fit into this category of Aboriginal organization: ACW, CAHRD, Kanikanichihk, Onashowewin, and EUTC.

One organization, namely SCO, is a political organization representing First Nations bands in southern Manitoba and their chiefs. Like other political entities such as AMC and MKO, the SCO assists First Nations people living on reserves. Aboriginal political organizations represent Aboriginal peoples in the jurisdictions in which they reside, but also help lobby government and steer policy decision-making at the municipal, provincial, and territorial levels.

Two organizations, namely SPCW and UW-IGCA are non-Aboriginal organizations that are helping to represent the interests and needs of Aboriginal people (and other groups) living in Winnipeg and surrounding rural areas. SPCW is a non-profit policy and program think-tank that works to review, amend and create policies affecting all people living in Winnipeg. However, given the large number of Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg, and their unique adjustment issues, a major focus of SPCW is on assisting Aboriginal owned and operated non-profit organizations.

The UW-IGCA is a division within the President's Office at the University of Winnipeg. The UW-IGCA helps connect Aboriginal people (living in Winnipeg and beyond) to educational and others services, programs, and financing important to their communities.

For simplicity I use the term "Aboriginal organization" for referring to all organizations discussed in this research. Although SPCW and UW-IGCA are neither Aboriginal owned and operated nor political organizations representing First Nations bands, a large portion of their funding and services are devoted to assisting Aboriginal people.

The section that follows provides brief profiles on each Aboriginal organization examined in this research. Information presented in these profiles is based on a combination of consultant interviews, conversations with staff, volunteers, and clients in each organization, and observations made during my visits to each research site. Each profile discusses the following: (1) approach to CED; (2) jurisdiction, outreach and communication strategy; (3) mandates and objectives; (4) administrative structure; (5) partnerships and funding agreements, and; (6) outstanding initiatives and achievements.

- ABORIGINAL COUNCIL OF WINNIPEG Inc. (ACW):

The ACW is a non-profit urban political organization responsible for representing and advocating for all Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg, regardless of their First Nations status or cultural identities. ACW was incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1990. It advocates on behalf of urban Aboriginal people with the support of municipal, provincial, and federal funding. ACW is geared to building the capacity of Aboriginal businesses and non-profit organizations, and provides forums for discussion and

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networking among these entities. It provides a host of services to its members including legal advice and representation, education and skills training, employment and financial counselling, housing and social assistance, health and wellness, and cultural and recreational services. ACW is not a service provider per se, but utilizes a Neechi approach to CED in helping people access and benefit from services and programs available through other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations and agencies. Despite involving its members in decision making processes and serving the needs of its urban members, ACW operates like any other incorporated business. It is structured hierarchically and is directed by corporate bylaws.

The ACW is administered by a board of directors consisting of Damon Johnston (President), Wayne Helgason (Secretary), Marileen Bartlett (Treasurer), along with seven other people. The Board is directed by a set of bylaws updated every year at the ACW's Annual General Meeting. At the time of this research, ACW was made up of 5,500 general members, including individuals and organizations. Over the last 20 years, ACW has produced several successful ventures for its members and the community.

The earliest and perhaps most important contribution is ACWI, which ACW helped to create. ACWI represents a crowning achievement in the Neeginan CED model, but it is not one of the organizations examined in this research.

Another important organization emerging out of the ACWI infrastructure is CAHRD. ACW helped to create Winnipeg's first Aboriginal human resource provider. Together, ACW and CAHRD worked together to form an Aboriginal School System Steering Committee that is working to produce Winnipeg's first Aboriginal school division. The committee is comprised of Aboriginal leaders and organizations, including

six consultants for my research (Johnston, Bartlett, Helgason, Spillett, Fontaine, and SPCW-1). The proposed school division would presumably reflect the values and pedagogies now practiced in two Aboriginal-focused Winnipeg schools, Children of the Earth and Niji Mahkwa (see Courchene 1997).

ACW also has a youth initiative, called Aboriginal Youth Voices of Today, helping to nurture the next generation of Aboriginal leaders by providing youth the opportunity to network with ACW members and partners and to build positive relationships and networks. ACW was instrumental in helping various organizations and government agents to create the Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre, whose mandate is to improve how the Winnipeg Health Authority provides services to Aboriginal peoples.

Another of ACW's program successes is Onashowewin. ACW partnered with SCO and Manitoba Justice to produce Onashowewin, Winnipeg's first Aboriginal operated restorative justice organization. Information on Onashowewin is presented later in this section.

ACW has helped CAHRD to establish the Neeginan Village housing complex, including 15 three-bedroom apartments located near ACWI. The complex provides housing to students attending CAHRD's various educational programs.

Late in 2010, ACW also coordinated a community forum at the ACWI, called the Urban Aboriginal Summit. One important outcome from the Summit was an unanimous agreement among participants that more work is needed to formalize partnerships and contribution agreements between First Nations political institutions such as the AMC, MKO and SCO, and other, "status-blind," urban organizations such as CAHRD and

Kanikanichihk.

ACW is currently negotiating with Winnipeg's municipal government to formalize its partnership within the tri-partite agreement between the Manitoba government, the Government of Canada, and urban Aboriginal organizations. The involvement of the City is crucial for developing programs and initiatives that better aid and service Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. Similar partnerships are being developed between the ACW, MMF, and CAHRD, and between the ACW and AMC.

- CENTRE FOR ABORIGINAL HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT Inc. (CAHRD):

CAHRD is a non-profit, Aboriginal owned and operated human resource development service agency providing status-blind education, training and employment services to Aboriginal people residing in Winnipeg. Beginning as the Pathfinders Aboriginal employment agency in 1989, the organization reincorporated as CAHRD in 1998. CAHRD is licensed through Red River College and the Province of Manitoba to provide grade twelve high school diplomas as well as skills-training and trades school certification. It also provides employment counseling. Between 2005 and 2010 CAHRD provided education and skills training to 5,138 clients and located employment for an additional 11,340.

CAHRD was one of the first organizations to join the alliance of businesses and services under the umbrella of the ACWI and its Neeginan model of CED. More than any other organization examined in this research, CARHD is structured as an institution. It is administered by several departments, including Employment Services, Staffing Solutions, the Aboriginal Community Campus, a daycare, and the Neeginan Institute of

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Applied Technology[37]. Although the organization espouses principles and practices promoting Aboriginal cultures, from my observations these mandates are not emphasized as much as in other organizations in this study. This is likely due to criteria set-out by Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, which is CAHRD's primary funder.

CAHRD is administered by a board of directors. Marileen Bartlett is employed as both chief executive officer and executive director. The Board is directed by a set of bylaws which are reviewed and if necessary, amended, at CAHRD's annual general meeting. CAHRD employs 53 staff members.

CAHRD has developed partnerships with the Government of Manitoba and the Government of Canada, as well as with the University of Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, and Red River College. CAHRD has informal partnerships with many other institutions, businesses, and non-profit community organizations, the most important being the ACW and the SPCW.

- SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF WINNIPEG Inc. (SPCW):

The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg Inc. (SPCW) is a non-Aboriginal, non-profit organization in the voluntary sector committed to providing leadership in social planning and effective social policy changes. SPCW funds CED initiatives with diverse organizations in Winnipeg. It assists staff at organizations in identifying and assessing community issues, needs and resources. SPCW also works with policy-makers, funders, service providers, ethno-cultural groups, and the general public. Some of the most pressing issues addressed by the Council are family poverty, low levels of education

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[37] Neeginan Institute of Applied Technology provides students with Red River College accredited programming through in-house training of students in business, industry, and vocational institutions, and includes such programs as the Canadian-Welding-Bureau certification, early childhood education, and Gas Turbine Repair and Overhaul.

among marginalized individuals and groups, housing and homelessness, mental health and disability issues, crime prevention and social development. SPCW promotes an incubator business model of CED. It also provides a forum of organizations and governments to discuss critical issues in social change and policy development that affect people in Winnipeg.

SPCW is managed by a board of directors that includes prominent academics, former politicians, health practitioners and community activists. Aboriginal leaders have been particularly prominent on the Board. The current president is an Indigenous Studies professor from the University of Winnipeg (Wayne Helgason is a past president and Marileen Bartlett is a past treasurer). The Board is directed by a set of bylaws that is reviewed and when necessary amended at the annual general meeting.

The mandates of SPCW are to: (1) identify and define social planning issues, needs and resources in Winnipeg; (2) develop and promote policy and program initiatives to policy makers; (3) support community groups and the volunteer service sector; (4) raise public awareness about social and policy issues, and; (5) facilitate communication and collaboration among government, business, labour, and volunteer organizations.

Since its incorporation as the SPCW in 1989[38], the organization has spearheaded and administered hundreds of program and service initiatives, as well as assisting in the formation of many prominent social, economic and community organizations. The SPCW has helped broker partnerships and communication agreements between private businesses, all levels of government, and non-profit community organizations. These partnerships have proven invaluable for helping these organizations achieve common

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[38] The origins of the SPCW can be traced to 1919 when the Community Welfare Council of Winnipeg was founded. The CWCW was Winnipeg's first community council and advocacy group, addressing the social and economic problems which gave rise to the Winnipeg General Strike.

goals and mandates – especially in aiding and providing services to low-income households and people in poverty.

One organization that SPCW was instrumental in helping to found is the Southern First Nations Network of Care. This organization has partnered with CFS agencies to ensure the protection, wellbeing, and quality of life of children in First Nations reserves in southern Manitoba. To accomplish this, Southern First Nations Network of Care agency sets provisions for safe homes with responsible caregivers, and promotes family wellness.[39]

Although the SPCW is not an Aboriginal organization, it was, at the time of this research, administered by an Aboriginal director and communications officer. The SPCW has ongoing partnerships with ACW and CAHRD, and often participates in events and planning activities at the ACWI. It is for these and other reasons that the SPCW was included in my sample of Aboriginal organizations.

- KANIKANICHIHK Inc.

Kanikanichihk means "those who lead" in the Cree language. Incorporated as a non-profit in 2001, it is a status-blind, Aboriginal community-based social service and human resource development organization that provides a range of programs and services to Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. According to Bartlett, Fontaine, Morgan and other consultants, Kanikanichihk more than any other organization represents the collective 'voices' of Aboriginal people living in the City. Kanikanichihk provides education and

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[39] Other initiatives piloted by the SPCW are: Campaign 2000, Community Schools Investigators, Canadian Health Leadership Network, Canadian Social Data Strategy, Census Data Consortium, Face-2-Face, Homelessness Individuals and Families Information System, Livable and Inclusive Communities Report, Manitoba Federation of Non-profit Organizations, Manitoba Human Rights Commission, Poverty Advisory Committee, Report of the Committee of Social Cohesion, the Summer Learning Enrichment Program, and the Winnipeg Foundation.

skills training to its clients, as well as providing emergency social assistance. It also helps raise public awareness about urban Aboriginal issues, with a focus on the strengths and resiliency of urban Aboriginal peoples. This approach to CED is firmly situated within the Neechi model, but also relies on an institution-based administrative framework. The structure of this framework is supported by a highly trained and motivated staff and counsellors, and an excellent track-record of financial accountability and transparency.

Kanikanichihk's membership consists of a council, associate members, and volunteers. All members, including the council and its committees, are elected by voting members during annual general meetings. Unlike most executive boards, Kanikanichihk's council is egalitarian, granting all members the right to vote and to discuss matters of concern during council meetings. At the time of this research the council consisted of Jennifer Rattray and Kani-5 as co-chairs, Kani-SCO-1 as secretary, Kani-2 as treasurer and three other people occupying the remaining positions. The administrative unit consisted of Leslie Spillett (executive director), Kani-1 (chief financial officer), and 33 staff members.

The Council and administrative unit are directed by a set of bylaws based on cultural principles and indigenous philosophies. Together these articles direct staff and volunteers to provide, promote, and develop:

- holistic and culturally proficient client services
- leadership development opportunities for children, youth and families based on Indigenous values and models of governance
- cultural events for re-establishing, reclaiming and practicing traditional Aboriginal knowledge
- healing opportunities for Aboriginal children, youth, and families
- recognition of Aboriginal people's inherent rights, sacred teachings,

- advocacy for upholding Aboriginal principles of respect, truth and reconciliation, understanding, acceptance, equality, justice, and peace

Kanikanichihk staff members actively teach their clients about Aboriginal people's histories and cultural heritage, as well as promoting the use of Aboriginal languages and customs, in order to build Aboriginal cultural pride. Kanikanichihk functions within an institutional model in order to enter into service purchase agreements with funding agencies, government departments, and corporations. But unlike other institutional-style organizations, Kanikanichihk maintains a strong grassroots approach which board members and staff see as vital to the organization's success as an advocate for Aboriginal rights.

Most consultants interviewed for this research credit Leslie Spillett as being a singular advocate for the grassroots urban Aboriginal community. Bartlett says that Spillett "has her ears locked on the pulse of the community" and that "she knows what's going on in the Aboriginal community" (Bartlett, Formal Interview, July 19, 2011). Spillett has won a number of academic and community achievement awards for her work. These include an honorary doctorate from the University of Winnipeg and a Queen Elizabeth Diamond Jubilee medal.[40] Rattray, Fontaine, Helgason, Morgan, and Kani-2 all praised Spillett's work in their interviews with me.

One of Kanikanichihk's most successful programs is their "Keeping the Fires Burning" fundraising gala, which has been held annually for the last ten years. At these galas female Aboriginal Elders are honoured for their contributions in promoting traditional knowledge and supporting "healthy and vibrant cultures." More than 6,000

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[40] In awarding Spillett the medal the Honourable Vic Toews, Member of Parliament and Regional Minister for Manitoba said, "We are lucky to have a community leader in Winnipeg with her level of passion and dedication."

people have attended "Keeping the Fires Burning" since its inception and the funds raised have provided more than 1,200 needy women and children with basic necessities including food, shelter, clothing, and means of transportation.

Kanikanichihk represents the best of both CED approaches. It has the capacity to incubate organizations and funding networks, while staying firmly focused on the needs of its clients and their communities.

- SOUTHERN CHIEFS ORGANIZATION Inc. (SCO)

SCO is a non-profit political organization representing the socioeconomic, political, educational, and cultural needs of 31 First Nations communities in southern Manitoba.[41] SCO incorporated as a non-profit organization in 2000. It provides technical analysis, advocacy and support to the southern Grand Chief and southern Chiefs and Council members, and acts as a liaison between them and various levels of government. SCO utilizes a Neeginan approach to CED. It follows a band-based model of governance and is under the direct jurisdiction of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (or "AANDC") and the Indian Act. SCO's Head Office is located in the community of Swan Lake First Nation, but also operates an office in Winnipeg.

SCO is administered by a board-of-governors, called "Chiefs-in-Summit." Chiefs-in-Summit is made up of the Grand Chief and the chiefs of member First Nations. Chiefs of each member First Nation are voting members of the SCO Grand Council and are signatories to the "Accord of the Southern Chiefs of Manitoba". The Accord is

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[41] Members of SCO include: Berens River, Bloodvein, Buffalo Point, Dakota Plains, Dauphin River, Fisher River, Hallow Water, Keeseekoowenin, Lake St. Martin, Little Grand Rapids, Long Plain, Pauingassi, Pinaymootang, Poplar River, Sagkeeng, Sandy Bay, Swan Lake, Waywayseecappo, Birdtail Sioux, Brokenhead, Canupawakpa, Dakota Tipi, Ebb & Flow, Gamblers, Kinonjeoshtegon, Lake Manitoba, Little Black River, Little Saskatchewan, O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi, Peguis, Pine Creek, Rolling River, Roseau River, Sioux Valley, and Waterhen reserves.

administered by an executive committee, finance committee, and personnel committee.[42]

My research at the SCO focused primarily on the Grand Chief, Nahanni Fontaine (who was director of the justice committee), and SCO-1 (who was a justice coordinator). The justice committee is a particularly important and high-profile administration unit. It is mandated to address:

- Areas of policing
- Public complaints
- Devolution of probations and community corrections services
- Gang research and prevention
- Restorative justice
- Judicial policy and development
- Work towards a parallel indigenous justice system

The SCO justice committee was created in response to the Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry. The Aboriginal Justice Inquiry concluded that given high rates of incarceration and recidivism among Aboriginal offenders,[43] an Aboriginal justice solution was needed. Therefore, the SCO submitted its Aboriginal Justice Strategy (SCO-AJS) to Justice Canada and Manitoba Justice. The Strategy was "a means of strategically ensuring continuity of First Nations justice administration in executing community justice" (SCO AJS Proposal 2008).

SCO's SCO-AJS employs a "holistic model of Indigenous community justice – one which pursues and actively reclaims balance, restoration, prevention and

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[42] The SCO Accord represents First Nations people in Southern Manitoba and not Aboriginal peoples residing in Winnipeg. However, it is possible that the Accord could apply to First Nations people residing in Winnipeg if the court case concerning land at Kapyong Barracks is ceded for use as an urban reserve by Treaty 1 signatories (i.e., Peguis, Long Plains, Roseau River, and Sandy Bay especially). The SCO will likely have to redefine its jurisdictions of representation if the urban reserve is made a reality for First Nations in southern Manitoba.

[43] Aboriginal people are overly represented in Canada's criminal justice system (La Prairie and Stenning 2003). They are more likely than non-Aboriginals to espouse guilt (when bail is denied) and to be charged and incarcerated (Statistics Canada 2001). Even more striking are the number of Aboriginal youth involved in the criminal justice system that were raised in foster care (75% of custody admissions in the Manitoba alone). Beginning in 1991, Manitoba Justice began an in-depth analysis of why Aboriginal people were overly represented in the criminal justice system.

empowerment on a community, family, and individual level" (SCO AJS Proposal 2008).

Based on its justice strategy, SCO created adult and youth programs in six of its

communities as a means of reducing the number of offenders and restoring peace

between victims and offenders.

SCO has established justice programs in Sagkeeng, Swan Lake, Waywaysacappo,

Bloodvein, and Pineimootaang First Nations. SCO has also worked with Manitoba

Justice, the Crown Attorney's office, and ACW to create a very successful Winnipeg-

based Aboriginal justice program, called Onashowewin. The Aboriginal justice program

goes beyond apologies and counselling. It helps build clients' self-esteem, skills,

education, health and wellness. This alternative approach has yielded long term changes

in their client's personal values, actions, and experiences with the law.

- ONASHOWEWIN Inc.

Onashowewin means "law" in Cree. Onashowewin Inc. is a non-profit restorative

justice organization providing status-blind diversion services for First Nations, Métis, and

Inuit people in conflict with the law. Incorporated in 2002, Onashowewin is committed to

alternative restorative justice programs as a way to reduce recidivism and in the long term

decrease the number of Aboriginal offenders. It could be said that Onashowewin is the

Aboriginal community's response to the Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission

and its review of the 1991 Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, which

provided recommendations to reduce crime and recidivism by Aboriginal people (AJIC

1991, 1999).

Onashowewin is a community-based organization that utilizes the Neechi

approach to CED, involving both Aboriginal communities and the Manitoba and Federal

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governments. It draws its financial support from the Capacity Building Fund. Case workers are of Aboriginal identity and work with Aboriginal clients charged with a criminal offence. They receive client files from the Crown Attorney's Office. The main role of case workers is to facilitate communication between victims and offenders through mediation services. An important part of this involves providing clients with spiritual and cultural guidance through counselling and workshops.

The primary mandate of Onashowewin is to reduce the rates of crime and incarceration among Aboriginal people. This is financed through cost-sharing programs with First Nations communities. Onashowewin also plays a role in encouraging Aboriginal communities to assume greater responsibility for the administration of justice. Section 81 of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act, implemented by the Government of Manitoba allows Aboriginal communities to provide correctional services to Aboriginal people charged with a crime. The presence of healing lodges and counselling by Elders in provincial prisons was one outcome of the Act. Such programs rely on holistic and culturally appropriate methods for reintegrating inmates back into civilian life. Some research into criminal recidivism of Aboriginal offenders supports such methods. For example, Sioui and Thibault (2001) found that Aboriginal-specific employment and educational programs that focus on social relationships, community needs and emotional needs help to reduce recidivism among Aboriginal offenders.

Differing from the disciplinary practices predominating mainstream judicial, legal and criminal system, Onashowewin's programs aim to "hold offenders accountable for their actions" and not to judge a client based on their criminal offense. Case workers try to address underlying issues that have led to their clients' criminal behaviour.

Onashowewin helps to "restore, heal and transform" an accused/offender's relationship with the victim and the community. Onashowewin is located in the West Broadway (Spence) neighbourhood in Winnipeg's inner-city area.

Onashowewin is governed by a board of directors, members of whom are drawn from Manitoba Métis communities, Southern and Northern Manitoba First Nations, Aboriginal community organizations, and the broader Aboriginal community. At the time of this research Kani-11 was the board treasurer.

Onashowewin benefits from the dedication of its only volunteer, a retired senior official of Manitoba Justice. This volunteer (who cannot be named due to issues of confidentiality) provides Onashowewin staff with advice and recommendations for improving their restorative justice program and for negotiating with the Crown Attorney's Office. Onashowewin currently employs Cora Morgan as its executive director, as well as twelve community justice workers and cultural/spiritual advisors, one administrative assistant, a financial advisor, and two legal advisors.

Onashowewin staff members are committed to following the "Brave Path," which is a "customized plan that is designed to meet the needs of each [client]." Case workers contact victims and ask if they wish to participate in the offender's Brave Path and to receive compensations and apologies from offenders. The path on which each client sets out is determined by the type of charge and the willingness of the offender to take responsibility for the damage caused. Clients may also be referred to other community programs, services or assessments, including access to community elders, and employment services. If and when a client completes their Brave Path their case file is closed and they are referred to other agencies for housing, training, employment, and

educational opportunities. If a client fails to complete their Path their file is returned to the Crown Attorney's Office and they return to the regular Manitoba Justice system.

Onashowewin's justice and cultural workers host workshops and programs that have made their organization very successful in diverting case files from the regular justice system and helping to rehabilitate Aboriginal criminal offenders so that they do not reoffend. According to Morgan, Onashowewin's greatest accomplishment has been the implementation of eight highly-successful workshops on topics such as developing self-respect. Morgan relates that her staff go beyond the 'call of duty' in aiding and supporting clients, often working long after regular business hours, and without pay, to communicate, counsel, and mediate on behalf of their clients.

During her interview with me Morgan discussed one particularly challenging client who did not initially attend required meetings with his worker. This worker located his client and, by drawing on their similar life experiences growing up in the Selkirk neighbourhood of Winnipeg, he was able to build rapport. The client had addictions, homelessness, and other issues which prevented him from making positive changes in his life. The case worker worked with his client for several months and the client eventually completed his Path and went on to take additional courses. According to Morgan, the client was able to find employment that "took him off the streets" (Morgan, Formal Interview, July 6, 2011).

Onashowewin is the product of formal collaboration between Aboriginal organizations and the provincial government. Onashowewin also has informal partnership agreements with Kanikanichihk, Eagle Urban Transition Centre (to be discussed further in this report), the Broadway Neighbourhood Centre, the Crown Attorney's Office, and

the University of Manitoba's Faculty of Law. These organizations and institutions

provide a range of services and programs to Onashowewin's clients that would not

otherwise be available. In addition, partnering organizations are able to facilitate

workshops by providing additional space, office equipment and supplies, and services.

Such informal partnerships enable Onashowewin to achieve its mandates despite

limitations and restrictions placed on it by government funders.

- EAGLE URBAN TRANSITION CENTRE (EUTC):

The EUTC incorporated as a non-profit social service agency in March 2005.

EUTC acts as a single service and program window for providing transitional services

and advocacy for Aboriginal people migrating to Winnipeg from First Nations reserves.

EUTC was established by the AMC Secretariat to assist First Nations citizen relocating to

Winnipeg. EUTC case workers provide clients with an inventory of contacts and

resources (e.g., housing, counselling, social assistance, addictions, youth resources, and

services/programs in areas of training/employment and education). The case workers also

provide their clients with a culturally relevant and holistic, non-discriminatory gateway to

transition from reserve communities to life in Winnipeg.

EUTC employs an eclectic approach to CED, relying on Neechi-based tactics for

involving the community, but also drawing on more institutional resources and services

that are better positioned to educate, employ, and find homes for people transitioning

from reserve to city. As part of their organization's mandate, EUTC staff draw on

culturally relevant teachings, supports, and guidance in providing assistance to their

clients. Most staff members have directly experienced difficulties transitioning from

living in rural and northern communities to living in the City. They can therefore act as

mentors and role-models as well as counsellors on such matters. Similarities in life

experience make it easier for workers and their clients to establish rapport and to honour,

trust, and respect each other. This is reflected in EUTC's mission to assist "Aboriginal

citizens experiencing transitional issues [who] should have access to resources that

support a healthy balanced life and wellness in the[four] areas of physical, mental,

spiritual, and emotional [wellness]." Moreover, the EUTC is mandated to:

- Improve the quality of life of urban Aboriginal people and their families
- Provide holistic support, which incorporates the four areas of wellness
- Provide support that incorporates both traditional and contemporary healing
- Utilize a teamwork approach for improving services clients
- Provide advocacy, access to opportunities that increase economic independence
- Create supportive, welcoming and trusting environments
- Recognizing and promoting pride in Aboriginal identity

EUTC-7 is the executive director of AMC. As part of her job she participates in

quarterly meetings of an AMC Advisory Committee made up of Jason Whitford (EUTC

Program Coordinator) and various other Aboriginal advisors, including volunteers from

Manitoba Justice, SCO, the Aboriginal School of Dance, Red River College, the

Aboriginal Financial Corporation, the Aboriginal Human Resource Company, the United

Way, as well as elders, entrepreneurs, and an Aboriginal actor/producer. The advisory

committee helps determine the direction, funding, and projects that EUTC will

implement each year. Aside from the advisory committee and the management team,

EUTC is staffed by several transition counsellors, along with their program coordinator.

Each Transition counsellor works with clients who are either referred by other

organizations such as Onashowewin, or who walk in off the street. The office is managed

by an administrative assistant who handles client-intake, volunteers and summer

employment activities.

One of EUTC's most successful initiatives is the Eagle's Nest Project for Aboriginal Youth, which is located in the North End of Winnipeg and run by EUTC-1 and EUTC-2, who are both counsellors. Eagle's Nest is a resource and recreation program for Aboriginal youth between 15 and 30 years of age who are out-of-school and unemployed. It provides them with one year of support, guidance, and encouragement to return to school, enroll in training opportunities, and/or obtain employment. Clients also participate in traditional ceremonies such as the sweat lodges and the Sundance. Opportunities for skill-training are also provided. These include CPR/First Aid training, Level 1 Food Handlers certification, resume and cover letter services, life skills workshops and weekly recreational activities and outings at City of Winnipeg facilities. During the 2010/2011 fiscal year, 102 Aboriginal youth participated in Eagle's Nest programming. Forty-five youth returned to school, entered training or obtained employment.

Aside from the Eagle's Nest project, EUTC provides transitional support services and advocates on behalf of individuals and families, hosts sharing circles, and refers clients to other services and programs available in Winnipeg. In 2010 and 2011 it delivered twelve skills-development workshops and sharing circles to enhance client skills in the areas of employment, family dynamics, and health-related topics that impact the Aboriginal population. A total of 361 individuals participated in these workshops.

In March of 2011 EUTC staff hosted a one-day forum involving 80 Aboriginal organizations. The goal was to establish new working relationships and increase cooperation among these organizations, as well as to identify and alleviate gaps in existing program funding. According to the AMC's 2010-2011 annual report, EUTC

provided assistance to 1,700 people.

EUTC has funding/contribution-based partnership agreements with CAHRD, Kanikanichihk, Onashowewin, the Urban Circle Training Centre, AMC, the University of Manitoba (Health and Social Sciences), the University of Winnipeg (Institute of Urban Studies), the City of Winnipeg (Community Services), Winnipeg Police Services, Manitoba Justice and 19 other local organizations. EUTC receives in-kind services and resources from Canadian Heritage, the Office of the Federal Interlocutor, Manitoba Lotteries Corporation, the AMC Management Team, HRDC Summer Employment, the City of Winnipeg, the Province of Manitoba, and the UW-IGCA.

- INDIGENOUS, GOVERNMENT & COMMUNITY AFFAIRS (UW-IGCA): University of Winnipeg

Shortly after his installation as President and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Winnipeg in June 2004, Lloyd Axworthy convened an Aboriginal Education Working Group led by First Nations and Métis faculty, staff and students. The working group resulted in a holistic and comprehensive Indigenous Education Strategy and a number of distinct initiatives, including the administrative unit of the UW-IGCA, established in 2010. UW-IGCA is mandated to facilitate interactions between the University and Aboriginal communities and their governments, as well as the federal, provincial, and municipal governments and the community-at-large.

Given its location within the University of Winnipeg, UW-IGCA is very institutional in structure. It incorporates an incubator approach to its CED. However, unlike a true incubator-organization, UW-IGCA is mandated to establish partnerships and build capacity within Aboriginal communities and neighbourhoods by developing

educational and cultural programs that support CED. It should also be noted that the UW-IGCA is not an Aboriginal organization, but is directed to forming partnerships between such organizations and government agencies through the aegis of the University of Winnipeg's President's office. The overarching goal of such partnerships is to develop successful policies, programs, and community-based initiatives for education and CED utilizing resources available at the University of Winnipeg.

The UW-IGCA is headed by Associate Vice-President, Jennifer Rattray. As a former journalist of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Rattray brought considerable knowledge of Winnipeg's Aboriginal communities to her new job. Her membership on various organizational boards (including being co-chair of Kanikanichihk council) positions her well to oversee and bolster UW-IGCA initiatives. These include: (1) Indigenous-Focused Academic Programs: (2) Financial Awards for Aboriginal students: (3) Aboriginal Student Support Services, and; (4) Community Learning programs and services. The first three UW-IGCA initiatives pertain to Aboriginal students studying at the University of Winnipeg. The fourth program provides outreach primarily to residents of the Spence neighbourhood, many of whom are of Aboriginal ancestry. This outreach currently includes a computer drop-in centre, sports programs, a summer camp for neighbourhood children, a Model School associated with the University of Winnipeg's Collegiate, and a scholarship fund. Like the ACW, UW-IGCA is a political/educational body that "puts people of need in touch with people with resources and time" (Rattray, Formal Interview, July 13, 2011).

The University of Winnipeg's Board of Regent's Indigenous Advisory Circle was instrumental in the development of UW-IGCA. The Advisory Circle grew out of the

Master in Development Practice Indigenous Advisory Circle which was constituted in September of 2010. Made up of chiefs, elders, and other local, national, and internationally recognized Aboriginal leaders, Indigenous Advisory Circle advises the University and more specifically, UW-IGCA to "ensure that the University and its governance, programs, and services are guided by an awareness and understanding of Indigenous people, while improving access by advancing its fundraising objectives for scholarships and bursaries for Indigenous students" (UW-IGCA 2011).

The IAC meets quarterly to advise the President/Vice-Chancellor, associate Vice-president Jennifer Rattray, senior administrators, and the university community on issues, programs, and needs pertaining to Aboriginal people (especially high school and post-secondary aboriginal students). At the time of this research, the IAC included chiefs from Fisher River, Norway House, and Peguis First Nations, along with a former grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations, the chair of the Department of Indigenous Studies, a professor from Applied Indigenous Studies at Northern Arizona University, the commissioner of the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, the Minister of Education, a representative of Wayne Dunn & Associates, the director of Ma Mawi, and Leslie Spillett. Together, the Circle provides council and direction to Rattray and her staff on the projects and initiatives delivered through the UW-IGCA.

The University of Winnipeg actively encourages all faculty members to incorporate Indigenous perspectives and content into all their coursework, especially in anthropology, education, English, history, political science, religion and culture, sociology and indigenous language programs. In addition, the University has recently developed two graduate programs with Indigenous foci (the Masters in Development

Practice, and the Master of Arts in Indigenous Governance). It has also developed

undergraduate programs in Indigenous Studies, Indigenous Knowledge, the Community-

based Aboriginal Teacher Education Program, and the Winnipeg Education Centre (both

of which offer Aboriginal and inner-city students with training to become teachers),

Urban and Inner-City Studies, and Certificate Programs in UICS, Indigenous Spiritual

and Pastoral Care, Indigenous Police Preparation Program, and the Industry Workplace

Skills Diploma program.

UW-IGCA has partnerships and contribution agreements with more

organizations, agencies, and offices than can be mentioned in this brief space. The ones

most relevant to this research are Kanikanichihk, SCO, AMC, MMF and the AFN.

UW-IGCA also has over one hundred informal ties to organizations in Winnipeg and

abroad. Together, these ties enable the UW-IGCA to bridge sectors and to provide access,

funding, and educational services relevant to the needs of Aboriginal students and the

communities in which they live.

Table 4.10 below summarizes key information presented in the organizational

profiles in this chapter.

Table 4.10: A Summary of Organizational Profiles

• **Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg (c. 1990)**	• **Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development (c. 1982, 1998)**
Political representation, Urban Aboriginal Non-Profit, Neechi CED approach	Service agency, Urban Aboriginal Non-Profit, Neeginan CED approach
Board of Directors, Bylaws, Membership, Small staff compliment	Board of Directors, Bylaws, Client-based, Large staff compliment
Main Achievements: ACWI, CAHRD, Onashowewin, Neeginan Village, Urban Aboriginal Summit	Main Achievements: NIAT, Aboriginal Community Campus, Employment service provider
Key Partners: Tri-partite agreement, CAHRD, SPCW, and Kanikanichihk, etc.	Key Partners: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada/AHRDA/ASET, U. of Winnipeg, U. of Manitoba, Red River College, City of Winnipeg, Kanikanichihk, ACW
Damon Johnston, President	Marileen Bartlett, Executive Director
• **Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (c.1989)**	• **Kanikanichihk (c.2001)**
Policy and program think-tank, Non-Aboriginal (but Aboriginal-focused), Non-profit, Incubator CED approach	Social Service agency, Urban Aboriginal, Non-profit, Neechi CED approach
Board of Directors, Bylaws, Membership, Small Staff compliment	Council, Bylaws, Client and Community-based, Medium-size Staff compliment
Main Achievements: Southern First Nations Network of Care, and many others.	Main Achievements: Keeping the Fires Burning Fundraising Galas, At Our Relative's Place, Honouring Gifts, and Restoring the Sacred
Key Partners: ACW, CAHRD, City of Winnipeg	Key Partners: United Way, CAHRD, AMC, MKO, SCO, WPS, City of Winnipeg, CFS, Manitoba Housing.
Wayne Helgason, Executive Director	
	Leslie Spillett, Executive Director

• **Southern Chiefs Organization (c.2000)**	• **Onashowewin (c.2002)**
Political representation, First Nations Non-Profit, Neeginan CED approach	Restorative justice service organization, Non-profit, Neechi CED approach
Chiefs-in-Summit, Constitutional Accord, Southern First Nations chiefs and communities, Small staff compliment	Board of Directors, Bylaws, Client-based, Small staff compliment
Main Achievements: Aboriginal health and justice strategy programs and services; Aboriginal Health Transition Fund Project; Child & Family Initiative, S. First Nations environmental strategy, Education Framework Agreement Initiative.	Main Achievements: Workshops including, programs for young people, spiritual and cultural practices, life-counselling, additions counselling, anger management, etc.
Key Partners: Kanikanichihk, AMC, MKO, Regional Health Authority, Manitoba Justice (Crown Attorney), Justice Canada, RCMP D-Division, Winnipeg CFS, WHB.	Key Partners: SCO, ACW, Kanikanichihk, Manitoba Justice (Crown Attorney), EUTC, Broadway Neighbourhood Association, UM Faculty of Law
Nahanni Fontaine, Director of Justice	Cora Morgan, Executive Director
• **Eagle Urban Transition Centre (c.2005)**	• **UW-Indigenous, Government and Community Affairs (c.2010)**
Social service agency, First Nations transitioning from reserves, AMC program, Eclectic (mostly Neechi-style) of CED approach	University Administrative Unit, Urban/Reserve First Nations, For Profit, Incubator and Institutional CED approach
Key Partnerships: CAHRD, Kanikanichihk, Thunderbird House, Indigenous Leadership Development Institute, Nikii Makwka School, St. John's Leisure Centre, and McDonald Youth Services, etc.	Board of Regent – Indigenous Advisory Circle, Various members, Community-based, Small staff compliment
AMC Advisory Committee and Secretariat, Bylaws, AMC Constitution, Client-based, Small staff compliment	Main Achievements: Wii Chiiwaakanak Learning Centre, Master's in Development Practice, and the Master of Arts in Indigenous Governance, and several undergraduate degree programs.
Main Achievements: Eagle's Nest Program, workshops and forums.	Key Partnerships: Kanikanichihk, SCO, AMC, MKO, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Manitoba (and Canada), Ma Mawi, and several First Nations communities.
Jason Whitford, Program manager	

Collective Action as Sources of Social Capital

Through various partnership, contribution and communication agreements, the

Aboriginal organizations described in this chapter provide many services and programs

that positively affect the lives of their clients. While I am not in a position to objectively

measure their success in doing this, I am able to theorize in a general way about how the

organizations in this study have contributed to the development of social capital through

networking. Events such as the ones indicated in Table 4.11 would not have taken place

without considerable cooperation and networking among the organizational leaders,

board members, and their staff.

Table 4.11: Some Key Community Events Initiated by the Organizations in this Study

The Urban Aboriginal Summit	ACW, CAHRD, Kanikanichihk, SPCW
Southern Authority Network of Care	SPCW and SCO
Keeping the Fires Burning Fundraising gala	Kanikanichihk, ACW, CAHRD, SPCW, SCO, Onashowewin, EUTC, UW-IGCA
Aboriginal-Focused School Board Steering Committee	ACW, CAHRD, Kanikanichihk, SCO
Numerous workshops	Kanikanichihk, Onashowewin, and EUTC

All in all, the Aboriginal organizations outlined in this chapter and the people who

staff them have worked in every capacity to assist, support, educate, train, and revitalize

the cultures of their clients. Yet existing jurisdictional divisions that determine which

organizations receive funding and which do not remain the single most inhibiting and

limiting factor in Aboriginal CED and the work being done by organizations in this

study.

Funding agencies and government programs directly determine and control how

programs, services, and resources are allocated and distributed to the various Aboriginal (and non-Aboriginal) community development organizations currently operating in Winnipeg. The distinction between band-based and urban-based, or "hybrid," Aboriginal organizations, cuts both ways. Urban people find it hard to benefit from programs funded by the AANDC through band councils and regional bodies such as SCO, MKO and the AMC. At the same time, people on reserve seldom benefit from municipal programs available in Winnipeg.

> I know one thing about some of the people who work in these urban Aboriginal organizations, is that… [they] are very urban-specific with few connections to the First Nation communities. In my opinion they understand the realities and histories of First Nations people, but the day-to-day realities of the communities are somewhat foreign to them. I think one of the things that divide people in the City of Winnipeg is government funding. The City does not support rural [i.e. reserve] activities, and they are very clear on that. They don't support rural activities when it comes to programs, so that'll create a divide right there.

> (Whitford, Formal Interview, June 29, 2011)

It is a truism that where there is funding there will be programs. However, as Whitford points out, the source of funding constrains how money can be used to serve the greater community. SCO Grand Chief says the Canadian government has yet to relinquish their control of Aboriginal peoples to Aboriginal people themselves. AANDC funds projects that maintain its own mandates to serve First Nation reserve communities. So where does the money come from? Financial funding information was available for all but the UW-IGCA. Although exact figures could not be included in this research, percentages of funding from government and other sources are presented below.

A simple analysis of organizational profiles reveals that 50% of the funding for Aboriginal programs received by the organizations examined in this research comes directly from the Government of Canada – specifically through AANDC, the Office of

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the Federal Interlocutor, Health Canada, and Justice Canada. These monies are distributed (unequally) to the following organizations: CAHRD, Kanikanichihk, SCO, Onashowewin, and the EUTC.

Funding from the Government of Manitoba comprises 30% of the money received by the organizations. These monies are provided by Manitoba Aboriginal and Northern Affairs (or "MANA"), Manitoba Health, Manitoba Justice, Manitoba Education & Training, and Social Services & Family Services Manitoba. The following organizations receive monies from the provincial government: CAHRD, ACW, EUTC, Kanikanichihk, SCO, Onashowewin, and the UW-IGCA.

The City of Winnipeg provides 15% of the money received by the organizations. These monies help provide programs in skills development and education, and are used to address needs of the homeless. The following organizations received funding from the municipal government: SPCW, Kanikanichihk, EUTC, and the UW-IGCA.

Approximately one million dollars or 5% of the money received by the organizations was provided by various agencies and private businesses located in the City of Winnipeg, specifically the AMC (funding SCO, EUTC, and Kanikanichihk) and the United Way (funding SPCW, Kanikanichihk, and the UW-IGCA). Additional funding was provided through the University of Manitoba, the University of Winnipeg, and Red River College through in-kind services and program delivery. SPCW, EUTC, Kanikanichihk, ACW, and CAHRD are funded in part by one or more of these institutions. SPCW is also funded by private sponsors.

In total, the federal and provincial governments provide the bulk of funding for most of the organizations. And this bears directly on why the organizations rely so much

on networking with government agencies. Financing of services and staff is the primary

challenge to these organizations. Every year, each organization must reapply for

operational funding from the agencies and government offices that financed them in

previous years. Given this situation, and the current environment of federal and

provincial cutbacks, it is a tremendous challenge for organizations to support their current

level of staff and programming. One strategy is for organizations to develop formal and

informal partnerships whereby the duplication of services is reduced and clients of one

agency can be referred to another.

Helgason, Bartlett, Johnston, and Whitford all noted that Aboriginal leadership

and organizations have a long way to go before they become fully interconnected and

supportive of each other. This is most evident within urban-based organizations where

ties with family and friends living on reserve are often disrupted. A growing social and

economic chasm is separating these two populations. According to Johnston, the lack of

communication and coordination among Aboriginal leaders is a product of colonialism.

Before the Indian Act, traditional Aboriginal leaders were chosen by elders and a system

of checks and balances prevented them from taking advantage of their position. AANDC,

its reserve system, and the approximately one billion dollars paid out to First Nations

communities in Canada annually has forever altered the more reciprocal and balanced

political and economic arrangement Aboriginal people practiced in the past. Now,

according to Johnston, most people are "out for themselves". However, he also points

out that the steps to recognize Aboriginal rights must be initiated by Aboriginal people

themselves through self-determination and governance. He says he's hopeful that these

steps may be achieved through partnerships among Aboriginal organizations such as

ACW, AMC and MMF.

Some organizations, particularly the AMC, are making headway through this jurisdictional mess by directing funding towards programs aimed at supporting and aiding Aboriginal people in Winnipeg (such as the EUTC). However, restrictions and limitations on current levels of funding received from the Government of Canada make it impossible for the AMC to properly and effectively assist urban peoples.

The ACW and the MMF are two Aboriginal organizations formed to fulfill the need to bridge CED efforts between band/tribal reserves and urban centers. The other organizations described in this research all contribute, in their own ways, to the CED taking place in the City of Winnipeg. The total network of actors spanning the Aboriginal organizations in this study will be shown to be divided into two distinct halves. But for now, some preliminary observations can be made about jurisdictional divisions currently dividing Aboriginal CED work in Winnipeg.

EUTC, Onashowewin, and the SCO all fall under the jurisdictions of the AMC and the Assembly of First Nations. Policies, programs, and initiatives (including the employment of staff and volunteers) are directed through the AMC itself (and the AFN at the Federal level). Their commitment to rural and reserve-based communities and people sometimes preclude them from supporting or developing more urban-based programming.

On the other hand, Kanikanichihk, ACW, SPCW, and UW-IGCA form the other half of the jurisdictional divide. Together, these organizations focus on urban solutions, programs, and initiatives, and are fighting to increase funding to supported organizations through municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government financial supports. We

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will later return to a discussion of these two sets of organizations, and learn how actors within the social networks composing them, impact the formation of what is termed an "alliance network," or organizational cluster. These clusters enable organizations within them to share and distribute services, resources, and expertise to programs that span their individual organizations.

EUTC, Onashowewin, and the SCO connected and are controlled by AMC while Kanikanichihk, ACW, SPCW and UW-IGCA are connected and controlled by municipal institutions. The MMF represents a third jurisdictional division, but is not discussed as it was not a site in my field research. The divide works both ways, however, and reserve peoples seldom benefit from municipal programs.

Figure 4.2 shows how the Aboriginal organizations explored in this research connect to the jurisdictions and control of both urban-based and reserve/rural-based First Nations bands.

Figure 4.2: Parent Groups of Aboriginal Organizations in this Study
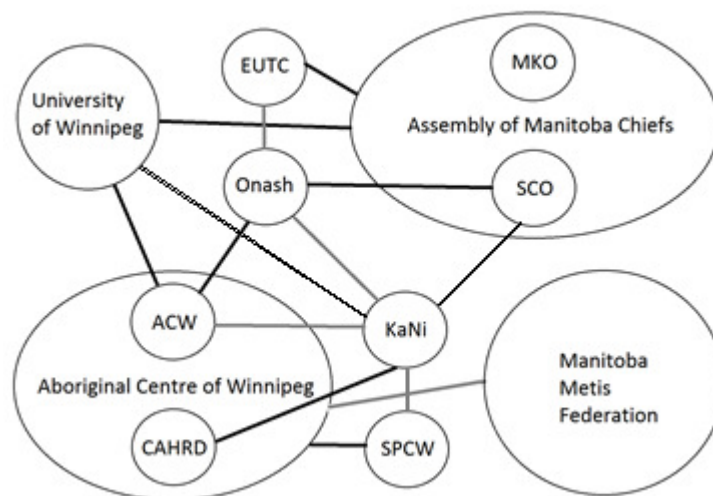
* Please note that black lines indicate actual partnerships, whereas gray lines indicate informal or unofficial agreements.

All of the Aboriginal organizations in Figure 4.2 depend on funding from

municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government. Clearly these organizations are dependent on various levels of government. But this should not blind us to the successes of these organizations and to what they have contributed towards the development of social capital within the communities they serve – something the SCO Grand Chief says is crucial to Aboriginal people reclaiming their place as independent, First Nations peoples of Canada. Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg and other urban areas are certainly places where this sense of community is emerging.

Four of the eight organizations studied provide specific services to their clients. These include education, skills training, and employment counselling (CAHRD, Kanikanichihk, and EUTC), legal advice and counselling (Onashowewin). Two organizations (ACW and SCO) are political entities that represent the interests of Aboriginal communities (urban in the case of ACW and reserve in the case of SCO). And finally, there are two non-Aboriginal organizations (SPCW and UW-IGCA) providing various kinds of policy and program development and funding. The services and programs these organizations provide to their clients and members are helping to build capacity within urban Aboriginal communities in Winnipeg. Yet their apparently divergent mandates seem to indicate a form of developmental disorganization or in the very least, a possible duplication or overlap in mandates and services.

Despite their differences, the organizations described in this chapter have one very important thing in common; they are directed by a cohort of talented and dedicated Aboriginal leaders, the majority of whom are highly-educated women. This reflects demographic patterns which, as I discussed earlier, have been identified in recent censuses by Statistics Canada. These leaders are relying on their social networks and, as

I will show in the chapters which follow, they are utilizing electronically-mediated forms of communications (particularly email) to forge and maintain large numbers of weak social ties. These weak ties, combined with the strong face-to-face ones between key network actors (generally the CEOs or directors of organizations) have enabled a new form of social network (what I call "organizational clusters," or alliance networks) to emerge. Through key network actors this "alliance network" seems to link organizations with complementary structures and mandates. Since these network actors know each other personally, and in one form of another, have worked, volunteered, or advised each other's organizations, they (and the organizational clusters of which they are nodes) represent a new source of urban Aboriginal social capital. This research not only identifies and explains the source of this social capital, but shows how the organizational alliances and partnerships growing out of it represent a hybridity of mainstream CED practices within principals of more traditional Aboriginal cultures, philosophies and practices.

The main strength of these clustered organizations is the ability of their leaders to interconnect with other influential and resourceful persons and agencies. In other words, organizations that have members who are well connected to people external to their offices are better able to identify and exchange resources and services. Organizations alone do not produce such successes. People do. Effective networking among the consultant contacts interviewed and surveyed is, I believe, one of the main sources of their organizations' strength. This network of social contacts bridges organizational boundaries to create a total network of services, resources, and care that would not be sustainable was it not for computer-mediated technologies. Although in-person meetings

still predominate at the frontline of staff-client service-delivery, emails and telephone communications allows administrative staff to communicate daily with colleagues in other organizations and in so doing to enhance the effectiveness of the total social network.

The affiliations each consultant has with various other organizations are an important source of social and economic capital for these organizations, and the Aboriginal communities of Winnipeg. Whether or not people in the community-at-large benefit from these resources is largely dependent on how successful leader-brokers are in managing the total social network of contacts at their disposal. Aboriginal leaders have always relied on a wide range of contacts in the work they do. However, the development and popularization of the Internet and its technologies has revolutionized how emerging Aboriginal leaders are able to network in urban environments.

Population statistics play an important role in this story, especially as they inform us of migration rates and the gender of urban-reserve populations. The significance of this gender-related demographic is important for contextualizing the prevalence of Aboriginal women as leaders in hybrid-model, urban Aboriginal organizations discussed in the three remaining chapters of this dissertation. If government programs are directed to assisting particular neighbourhoods with a specific demographic profile, how can these organizational programs effectively assist Aboriginal people who move so often? How are Aboriginal people and their organizations maintaining social ties to other organizations and people in what has become a blurred urban-rural cultural landscape?

The next two chapters of this dissertation delve into these matters further by presenting SNA findings of the social networks of actors spanning the organizations

discussed in this chapter. Qualitative themes emerge through the analysis of consultant interviews that substantiate and verify results summarized by social network data. What is apparent, is that a few of the primary and secondary consultants appearing in this chapter act as prominent network brokers articulating and directing clusters of organizations, or alliance networks responsible for much of the CED in Winnipeg. These alliance networks embody mixes of social capital representing new forms of collective action promoted through a balance of communication media usage.

Chapter 5

QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH RESULTS & FINDINGS:
The Bridging Social Capital of Alliance Networks

This chapter contains a presentation and an analysis of quantitative social network and communication online survey data. Each consultant provided me with a list of the people comprising their personal network, along with details of the demographic characteristics of each. Consultants also described the various ways they communicated with their contacts, including face-to-face (i.e., unmediated communications), telephone/cellphone, SMS text messaging, email, and social networking media. From this data, a total social network of all actors was compiled.[44]

Findings are presented as raw data collected during field research in each of the eight Aboriginal organizations. The chapter concludes with a brief interpretation and analysis of this quantitative data-set that helps substantiate and introduce key results. These results are discussed in relation to how network brokers and other nodes interconnect organizations within a wider web of total social network relations. These preliminary findings form the basis for understanding the ethnographic data presented in chapter six where consultant interviews are interpreted according to themes emerging from their analysis. The implications and conclusions of these findings are analyzed and reviewed in detail in chapter seven.

This chapter begins with a summary of the SNA micro, meso, and macro level

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[44] The total network not only describes, quantitatively, the various communications media typically used by network actors and the strength of their ties to each other, but also provides network metrics on the social cohesion of the network (size and density), centralities of local actors (degree, betweenness, and eigenvector), and potential sub-graphs or social clusters (indicating brokers and structural holes). Metric scores are presented and summarized in their raw forms, as well as percentages.

metrics used in this research. NodeXL software[45] was used to calculate actor centrality and accessibility, local network social cohesion, and the presence of clusters present within the total network. NodeXL is a Microsoft Excel macro. The macro automatically calculates the various SNA metrics that are used below for measuring and describing the total social network of ties comprising the many actors socially connected to the eight Aboriginal organizations examined in this study.

These data are presented in several graphs, tables, and figures displaying the social and communication ties linking consultants to all other actors spanning the eight Aboriginal organizations explored in this research.

SNA findings indicate that certain actors occupy significant positions of brokerage within the network that enable them to partner and communicate with a wider array of fellow actors and their organizations. A few actors form networks of networked brokers within the system. These network clusters are later described as the "alliance networks" I mentioned earlier in our discussion. The significance and relevance of these entities are made clear in the next chapter by consultants themselves when themes emerging from their interviews are twinned with SNA data.

Summary of Metrics Produced through Social Network Analysis

The quantitative SNA and survey methods used in this field research project describe each actor's social network of contacts and supports, according to network centrality measures of degree, betweenness, and eigenvector, and metrics measuring overall social cohesion and clustering coefficients of the total, global network spanning

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[45] "NodeXL is a free, open-source template for Microsoft® Excel® 2007 and 2010 that makes it easy to explore network graphs. With NodeXL, you can enter a network edge list in a worksheet, click a button and see your graph, all in the familiar environment of the Excel window" (NodeXL Website: URL: http://nodexl.codeplex.com).

all eight organizations. Key findings pertaining to social network metrics are presented in association with social network survey questions asked of each research consultant.

Survey questions were divided into three sets. The first, called the "name-generator," asked consultants to provide a list of people they work with most closely while performing their duties within their organization.[46] On average, consultants identified 14 social network contacts comprising 290 social ties (i.e., relations) and 151 contacts (i.e., actors or nodes). Thirty-eight percent of these were shared between consultant actors.

The next set of survey questions is called the "name interpreter." In these, consultants were asked to provide additional information on their personal contacts to establish strong and weak social ties. These include "years known," "main mode of communication," and various questions pertaining to the "activity field relationship." Activity field relations describe the social relationships consultants have with each of their network contacts. These activity field relations include: (1) "family/kin," (2) "friendship and social-emotional support," (3) "acquaintances," (4) "information-advice-brainstorming," and (5) "business-related assistance." The fifth field has been left out of the analysis due to the fact that 99% of all ties described by consultants are minimally based on 'business-related assistance.' Information on these fields was produced through questions asked in the social network survey. A full list of these survey questions is presented in Appendix 2, Section B. Table 5.1 below summarizes the number of types of

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[46] It should be stipulated, however, that a few network contacts were not associated directly with the organizations of which consultants worked, served in some other capacity, such as elders, role-models, and other significant persons. For instance, ACW-1 (independent consultant for ACW and SPCW) is not mentioned by Helgason, Johnston, and Bartlett as providing any specific services, but is still listed as a network contact. Only SPCW-1 declared ACW-1 a business contact. This contradiction may be explained if ACW-1 is thought to be a critic of ACW, SPCW, and CAHRDs efforts to aid and support Aboriginal people.

activity field relations comprising each consultant's network, including a ratio of strong

and weak ties.

Table 5.1: Summary of Consultant Contacts and their Activity Field Relations

Organization	Consultant-Actors	Number of Contacts	1. Family / Kin	2. Friend & Social/ Emotional	3. Acquain.	4. Info, Advice, Brain-storm	Ratio of Strong vs. Weak Ties
ACW	Damon Johnston	12	0	2	0	4	1 : 5
	ACW-1	6	0	0	6	3	1 : 5
CAHRD	Marileen Bartlett	23	2	7	0	6	1 : 3
SPCW	Wayne Helgason	16	0	3	4	5	1 : 2
	SPCW-1	24	1	4	6	5	1 : 7
Kanikanichihk	Leslie Spillett	20	1	2	0	13	1 : 1
	Kani-1	15	0	2	0	5	1 : 14
	Kani-2	9	0	2	0	3	1 : 8
SCO	Nahanni Fontaine	7	2	5	0	4	2 : 1
	Grand Chief SCO-1	11	2	3	1	5	1 : 4
		10	0	2	6	5	1 : 1
Onashowewin	Cora Morgan	20	0	7	0	10	1 : 2
	Onash-1	10	0	1	0	2	1 : 4
EUTC	Jason Whitford	20	1	6	2	9	1 : 4
	EUTC-2	5	0	1	2	4	1 : 1
	EUTC-1	7	1	2	5	4	2 : 1
IGCA -UW	Jennifer Rattray	29	0	3	0	8	1 : 9
Mean Score:		**14**	**0.6**	**3**	**2**	**6**	**1 : 4**

The ratio of strong and weak ties used by consultants will be explored in chapter

seven. For now, let us recall how strong ties differ from weak ties, according to the

relationships, behaviours and purposes of each form. Strong ties build trust between

people and help cement more enduring, kin-like or friendship-based roles and

obligations. Weak ties are more instrumental and contractual in nature enabling people to

access information, social supports, and other resources not normally available through

just friends and family.

When strong ties outweigh weak ties our behaviour tends to be more constrained

by group ethics and mandates, but our social identities are reinforced through rights granted to all members. However, such ties may also constrain behaviour so much as to prevent group innovations and the change-in-perspectives necessary to solve new problems and to access never before accessed resources and information.

When weak ties outweigh strong ties our behaviour tends to be less constrained by group ethics and mandates, but our identities are also less defined and protected and we may be challenged by a moral majority. Therefore, the ratio of strong and weak ties linking consultants to their contacts affects the interactional contents of those relationships, thereby helping us predict what activities, pursuits, and agendas may be pursued by such persons.

The ratio of strong to weak ties is expressed numerically in Table 5.1. The average for all consultants is 1:4. This means that for every strong tie linking a consultant to a contact four additional weak ties exist to other contacts. A balance of strong and weak ties indicates that that person is a member of a stable group (e.g., family, or group of close friends) but is also positioned to access and control information, services and resources beyond their group. Note that Spillett, SCO-1, and EUTC-2 have strong-weak tie ratios of 1:1 indicating that they may be better positioned in their local networks to innovate while depending on support from dedicated others. Morgan, Helgason, EUTC-1, and Fontaine have ratios that are weighted less evenly. As well, Kani-1 and Rattray have scores of 1:14 and 1:9 respectively. Given the abundance of weak social ties comprising Kani-1 and Rattray's individual social networks, their contacts are likely to provide more temporary and contractual or instrumental services and supports to their organizations. We will return to these findings later in the last two chapters of this dissertation after

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SNA metrics have been presented and interpreted. For now we will explore how the other

activity-field relations summarized in Table 5.1 above were used to predict the strength

of ties among consultants.

A total of four activity field relations were used to measure the strength of

ties/relations between consultant-actors and their social contacts.[47] The larger the number

of activity fields contained in a relationship, the stronger the tie, and vice versa. Tie

strength is visually represented on the total social network graph according to the

'thickness' of lines (or ties) connecting actors to each other. Drawing on terminology in

network analysis, the strength of an actor's tie to his or her contacts is called

"multiplexity". Multiplexity is an aggregate of the strength and composition of social

relations. For our purpose, strong and weak ties are differentiated by level of

multiplexity. Relations interconnected by three or more activity field relations are called

"strong ties", and relations interconnected by two or less activity fields are called, "weak

ties". We will return to these findings once all SNA data have been summarized and a

graph of the total social network of actor-relations connecting consultants to their

networks of actor-contacts is presented and explained.

For now, however, we may summarize the frequency of activity field relations

present within the total network of relationships connecting consultant-actors to their

social network contacts. Since nearly 99% of consultants work in some capacity to assist

consultants in their work, we will assume that the activity field relation, "business and

assistance" is the most general of ties connecting all actors within the total network.

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[47] These are numbered 1-4 in Table 5.1. The first three activity fields concern the kind of relationship consultants have with their contacts. If actors are socially linked through three or more activity field relations, a strong social tie is said to link connect them. If actors have two or fewer activity fields linking them, a weak tie is said to exist. The remaining fields describe the kind of information that consultants exchange with their contacts.

Relations of this type provide assistance and supports to an actor within their office.

Sixty-three actors (or 42%) described in the total network are connected by the activity

field relation, "information, advice, and brainstorming" – mainly interconnecting several

groups or clusters of actors. Relations of this type provide ideas, solutions, innovation,

and help actors to brainstorm solutions to problems and challenges. Spillett, Rattray,

Fontaine, Morgan, and Whitford form one group of actors who provide information and

advice to each other and may brainstorm ideas together. Fontaine, Morgan, and SCO

Grand Chief have a similar exchange relation. Bartlett, Johnston, and Helgason also work

together in this capacity. Finally, Fontaine and SCO-1, and Helgason and SPCW-1

exchange information and brainstorm with each other. Table 5.2 below summarizes the

percentage of activity field relations each consultant has with his or her network contacts.

Table 5.2: Percentages of Consultants' Activity Field Relations

Consultant	Bus. Assistance*	Family and Kinship	Friends and Emotional Supports	Acquaintance	Information, Advice and Brainstorming
Fontaine	42%	6%	29%		23%
Grand Chief	43%	8%	19%	11%	19%
SCO-1	45%		14%	27%	14%
Spillett	47%	2%	17%	2%	32%
Morgan	51%		16%	5%	28%
Whitford	57%	1%	13%	5%	24%
Bartlett	59%	5%	18%		18%
Johnston	60%		10%		30%
Helgason	60%		18%	1%	21%
SPCW-1	62%		15%	13%	10%
Kani-1	68%		9%		23%
EUTC-1	80%		10%		10%
EUTC-2	84%				16%
Rattray	84%		8%		8%
Onash-1	98%		1%		1%
ACW-1	100%				
Mean Scores	**--**	**7%**	**31%**	**12%**	**42%**

* The activity field relation, 'Business-related assistance' was excluded from the analysis of tie strength since 99% of the network was defined by such relations.

Forty-seven actors comprising 31% of the total network are connected by the activity field relation, "close friendship and providing social/emotional support" –mainly interconnecting primary and secondary consultant-actors to tertiary contacts within their organizations. Relations of this type concern close friendships based on social and emotional supports. Eighteen actors (or 12%) described in the total network are connected by "acquaintance-based" activity. Relations of this type comprise friends-of-friends and others an actor occasionally interacts with socially. Eleven actors (or 7%) described in the total network are connected by "kinship/family" activity relations. Relations of this type concern actual and fictive kinship ties. These kinship ties play a significant role in cementing actor relations (through bonding social capital) at the heart of broker alliance networks. We return to the significance of kin ties later in our discussion. Eight percent of social ties interconnecting actors are based on undefined activity field relations. The remaining 42% of actor relations are directed by the activity field "business-assistance" only, whereas the other actors are connected by "business-assistance" and one or more other field relations.

The final 'name interpreter question' in the SNA survey asked consultants to identify one or two of their network contacts who had leadership potential, or who were already leaders in Aboriginal community development. Leadership is a "process of social influence in which one person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task" (Chemers 2002:143). Consultants often named current leaders of Aboriginal organizations who have been working in community development for at least 15-20 years. A few consultants named contacts that were younger, but highly motivated and dedicated to their positions in their organizations.

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Later, in chapter seven, this data will be presented and discussed in relation to current and future opportunities in Winnipeg's Aboriginal community development.

The last set of survey questions asks consultants to state whether or not each one of their contacts knows of and socially interacts with each other. This is described as "reverse small-world generator" for it attempts to describe social relations/ties defining each consultant's personal network of contacts. Whether or not these relationships exist between contacts is debatable, but they are qualified by a combination of participant-observations of consultants interacting with each other and interview anecdotes describing those relationships. However, it is nearly impossible to observe the interaction of contacts across different organizations.

Taken together, the name-generator, name-interpreter, and reverse-small-world survey questions elicit numerical information on each consultant's relations to their personal network members. Once all data was compiled, the coded names of each consultant's contacts were entered into a matrix in NodelXL.

The total social network graph of all actors accounted for in this study is displayed on the 'fold-out' graph in Figure 5.1 below. Each primary consultant is the center of his or her personal network, but also the key contact within the particular Aboriginal organization associated most closely with them. Members of each organization are colour-coded. Green nodes (or actors) represent members of SPCW. Maroon nodes represent member of ACW. Yellow nodes represent members of CAHRD. Teel nodes represent members of EUTC. Dark blue nodes represent members of Onashowewin. Purple nodes represent members of SCO. Red nodes represent members of Kanikanichihk. Finally, gray nodes represent members (or contacts of) the UW-IGCA.

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Figure 5.1: Total Social Network Graph of Consultants and their Organizations:

* To view an enlarged version of this network graph please refer to the PDF file titled, "Total Network Graph".
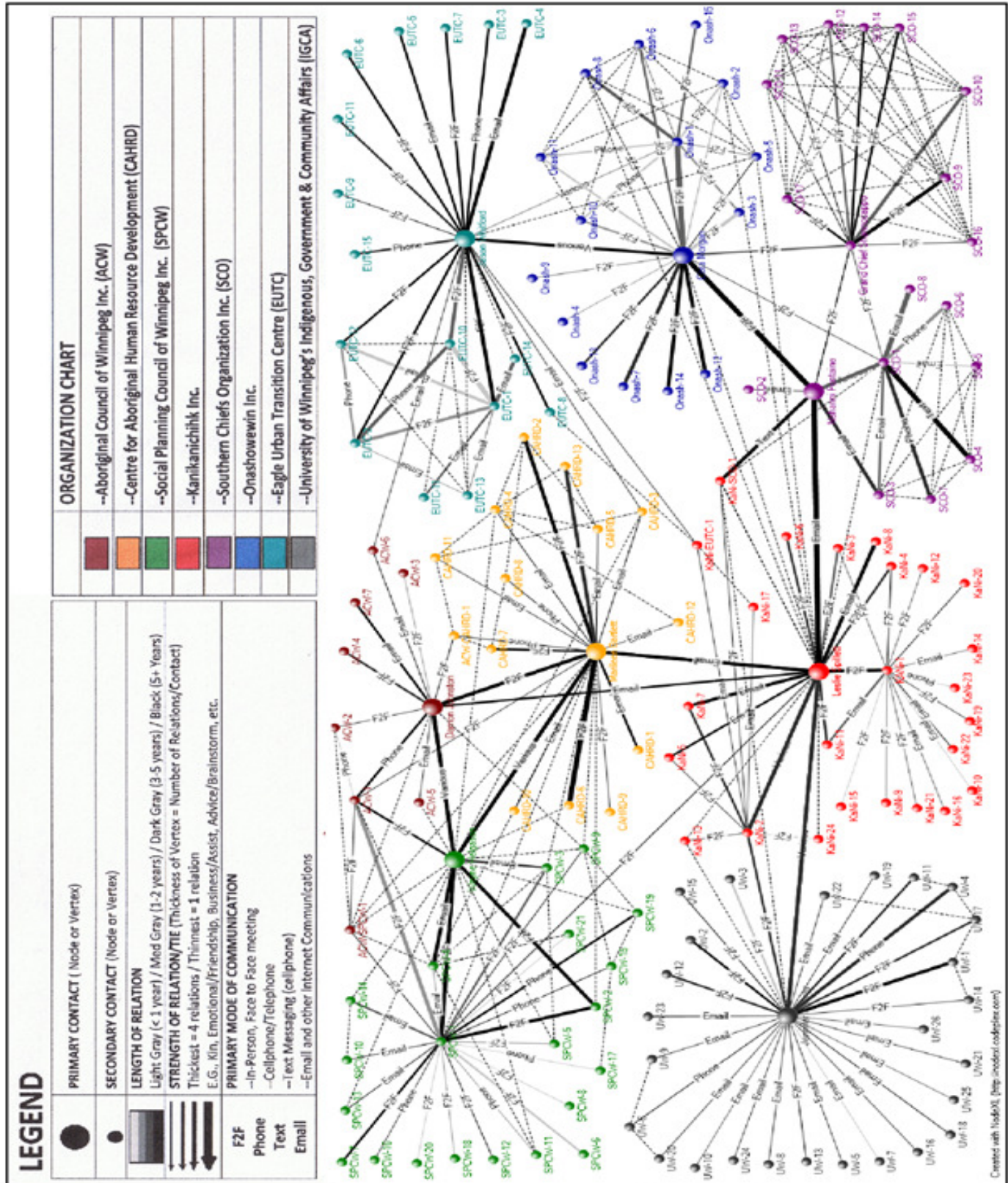
Primary consultants appear as larger spheres in Figure 5.1, while secondary

consultants and other actors appear as smaller ones. As already discussed the thickness of

lines connecting actors represents the relative strength of social ties between them.

Thicker lines represent greater multiplexity, or stronger ties, while thinner lines represent

weaker, less multiplex ties (i.e., ties containing fewer activity field relations). Dotted

lined displayed on the graph represent probable relations or ties connecting actors.

Information on these latter ties was elicited through secondary sources, asking primary

and secondary consultants to verify whether a tie connects actors within their personal

network. For a more focused and detailed visualization of each primary and secondary

actors' personal network of contacts and their strength of ties, please refer to the graphs

presented in Figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2 consists of four separate graphs, including A to D. Graph (A) illustrates

the Primary Consultant Network. Graph (B) illustrates the Primary and Secondary

Consultant Networks. Graph (C) illustrates the Total Network of all Actors' Strong

Social Ties. And finally, graph (D) illustrates the Total Network of all Actors' Weak

Social Ties.
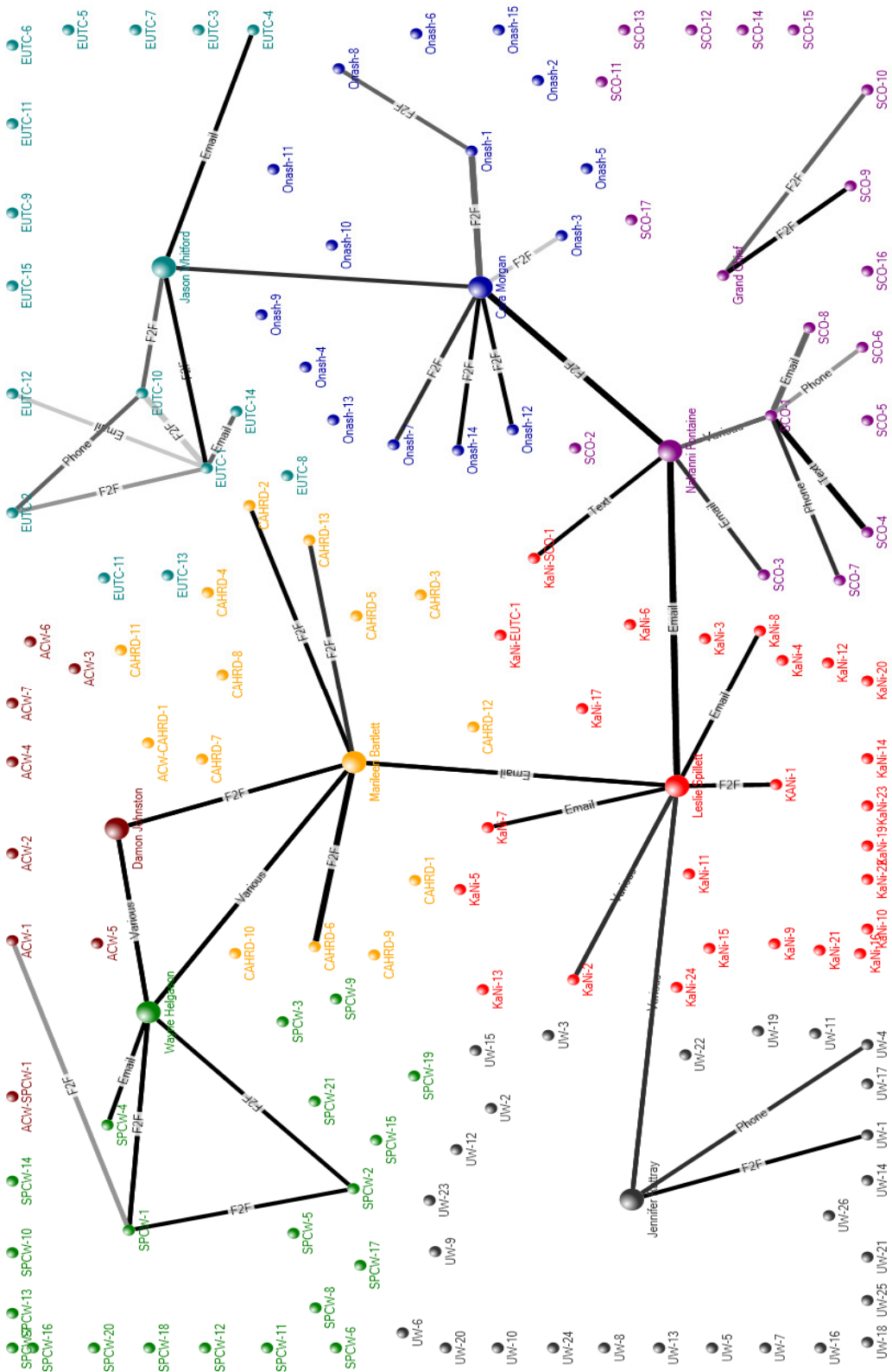
Figure 5.2: Social Network Graphs.

(A) Primary Consultant Network
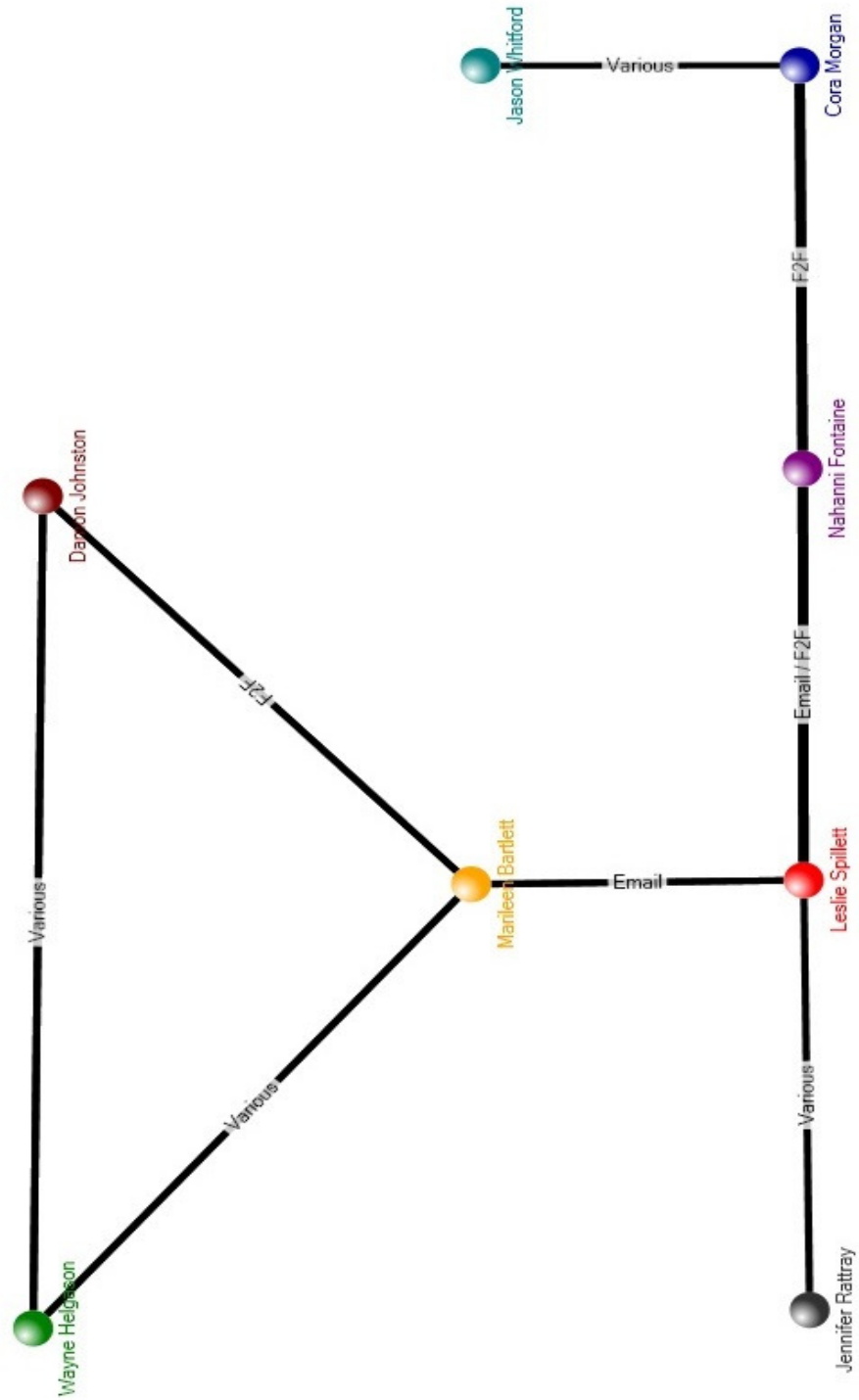
(B) Primary & Secondary Consultant Network

(C) Network Graph of <u>Strong</u> Social Ties (i.e., 3-4 activity fields per tie)

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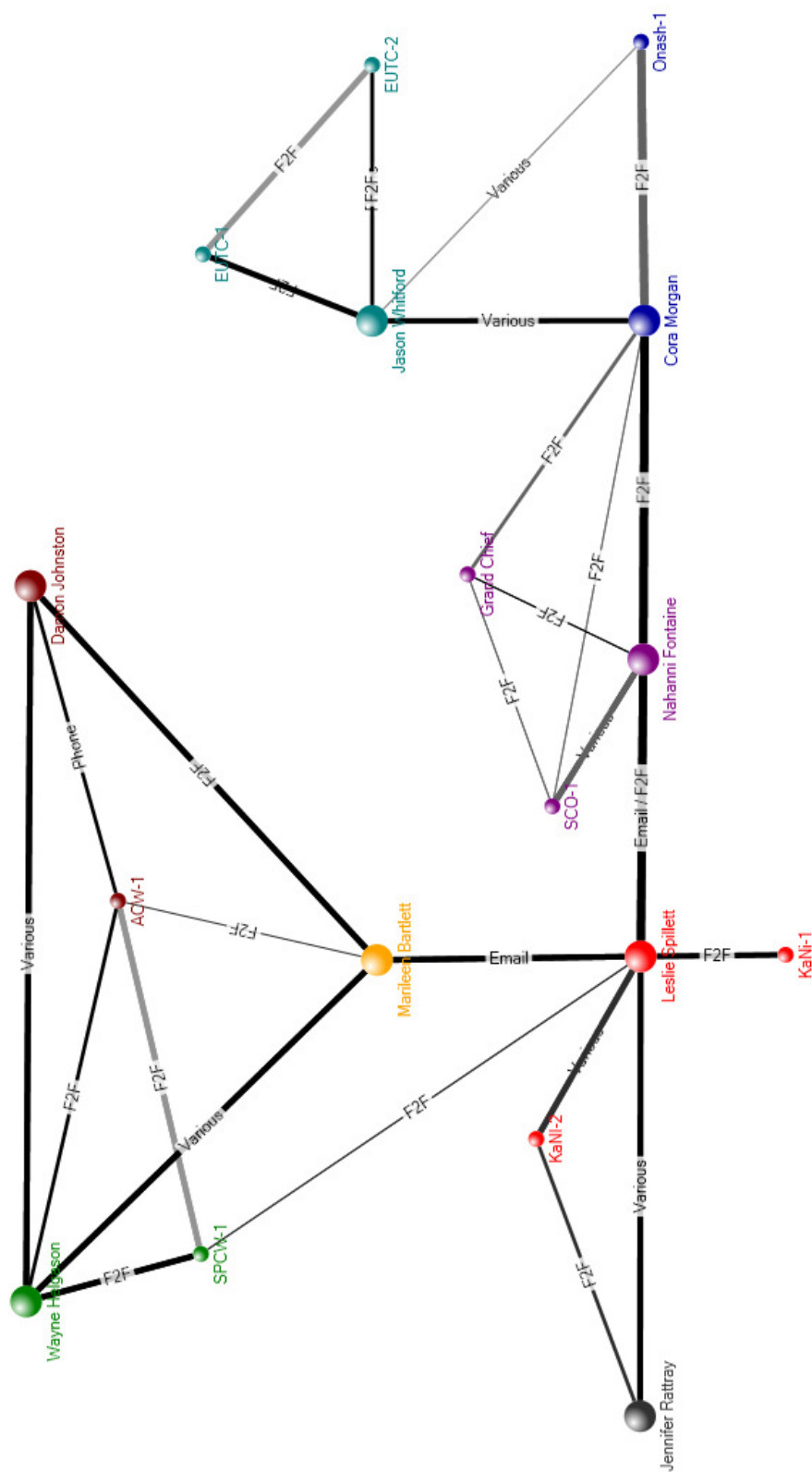
(D) Network Graph of <u>Weak</u> Social Ties (i.e., 1-2 activity fields per tie)

The total network of all organizational actors are represented as nodes on the graph and their relations with each other as structural sets of strong and weak social ties. While networks of strong ties between actors have the capacity to generate bonding social capital between them, networks built on weak ties tend to generate more bridging social capital. It also should be said there is a strong correlation between the mode of communication actors use to stay in touch with each other and the type of social ties produced.

Communication modes used by actors to exchange information (e.g., face-to-face, telephone/cellphone, email) are displayed as text superimposed on each line of the graph. Recall from the previous chapter that 56% of ties were based on unmediated 'face-to-face' communication, 29% of ties were based on mediated 'email' communication, 11% on 'telephone/cellphone', 3% of ties were based on 'various' modes of communication, and 1% of ties were based on 'SMS text messaging'. While the majority of ties are based on face-to-face communications (being associated with primarily strong ties), close to 30% of ties are based on email exchanges (associated with weak social ties) between actors. Please refer to Figure 5.3 below for graphs of the various communication modes actors use to sustain their ties with each other.

Figure 5.3: Graphs of Consultant-Communication Modes:

(A) Face-to-Face Communications --between Consultants and their Contacts

(B) Email Communications -- between Consultants and their Contacts

Created with NodeXL (http://nodexl.codeplex.com)
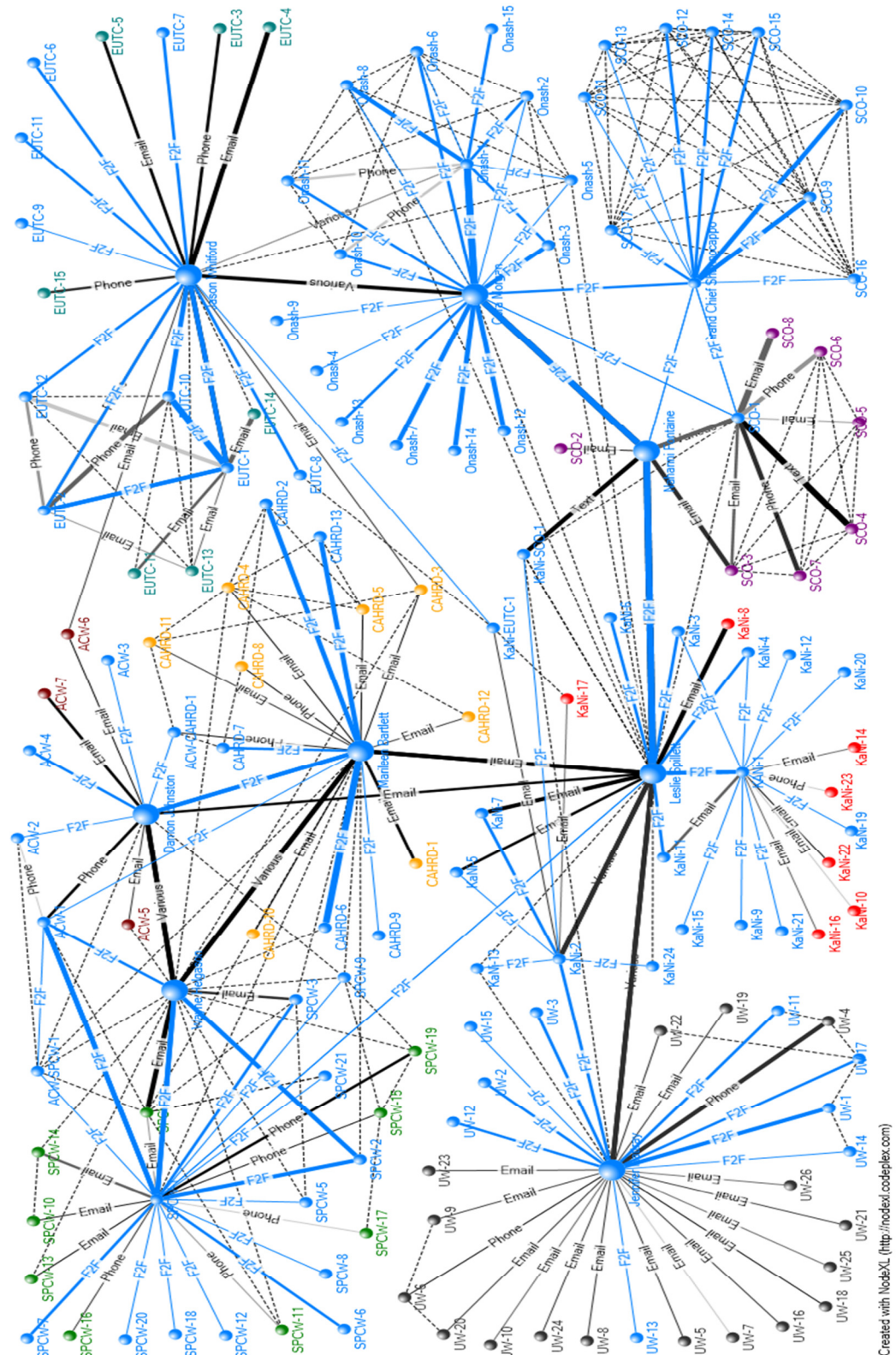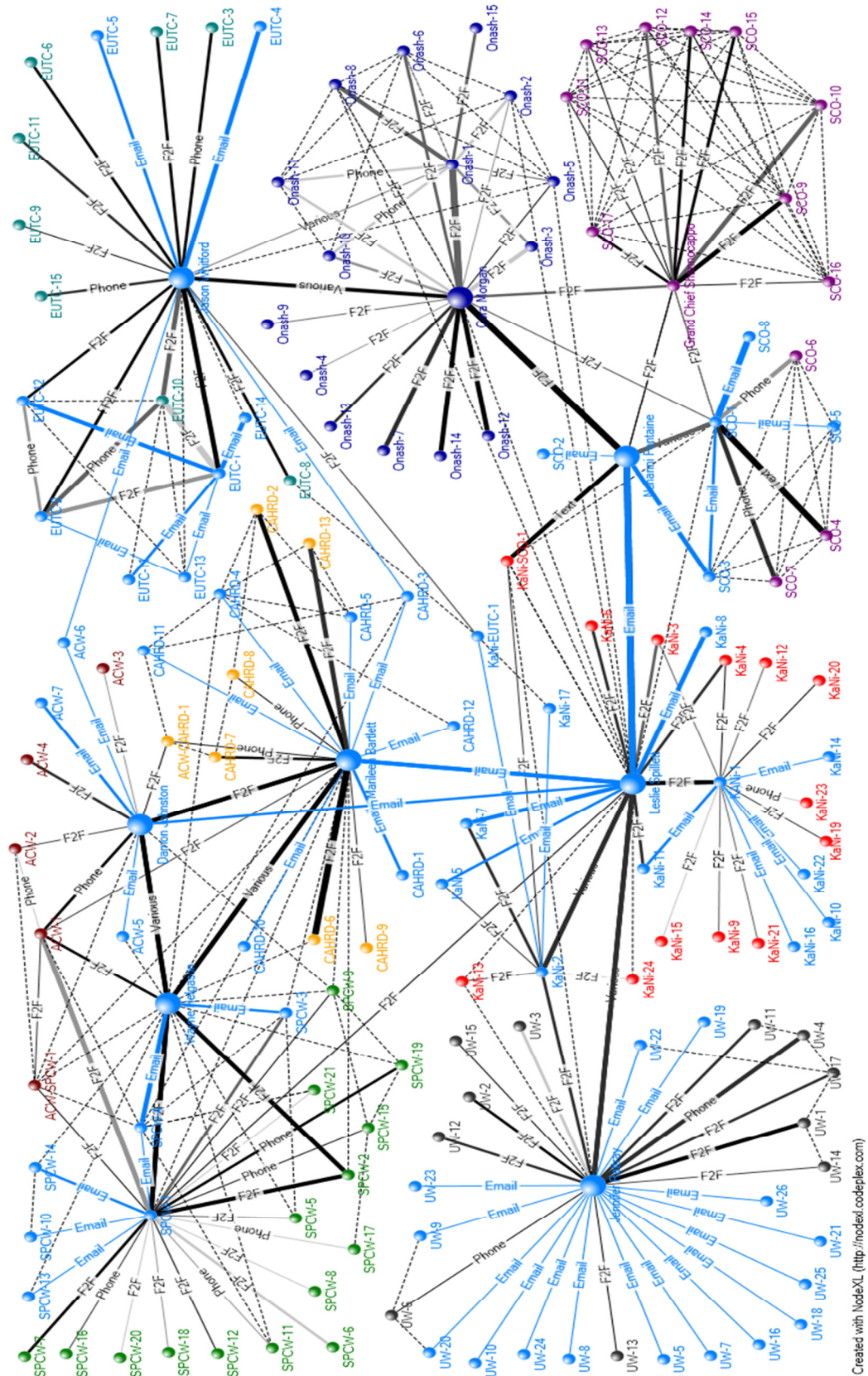
(C) Telephone Communications -- between Consultants and their Contacts
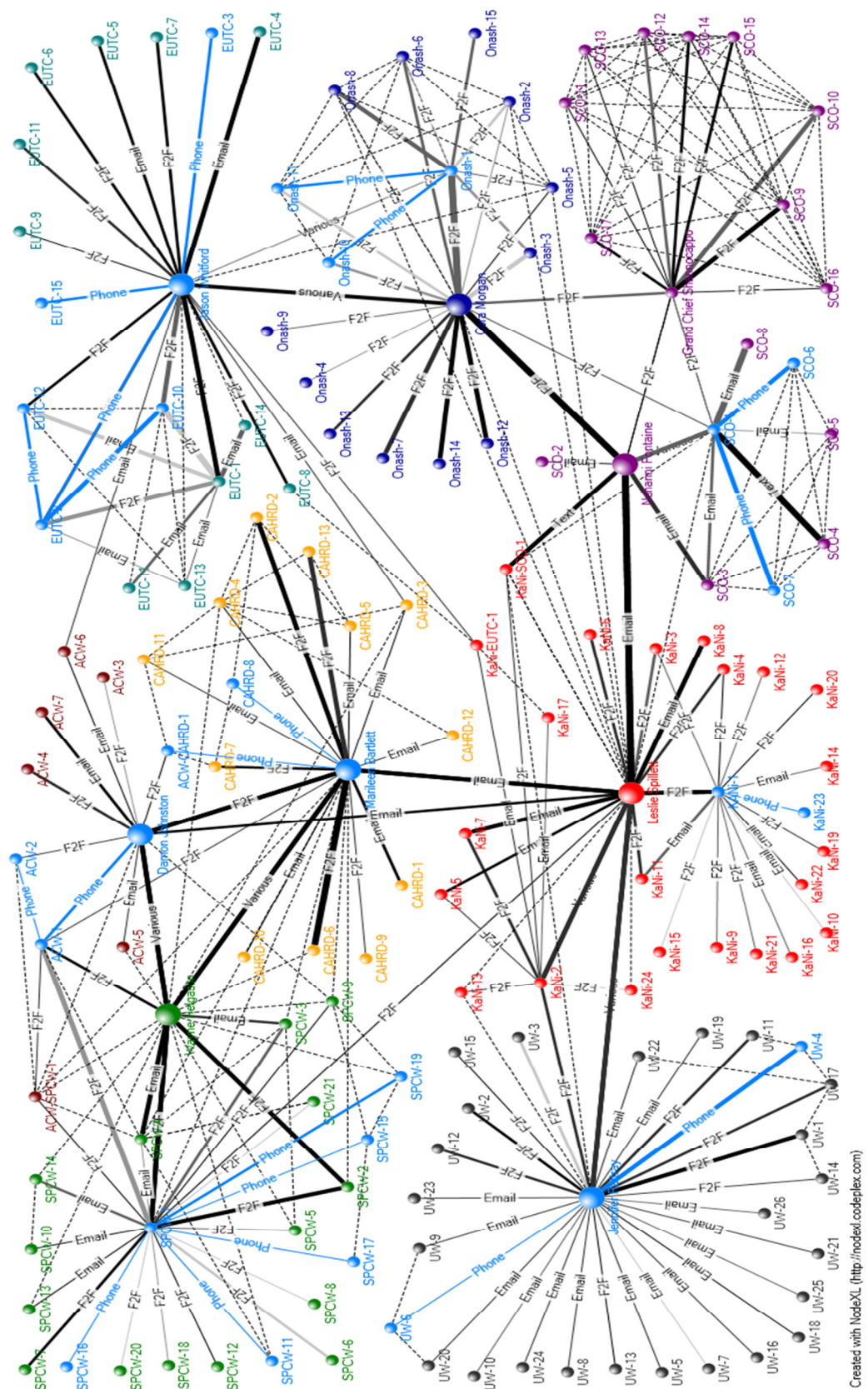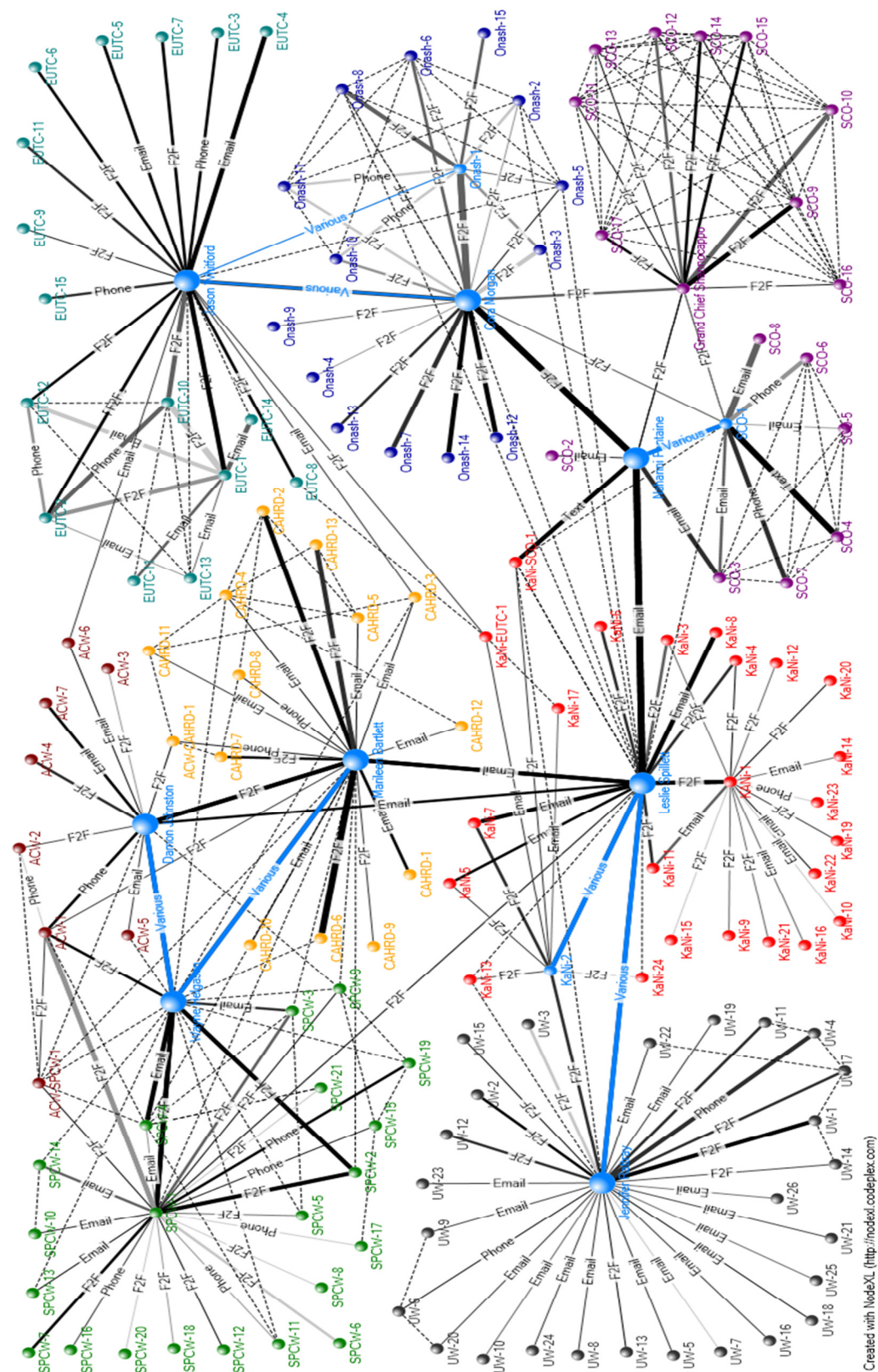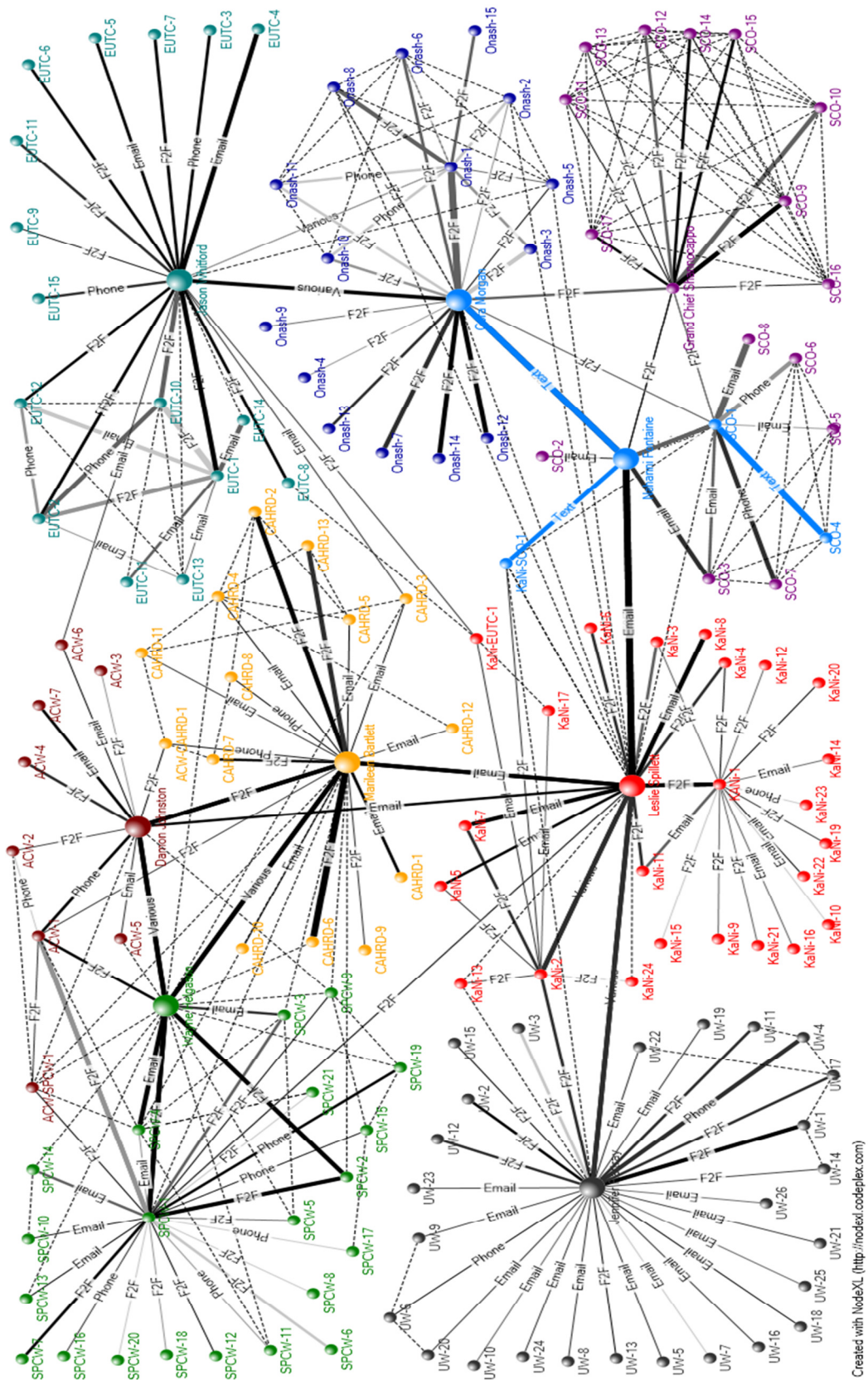
(D) Various Communcations Modes -- (i.e., F2F, email, phone, texting) between Consultants and their Contacts

(E) Text Messaging Communications -- between Consultants and their Contacts

Created with NodeXL (http://nodexl.codeplex.com)

Based on a review of the actors, ties and communication modes utilized by actors to network with others within the total social network, a few preliminary observations of primary and secondary consultant network connections is possible.

Leslie Spillett is directly connected to all other organizations, leaders and secondary consultant-actors, except for the EUTC where she is indirectly connected through Kani-2 and Kani-SCO-1. Spillett has strong relational ties (highly multiplex) with actors within the local networks of ACW, CAHRD, SCO and UW-IGCA, and she has weak relational ties (less multiplex) with actors within the local networks of Onashowewin and the SPCW. Email is used slightly more than face-to-face communication to contact actors within her network – stronger rather than weaker ties are present within her confirmed network of relations. Weak ties are likely to exist between Spillett and members of Onashowewin, SPCW, and SCO-1's local network.

Marileen Bartlett is directly connected to the ACW, Kanikanichihk, and the SPCW. Her relations with actors within each organization's local network are based on strong ties facilitated by both face-to-face and email communications. No direct ties connect Bartlett to the EUTC, Onashowewin, the SCO, and the UW-IGCA. Bartlett is networked to Onashowewin, SCO and UW-IGCA, and through an indirect tie via Spillett for the two former groups and Spillett, Kani-2, and Kani-SCO-1 for the latter group. Bartlett, her staff, Johnston, and Helgason are connected through mainly strong ties. Bartlett has weak ties with ACW and CARHD staff-members (aside from Johnston, CAHRD-2, CAHRD-6, and CAHRD-13). The only confirmed tie Bartlett has with SPCW is through Helgason. All other ties are unconfirmed, but said to exist, based on observations made by others in the total network. Email and face-to-face

communications are used equally for communicating with her contacts, yet email alone connects Bartlett to Spillett.

Jennifer Rattray has direct ties to Kanikanichihk, as well as indirect ties via Spillett to ACW, CARHD, SCO, and SPCW. Rattray is not connected to the EUTC or Onashowewin. Rattray is networked with UW-IGCA contacts through strong ties where face-to-face communication is utilized and through weak ties where email is used for communicating. Weak, email-based ties also connect Rattray to SCO actors. Rattray uses various forms of communication to network with Spillett at Kanikanichihk. Overall, Rattray relies on email as the primary way she communicates with her local network contacts, followed by face-to-face communication with a cohort of actors.

Nahanni Fontaine is directly connected to Kanikanichihk and Onashowewin, the former by email and the latter by SMS-texting. Only indirect ties link Fontaine to ACW, CAHRD and UW-IGCA (via Spillett), and Onashowewin (via Whitford). Fontaine is not connected to SPCW at all. Fontaine has strong ties to Spillett, Morgan, SCO-1, SCO-2 and Kani-SCO-1 using mainly email, SMS text messaging, telephone and various. Fontaine is weakly tied to Grand Chief via face-to-face communication. Email is the primary way that Fontaine communicates with members of her network, followed by SMS text messaging.

Cora Morgan is directly connected to EUTC and SCO via strong ties and to Kanikanichihk via unconfirmed, perceived ties. Morgan is indirectly connected to ACW (via ACW-5) and Kanikanichihk (via Fontaine and Spillett). Morgan is not connected to CAHRD and SPCW (although perceived indirect ties may exist through Spillett). Strong ties connect Morgan to the majority of EUTC and SCO network actors (mainly staff) and

to Fontaine and Whitford. Most of these ties are based on face-to-face communications. Weak ties link Morgan to Onashowewin staff and SCO-1. Finally Morgan predominately communicates via face-to-face based weak ties.

Wayne Helgason is directly connected to ACW and CAHRD, mainly through multiplex, strong ties. Helgason is indirectly connected to EUTC (via CAHRD-3) and Kanikanichihk (via SPCW-1 and Bartlett). Helgason is not connected with Onashowewin, SCO, and UW-IGCA. Most of Helgason's ties to others are based on strong relations with Bartlett, Johnston and SPCW-1, and as well as a few SCPW contacts. Helgason uses face-to-face, email, and various modes of communication equally. All of Helgason's weak ties are perceived, unconfirmed ties.

Damon Johnston is directly connected to CAHRD and the SPCW via strong ties and Kanikanichihk via weak ties. He is indirectly connected to the EUTC (via ACW-6), SCO (via Fontaine), and the UW-IGCA (via Spillett). Johnson is not connected with Onashowewin, and has strong ties to Bartlett and Helgason. He uses face-to-face and email equally to communication with both his strong ties and weak ties.

Jason Whitford has direct strong ties to Onashowewin, and direct weak ties to the ACW, CAHRD, and Kanikanichihk. He has indirect ties to SCO (via Morgan) and is not connected with the SPCW and the UW-IGCA. Whitford has strong ties only with the EUTC/AMC and Onashowewin (via Morgan) contacts. Whitford is weakly tied to some EUTC contacts (unconfirmed), CAHRD-3, ACW-5 via email, and Kani-EUTC-1 via face-to-face communications. Face-to-face communications are the primary way that Whitford networks via strong ties with his contacts, followed by email and telephone.

ACW-1 is directly connected to the ACW, CAHRD, and SPCW, and via strong

ties in the former cases and weak ties in the latter case. ACW-1 is indirectly connected to Kanikanichihk (via Spillett), and is not connected with any other organizations. He uses primarily face-to-face communications with most contacts, except for Johnston who he telephones.

SPCW-1 is directly connected to ACW via strong ties and CAHRD and Kanikanichihk mainly through weak ties. SPCW-1 is indirectly connected to ACW (via Helgason), SCO (via Spillett) and UW-IGCA (via Spillett), and is not connected with EUTC and Onashowewin (unless perceived unconfirmed ties exist). The majority of SPCW-1's connections with others are based on weak ties except for the ACW and SPCW actors. The majority of her ties to others are based on weak, face-to-face and telephone ties, especially to offsite SPCW contacts, CAHRD and Kanikanichihk.

Kani-1 is directly connected to Kanikanichihk through a strong tie to Spillet and weak ties to all other staff. She is indirectly connected to ACW, CAHRD, Onashowewin, SCO, SPCW and the UW-IGCA (via Spillett). She is not connected with EUTC. Kani-1 relies on an equal combination of email and face-to-face communication for interacting with her local contacts.

Kani-2 is directly connected to Kanikanichihk and UW-IGCA via a strong tie for the former case and a weak tie for the latter. She uses mainly face-to-face communication to stay in touch with her local contacts. Kani-2 is indirectly connected to the ACW, CAHRD, Onashowewin and SCO (via Spillett). She is not connected with EUTC.

Grand Chief is directly tied to Onashowewin and SCO via strong ties, and indirectly tied to EUTC (via Morgan), and Kanikanichihk (via Fontaine). He is not connected with any other organizations, aside from the SCO network of chiefs. He has

strong ties with SCO chiefs based on face-to-face communications, and he has weak ties to some chiefs, Fontaine and SCO-1. Grand Chief mainly uses face-to-face communication for networking based on strong and weak ties.

Onash-1 is directly tied to EUTC, and indirectly tied to the ACW (via Whitford), the CAHRD (via Whitford), and the SCO (via Morgan). He has strong ties with Morgan and Onashowewin staff based face-to-face communications. Onash-1 uses weak ties to network with Whitford – mainly through face-to-face, and various modes of communications. He is not connected with the ACW, CAHRD, SPCW and UW-IGCA.

SCO-1 has direct ties to Kanikanichihk and Onashowewin, mainly through email. She has indirect ties to the ACW (via Spillett), CAHRD (via Spillett), the EUTC (via Whitford), and the UW-IGCA (via Spillett). SCO-1 is not connected with the SPCW network. SCO-1 has strong ties with SCO staff, with an equal mixture of communication modes used. She has weak ties with Kanikanichihk (via Kani-SCO-1), Onashowewin (via Morgan) and the SCO (via Grand Chief). She uses an equal mix of communication modes to network with her contacts.

EUTC-1 is directly connected to EUTC and Onashowewin via strong ties in the former case and a weak tie in the latter. She is indirectly connected to ACW, CAHRD, Kanikanichihk and Onashowewin (via Whitford). EUTC-1 relies on a combination of email and face-to-face to communicate with her contacts. She is not connected with the SCO, SPCW, and UW-IGCA.

Finally, EUTC-2 is directly connected though strong ties to EUTC only. He has indirect ties to ACW, CAHRD, Kanikanichihk and Onashowewin (via Whitford). EUTC-2 uses a mixture of communication modes to network with local contacts. He is not

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connected with SCO, SPCW and the UW-IGCA.

Based on the review of social network ties described above, it is obvious that some actors are more connected than others, and that some actors serve as go-between-actor interconnecting actors with organizations. Spillett is connected to all organizations within the sample and acts as a go-between in connecting eighteen fellow actors to organizations within the network. Whitford is not connected to two organizations (SPCW and UW-IGCA – non-Aboriginal) and thus connected to all others, and acts as a go-between in connecting twelve fellow actors to organizations within the network. The first two consultants are the most connected and connecting of actors within this study.

The next seven consultants are similarly networked. Bartlett, Johnston, and SPCW-1 are connected to four organizations, but only Bartlett and SPCW-1 act as go-betweens to connect an actor to another organization. Morgan is connected to three organizations and acts as a go-between in connecting three fellow actors to organizations. Fontaine is connected to three organizations and acts as a go-between in connecting two fellow actors to organizations. Helgason and SCO-1 are connected to three organizations, but neither acts as go-betweens to connect actors to other organizations.

The remaining consultants display minimal network connections and go-betweenness traits. Rattray, Grand Chief, Onash-1, and EUTC-1 are connected to two organizations, but do not act as go-betweens. Finally EUTC-2 is connected to one organization and does not act as a go-between.

The reviews presented above are based on an assessment of network connections based on observation only. When the SNA metrics of these actors are calculated, a slightly different picture emerges. However, one consultant remains dominant within the

social network, namely Leslie Spillett. We will return later to discuss Spillett and her role

within the total network system of actors comprising the organizations described in this

research. For now, we turn to a presentation the results of a SNA of all actors' social

network metrics.

The social network data, generated through NodeXL's algorithms, are presented

below in Table 5.3 as raw scores. The overall significance of these scores is normalized

and summarized as percentages of their total values. For instance, if an actor has ten ties

to one hundred other possible actors within a network, the actor would be connected to

10% of network actors. The section that follows summarizes the SNA metrics of network

actors with above average values. These values help identify "key nodes" within the total

network, and the actors (and organizations) that are centrally located to broker resources

and people, along with the overall capacity of the total network for social solidarity and

partnership formation. Additional graphs illustrating these relationships and influences

are displayed in Appendix 3, Section B.

Micro-Level and Meso-Level Data on the "Centrality" of Network Actors

This section examines micro-level metrics of degree-centrality, betweenness-

centrality, closeness-centrality, and eigenvector. Recall that while degree determines how

many people a node (or actor) can reach directly (i.e., through direct-ties), betweenness-

centrality is a measure of how likely a node is the most direct path between two other

nodes in the network. Nodes with higher betweenness scores are more likely to intercept

communications and exchanges between other nodes in a network, and are therefore

more influential. Higher betweenness and degree is indicative of more direct connections

to others in a network. Closeness-centrality indicates the speed that a node can reach

every other node in a network along with the extent that information can be distributed widely. Eigenvector is a measure of a node's connectivity with other influential (or central) nodes. Nodes with larger eigenvector and betweenness score are better brokers than nodes with high betweenness, but low eigenvector. In other words, a node may be well positioned between other nodes, but if those other nodes are not connected to well-positioned others, then his or her influence is reduced accordingly. Please refer to Table 5.3 below for a summary of actors' micro-level social network values. The figure summarizes only significant results.

Table 5.3: SNA Centrality Scores for Actors with Highest Network Values

Consultant-Actor	Organization	Degree	Closeness	Betweenness	Local Eigenvector (or eigenvalues)
Leslie Spillett	Kanikanichihk	22 (8%)	0.003 (6%)	6810.2 (25%)	**0.014 (7%)**
Jennifer Rattray	UW-IGCA	30 (11%)	0.003 (6%)	3539.3 (13%)	0.004 (2%)
Cora Morgan	Onashowewin	19 (7%)	0.003 (6%)	2398.5 (9%)	**0.020 (10%)**
Jason Whitford	EUTC	21 (8%)	0.002 (4%)	2355.3 (9%)	0.006 (3%)
SPCW-1	SPCW	25 (9%)	0.003 (6%)	2253.1 (8%)	0.008 (4%)
Marileen Bartlett	CAHRD	24 (9%)	0.003 (6%)	2090.0 (8%)	0.009 (5%)
Kani-1	Kanikanichihk	15 (6%)	0.002 (4%)	1585.5 (6%)	0.003 (1%)
Grand Chief	SCO	12 (4%)	0.002 (4%)	1269.0 (5%)	**0.072 (34%)**
SCO-1	SCO	11 (4%)	0.003 (6%)	1138.1 (4%)	**0.016 (8%)**
Damon Johnston	ACW	13 (5%)	0.003 (6%)	945.7 (4%)	0.006 (3%)
CAHRD-3	CAHRD	4 (2%)	0.002 (4%)	579.3 (2%)	0.003 (1%)
Nahanni Fontaine	SCO	7 (3%)	0.003 (6%)	566.1 (2%)	**0.015 (7%)**
Kani-2	Kanikanichihk	9 (3%)	0.003 (6%)	455.3 (2%)	0.004 (2%)
Wayne Helgason	SPCW	18 (7%)	0.002 (4%)	390.8 (2%)	0.007 (3%)
Kani-EUTC-1	Kanikanichihk	4 (1%)	0.002 (4%)	256.7 (1%)	0.001 (0.5%)
Kani-SCO-1	SCO	5 (2%)	0.002 (4%)	248.8 (1%)	0.006 (3%)
Onash-1	Onashowewin	10 (4%)	0.002 (4%)	205.3 (1%)	0.008 (4%)
ACW-6	ACW	2 (1%)	0.002 (4%)	124.7 (0.5%)	0.001 (0.5%)
EUTC-1	EUTC	7 (3%)	0.002 (4%)	76.5 (0.3%)	0.001 (0.5%)
ACW-1	ACW	7 (3%)	0.002 (4%)	24.3 (0.1%)	0.005 (2%)
EUTC-2	EUTC	5 (2%)	0.002 (4%)	0.0	0.001 (0.5%)
-Mean **Score**	*Listed Actors*	*12.9*	*0.002*	*1365.7*	*0.01*
-Mean **Score**	*All Actors*	*4.2*	*0.002*	*186.6*	*0.01*
-Standard Dev.	*Listed Actors*	*8.1*	*0.0005*	*1620.1*	*0.015*
-Standard Dev.	*All Actors*	*5.1*	*.0003*	*737.6*	*0.0165*

Note: Table summarizes top scores only.

As stated earlier, the total network of actors spanning and comprising the eight

Aboriginal organizations explored in this research includes eight primary and nine

secondary consultants and 134 tertiary contacts that comprise their personal

organizational networks. These actors are interconnected to each other through a total of

290 unique social ties. This network has a mean degree-centrality of 4.2, a mean

betweenness-score of 186.6 and a mean closeness-score of 0.002.

The degree-centrality score shows that all 151 actors within the network are

separated by 4.2 degrees of connection, compared with the six degrees observed in most

small-world networks.[48] This indicates the leaders of the Aboriginal organizations in this

network are more connected to each other than is generally observed in public networks.

Given that the twenty-one actors summarized in Table 5.3 are on average, better

connected through their direct ties than the remaining 130 actors, it is with these actors

that we will focus the presentation and interpretation of my results.

By using betweenness and local eigenvector scores as our measures of brokerage,

several potential network brokers stand out. These are listed, in order of importance, from

the top to the bottom of Table 5.3. Spillett is by far the most central/influential network

broker (6810.2 or 25% betweenness-centrality). Rattray (3539.3 betweenness, or 13%) is

half as well positioned between network actors as Spillett. Following Rattray, are

Morgan, Whitford, SPCW-1, and finally, Bartlett, who each have betweenness scores of

8-9%. Johnston, Kani-1 and SCO-1 have betweenness scores of 4-6%. Johnston and

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[48] "Small world" networks (popularly known as 'Six Degrees of Separation') are named after social networks described by Stanley Milgram (1967). A "small world" network exists when most nodes within a network are not neighbors of one another, but most nodes can be reached from every other by a small number of hops or steps. Specifically, a small-world network is defined to be a network where the typical distance L between two randomly chosen nodes (the number of steps required) grows proportionally to the logarithm of the number of nodes N in the network.

SCO-1 are likely well positioned within the personal networks of their organizations, but are not as capable as Spillett and Rattray as acting as go-betweens between other network actors.

While closeness-centrality does not vary much from the mean closeness score for the whole network 0.002 –meaning that nearly all actors have the potential for accessing all information and knowledge available on the network, local eigenvector metrics tell another story, that structural holes and the brokers who fill/transact them control the flow and translation of these resources to actors. Grand Chief of SCO appears to be the most connected to well-connected others (0.072 local eigenvector). Compared with Spillett, Grand Chief is 80% more connected to well-connected others. Grand Chief is followed in eigenvector-value by Morgan (0.020 eigenvector), SCO-1 (0.016), and then Fontaine (0.015); all who are considerably less well connected than Grand Chief. Continuing our comparison, Fontaine is followed by Spillett herself (0.014), who is followed by Bartlett (0.009) and SPCW-1 (0.008). Finally, these actors are followed by Onash-1 (0.008), Helgason (0.007), Johnston-Whitford-KaniSCO-1 (all 0.006), ACW-1 (0.005), Rattray and Kani-2 (both 0.004), and Kani-1 and CAHRD-3 (both 0.003) centrality based on their local eigenvectors. Finally, Kani-EUTC-1, ACW-6, EUTC-1, and EUTC-2 are actors with at least five degrees of connection to others on the network who also have local eigenvector scores approaching the mean value.

Grand Chief's high eigenvector and thus potential connection to well-connected others is likely a product of the density of his personal, local SCO network. Grand Chief is well connected to First Nations (i.e., band-model) chiefs who are members of the SCO. They themselves are well connected, but do not directly affect the total network of actors

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explored in this research. It is likely that Grand Chief's contacts overinflate the influence

Fontaine, SCO-1, and Morgan can direct throughout the network. Since Morgan and

SCO-1's connections to the total network are dependent on Fontaine's connections to

Spillett (see Figure 5.1), their eigenvector scores may be excluded from analysis. After

accounting for the fact that high levels of eigenvector may be a result of power stemming

from local networks (and the density of personal networks), we may conclude that

Fontaine (0.015) and Spillett (0.014) are better connected to others within the total

network of actors spanning all eight organizations.

The micro-level metrics described above help us visualize how actors are

networked with each other, providing insights on their relative connectedness to each

other and their capacities to use each other's contacts to access information, form new

contacts, and leverage resources. The final level of data provides metrics on the overall

cohesiveness of the ties interconnecting all actors. Macro-level metrics provide measures

of overall total network density–including the presence of clusters and structural holes-

and their measures of network density and global cluster co-efficiencies.

Macro-Level Data on Network Cohesion and Actor Solidarity

While meso-data relies on betweenness and eigenvector centrality scores for

determining network brokers or bridges linking sub-graphs within a network, the metrics

of network density and the "clustering coefficient" (Luce and Perry 1949)[49] determine

how well connected nodes are with each other. Actors within denser networks are better

able to work together than actors within loosely-knit networks. A perfectly connected

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[49] The local clustering coefficient of a node is computed as the proportion of connections among its neighbours which are actually realized compared with the number of all possible connections, or the number of closed triplets (or triangles composed of three ties; closed nodes) over the total number of triplets (both open and closed).

network is considered a "clique" (Watts and Strogatz 1998) and density is 100%. A clique exists when all local actors are connected to each other and few ties exist that connect them to other nodes within a network. For instance, a group of friends attending a movie theatre will likely be considered a clique when we compare their social ties to each other to the few ties connecting each clique member to any other member of the audience. To identify cliques within the total network we must analyze measures of the global clustering coefficient.

The global cluster coefficient measures the density of all neighbourhoods (or sub-graphs) present within a network. Sub-graphs are densely connected clique clusters. The global cluster coefficient was calculated using the "Clauset-Newman-Moore" cluster algorithm/macro present within NodeXL (see Clauset et al 2004). The clustering coefficient is the likelihood that two neighbours of a node/actor are also neighbours of each other. Referring to Figure 5.1 you may note that few ties connect the local networks connecting ACW-CAHRD-SPCW with other local networks pertaining to other organizations presented on the graph. Only five ties connect the ACW-CAHRD-SPCW subgraph to other clusters of organizations present within the total network. Similarly, only nine ties connect EUTC to other organizations. The minimal ties connecting these subgraphs point to possible "structural holes" within the total network that indicate likely coalitions, partnerships, or in the very least neighbourhoods in CED. Where a network's global cluster coefficient is greater than its density, network clusters (or sub-graphs) are likely to exist.

However, when only one tie connects two subgraphs the nodes between them indicates a possible "structural hole" between clusters. Structural holes identify breaks in

the total social network preventing collective action. One outcome of structural holes is the jurisdictional divisions obstructing partnerships and preventing contribution agreements between First Nations political organizations and urban Aboriginal organizations. Other structural holes create divisions between organizations using Neechi and Incubator (or Neeginan) CED approaches. When a node intersects two subgraphs it is said to be a potential broker; such as the case with Spillett who is the only actor connecting Kanikanichihk to both ACW and CAHRD. Networks with lower density and greater clustering risk fragmenting if brokers do not interconnect them. It is common for networks to have a "small world" structure due to the transivity (or dense level of communication) of strong social ties connecting clustered actors, and the capacity of brokers to use weak ties for bridging clusters to important other clusters.

The density of the total network of actors spanning the eight Aboriginal organizations examined in this study is 0.028, with a mean eigenvector score of 0.007, and a global clustering coefficient of 0.452. This would suggest that the total network of actors spanning the eight Aboriginal organizations is loosely connected based on a few ties between potential brokers. It also points to the fact that few actors are connected to other well-connected actors. This network has a global clustering coefficient of 0.452, meaning nearly half of the network is broken into separate subgraphs, or organizational clusters (the global cluster coefficient of 0.452 is sixteen times greater than network density of 0.028). Figure 5.4 outlines possible network sub-graphs, or network clusters existing within the total network of relations spanning the eight Aboriginal organizations. These sub-graphs may represent social cliques or coalitions in Aboriginal community development in Winnipeg.

An examination of local cluster coefficients reveals that nearly one third of network actors have local coefficients of 1.0, or 100% –meaning that a great portion of the total network is divided into sub-graphs. Nearly one fifth of network actors have local coefficients of 0.50 to 0.83, or 50-85%, meaning that over fifty percent of actors are more than likely members of network clusters. Just over ten percent of actors have cluster coefficients of 0.42 to 0.028, or 42-3%. Finally, nearly forty percent of network actors have 0.0, or 0% cluster coefficient scores, most likely indicating the presence of supporting contacts based on weak social ties.

Six distinct network clusters are present within the total network, including organizational clusters A to F. Below, Figure 5.4 visually describes each of these clusters and how they are linked to local organizational networks. Please note this graph has been altered to express sub-graphs, or clusters, using a different colour coding scheme. While NodeXL was used to determine which subgraphs were present, I chose the colour-coded scheme highlighting each organizational network cluster. Nodes and organizations sharing the same colour-scheme represent the same subgraph, or cluster. Therefore Figure 5.1 (total network graph) and Figure 5.4 (cluster network graph) are identical except that in each I used a different colour scheme. Where red indicates Kanikanichihk in Figure 5.1, red indicates clusters of organizations including Spillett's contacts and all of Onashowewin in Figure 5.4. Similarly, while the yellow coding in Figure 5.1 represents CAHRD, the yellow coding in Figure 5.4 represents a cluster of organizations –including ACW, CAHRD and SPCW.

Figure 5.4: Network Clusters / Sub-Graphs:

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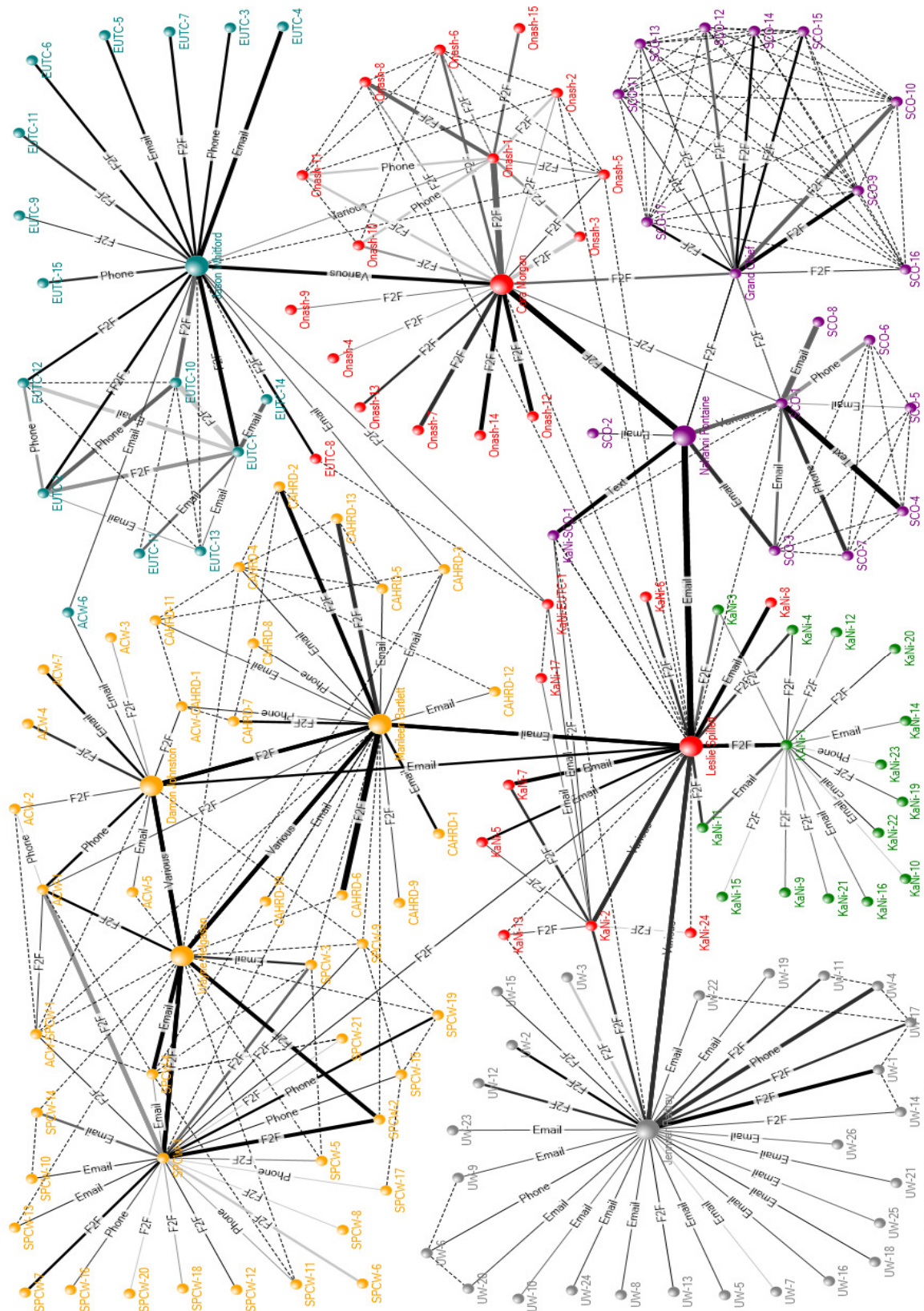
Organizational Cluster (A) is represented by yellow nodes. This cluster comprises primary, secondary, and tertiary network contacts spanning ACW, CAHRD, and SPCW. The cluster is perhaps the most powerfully networked grouping of primary actors and their contacts within the total network. Based on an alliance of strong social ties, the principal actors representing and directing this cluster –Bartlett, Helgason, and Johnston– derive much of their influence from the ACWI. These actors were directly responsible for the establishment of the ACW, ACWI, and CAHRD. Supported by social capital present within the SPCW and numerous Aboriginal-owned and operated organizations, agencies, and businesses within the ACWI, Cluster (A) may have the best potential to barter alliances, partnerships, and exchanges with larger, institutional, and governmental organizations and financial institutions.

Organizational Cluster (B) is represented by red nodes. This cluster comprises primary, secondary, and tertiary network contacts spanning Spillett and Kani-2's personal network of contacts in Kanikanichihk (here named KANI-A) and all contacts of Onashowewin. Kani-1 and her contacts are not represented in this cluster. KANI-A and Onashowewin are connected through ties linking Spillett and Morgan. It is quite possible that Fontaine's interest in Morgan stemmed from Morgan's work at Kanikanichihk. Why SCO is not a part of this cluster is debatable. One would think that Fontaine's connection to Spillett and Morgan would involve SCO as a member of Cluster (B). However, SCO represents another cluster. Cluster (A) and Cluster (B) are connected through Spillett, representing another possible structural hole, or bridge within the network.

Organizational Cluster (C) is represented by purple nodes. This cluster comprises primary, secondary, and tertiary network contacts spanning SCO and Fontaine, SCO-1,

and Grand Chief's contacts. The high level of local eigenvectors represented within the SCO network cluster and Grand Chief's direct affiliation and commitment to the First Nations reserves and chiefs under the jurisdiction of the SCO may explain why Cluster (C) is a distinct cluster. As has been stated before, divisions exist among the jurisdictions (urban, rural, and reserve) laid down by the AANDC. These divisions may be responsible for the lack (or minimal number) of partnerships and communication agreements between the Aboriginal political bodies AMC, MKO and the SCO, and urban organizations such as the ACW and the MMF.

Organizational Cluster (D) is represented by teal-coloured nodes. This cluster comprises primary, secondary, and tertiary network contacts spanning Whitford, EUTC-1, and EUTC-2 at the EUTC. Very few ties interconnect this cluster to Cluster A, B, or C. In fact, although B and D were linked through a tie connecting Morgan and Onash-1 and Whitford during the course of my research, by the time this report was written those referral services had been terminated. A bridging tie does exist, however, between Cluster D and A through CAHRD-3 and ACW-6. Similarly, Kani-EUTC-1 may act as a bridge that also connects Clusters B and D.

Organizational Cluster (E) is represented by gray nodes. This cluster comprises primary, secondary, and tertiary network contacts linking Rattray and the UW-IGCA. Kani-2 and Spillett may act as local bridges linking Cluster B and E together. However, based on my participant-observation of the UW-IGCA, it is possible that Cluster E remains unconnected to other clusters and organizations due to mandates and directives of the University of Winnipeg's president's office and board of directors. Any direct partnership with Aboriginal organizations may be seen as unprofessional, since the

University of Winnipeg funds many of these organizations.

Organizational Cluster (F) is represented by green nodes. It includes Kani-1 and the second half of the Kanikanichihk cluster (named here KANI-B). Cluster (B) and Cluster (F) may be distinct clusters due to the fact that Kani-1's contacts pertain mostly to financial services at the Kanikanichihk. Also, by the time I had completed my field research Kani-1's contacts had changed considerably, indicating perhaps, that her contacts serve more contractual and/or instrumental purposes.

Where linkages between members are more stable, organizational clusters represent possible sources of bonding social capital between members and bridging social capital between organizational clusters that are linked by intersecting actors. The actors that intersect organizational clusters may act as network brokers. These brokers fill possible structural holes existing between network clusters – which otherwise may exist as competing coalitions. As a broker who is well connected to well-connected others and their organizations, Spillett helps stabilize and innovate initiatives, programs, and cooperatives arising within the larger collective of community development. Her position and activity within the network makes it easier for organizations to cut costs in providing programming by encouraging referrals to organizations with greater funding, or for providing funding to other organizations as contractors.

In summary, several actors act as network bridges, and may potentially link the organizational clusters described above. ACW-6 and CAHRD-3 interconnect Cluster (A) and Cluster (D). Kani-EUTC-1 and possibly EUTC-8 interconnect Cluster (D) and Cluster (B). Kani-SCO-1 interconnects Cluster (C) and Cluster (B), and Cluster (C) and Cluster (E). Kani-2 and Kani-13 interconnects Cluster (B) and Cluster (E). And finally,

Spillett, Bartlett, Johnston, and SPCW-1 all interconnect Cluster (B) with Cluster (A).

Some of these organizational clusters represent alliance networks of urban Aboriginal organizations who are working to build partnerships and other ties with First Nations councils. Later in chapter six, these organizational clusters are described as "alliance networks." The brokers comprising the core of these alliances use their aggregated network social ties to pursue partnerships, form think-tanks for innovating new solutions to CED challenges, and provide referral of services between their organizations. Leaders in these alliance-based organizational clusters utilize a combination of institutional and grassroots approaches that enable them to establish communication agreements that bridge jurisdictional divisions between First Nations and urban organizations. Such organizations rely on a hybrid-model of CED helping to distribute the responsibility and costs associated with providing services and programs to a wider range of Aboriginal peoples. We will return to this discussion in the next chapter.

Overall, several important conclusions can be drawn from the SNA findings presented above. First, the organizational clusters described above have the capacity to direct community development and program development in Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg, determining how social capital is produced in the community at-large. Second, network brokers exert a strong influence in each organizational cluster. But they also represent potential nodes where structural holes may constrain information and resource sharing and exchange between such clusters. Third, the core networks of relations comprising these organizational clusters are built on strong social ties between brokers – communicating largely via face-to-face social interactions. Ties between these clusters are mainly built on weak ties and CMC-based communication and exchanges. Actors

(such as brokers) with more weak social ties are better able to identify, access, and manipulate information and resources controlled by organizational coalitions and cluster divisions. These brokers are producing innovative new programs and services that are critical to sustainable, culturally relevant Aboriginal CED. These findings are discussed in greater detail, along with results from ethnographic materials in the final chapter of this report.

Chapter 6

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH RESULTS & FINDINGS:
A Thematic analysis of consultant interviews for understanding how Bridging Social Capital is produced through Alliance Networks

The interviews, surveys and field notes which I compiled during my research provide information on the day-to-day operations of staff and volunteers in the eight organizations which are the focus of my research. A thematic analysis of the contents of consultant interview transcripts reveals many commonalities in their statements and (by extension) their underlying attitudes and perceptions. The meaning of these is discussed in the context of the SNA findings from the previous chapter concerning the social network structure of ties linking research consultants and their organizational contacts. This information has been organized into three overarching themes summarized in Table 6.1. The details of consultant interview statements are provided through a discussion of each theme. At the end of this chapter the themes are interpreted according to theories of social capital.

The qualitative information presented in this chapter enriches the SNA data presented in the previous one. Together, the SNA and thematic data provide substantial evidence to support my thesis that a core of hybrid-model organizations and their highly networked leaders are emerging within and among the eight organizations described in this research. The social networks of these hybrid-model organizational clusters are comprised of a balance of strong and weak social ties created, maintained and manipulated through unmediated (i.e., face-to-face) and mediated (i.e., CMC) forms of communication between network actors, that utilize a blending of traditional, contemporary, and innovative cultural practices, services, and initiatives.

Taken together, hybrid-model organizations, and the cohort of women leading and directing them represent innovative new forms of social capital in Aboriginal CED. If these women succeed in partnering First Nations political organizations and urban Aboriginal service organizations, Aboriginal people may be better served in the process. These women leaders not only benefit their individual organizations, but by using their organizational network clusters are innovating and building capacity within the Aboriginal communities they serve. The CMC technologies used to facilitate each organizational network cluster also help to increase the flow of information between organizations, raise awareness of the issues and challenges, and build on the collective capacities present within urban and reserve-based Aboriginal communities. The hybrid-model organizational cluster may be leading the way towards such a collective action and representation. At the same time, jurisdictional and funding issues continue to pose considerable challenges for these organizations.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the SNA data-set reveals that a cluster or alliance network of organizational leaders exists within the total network spanning the organizations in this research. Within this network, brokers strongly influence the actions of members in each organizational cluster, but also represent potential structural holes between clusters (or places where partnerships would be difficult to achieve). These holes may be filled, or bridged, by weak social ties those leaders have with other organizational leaders. The structure of these ties is influenced by how leaders communicate; especially those leaders who rely heavily on CMC technologies such as email and telephone.

Spillett, Bartlett, Morgan and Fontaine are centrally and intricately interconnected within and among their local and global networks. They are the key network brokers at

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the core of their alliance networks. Other leaders are strongly connected to these leaders. Taken together Spillett and her contacts of actors and leaders, and Bartlett and her contact of actors and leaders represent significant and influential alliance networks, or organizational clusters.

These four key network brokers have multiplex social relations with each other – often described in real or fictive kin terms. These kin-like relations are based on "strong" face-to-face interactions, but extended to a wider network through "weak" electronically-mediated forms of communication. Some of these brokers also use SMS text messaging, which perhaps counter intuitively is correlated with strong ties as well. Through a combination of in-person and virtual multiplex kin-based social interactions this core of brokers is responsible for directing, innovating and partnering the organizations within their control.

While no clear leader of these organizational clusters has emerged, the four key brokers use their weak ties for connecting to people and organizations not normally associated with their organizations. Such ties represent sources of bridging social capital helping to build capacity through partnerships and contribution and communication agreements between urban Aboriginal organizations and First Nations bands (that cross jurisdictional lines), and between other potential brokers who have their own sets of strong and weak ties. Here we find an increased chance for the development of formal and informal partnerships, contribution agreements, joint initiatives, or minimally, informal think-tanks.

Brokers with a balance of strong ties with other brokers in other organizations and weak ties to sub-groups normally divided by jurisdictional divisions (i.e., First Nations,

urban organizations, and government agencies), are able to maximize innovations present within the total system. These brokers not only develop and fund programs with their core of allied organizations, but also help distribute services and initiatives to a wider community.

There are many benefits to the brokered partnerships and allegiances that constitute the meta-structure of the total network I have identified. Access to programs and services through referrals is one of the most obvious benefits. Referrals between organizations reduce employment and administrative costs. Partnerships and alliances also increase each organization's access to a wider diversity of Aboriginal people; those living in different areas of cities and those living on reserves. Jurisdictional divisions perpetuated by AANDC, MANA, and the province funding policies are minimized, or at least bridged by understandings based on cooperation and sharing, rather than by competition and monopolies concerning those funds. The UAS and the Tri-level Initiati*ve* between the City, the Province, and the Government of Canada was designed, in part, to achieve these ends. Distributed responsibility and cost sharing is promoted by these initiatives. Each Aboriginal partner within this Tri-level initiative has different things to offer. The jurisdictions of service and funding delivery are described below for each type of organization.

First Nations political organizations and councils (e.g., AMC, MKO and SCO) represent and support status First Nations people who are members of bands and live on reserves. These organizations connect people to services and supports financed by reserve-based funding (mostly administered by the federal government through AANDC). They can (through urban organizations like EUTC) assist people moving

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between their reserve communities and the City.

Urban Aboriginal political organizations such as ACW tend to be status-blind and to represent and advocate on behalf of all Aboriginal people living in the City. Urban Aboriginal service organizations (e.g., Kanikanichihk, Onashowewin, CAHRD, and EUTC) provide programming and services to urban Aboriginal clients, many of whom face stresses in adjusting from life on reserves to life in the City. These stresses are often systemic and can affect several generations. Urban Aboriginal service organizations are often grassroots in orientation and are located in neighbourhoods with a larger presence of Aboriginal people living in low-income households. Examples of these organizations include Kanikanichihk, Onashowewin, and EUTC. Some Aboriginal organizations such as CAHRD and UW-IGCA utilize a more institutional administrative structure. They are located within larger administrative entities that, of necessity, have a hierarchical nature. That being said, both CAHRD and UW-IGCA exert a powerful positive influence on developing social capital in the neighbourhoods and communities in which they are located; helping people to access and benefit from services and programs present within partnered (and networked) organizations.

Each of the eight organizations described in this research represent important sources of bonding social capital. The connections between the eight organizations in my study help create partnerships and referrals of services that are sources of bridging social capital. As my interview data will show, the actors within them are dedicated to improving the lives of their clients, as well as strengthening the communities of which they are part. Their leaders are at the forefront of adapting traditional Aboriginal values and teachings to an urban environment.

While all Aboriginal organizations advertise cultural teachings and principles at the heart of their programs and mandates (often included in bylaws), Neechi-approach grassroots organizations (and more specifically those operating as hybrid-models) tend to incorporate these syncretistic cultural practices (often blending elements from various distinct Aboriginal cultures) into the services provided to clients. This approach twins service delivery with cultural and spiritual teachings which help heal and build people's sense of pride, identity and self-esteem. These values are perceived by service workers and administrators as being essential to their clients' personal development, health, happiness and productivity.

Ceremonial practices such as pow wows, sweat lodges, sundances, the shaking tent, sharing circles, pipe ceremonies, and beading groups draw from multiple cultural traditions – and perhaps a "pan-Aboriginal" willingness to revitalize and even "reinvent" traditions that have been nearly forgotten or have never existed. When open to the public (as they often are), these ceremonies attract many different Aboriginal (and non-Aboriginal) people and help build weak ties between participants which are an important source of bridging social capital for the hosting organizations. Participation in such ceremonies, combined with teachings by elders, shapes important cultural values that are the foundation of the Neechi approach to CED. People sharing these values may form lasting, multiplex relations with each other that help build bonding social capital within the places we would seldom think to find it –in urban Aboriginal service organizations.

Kanikanichihk and (to a lesser degree) Onashowewin are two such organizations, utilizing the hybrid-model of CED. EUTC may also be considered a hybrid-model organization, but due to its ties to AMC and its limitations as an AMC 'program,' it leans

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more towards the eclectic-model of CED.

Key Themes present in Consultant Interviews

Three key themes emerge from my consultant interviews. In respect to my consultants' wishes that I accurately represent their words and ideas in my dissertation, I have quoted them extensively. Their stories, organized according to the three themes I have identified, provide important emic information about the organizations in my study. This information complements the data from the previous chapter on each consultant's network centrality and capacity as brokers, as well data on the cohesion of the total network. Finally, information provided by Granovetter (1973), Bourdieu (1986), and Putnam (2000) discussed in chapter two are used in this chapter to interpret the themes I have identified. These themes are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Key Themes Identified in Thematic Analysis of Interviews and Observations

• **Negative Impacts of Colonialism, Racism, and State Dependency**   The continuing existence of racial stereotypes of Aboriginal people in mainstream Canada, and their negative effects on personal self-esteem, cultural pride, and self-sufficiency.
• **The Emergence of CMC as Sources of Bridging Social Capital**   Use of CMC by female organizational leaders as new sources of bridging social capital in Aboriginal communities.
• **Innovations in Aboriginal Community Development**   New innovations in Aboriginal community development and capacity building through the hybrid-model of networked organizations.

Taken together, the three themes discussed in this chapter form a narrative comprised of consultant's emic understandings and experiences and my own more etic participant-observation of their organizations. Each theme is presented in a separate section which is prefaced with pertinent SNA findings and other supporting information.

The final chapter of this dissertation concludes our discussion by interpreting SNA and ethnographic findings within the framework of the thesis that a core of Aboriginal organizations, networked through influential and highly motivated women leaders are preparing the way for a new model of CED in Winnipeg. These hybrid models represent significant sources of bridging social capital within the organizations they are applied and must be understood in terms of the people supporting them. Each Aboriginal leader is motivated by personal events and experiences that shape the work they do within their organizations. By using CMC these leaders are working together to promote, implement, and deliver programs and services using traditional Aboriginal cultural practices and principles. Together, these factors converge to produce alliance networks interconnecting organizations, government services, First Nations councils, and other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations.

Theme 1 -- Negative Impacts of Colonialism, Racism and Dependency on the State

Our story begins by examining the underlying legal and economic constraints placed on Aboriginal peoples by the Government of Canada, and how these controls have led to substantial divisions between urban Aboriginal peoples and their First Nations counterparts. The Indian Act in conjunction with the post-confederation or so-called "numbered treaties," continues to be the vehicle whereby the federal government (through AANDC) administers First Nations people (specifically treaty and status First Nations living on reserves). The interpretation of the treaties continues to undergo considerable change, mostly through judicial rulings on Aboriginal rights. Nevertheless, under the Indian Act First Nations communities receive funding and other government services that are administered by local band councils and chiefs. Meanwhile, non-status

First Nations people, most of who today live in cities, are generally not eligible for these services and supports.

Beginning in the 1980s, the Government of Canada began to recognize the need to support the growing number of Aboriginal peoples living in cities. Provincial and municipal governments were instructed to provide services, supports, and financial funding to assist urban First Nations people living off-reserve. By 2003 investments in the UAS led to several programs and initiatives, including the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement. First Nations political organizations, including the AMC, MKO and the SCO, allocate money and resources to assist members from bands under their jurisdiction who now live in Winnipeg. Other urban organizations also developed, including ACW and MMF. However, divisions continue to exist between First Nations and urban Aboriginal political and service organizations –divisions concerning Aboriginal representation and governance, financial funding, and program delivery.

My research indicates that ACW and First Nations organizations such as AMC are divided on issues of representing urban Aboriginal populations. Partnership agreements and contribution agreements have been suggested but little has been accomplished. Similarly, the MKO, MMF and the SCO are divided on how to deal with Aboriginal peoples living in Winnipeg.

Johnston, Bartlett, and the SCO Grand Chief claim that colonial practices and the segregation of Aboriginal peoples are the main causes of the divisions between their organizations today. Johnston and Bartlett are working to repair these breaches and to encourage Aboriginal organizations to work together on issues under their mandates. However, according to most of my consultants, when one organizations succeeds it does

so at the expense of another. Memorandums of cooperation and formal partnerships need to be devised so that Aboriginal people from all walks of life and from all service sectors can access the billions of dollars of government money earmarked for social, economic and health-related development. Johnston says the leaders of Aboriginal organizations must learn to cooperate with each other to develop such agreements of cooperation.

> That takes concrete action by the Council, AMC, by the MMF… But before you can achieve a goal like that you have to enter [into] a dialogue right; within the various organizations and between them. You have to build consensus… I've taken some baby steps for cooperation between the organizations representing the various First Nations and Métis and Inuit peoples, with a memorandum of cooperation with the MMF, but it hasn't been signed off or executed.
>
> (Johnston, Formal Interview, July 12, 2011)

In the fall of 2011, the ACW Board amended their bylaws to allow organizations as well as individuals to become members. Johnston says he hopes this change will encourage AMC and the MMF to work more closely with ACW. There needs to be more cooperation between these organizations in seeing to the needs of urban Aboriginal people. A primary example that such partnerships are possible is Onashowewin. This organization was created through a partnership between the ACW, SCO, and Manitoba Justice.

Aside from jurisdictional divisions between First Nations and urban Aboriginal political organizations, divisions also exist between urban Aboriginal service providers. This division is based on philosophical differences in CED and how organizations are structured. While some employ incubator CED approaches and have administrative or institutional structures that mimic government agencies in the city, other organizations rely on a Neechi CED approach and are more community and grassroots oriented.

Kanikanichihk and CAHRD provide the clearest contrast in organizational

approaches. While both offer services and programs to Aboriginal peoples, CAHRD

(following an incubator [or Neeginan] approach) operates much like any other

employment service window, while Kanikanichihk (following a Neechi approach) offers

services and programs that integrate an array of Aboriginal cultural practices and values.

Where CAHRD provides employment services, education, and training, Kanikanichihk

offers similar services in concert with spiritual counseling with elders and opportunities

to participate in Aboriginal ceremonial practices (e.g., sweat lodge, pipe ceremonies, pow

wows).

Morgan, who worked at both CAHRD and Kanikanichihk at one point in her

career, comments on the differences between the organizations.

> CAHRD does not have emergency services like Kanikanichihk.
> Kanikanichihk is culturally based, whereas CAHRD is about the business
> – getting people trained, getting them employed, and sending them on
> their way. Kanikanichihk will help people. So if they get in conflict with
> the law and they require legal representation… It could be anything. It
> could be diapers, could be that they need a crib, or they need to return to
> their home community. Kanikanichihk will support those extra pieces.
> They use culture in everything that they do and they provide opportunities
> for people to get in touch with traditional teachings and values and
> ceremonies. And if you have nowhere else to go you can always go there.

> (Morgan, Formal Interview, July 6, 2011)

While CAHRD and Kanikanichihk both provide important services and supports

to their Aboriginal clients, and both organizations are owned and operated by

Aboriginal people, the former offers such services to people who are ready to

make changes to their lives, whereas the latter has an open-door policy and is

active with the local community. Fontaine comments on this open-door policy:

> They don't judge anybody [at Kanikanichihk] and their doors are always

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open even when there's a particular blip or hick-up or crisis. For people just to have that physical space to go to is part of community capacity development. Every time I go there and see the children in the Aboriginal daycare that they have there… a lot of the mothers can visit their children on their break from classes, or at lunch. That builds capacity. And not every agency does that.

(Formal Interview, September 13, 2011)

Kanikanichihk's executive director is well aware of issues effecting Aboriginal people. Bartlett commented that when she wishes to know the "pulse of what's going on in the community," she consults with Spillett (Formal Interview, July 19, 2011). So, even when organizations may not share the same CED approaches, they do assist each other.

One of the biggest challenges Aboriginal people face (according to Spillett, Fontaine, Rattray, Kani-2, Whitford) is the persistence of colonial attitudes, policies, and institutions. This was echoed by many other people with whom I spoke informally during the course of my research. It has also been amply discussed by Mackey (1999), Fixico (2000) and Silver (2006).

Bartlett, Helgason, Kani-2, and SCO Grand Chief point to the Indian Act as the principal source of the problem. They say that the Indian Act promotes discriminatory stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples and perpetuates fourth-world living conditions on reserves and in urban centres. Spillett is passionately motivated to fight for Aboriginal people's rights to be treated fairly and equitably, without prejudice and discrimination. Her commitment to Kanikanichihk and her role on the boards of many Aboriginal rights and women's rights organizations is a testimony to this fact.

Spillett says:

> I would say that we are emerging as a people out of a colonial reality that
> continues to have a significant impact on both the strengths and the
> challenges that we are facing. Elements of colonization are the embedded
> racism that partly defines those colonial relationships. These ideologies,
> 'we know what's best for aboriginal people,' continue to persist. As long
> as you continue to fund us to do it, we will continue to be colonized. I
> think that we are in various stages of colonization. How could a person
> who grows up in terror and oppression not view the oppressor in a
> negative way? Our fear of each other and our differences reinforces the
> colonial mindset.

(Formal Interview, June 27, 2011)

SPCW-1 also discussed these stereotypes:

> I think we suffer from a deep and on abiding self-esteem issue. For
> decades we've been forgotten and then when we pop up we are seen as an
> issue or problem; not worthy, with substandard housing. Every time you
> think of an Aboriginal person you think substandard, including all the
> lives that are connected to substandard housing, substandard jobs,
> substandard lives.

(Formal Interview, June 28, 2011)

Grand Chief and Whitford say that before an Aboriginal person can successfully
attend school, employment or skills training, or provide for a family, he or she must first
respect themselves and their culture. Many services and programs implemented by
governments, non-profits organizations and companies address human resource needs
and requirements, not the outcomes of nearly a century of racial degradation experienced
by Aboriginal people. Spillett comments on how aid and services are typically provided
to Aboriginal clients:

> We say aboriginal peoples have 'issues,' and it's all about 'them' and
> people never reflect on themselves, inside on what the hell that they do
> and their collectives do to contribute to this; to produce this dynamic in
> the first place. And your job [as a social service provider] is to maintain
> that... There is a significant amount of appropriation going on, which is a
> component of colonization of our behaviors, which is what they've always

done. [Non-Aboriginal people] think that [Aboriginal people] are being nice now [by] using Aboriginal names and practicing Aboriginal cultures, but really that's still about having control.

(Formal Interview, June 27, 2011)

Spillett comments that even when Aboriginal people are successful, some people are liable to say, "'Oh, are you an Indian? You don't act like an Indian. You don't talk like an Indian.' You are either an exceptional Indian, which is the minority, or you are a traditional, colonized Indian" (Formal Interview, June 27, 2011). So, even successful Aboriginal people are subjects of these stereotypes. City living makes it much more apparent that Aboriginal people live in two different worlds, one based on reserve life (and perhaps more traditional cultural practices) and the other based on city living (and the pressures associated with it). Forced to acculturate to Western values, Aboriginal people occupy two cultural worlds. But how do you straddle two worlds?

As a Caucasian person who grew up witnessing the racial divide between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, I can fully understand how non-Aboriginal people's (mis)perceptions shape their attitudes towards Aboriginal people. Despite the racism I witnessed while growing up as a child/teenager in Winnipeg's northeast –and the overrepresentation of homeless and intoxicated Aboriginal men and women in the Higgins area (near the old Canadian Pacific Railway station, where the Aboriginal Centre is now located), my fears and concerns where routinely dispelled by the wonderfully welcoming people I met during my field research. My experience at Kanikanichihk was especially important in altering my perceptions by showing me how Aboriginal people can be mutually welcoming and accepting of all. I discovered a community of the heart more sincere and welcoming than any other community experienced.

Aboriginal people are resilient and continue to fight for their indigenous rights. They describe Winnipeg's urban Aboriginal communities as working to restore Aboriginal cultural identities and pride, and also to build on the capacities of Aboriginal organizations to provide more meaningful solutions to the problems and challenges facing their people; solutions that liberate and create independence, rather than dependencies.

One of the greatest allies in Aboriginal people's struggle for self-determination and urban development is CMC. The recent Aboriginal protest movement, "Idle No More"[50] is testimony to this fact, for although it began as a grassroots movement it has spread very quickly through the technologies of the Internet. A quick Google search for "Idle No More + First Nations" returned forty-nine million 'hits' alone, many of these URLs being news stories. The movement also appeared on Facebook and Twitter, with the national Facebook group accumulating 70,875 'likes' and 99,762 'talked about this' when I checked the group five weeks after the movement began. CMC technologies are being used to launch rallies and protests across the country, and the movement has spread to American cities as well, all through the versatility of the Internet.

While the consultants in this study did not use CMC to begin a protest movement that would gain the attention of people all over the world, many use email, social networking media, and SMS text messaging to broaden and expand their networks of contacts pertaining to organizations involved in CED. Such media usage helps to produce

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[50] The movement itself was inspired in part by Chief Theresa Spence of Attawapiskat First Nations on James Bay in Ontario, who began a hunger strike in December of 2012 to protest the Government of Canada's failure to address issues concerning the housing and infrastructure crisis on the reserve. The movement was originally initiated in late November 2012 by four Aboriginal women during a teach-in at Station 20 West in Saskatoon, SK which was held in response to the Government of Canada's introduction of an Omnibus Bill C-45. Activists claim the bill weakens environmental protection laws, especially those protecting all of the country's navigable waterways; many of which are on First Nations reserve land.

weak social ties within consultants' social networks of contacts that enable them to make new contacts and communicate with a broad range of people and organizations. Such technologies are helping organizational leaders in this research form partnerships and other contribution agreements with other Aboriginal organizations, First Nations political councils and other urban organizations. Therefore, our story continues by exploring how CMC usage in CED helps build bridging social capital within (and between) organizations by expanding and rallying leaders to work together to achieve common goals.

Theme 2 -- The Emergence of CMC as Sources of Bridging Social Capital

How consultant-actors communicate with each other has a pronounced effect on the size and density of their network. If actors rely solely on face-to-face communications, their ability to contact people and resources outside their organizations is severely limited. Certainly the telephone, cellphone, and fax machine make it easier for leaders and their staff to communicate and share ideas and strategies. But the network graphs make it clear that the predominant form of communication used by most consultants (with the exception of those in SCO and Onashowewin) is email.

It is far easier to locate contacts, make referrals and identify resources using the Internet and email than it ever was with telephone and fax machines. CMC technologies help people to facilitate social contact with people who are geographically or residentially distant from each other (Hampton and Wellman 1999, 2001; Kavanaugh and Patterson 2001; Kavanaugh et al 2003, 2005; Hampton 2003, 2005). This finding is confirmed and elaborated on by several consultants in this research.

Yet perhaps surprisingly, 56% of the social network ties connecting my

consultants to their contacts are based on face-to-face modes of communication. Grand

Chief, Helgason, Johnston, Morgan, Whitford, and ACW-1, Kani-1, Kani-2, Onash-1 and

SPCW-1 relied most on face-to-face meetings (averaging 60%). Grand Chief used face-

to-face communications almost exclusively, while Helgason and Johnston used face-to-

face communications for only 50% of their contacts.

Twenty-nine percent of the social network ties connecting my consultants to their

contacts are based on email. Bartlett, Fontaine, Helgason, Johnston, Spillett, Rattray, and

EUTC-1, Kani-1 and SCO-1 used email to communication with 43% of their contacts.

Rattray used email most (nearly 60% of the time) while Kani-1 and Johnston used email

to communicate with one-third of their contacts.

Table 6.2: Frequency of Consultant Relations Based on Modes of Communication

Consultant	F2F	*%*	Email	*%*	Phone	*%*	Text	*%*	Var	*%*	Total Labels
ACW-1	4	67	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	6
Bartlett	6	35	8	47	2	12	0	0	1	6	17
EUTC-1	3	43	4	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
EUTC-2	1	20	1	20	3	60	0	0	0	0	5
Fontaine	2	33	2	33	0	0	1	17	1	17	6
Grand Chief	11	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Helgason	2	50	2	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Johnston	5	50	3	30	1	10	0	0	1	10	10
Kani-1	9	60	5	33	1	7	0	0	0	0	15
Kani-2	6	75	2	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Morgan	17	94	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	18
Onash-1	7	64	2	18	2	18	0	0	0	0	11
Rattray	9	35	15	58	2	8	0	0	0	0	26
SCO-1	2	25	3	38	2	25	1	13	0	0	8
SPCW-1	15	65	3	13	5	22	0	0	0	0	23
Spillett	6	43	6	43	0	0	0	0	2	14	14
Whitford	9	56	4	25	2	13	0	0	1	6	16
TOTALS	**114**		**60**		**22**		**2**		**7**		**205**
Percentage	**56%**		**29%**		**11%**		**1%**		**3%**		

Eleven percent of the social network ties connecting consultants to their contacts are based on telephone/cellphone modes of communication. ACW-1, EUTC-2 and SCO-1 used the telephone/cellphone to communicate with 39% of their contacts. Just 1% of consultants (Fontaine and SCO-1) used SMS text messaging to communicate (usually with each other). And 3% used Various-Modes of communication (a miscellaneous category that includes face-to-face, telephone/cellphone, and email and SMS text messaging) to network with their contacts.

Consultants who used CMC technologies to communicate with others in their network seem to have been more successful in partnering with other organizations and government agencies than consultants who did not use this technology. The diversity of partnerships, initiatives, referrals, and cultural events Spillett has planned and participated in through Kanikanichihk (e.g., Urban Aboriginal Summit, pow wows, Aboriginal Schools System, etc.) are evidence of this fact. By using email to contact and work with other Aboriginal (and non-Aboriginal) leaders Spillet is able to broaden her access to a diversity of community development approaches, strategies, and programs. The weak ties and exchanges established through CMC networks operate as sources of bridging social capital.

Table 6.3 below presents the percentages of strong-weak ties/relations' each consultant-actor has with his or her contacts. Overall, weak-ties dominated (averaging 75%) consultant-actors' social network relations. Mediated communications technologies, including email and telephone/cellphone produced 50% more weak ties than strong ones. Eighty-eight percent of consultants have weak social ties with 50% or

more of their contacts. Rattray, Kani-2, and SPCW-1 have significantly more (averaging 89%) weak ties, while consultant-actors Fontaine and EUTC-1 have weak ties with 29% of their contacts. I have assumed that face-to-face communication is the basis for strong ties and that CMC technologies create weak ties (see Hampton 2003), however, as we will see, this is not always the case.

Even more impressive is the finding that SMS text-messaging produces six times more strong ties than weak ones. It would seem that SMS may be nearly as effective as face-to-face communication at producing and sustaining such ties. However, given the restricted use of this technology between two friends working in the same organization it is difficult to generalize this data.[51]

Table 6.3: Consultant-Actor Communication Modes & Strength of Social Ties

(A) Frequency of Relations Based on Social Tie-Strength

Consultant	Strong Ties	%	Weak Ties	%	Total Labels
Kani-1	1	7	14	93	15
Rattray	3	10	26	90	29
Kani-2	1	11	8	89	9
SPCW-1	3	13	21	88	24
ACW-1	1	17	5	83	6
Johnston	2	17	10	83	12
Grand Chief	2	18	9	82	11
Onash-1	2	20	8	80	10
Whitford	4	20	16	80	20
Bartlett	6	26	17	74	23
Morgan	6	30	14	70	20
Helgason	5	31	11	69	16
Spillett	7	35	13	65	20
EUTC-2	2	40	3	60	5
SCO-1	5	50	5	50	10
EUTC-1	5	71	2	29	7
Fontaine	5	71	2	29	7
TOTALS	**60**		**184**		**244**

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[51] Consultants using Various Modes of communication produced strong ties three-times more often than weak ties.

Percentage	25%		75%			

(B) Frequency of Tie-Strength Compared to Mode of Communication

Communication Mode	Strong Ties	%	Weak Ties	%	Labeled Ties	Total %
Face-to-Face	31	57	84	56	115	56
Email	11	20	48	32	59	38
Telephone/Cellphone	4	7	18	12	22	11
SMS Texting	3	6	0	0	3	1
Various modes	5	9	1	1	6	3
TOTALS	**54**		**151**			
Percentage	**26%**		**76%**			

Observation Outcomes:
- Email and Telephone/Cellphone produce over 50% more Weak Ties than Strong Ties.
- SMS Texting produces 6 times more Strong Ties than Weak Ties.
- Various modes produce 3 times more Strong Ties than Weak Ties

Overall, strong ties exist in one-quarter of the social relations connecting

consultants to their contacts. Fontaine, EUTC-1 and SCO-1 have significantly more

(averaging 64%) strong ties, while Johnston and Rattray, and ACW-1, Kani-1, Kani-2

and SPCW-1 have significantly less (averaging 12%) strong ties with their contacts.

When we compare this ethnographic sub-data-set to SNA data-set measures of

betweenness-centrality and eigenvector-centrality measures for low-scoring and high-

scoring consultant-actors, we find there is little correlation between betweenness-scores

and whether unmediated (i.e., face-to-face) or mediated (i.e., email, telephone, and SMS

text messaging) communications are used to connect actors. The same correlation is

found when we compare betweenness scores to strength of ties. There is little difference.

Further to this, when we compare consultant-actors with high and with low eigenvector

scores, we find little correlation to strength of ties. However, eigenvector scores are

directly correlated to whether actors use more unmediated forms of the communication or

mediated forms of communication for networking with their contacts. When we compare

actors with high and low eigenvector scores to their communications usage, we find that

those actors who use more mediated communications technologies have higher levels of

eigenvector. This makes sense given that eigenvector is a measure of how connected an

actor is to other well-connected actors. Face-to-face forms of communication and social

interaction take more time than mediated forms, and therefore actors would be less likely

to locate and successfully communicate with actors that are external to their local

networks. Those actors who rely on email, telephone, and SMS text messaging, or who

use a variety of modes are more likely than other actors to be effective network brokers.

Many of my consultants shared stories with me about how CMC technologies

have revolutionized the work they are doing to advocate, assist, and support Aboriginal

clients. According to consultants who prefer email and telephone/cellphone

communications over face-to-face interactions, CMC increases the range, frequency and

efficiency of their contact with other network actors. Kani-2 refers to her own social

networking as a form of "digital smoke-signals" (Formal Interview, July 12, 2011). She

says that in the past people in Aboriginal organizations would rely on the telephone, but

today they use email. By sending emails to everyone on their network list it is possible to

disseminate information quickly, effortlessly and simultaneously in a way that was

impossible using the telephone. Spillett agrees saying that email is especially useful for

networking with people outside the office, or for communicating with her staff. Johnston

agrees with Spillett and Kani-2, saying that by passing out his business card (with his

email address on it), he has increased the number of people that he may contact for

information, services, or other business related to the ACW. The range and number of

Johnston's contacts have increased as a consequence of email use. For Johnston, being

able to access his email while abroad, or at a meeting, vastly improves his success in networking with people that will further ACW goals and agendas.

According to Bartlett and others, email also helps people to communicate with new contacts, or to 'cold-call' people in government, business, and other organizations. Therefore email is a social leveling technology helping people to network with others – despite differences in social ranking and status, position of authority, or socio-economic class and ethnic and cultural background. Rheingold (1993) supports this finding saying email and other CMC technologies "levels the playing field" and facilitates communication and exchange between people who would normally not interact with each other. This is one of the ways that CMC promotes weak social ties.

Bartlett says that email is a much more secure form of communication for contacting clients who are transient and highly mobile. CAHRD clients, for instance, may not have access to a telephone, but nearly always have an email account. She comments, "A lot of our clients don't come in as often because they can do it over email with their counsellors. They can say 'hey, what's on the job bank,' and they can be referred to it. They can send their resume in [rather than] physically come in for everything" (Bartlett, Post-Survey Interview, July 1, 2011). And although her clients frequently change their phone numbers and places of residence, they always keep their email addresses. So email is a secure and reliable way of communicating with CAHRD clients. But email can also be used as way of tracking our correspondences with others.

Helgason says email allows administrators to coordinate discussions almost like a conference call, but with the added benefit of being able to record important information.

Helgason says email has,

> Become kind of a record book. I search by emails for data or information
> that I know I can store. It use to drive one of my receptionists crazy
> because I wouldn't delete my emails. I said well I don't want to delete my
> emails because I might have to go back and explain or let people know I
> received this information on this particular day.

(Post-Survey Interview, August 20, 2011)

Grand Chief agrees. He likes email for he can access it on his cellphone (no matter where

he is located) and may refer back to older emails for information, documents, and records

of what people think about issues and concerns. This cannot be done during land-line

telephone and in-person based conversations.

In summary most of the consultants in this research say they use email regularly

for networking with staff members, out-of-office contacts, for booking meetings, and as

an effective way of keeping a record of information exchanged. Email messaging also has

the advantage of being fast, efficient and nearly-instantaneous.

In comparison to email, the telephone seems outdated and a thing of the past. Due

to recent increases in smart phone technologies, cellphones (and more recently,

smartphones) have replaced most land lines, yet email still seems more versatile. A few

consultants still relied on telephone and cellphone conversations while working within

their organizations. According to Kani-2 and SCO-1 it is easier to elaborate on ideas,

concepts, and strategies using the telephone than by communicating via email or SMS

text messaging. SCO-1 prefers contacting people using the telephone/cellphone first, and

then following up her discussion by emailing or texting specific information and/or data.

Johnston, Helgason, Onash-1 and Whitford use telephones and email in the opposite way

than SCO-1 does. For them, the telephone is often used to follow up an email exchange,

or for making plans to meet.

Bartlett, Spillet, and SCO Grand Chief only resort to telephone/cellphone communication if no other form of communication is effective. The technology does enable people who are not physically present to attend meetings via teleconferencing. Bartlett says this is a regular occurrence at CAHRD. However, it is much easier to avoid a telephone call than an email or the physical presence of a person in one's office. All these consultants complained that voice mails are seldom responded to. Even Spillett admits her frustration over leaving a message and being cut off in the middle of a sentence. To avoid this, Spillett often prearranges a telephone conversation so that the person she wishes to speak to is available to converse. Like Spillett, Grand Chief only resorts to telephone calling when he must communicate with people who do not have access to email and SMS text messaging, or he does not have access to email.

SMS text messaging is increasing in use, especially by youth. However, very few consultants claimed to use SMS text messaging to communicate with their social contacts. Only Fontaine and SCO-1 admitted to texting regularly. Johnston referred to using his Blackberry smartphone to receive and send emails, while at business meetings, but like many others of his generation, he prefers not to SMS text.

Helgason and Spillett prefer other forms of communication over SMS text-messaging via cellphones. However, each admits that SMS text messaging is becoming more and more popular. SMS text messaging is especially useful for communicating short pieces of information, especially when in the company of others or when rushed and unable to communicate in greater depth. It is also a good way of keeping in touch with family and friends. According to Helgason and Spillet, texting is especially useful

for communicating with family and friends living abroad, or in the case of Spillett, for reaching her daughters to insure they are safe.

Finally, social networking websites, such as Facebook, Twitter, and MySpace are becoming more and more popular. They began as a way for young people to "hang out with each other" in virtual space. But social networking is quickly growing in popularity among a broader audience and may be slowly replacing other forms of communication such as telephone, email and SMS text messaging. Even businesses and government agencies are creating their own Facebook groups and profiles, and Aboriginal organizations are no different. Social media software platforms are staging areas for communicating with clients, customers, and citizens; places where all people, no matter their physical locations or social-cultural identity, can access information and resources.

Email and social media are social leveling technologies – allowing CEOs and mailroom clerks to converse with each other with little or no formality. Social media messaging services make it easier for people to contact and communicate with people they hardly know personally, and to communicate and interact with people who are "mostly strangers to each other" (e.g., where one person thinks the other is a 'friend' because they are on their Facebook "friends list").

Spillett commented on the popularity of Facebook – which had to be blocked from office computers since staff use of Facebook was interfering with their work. However, Spillett acknowledges that Kanikanichihk staff and clients use Facebook to track and maintain ties with people that they might under other circumstance lose touch with. Kanikanichihk is now utilizing Facebook to network with its clients. Facebook is especially useful for tracking down clients who have disappeared or are at risk of

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domestic or other forms of abuse. For instance, during the first week of my participant-observation at Kanikanichihk, I was approached by a young Aboriginal woman who asked to use my laptop, as she needed to access Facebook. The young woman was accompanied by a videographer from Native Communications Inc. FM Radio. Native Communications Inc. operates in Manitoba as a public broadcaster offering radio programming throughout Manitoba that are designed for and by Aboriginal people. The videographer wished to record the young woman using Facebook to locate her missing brother. Once she was online, the young woman accessed her brother's Facebook "wall" to locate messages written by his friends that would point to his whereabouts. A few months later I asked Spillett if the young woman ever found her brother, but she could not confirm it. She did say, however, that cases such as I described are a common occurrence at Kanikanichihk. Helgason says that employment workers at CAHRD also use Facebook to track down their clients.

Onash-1's clients told him they preferred communicating with him using Facebook rather than by letters, emails, and telephone messages. His clients say they often check their Facebook accounts but seldom check voicemail or email because they are seldom home to access landlines or computers. Morgan warns that "we also have to be mindful of that fact that the people we work with have been in conflict with the law" (Formal Interview, July 6, 2012). Information published on social media websites is not secure and may be used to locate people and to identify their colleagues, family, and friends.

Further to the personal security risks regarding the use of social media at work, online communications though social media messaging and email can limit the amount

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and detail of information exchanged between people. The lack of social cues and increased chances of miscommunicating through email make it riskier than in-person conversations. Similarly, social networking media were not adopted by all consultants. Rattray, for instance, refuses to use social media because she says she does not have the time to invest in updating her profile. But despite how useful email and other CMC technologies can be for extending relations and networks, most consultants agreed that face-to-face social interactions and communication are necessary to establish more meaningful and long term relationships with people. So regardless of the speed and easy that we can communicate using mediated technologies, face-to-face meetings are always necessary. It is here that leaders, such as Grand Chief or Rattray can establish and maintain strong social and psychological relationships with their network contacts.

The core of organizational clusters or alliance networks is dominated by leaders who have strong ties with each other. These ties are produced because leaders interact face-to-face with each other, although they may use CMC to maintain those ties and to arrange meetings. Most consultants said that it is easier to judge a person's intentions when meeting them in person, then when communicating via email or telephone. Face-to-face meetings also allow people to negotiate social bonds, contracts, and commitments based on a person's perceived level of commitment. It is easy to tell someone through email that you will support a project, however, when face-to-face with this person, your level of commitment or feelings about the issue are more visible. Mediated communications, on the other hand, can obscure or prevent the exchange of subtle social cues so important in social interaction. Actors are also more likely to engage in more detailed discussion and to brainstorm with each other while face-to-face.

As a spiritual person, Spillett values human contact as it allows her to "read a person" and to judge their intentions and personal agendas. Although she fully admits that she's "not a people person" and prefers email as her primary form of communication, she stipulates that face-to-face meetings should never be completely replaced by mediated or virtual messaging. Spillett especially prefers face-to-face interactions when communicating with family and friends. Physical presence and a sense of social and emotional engagement are important for Spillett's spiritual and emotional wellbeing.

Despite the obvious benefits of in-person interactions, my research has found, in the words of Granovetter (1973), that there is "strength to weak ties." Weak ties may be instrumental and somewhat temporary, but they do provide us with a lot of versatility in the way we interact with others. Bridging social capital is the outcome of these weak ties; the capacity to innovate and brainstorm, to problem-solve, and of course to network with a larger, more varied group of contacts.

CMC systems connect us to a global encyclopedia that is being constantly updated, and it also provides us with one other way of thinking about local issues affecting Aboriginal people. Both Grand Chief and Johnston recognize the value and usefulness of the Internet and social media (such as Facebook) for engaging a wide variety of people with the issues and also disseminating information, knowledge, and resources that, in the past, may have been only available to the those in the right place at the right time. The "Idle No More" movement, and for that matter, the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, popularized through use of Facebook, are testaments to this fact.

Now, CMC technologies make it so much easier to connect to like-minded people, organizations, and agencies. My consultants told me that this technology vastly

increase their ability to innovate, partner, and solve problems that in the past would have been insurmountable. Brokers within this network of networks are more likely now than ever before to form partnerships and alliances that have the potential to change the power-dynamics between Aboriginal citizens and the rest of Canada. We have only to examine the next key theme described by consultants in this research for evidence that leaders described in this research are using their alliance networks to coordinate their organizational efforts in CED in Winnipeg.

Theme 3 – Innovations in Aboriginal Community Development

According to a number of the consultant interviews, Aboriginal organizations need to do a better job of communicating with one another. The consultants said that in their experience the mainstream systems of social welfare, healthcare, and criminal justice alienate Aboriginal people from their local cultures, languages and traditional practices. They say that these services foster an intergenerational spirit of dependency that perpetuates their reliance on social services and supports.

Johnston says that coordination of services involving the ACW, AMC (including MKO and SCO) and MMF is hampered by jurisdictional boundaries. These roadblocks are due mostly to the way AANDC allocates funding and represents urban and reserve based populations. But Aboriginal people today belong to both worlds. Development practices must address both of these realities in a unique and innovative way that promotes cooperation and sharing among all parties.

New programs in Aboriginal CED typically operate to build on the social capacities of clients, teaching cultural values, and improving people's attitudes towards independent living and self-reliance (or at least reliance on family and friends). The

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focus is on building healthy communities. Aboriginal organizations need to utilize more holistic approaches based on Aboriginal cultural knowledge, values and practices to inspire and educate their clients. However, these cultural approaches must be administrated through education and training programs that increase people's socio-economic self-sufficiencies. The organizations explored in this research utilize different balances of these approaches. While some organizations utilize more institutional, administrative, mainstream tactics, others use more traditional, holistic and grassroots methods.

Bartlett and Rattray employ more institutional structures within their organizations, and encourage a form of service delivery that assists Aboriginal people in adapting to Western economic practices through employment and education, yet encourages their learning of traditional Aboriginal knowledge and values. On the other hand, Spillett and Morgan employ more grassroots approaches based in Aboriginal activism and cultural reclamation (Anderson 2000). These leaders, as well as others within this research are using their social network ties, broadened by their use of CMC technologies, to form alliance networks. These network clusters play an important role in building bridging social capital within an alliance network of leaders connected to them.

A small subset of the 151 actors within the total network examined in this research, keep recurring in each other's personal networks. A quick tally provided in Table 6.4 describes the frequencies that each consultant-actor is named by another primary or secondary actor. Such references may be interpreted as measure of social importance and significance.

Consultant	Inclusion %
Johnston (ACW)	53%
Spillett (Kanikanichihk)	40%
Helgason (SPCW)	33%
Morgan (Onashowewin)	33%
Bartlett (CAHRD)	27%
Fontaine (SCO)	12%
Kani-2 (Kanikanichihk)	12%
SPCW-1	6%
ACW-1	6%
Rattray (UW-IGCA)	6%
Onash-1 (Onashowewin)	6%
Whitford (EUTC)	6%
SCO-1 (SCO)	6%
Grand Chief (SCO)	6%
Kani-1 (Kanikanichihk)	6%

Leslie Spillett is listed as one of the most important actors within the total

network. Bartlett and Morgan also feature prominently on other actor's personal network

of important others. Johnston scored the highest in popularity, mainly due to how the

ACW functions to assist fellow organizations. Johnston's popularity may also be due to

organizational network clustering (see Figure 5.4 in chapter five). For instance, Bartlett,

Helgason and Johnston represent organizations belonging to what was identified in the

SNA Data-set as Cluster (A). This triad of actors would no doubt increase the presence of

all actors within the total network. Similarly, Spillett, Morgan and Kani-2 belong to what

was identified as Cluster (B), and each actor is popularly represented. What is not

immediately obvious is that Cluster (C) comprised of Fontaine, SCO Grand Chief and

SCO-1, is minimally referenced by other consultants. Consultants may not reference the

SCO as much as they do others because the SCO is structured on a more traditional,

band-based model, as opposed to the hybrid model employed by more popular

organizations. SCO seems to be an "island all on its own" – despite its connections to

ACW, Onashowewin, and even Kanikanichihk. Fontaine's score is greater than that of

Grand Chief and SCO-1 because of her connection to Spillett and Morgan, or Cluster (B).

The remainder of this section examines each of the six organizational clusters or

alliance networks that are apparent in the ethnographic and SNA data-sets. Each

organizational cluster is introduced and supported by consultant comments and anecdotes

from my interview transcripts. At the heart of these clusters are actors who are well

connected to other actors and resources in the total network. These brokers are motivated

by shared experiences (often tragic) which lead to common motivations for improving the

quality of life of Aboriginal people.

Organizational-Cluster A (Bartlett, Helgason, Johnston, ACW-1, SPCW-1):

This cluster contains ACW, CAHRD and SPCW and the primary and secondary

consultant actors who direct them. Bartlett, Helgason, and Johnston form the core of

actors at the center of the networks connected to Cluster (A). These leaders are mainly

motivated by incubator CED (or Neeginan) approaches and have an administrative

structure similarly to most mainstream institutions. According to ACW-1, Cluster (A)

exists because of the "leadership dynasty" Bartlett, Helgason and Johnston began during

the mid-1980s. Referring to Helgason`s accomplishments within the ACWI, ACW-1

says:

> There's a couple of leaders that are somewhat based on dynasties. [The] Aboriginal
> centre [is based on] a dynasty [of leaders] and is perceived outside the community
> as disgusting and not healthy. All the key players are related, and their dynasties are
> strong. Dynasties are actually the networks in play with each other; so they don't
> necessarily allow a lot of good people in. They don't necessarily want to invite a lot
> of folks in and certainly some of them they don't want to invite as they are
> dissenting voices, which is then perceived as causing more grief; causing more

challenges for them to face.

Despite ACW-1's critique that Cluster (A) leaders have dominated their organizations

and prevented other people from assuming leadership roles within them, ACW-1's

observation that such alliances exist helps confirm SNA findings presented in chapter

five. The work accomplished by the core network of actors comprising Cluster (A) has

produced profound real-world deliverables. Bartlett, Helgason and Johnston, through

their various organizations, developed and now manage ACWI and CAHRD; both are

excellent examples of Aboriginal-directed sources of social capital in urban communities.

Helgason's experiences as a CFS administrator motivated him to help protect

Aboriginal children and youth by supporting responsible and nurturing Aboriginal

families. He saw CFS as entrenched in a larger system of custodial care which included

social services, health, and the criminal justice systems. Helgason would occupy several

other positions within other Aboriginal organizations before becoming executive director

of the SPCW. Helgason not only acted as Ma Mawi's first executive director, but he was

president of ACW for a time, and now sits on the board of the CAHRD.

Bartlett's initial success in brokering her position with CAHRD's board opened

the doors for allies, including Helgason and Johnston. Although the presidency of the

ACW is awarded based on election by its members, Johnston was appointed to the

position because the incumbent president resigned. Johnston says, "I give credit to my

two colleagues Marileen [Bartlett] and Wayne [Helgason], who sent me an invitation to

come back to Winnipeg as President of the Aboriginal Council, because they were

struggling a bit at the time" (Formal Interview, July 12, 2011).

During Helgason's five-year tenure at Ma Mawi he came to understand how the

organization's reliance on government funding fostered dependency and discouraged innovation. He described how through prudent management, he produced a surplus of CA$54,000 in his first year. Yet when he informed the Minister in charge of those funds, Ma Mawi's budget was reduced dollar-for-dollar by the amount Helgason had saved (Formal Interview, June 29, 2011). The lesson Helgason learned is that often the very systems designed to alleviate poverty and other social injustice are rewarded for failing to do so. If organizations such as Ma Mawi truly succeeded in their efforts, the government would cease to fund them. Within this system of structural dependency, partnerships and referrals between Aboriginal organizations make good sense. If Aboriginal organizations can offset the costs of achieving their mandates by referring their clients to sister organizations which may be better positioned to provide certain services, then each organization's mandates are achieved within the constraints of their individual budgets. Lacking these network benefits, organizations must rely on unpredictable and irregular allotments of government funding.

Dependency on government funding is risky, especially during times of severe cutbacks in government spending. In a sense, Aboriginal organizations that depend on government funding are "doomed to failure," since their funds may vary from year to year or be cancelled altogether. This structural weakness can be overcome by what Bartlett describes as "social enterprises" (Formal Interview, July 19, 2011). Social enterprises are organizations with the directives of "doing charity by doing trade" and by redirecting profits back into the community or cooperatives owned by members of the community.[52]

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[52] According to the Canadian Social Entrepreneurship Foundation, "social enterprise" is defined as "social mission driven organizations which apply market-based strategies to achieve a social purpose" (CSEF

ACWI and its supporting agencies, ACW and CAHRD are excellent examples of social enterprises. SPCW enabled Bartlett and Johnston to reach out to the wider communities of CED in Winnipeg and abroad. The network cluster interconnecting Helgason, Bartlett, and Johnston represent a valuable source of bridging social capital within each of their organizations. The achievements of these organizations are multiplied by the social capital contained within the next alliance network to be described, that is, organizational Cluster (B).

Organizational-Cluster B (Spillett, Morgan, Kani-2, and Onash-1):

Spillet has always been active in Canada's Aboriginal issues and concerns. As a social activist and university graduate, Spillett is well aware of how Aboriginal people have been affected by colonialism and the residential schools system. Prior to working at Kanikanichihk, Spillett worked in a large, mainstream Canadian social service delivery organization that dominated and controlled the lives of Aboriginal clients. As a senior manager, she was sickened by how her own people were being treated in the system. Spillet says that negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people as "people of need" or "victims of the system" have to be overcome and dispelled. By focusing on the strengths and values of Aboriginal culture and spirituality, Kanikanichihk's programs not only teach people how to get-head in the world, but also show them that Aboriginal people can and do succeed. Such experiences help promote positive mentorships, elder-youth relations, and a general social network of supportive, encouraging, and kin-based relations so necessary for building Aboriginal identify and pride.

Driven by a willingness to make positive change in her community, Spillett has

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2012).

helped to form several Aboriginal women's groups –including Mother of Red Nations

and Women's Council of Manitoba. Later in 2001, she and a few other women formed

Kanikanichihk. Spillett has since held executive positions in the Native Women's

Association of Canada and Anishnaabe Oway Ishi. While a member of Native

Women's Association of Canada she began the Sisters in Spirit campaign and

participated in Amnesty International to help raise awareness and actions regarding

'Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women in Canada.' Spillett has inspired others to

help Kanikanichihk achieve its humanistic rights and community development agenda.

Kani-2 is such as person.

Kani-2 relates the chain of events and people that led her to Kanikanichihk. In

2006, Wayne Helgason (Kani-2's cousin) introduced Kani-2 to Leslie Spillet at

Kanikanichihk. A love for the organization quickly developed. Later, Spillett appointed

her Kanikanichihk's council treasurer. Kani-2 fondly relates her experiences at

Kanikanichihk.

> A lot of people know about Kanikanichihk in the community. I don't think there
> would be many that didn't know about who we are and what we do. And it's not
> only stemming from the programming -and you probably heard a lot about it- but of
> the level of commitment in leadership, especially Leslie Spillett, where it is her
> life's work to impact change positively. There are not many people like her. The
> organization does good work because of her patience, and her programming reflects
> that. But this is one person through the voices of many saying this is what we need.

> (Formal Interview, July 12, 2011)

Elements of Kani-2's personal journey are shared by Morgan, whose life

changed when she had a dream in which a prominent member of the MMF told her to

quit her bank job and begin working for organizations that aid Aboriginal people.

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I met an employment counselor at CAHRD and said that I am working, but I need to think about upgrading my education. They recommended I go to university, and that was the very first time that anyone suggested university to me. I initially said that I didn't think I could do that, and they said, 'Yes of course you can'. Just them making that one recommendation encouraged me to try. So I went to University and CAHRD helped me find funding and they put me in contact with all the right people and I went to University.

(Morgan, Formal Interview, July 6, 2011)

Morgan was later hired to work as a human resource counsellor at CAHRD. Within five months, she became a supervisor (despite not having a master's degree). Then, after a short stint working for the government, she returned to CAHRD, but went on leave after being offered a job working for her home community at Sagkeeng Anishinaabe First Nation. Morgan helped start up several businesses including a radio station, restaurant, and casket-making business. She then worked at CAHRD for a time, before going on leave to work at Ndinawe for one summer. It was there that she met Leslie Spillett and began working at Kanikanichihk. Later, Fontaine visited Morgan at Kanikanichihk and offered her a job working as executive director of Onashowewin. She credits Onashowewin`s successes to its justice case workers. Morgan cites one case worker named, Onash-1 as one of her most respected and productive of workers.

Morgan hired Onash-1 soon after she met him at the SCO. However, Onash-1's passion for helping Aboriginal people began much before he began work at Onashowewin. It began when a CFS worker inspired him to change his life for the better. The worker accused Onash-1 of distributing and selling narcotics in Sandy Bay and threatened to apprehend his children. Onash-1's recovery would eventually lead him into social justice and community development. The CFS worker offered Onash-1 employment as a community justice worker at SCO.

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The important thing was that this CFS worker saw the qualities in me that I didn't see myself. She saw that I had potential to do good things for my community. I learned so much from her. I learned how to listen to my heart; I learned how to use my culture to help people throughout their lives in different issues and for different realities. So many opportunities and so much personal growth came to me.

(Onash-1, Formal Interview, June 28, 2011)

After accepting the position, Onash-1 began working within the SCO`s justice department. Later, he resigned his position and began work at ACW and SCO's newly established Onashowewin.

Onash-1 was responsible for developing and implementing several Onashowewin workshops that are designed to help young people involved in the criminal justice system to "escape their life of crime." Onash-1 uses his street etiquette and experiences growing up in the North End to reach out and help the people that are his clients. The CFS worker at Sandy Bay First Nations helped motivate Onash-1 to change his life for the better. He is now "giving back" to the Aboriginal community. Onash-1's passion for supporting his people began through his experiences as a Sundancer. He relates:

I'm a part of Sundance family which is a very important organization to me and my family. The people I Sundance with are my family. It's international. I joined the sun dancers to find a real true understanding of myself. This is my inner journey in part of my spiritual development. It's everything. Without that, my life would be in turmoil. When I started to Sundance that is when I started saving myself. I never looked at myself as somebody who murdered somebody. When I became a Sundancer I had to take responsibilities for the families I destroyed, [and the] drugs I've sold that [may have] eventually killed people. That was a hard lesson to learn. [The process involved] a lot of tears and guilt [to be realized and] released. I did take ownership and responsibility for what I had done.

(Onash-1, Formal Interview, June 28, 2011)

Onash-1`s commitment and dedication for helping clients at Onashowewin is commendable. His actions and words have helped several clients break their cycle of crime and to work to better themselves. However, Onashowewin would not exist were it

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not for the political acumen of leaders of the ACW and SCO. Cooperation between First Nations groups like the SCO and urban Aboriginal political organizations like the ACW clearly demonstrate that leadership dynasties are unnecessary for partnerships to be formed and deliverables produced. Even leaders representing separate and isolated organizational clusters find ways of partnering. SCO is isolated within the total network as its own organizational cluster, yet it was able to partner with ACW to create Onashowewin. So it is here we turn our story to SCO and its current Grand Chief.

Organizational-Cluster C (Grand Chief, Fontaine, and SCO-1):

The path that would eventually lead Grand Chief to the SCO began on the streets of Winnipeg on one cold winter's eve in 1984. Grand Chief was a semi-professional musician, but also a self-professed drunk. And one night he collapsed in Vimy Ridge Park and nearly died, were it not for the kindness of a young lady who took him in. This heralded a wakeup call for Grand Chief that led him to educate himself in the practices of CED and business. Grand Chief had a spiritual awakening the day he nearly froze to death. He finished high school and attended the University of Manitoba where he obtained a degree in Community Organizational Development. Aside from his education, a reoccurring dream eventually led him to become chief of his community and later Grand Chief of the SCO.

> It was a spiritual thing that brought me here. I wanted to be rich and do things, and provide for my own family. But I ended up being chief in my own community for 10 years, and it was all told to me in a vision quest. It's not about money for me anymore; it's about trying to help those that are less fortunate –because I walked in those moccasins. Either kill yourself drunk on the street or you start with a vision and say, "that's what I want". I want to do that. And I did that. And this girl, who helped me out that time, asked me what I was going to do. And I told her I think I'm going to go home and sober up, and go back to school.

Grand Chief met Fontaine when he began working for the SCO. She was already justice

coordinator at that time.

Fontaine began working for SCO as a communications coordinator in 2002.

Within three months she was promoted to special advisor to the Grand Chief on United

Nations issues. Two years later she was made director of justice. Despite her lack of

experience in the field, Fontaine developed a sustainable and innovative justice program

at SCO that would have far reaching effects on the lives of Aboriginal people involved

within the justice system. One such person whose life was profoundly affected by

Fontaine was SCO-1.

SCO-1's journey to the SCO began on January 31, 2005 when her brother

Matthew was shot and killed in Winnipeg's North End. This event enraged many

members of Winnipeg's Aboriginal community. From her position at the SCO Fontaine

helped SCO-1's family publicize the case and applied public pressure on the Government

of Manitoba to set up an inquest into Matthew's death. Matthew's murder served to

connect SCO-1 to Fontaine.

> When I initially met Nahanni, I was working for Manitoba Hydro. I was fine with
> my job. But after I lost my brother, I got introduced to the Aboriginal community.
> Because growing up in my community with my family, it was sometimes
> embarrassing to be an Indian or to acknowledge that I was an Indian. So I went
> through most of my life feeling that way. My brother was killed, and so many
> people showed their support to our family. I was swarmed with love and support. I
> was overwhelmed. Where did these people come from? And it was really amazing
> and overwhelming. And that's what opened me up to learning more about accepting
> offers of support. That was definitely an emotional time for me.

(SCO-1, Formal Interview, June 27, 2011)

As a justice worker, SCO-1 was finally serving the Aboriginal community that had rallied

to support her family following her brother's death. Her job at Onashowewin is to encourage Aboriginal youth to "turn their backs on gangs."

During our interview SCO-1 described a recent and fairly typical case in which she was involved. It involved mediating between the victim of a property crime and the accused – a 13-year old Aboriginal boy. As part of the boy's deferred sentence, he was asked to apologize to the lady. SCO-1 helped both the boy and lady to reconcile their experiences and to make them understand each other. The boy wrote her a letter of apology and repaid some of the damages. The victim (an elderly lady) voiced her fear, anger and confusion to the boy. Reconciliation worked to restore both the boy and the lady's faith in each other. Acceptance and forgiveness may have been the first positive step in this boy`s otherwise careless life.

Prior to beginning work at Onashowewin and SCO, SCO-1 had been ashamed that she was Aboriginal. But the tragedy of her brother's death opened her up to an Aboriginal community of caring, nurturing and supportive people that made her "proud to be native."

Organizational-Cluster D (Whitford, EUTC-7, EUTC-1, EUTC-2):

Like the SCO, the EUTC differs from other organizations explored in this research. The EUTC is a program funded and administered through the AMC. This research has shown that divisions between urban Aboriginal organizations and First Nation band-based organizations can be bridged through alliance networks and their leader's use of CMC technologies. Although the EUTC is its own cluster, Whitford's weak ties to actors at the ACW, CAHRD, and especially, Kanikanichihk, help connected the EUTC to other organizations within this study.

Whitford, the current program manager at the EUTC is passionately committed to this family and his Aboriginal ancestry. Whitford was given the opportunity to design and operate programs the way he thought best. Whitford says he is blessed by the people working with him at EUTC as cultural and transition workers. He and his staff work in helping Aboriginal people build bridges within their lives so as to break old patterns of abuse, crime, and poverty. He is a very spiritual Aboriginal man who believes all people have the right and the need to be treated with respect and dignity.

Whitford's passion for assisting and supporting urban Aboriginal people began during his youth when he realized the hardships and challenges facing many Aboriginal people. As a second-generation Winnipegger (his parents moved to the City from Sandy Bay) Whitford recounts how, "a light came on" when, as a teenager, he realized that he needed to stand up for himself and be proud of his cultural heritage. Whitford is dedicated to extending his awareness to others in his family and community. He says,

> [At the EUTC, counsellors] find out a person's community of origin, whether they've been born and raised in Winnipeg and have never stepped foot in their community. We help them explore and understand their community's history; the community challenges, the residential school, community relocation. We do this so [clients] can understand [and except their life circumstances] in order to have a positive impact by creating a better life for themselves and their families, and their children and their children's children. We teach them some of the ceremonies that we've lost, and sometimes it could be a first exposure. There's a lot of respect with our youth. They are thirsting for knowledge; thirsting for aboriginal teachers. They are engaged when we bring a First Nations presenter in and learn different topics. And we find that they stand taller with each teaching. Drum teaching, or the history of Sandy Bay, etc. They acknowledge it and feel like they're part of something.

> (Whitford, Formal Interview, June 29, 2011)

Whitford believes that Aboriginal people should respect themselves and develop lifestyles that do not separate them from their cultural practices and beliefs. He has worked for the AMC for 14 years (since 1997).

Similar to the EUTC, Rattray's role at the UW-IGCA could be viewed as representing another division (based on CED approaches) within the total network of organizations explored in this research. Despite its mandates, the UW-IGCA is not an Aboriginal organization and is administered by the University of Winnipeg. However, Rattray's connection to Spillett and Kani-2 help connect the UW-IGCA to other work in the urban Aboriginal community.

<u>Organizational-Cluster E</u> (Rattray):

Rattray's work at UW-IGCA began through a fortuitous and unlikely circumstance. In her former job as a journalist at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation she interviewed University of Winnipeg President, Lloyd Axworthy, who in his inauguration speech had committed himself to facilitating change within the Aboriginal community of Winnipeg. Axworthy was so impressed with Rattray's involvement in that community that he subsequently hired her as Vice-Chair of the new Aboriginal governance program at the University.

Rattray, reflected during interview on her first meeting with Leslie Spillett. She was impressed with how Spillett held people accountable for their actions and promises. She found a mentor, teacher and colleague in Spillett. Rattray elaborated on her ties to Kanikanichihk.

> In my role in Kanikanichihk, it would be broader than education. And I should say twinned with education more and more understanding, another big issue that I'm learning about is cultural knowledge and cultural reclamation, because of the years of colonization, and the years of residential schools, so many of us don't have so much knowledge that we should have about who we are and where we come from. Because of that, depending on your childhood and cultural background, and upbringing has been, a lot of our young people have really bad self-image, self-esteem, don't feel good about themselves and believe all the bad things they hear. They don't have that piece of knowledge inside them about how amazing they are.

Despite an extremely heavy work load and her duties as a mother at the time, Rattray

accepted Spillett's offer to serve as a member of the Kanikanichihk council. That

relationship serves them both very well in the work they do in support of Kanikanichihk

and UW-IGCA programs and initiatives.

<u>Organizational-Cluster F</u> (Kani-1):

    Another person whose life was positively effect by Spillett was Kani-1,

Kanikanichihk`s chief financial officer. Kani-1 provided little information on how and

why she ended up joining Kanikanichihk. Much of her comments during my interviews

reiterated issues, concerns, and programs already discussed by Spillett. The main reason

Cluster (F) exists at all is due to Kani-1's personal network which consisted almost

entirely with financial and accounting contacts. What is evident, however, is that Kani-1

was inspired by Spillett's leadership, wisdom and determination to tackle issues she

believed to be important. She was given the opportunity to improve Kanikanichihk

financially through more transparent practices in accounting and finances. Kani-1 wished

to prove to people, and more specifically the Government of Manitoba, that Aboriginal

organizations can be financially accountable and sustainable.

    The organizational clusters described above represent possible "alliance

networks" within the total network of actors within this study. Some of these alliance

networks utilize more institutional and administrative approaches to CED and mainly

provide services and supports through their individual organizations. Other alliance

networks rely on much more grassroots CED approaches and provide more holistic and

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cultural experiences in supporting Aboriginal people. And finally there is one type of alliance network that draws on a combination of these approaches. Such alliance networks are based on a hybrid-model of organization and CED.

Hybrid-Model Organizations and their Leaders

Despite the clear evidence of Aboriginal leaders in Winnipeg networking extensively with each other, consultants acknowledged several structural holes in their networks. At a general level, one of the most obvious divides is the lack of formalized social network connections between Ma Mawi and all other Aboriginal organizations surveyed in my research, but this research did not examine this organizational divide.

Another disconnect in the total network map of Aboriginal organizations explored in this research was present between CAHRD and the agency it funded, Kanikanichihk. Helgason was shocked and confused by the disconnect existing between Spillett and Bartlett. It may be that Spillett intentionally left out the social ties connecting her to Bartlett because CAHRD is its primary funder. And Bartlett did list Spillett as her "go to person" in the wider Aboriginal community (especially for issues outside of the purview of CAHRD). It is also likely that Spillett's oversight in not formally acknowledging Bartlett as a contact is due to philosophical differences in their approaches to decolonization and CED. Spillett did say she did not agree with how Helgason (and by association, Bartlett) approached Aboriginal community development, such as those based on more institutional and administrative approaches (i.e., ACW, CAHRD), compared to those organizations using more grassroots, community-based approaches (i.e., EUTC, Kanikanichihk and Onashowewin).

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To continue with this line of reasoning, organizations with leaders who have more weak ties than strong ties are found mainly to provide limited, contract-based services and programs. Whereas organizations with leaders who have more strong ties than weak ties to their contacts are found to provide more holistic, culturally-based supports and program initiatives. Those organizations with leaders who have a balance of strong and weak ties, such as Spillett of Kanikanichihk, rely on a union of holistic community-based and contract-based services and supports. These organizations combine mainstream, institutional business practices with more grassroots and Neechi-based approaches. Such organizations are better positioned to access knowledge, resources, and partnerships with a larger range of government agencies, businesses, community groups, and organizations. Some of the conversations between organizational leaders lead to permanent partnerships and referrals of services. But such alliances require leaders that communicate effectively and on a regular basis with each other. Memorandums of cooperation are one formal way of begin the process of partnerships.

Leadership, Cooperation and Social Networking in a Global World

It is widely acknowledged by my consultants that memorandums of cooperation and formal partnerships need to be developed so that Aboriginal people from all backgrounds and "walks of life" and from all service sectors, can access the government money earmarked for social, economic, and health-related development. Johnston says, "If we're ever to turn the tides on incarceration rates of Aboriginal people, high rates of chronic disease, and civil rights, [Aboriginal organizations] have to [work] together. We need to make better decisions," he continues, "through informed consent and to truly involve more people in that process –because for the most part, these organizations

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operate mostly in isolation" (Formal Interview, July 12, 2011). Johnston says that some headway has been made for linking organizations within the ACWI to the MMF. Johnston suggests the MMF move a few of its organizations and/or programs to the ACWI facility, however, no formal arrangements have been discussed or implemented to date.

ACW-1 says Aboriginal people need to partner, not only with their own people, but also other ethnic minorities in Winnipeg. Often each group must fight for limited resources, yet collectively they can make the federal and provincial governments more aware of how to effectively distribute money earmarked for social and economic development. Bartlett agrees. "We need to work in partnership with the government, we need to work in partnership with other institutions, and Aboriginal organizations," she says. "There's not enough resources for everybody build up their particular area of expertise in order to meet these needs. So we have to make sure that we are networking and working together, where there is room for partnerships" (Formal Interview, July 19, 2011).

After doing fieldwork at the Aboriginal organizations which comprise this study and interviewing their leaders and staff, I have come to learn that these organizations draw on two separate generations of Aboriginal peoples. The old guard includes activists such as Bartlett, Helgason, Johnston and Spillett, and a second generation of leaders including people such as Fontaine, Morgan, Rattray, Whitford and SCO-1. This new generation has benefited from training and mentorships provided by the old guard of Aboriginal leaders. Inspired by leaders such as Bartlett and Spillett, the new generation is at the forefront of change in building stronger and more capable urban Aboriginal

communities.

Alliance networks provide a space where organization leaders can develop a core of strong social ties with each other. Leaders may define their strong relations with each other as kin-like; sometime even calling each other by kinship terms. But, the same leaders may also utilize their combined set of weak social ties (that are external to their alliance network) to attract and communicate with people and organizations who may inspire, innovate, and expand existing services and supports. These alliance networks are largely composed of closely tied Aboriginal women leaders, such as Spillett, Fontaine, Morgan, Rattray and Bartlett. Such findings are in line with research results by Gittell and colleagues (1994, 1999), Janovicek (2003), Lobo (2003), Skotnitsky and Ferguson (2005), and Sookraj and colleagues (2010), and recent censuses pertaining to the migration, education, and employment rates of Aboriginal women in Winnipeg (Clatworthy and Hull 1983; Norris 1985, 1996; Peters 1995; Clatworthy 1996; Statistics Canada 2006, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2008, 2012;). While there are men such as Johnston, Helgason, and Whitford who support their own organizations, these men are also dedicated to supporting other women leaders within the total network.

Both the SNA and ethnographic data-sets suggest that a new generation of leaders and their CMC technologies as new sources of social capital present within the networks spanning their organizations. The process involved in building healthy nations of Aboriginal peoples (both physically and spiritually) rest within new innovative partnerships and social enterprises orchestrated by leaders and their networks of contacts. While the programs and initiatives do help the individual clients and members that take part in them, organizations that work together to distribute and share their services with

each other members and clients, benefit from their communities of service. When the leaders of Aboriginal organizations work together to provide an array of skills training and education, employment services, health and justice service, and also more cultural and spiritual-based programs and practices, everybody wins. Costs to programs and services are reduced for they are distributed through referrals. Also, a greater portion of the urban (and reserve) population can be reached since each partnered organization serves different segments of the Aboriginal population. Finally, and I would argue, most importantly, Aboriginal organizations, including their First Nations counterpart can better represent the cultures of Aboriginal peoples currently living in Winnipeg, and abroad.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion & Conclusions

There is a growing, visible population of Aboriginal people now living in Winnipeg, and these numbers are likely to increase. Statistical data show approximately half of Canada's Aboriginal population live in cities. This is being driven by two factors: (1) a high birthrate among Aboriginal people; and (2) significant and growing migration since the 1970s of Aboriginal people from rural, northern and reserve areas to the cities. But the federal governments' fiduciary obligations to Aboriginal people do not reflect this. In its 2012 budget Ottawa allocated CA\$707.7 million to Aboriginal peoples living in northern and reserve communities and CA\$27 million to Aboriginal people living in cities (AANDC 2012a and 2012b).

Since the late 1980s many Aboriginal organizations, businesses, and agencies have emerged in cities like Winnipeg to provide social, economic, and health services to those who require them. But many of these organizations no longer exist due to limited access to financial funding, financial mismanagement, and/or services and programs being subsumed under the authority of government agencies, private charities and missions. Aside from the obvious need for financial accountability, urban Aboriginal organizations that hope to succeed need to develop new innovative approaches for providing services to their clients, and if paralyzed by funding constraints, referring clients to partnered organizations and agencies.

Some Aboriginal leaders (and a few government officials) have recognized this shortfall and have endeavored to promote and support the development of new Aboriginal-owned and operated organizations providing programs, services, and other

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supports to Aboriginal people seeking education, skills/training and employment, social welfare, health and wellness, criminal justice, and cultural/spiritual supports. For the last 20 years, and especially in the last decade, a few of these organizations have become very successful, both in providing culturally relevant services and programs, but also operating with financial transparency and accountability. A few of these organizations are described in this dissertation.

Aboriginal women are at the forefront of these practices in community development. These women and the men that are supporters of them act as network brokers within their expansive social networks that span clusters of Aboriginal organizations and agencies. The social capital arising through this networked capacity grows every day –promoted and expanded by weak social ties these leaders have with people and organization that are external to their local organizational networks.

Leslie Spillett and women like her represent a new source of social capital within the urban Aboriginal community of Winnipeg. Spillett is akin to an urban clan mother as described by Lobo (2003) in her study of the social networks of Aboriginal peoples living in the San Francisco Bay area.[53] Spillett and the women she is networked with are leading the way in supporting and promoting Aboriginal solutions to Aboriginal problems and challenges. Spillett and Bartlett, although approaching their advocacy from both grassroots and institutional approaches, are educating and inspiring future generations of women-leaders.

Leslie Spillett at Kanikanichihk and the social networks linking her organization

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[53] Problems in using this term to refer to Aboriginal peoples who are traditionally neither matrilineal nor clan-based have already been noted in Chapter 1. Lobo's use of the term refers to the rise of an informal network of Aboriginal women leaders emerging from matrifocal families in cities. Leaders such as Leslie Spillett represent an analogous development in Canada, albeit at a more formal organizational level.

to other organizations, agencies, and people, demonstrate quite explicitly the benefits of social capital arising between networked actors and their self-proclaimed "families" of fictive (and real) kin. These network alliances (or coalitions) are a cornerstone of Aboriginal initiated and administrated programs and services building on the capacity of urban Aboriginal clients they serve. These Aboriginal directed and steered organizations are succeeding in providing culturally sensitive and relevant programs and services to their clients despite limited pools of government funding presently supporting them.

The work being done by Spillett and her contemporaries in urban Aboriginal organizations demonstrates a new form of fiscally-responsible self-determination and self-governance. These urban Aboriginal leaders rely on their own network alliances to support their hybrid-style organizations. What is most important here is the structure of strong and weak ties a leader has at his or her disposal. The balance of these social ties is shown to have a profound effect on each leader`s capacity to use social capital present in their alliance networks for addressing the needs of their clients.

Like the leaders of band-type organizations, the leaders of hybrid ones rely on strong social ties (built on multiple activity fields) that are produced and maintained through face-to-face social relations and communications. However, unlike the leaders in band organizations, those of hybrid ones depend to a much greater extent on weak social ties with external contacts and partners. These weak ties rely extensively on CMC. The partnerships and network alliances formed through these weak ties are working to bring more peoples and organizations together in recognizing and celebrating the value and significance of Aboriginal cultures in Canada, but also working collectively for producing more distributed, community-wide development initiatives and programs.

And, given the growing population of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities, weak social ties (through mediated communications) are vital to keeping such communities working together within a common cultural ethos, and for a common good. Without such ties, the communities in Winnipeg will likely become more fragmented and problematic than some of them are now, further entrenching Aboriginal people in poverty, or in the very least, sustaining what amounts to patronizing colonial practices and racial stereotypes.

This research also finds that CMC technologies, such as the Internet, have revolutionized how we communicate and socially network with each other. With a few keystrokes, the Internet potentially provides us with unlimited access to knowledge and information, but also the websites of various businesses, non-profits, charities, government service agencies, that are themselves, sources of bridging social capital. Such technologies enable people and their organizations to access a think-tank and global networking infrastructure and to participate in a consciousness of universal human rights and capacity building. Using email, Leslie Spillett and others within her social network, may contact and build alliances and partnerships with other groups. These informal think-tanks, such as the committee meeting at ACWI to develop Winnipeg's first Aboriginal school division, are producing innovative solutions to age-old program challenges, not to mention finding alternate sources of capital where financial funding is limited or unavailable. Based on a hybrid-model, these alliance networks represent a growing wave of Aboriginal self-governance and determination that is helping Aboriginal people to build stronger, culturally-significant and social and economically sustainable urban communities. But perhaps even more important is the significant cohort of women elders

(and the male leaders who support them) who are working to dispel negative stereotypes and racial prejudices that have effectively crippled some Aboriginal people, socially and economically, preventing them from reclaiming their cultural values and practices that are so important to their wellbeing.

Prior to examining these women-led alliance networks (and its effect on producing social capital) it is important to resituate our discussion according to the original thesis and questions raised earlier in this dissertation.

Revisiting the Research Thesis and Guiding Questions

This dissertation has examined the structure of communications and social interactions linking leaders of several Winnipeg-based Aboriginal organizations and their contacts. Two organizational models have been identified; the band-model involving actors who mainly communicate through face-to-face interactions with a selection of closely tied others (e.g., chiefs and elders) and the hybrid-model involving actors who communicate using a blending of CMC and face-to-face social interactions. The leaders at the core of the hybrid-model alliance network are strongly tied with each other and act as network brokers to an extensive array of ancillary actors that relate to each other using weak social ties. It is my thesis that alliance network leaders who use the hybrid-model of networking have vastly extended their networks of contacts to other organizations, government agencies, First Nations band councils, community developers, private businesses, and of course, to the leaders of other alliance networks. Leaders at the core of these alliance networks treat each other as kin, friends, and CED partners, and in the case of a selection of Aboriginal women leaders, provide services and supports to their clients through an amalgamation of mainstream institutional approaches and more grassroots

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approaches that incorporate an array of urban Aboriginal cultural beliefs and practices.

With the above thesis in mind, I set out to explore eight urban Aboriginal organizations and the social networks of their leaders as places where social capital is produced for the wider community of Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg. I sought to discern whether CMC used by Aboriginal organizational leaders had any effect on the form of social ties comprising the structure of their social networks of contacts, and the subsequent social capital present within the systems of alliances identified. The general theoretical literature on this subject supports similar findings pertaining to the study of CMC and the structure and capacities of largely non-Aboriginal social networks.

The discussion that follows analyzes research findings presented in chapters five and six according to the original research questions raised in chapter one. The research questions guiding this field study are presented again below. Answers to these questions, presented in the previous two chapters, are interpreted and analyzed below according to theories of social capital set forward at the beginning of this dissertation. The questions are as follows:

(1) What is the structure of social network relations interconnecting urban Aboriginal organizational leaders and contacts described in this research? More precisely, does the structure of the total social network facilitate open access of information, expertise and services to all leaders, or does the total network allow a minority of leaders to capitalize on their social relations in controlling and regulating services, program initiatives, and available funding?

(2) What is the relationship between the strength of social ties connecting leaders and their contacts and the methods by which they communicate with each other? What effect do such ties have on the social capital present within their organizational networks?

(3) How does the form of social capital arising between actors using CMC affect the capacity of their organizations in achieving mandates? More specifically, how do actors use their personal social networks to locate and access resources, and convert

various forms of social capital for facilitating, altering or impeding programs and services available within the total network of urban Aboriginal service provided?

A Discussion of Findings

This section amalgamates quantitative SNA and qualitative ethnographic research findings to answer the study's three main research questions outlined above. SNA provides numerical data on the centrality of actors, their degree of solidarity, their potential as brokers and their collective capacity to partner in achieving joint mandates. Participant-observations of the daily-operations of each organization and interviews of each consultant leader helped substantiate SNA data. A thematic analysis of key ideas, concerns, opinions, emerging from the interviews is particularly revealing.

Three major research themes were identified in consultant interviews. These themes parallel findings in the SNA data-set. They are: (1) Aboriginal people still experience high levels of racial stereotypes that negatively affects their self-esteem, cultural pride, and their motivations to succeed; (2) CMC technologies are being used by organization leaders to access new sources of bridging social capital represented in the organizational networks they have developed; and (3) new innovations and partnerships in Aboriginal community development are emerging among some of Winnipeg's key urban Aboriginal organizations.

Through CMC urban Aboriginal leaders in Winnipeg are forming what might be called "networks of networks". This in turn is producing bridging forms of social capital. Such networks help leaders form partnerships, joint initiatives, and a referral of services that help to offset the costs of the programs offered by their organizations. These networks also help leaders to broker cooperation between First Nations political

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organizations and urban Aboriginal political and service organizations that extend and expand their areas of service delivery. These organizations and their leaders are building and strengthening the social, economic and cultural capacities of Aboriginal people in their communities.

These findings help us not only interpret the outcomes of how Aboriginal organizations and their networks of actors achieve their various mandates in CED, but also help to substantiate and contextualize the interactional content of social capital arising from such activities. Mediated communications technologies, such email and cellphones, facilitate and promote weak social ties within the networks of organizational actors. These ties have proven to be vital to their future and existing partnerships, and the ability of organizations to solve timeworn problems in brand-new ways. Weak social ties are found to engender more innovative thinking between normally disparate actors – from the level of local neighbourhoods to the ivory towers of their institutions and businesses. Networks built and sustained by these sorts of relationships help motivate creative and realistic problem-solving of concerns experienced by urban Aboriginal peoples in Winnipeg.

The subsections below explore interesting correlations between my quantitative and qualitative data, and demonstrate precisely how social capital is produced through the networks of more central and influential alliance leaders. The first subsection describes the arrangement of weak and social ties comprising organizational leaders' alliance networks that serve either to encourage or discourage partnerships between them. The second subsection examines the social network dynamics of women leaders at the core of alliance networks described in this research. The final subsection examines the

relationship between CMC usage and the strength of social ties connecting leaders within their alliance networks. Later in this chapter, findings pertaining to the third research question are explored; namely the form and effect of social capital produced through alliance networks.

- Brokers and their Network Alliances:

The data-sets presented in the previous two chapters describe and explain the social network of relations, organizations, and achievements produced through clusters of allied leaders and their supporters. The clusters of organizations described in the SNA and ethnographic data reveal both points of symmetry and points of division. Their differences can be explained by the networks of Aboriginal actors participating in community development in Winnipeg. When we compare research results based on SNA findings of each actor's betweenness and local eigenvector metrics to the consultants' appraisals of their network connections, some interesting parallels and correlations are evident. While the interview themes described in chapter six provide an insider perspective and understanding of these partnerships and alliances, the SNA of consultant social network centrality, social solidarity and network cohesion in chapter five helps to visually and structurally substantiate how all actors within the total network are interconnected and communicate. The social capital arising through this network is predicted and explained through an understanding of the methodology used to produce each.

What is immediately obvious within the SNA data-set is Spillett's position as the most influential and well-connected actor in this study of networks. On average, Spillett is six times better connected than any other actor in the total network. She is centrally

located and helps socially connect most other primary and secondary consultants within the total network. Even when global eigenvectors are taken into account (measuring the extent an actor is a broker within the total network), Spillett is much more a broker than any other actor. Following Spillett, the next most well-connected actors are Bartlett and Morgan, followed by Fontaine, SPCW-1, and then Rattray.

The ethnographic data-set, namely interview transcripts and fieldnotes based on my participant-observations, indicate that some actors are more cooperative and supportive of each other's' collective efforts. Women leaders dominate as principal broker-actors within these alliance networks, helping to connect organizations together and link them to external resources (knowledge, services, funding) that feature prominently in building capacities within their organizations. The actors that socially interconnect within these network alliances act as brokers, bridges, or gatekeepers of communication, partnerships, and exchanges between them.

What is most interesting about these findings is that Johnston, who is the most referenced (53%) person described in consultant interviews, is eight times less central within the network and far less of a broker than Fontaine, Morgan, and SCO-1.

Another obvious difference between the two data-sets concerns Whitford's location within the network. Whitford is referenced by few consultants (6%) and is found to be as centrally located within the network as Morgan and Bartlett.

Grand Chief is also referenced minimally by consultants and yet scores the highest for global eigenvectors than any other actor. Of course we have already mentioned in chapter five that Grand Chief's high values as a well-connected broker are due to his strong ties with his local network contacts, who are southern First Nations

chiefs and elders. Without Fontaine to link Grand Chief to the total network of

organizations he remains disconnected from the total network. In other words, SCO is

linked to the other organizations through Fontaine and her social ties with Spillett and

Kanikanichihk.

Of course, we should recall that the SCO is a First Nations political organization

with a mandate to serve First Nations communities in southern Manitoba. Fontaine's role

as broker between the SCO and Kanikanichihk can be interpreted as representing a

potential structural hole between it and other urban Aboriginal organizations in the

network. Yet Fontaine's ties to Spillett and Kanikanichihk connect her and SCO to other

organizational clusters within the network.

The fact that Spillett and Kanikanichihk help connect EUTC, Onashowewin, SCO

and UW-IGCA to the other half of the actors and organizations present within the total

network (i.e., ACW, CAHRD and the SPCW) means that Kanikanichihk and Spillett

serve as a network "hub." The Spillett-Morgan organizational network cluster and the

clusters of organizations connected to it serve to integrate the entire network of leaders

and organizations in ways that are unprecedented in previous studies of urban Aboriginal

organizations. Linkages between this cluster and other organizations are not formalized

or obvious, yet SNA has revealed them. The social network ties interlinking

Kanikanichihk within the greater capacity of other Aboriginal organizations in the city

represents a hybrid-model of alliance networks and CED, as well as new source of

bridging social capital. This bridging social capital has manifested itself as joint

initiatives and programs that Kanikanichihk has been involved in, such as partnerships,

contribution and communication agreements, sharing or referral of services, and joint

program initiatives and events such as the Urban Aboriginal Summit, Keeping the Fires Burning fundraising galas, the Aboriginal-focused School Board Steering Committee, numerous workshops, and community pow wows, sweats, and other cultural activities.

Spillett`s capacity for brokering organizational partnerships and community events is partially due to her commitment and passion for helping Aboriginal people, but is also due to the balance of strong and weak social ties she has to others organizational leaders; supported and enriched by CMC.

A comparison of each network actor's 'ratio' of weak and strong ties (presented in Table 5.1 in chapter five) confirms that a balance of ties helps situate actors within stable local networks (based on strong ties) that are well connected to (through weak ties) other stable networks. Brokers with a balance of strong ties to other brokers in other organizations and weak ties to sub-groups normally divided by jurisdictional divisions (i.e., between First Nations political organizations, urban service organizations, and government agencies), are able to maximize innovations present within the total system. These brokers not only develop and fund programs with their core of allied organizations, but also help distribute services and initiatives to a wider community. In this way, organizations with more institutional or incubator-based approaches and those serving First Nations communities have the capacity of forming partnerships (informal or legally formalized) with urban Aboriginal political and service-based organizations utilizing more community-oriented and Neechi-based approaches to CED. Such partnerships are better able to serve the Aboriginal people who require social-economic services and cultural supports.

Partnerships between network leaders are more or less predictable based on the

structure of their social ties to each other. Some actors form network alliances with each other that help interconnect supports provided by each of their organizations.

Alliance networks, or organizational clusters and their core of centrally networked actors, are linked through strong kin-like (actual and fictive) social ties. Actors socially connected by fictive kinship ties (i.e., Spillett and Fontaine, Fontaine and Morgan, Bartlett-Johnston-Helgason) rely primarily on face-to-face communication and social networking with others in their immediate networks, and form network alliances (or social clusters) based on a core structure of those ties. These relationships of strong ties are the social framework on which all other services, programs, and initiatives are administrated. Anecdotal information presented in consultant-interviews serves to substantiate how consultants' organizational clusters are formed and how they operate. Evidence of these core clusters (or network alliances) is supported by both SNA and ethnographic data sets presented in the previous chapters. The demographic and SNA data-set indicates that certain network clusters of actors, namely Bartlett-Helgason-Johnston-SPCW-1, and Spillett-Fontaine-Morgan-Rattray consist of a core of actors who interact with each other based on three or more activity field relations. Assessments of network- degree, betweenness, and eigenvector metrics demonstrate that Bartlett, Fontaine, Morgan, Rattray, Spillet, SPCW-1 and SCO-1 are more centrally positioned within the total network than any other actors, and are thus more capable of calling on knowledge, expertise, and resources contained within it.

The next subsection examines more closely the women who have helped unify and broker supports and partnerships linking the organizations in this study. Leaders of these alliance networks have not only achieved pertinent and important CED goals, but

have also done so in a way that reflects urban and rural Aboriginal cultural practices, beliefs, and values; especially those women leaders at the heart of the hybrid-model of alliance networks.

- Women Leaders as Urban Clan Mothers

Many of the organizations explored in this research were directed by women leaders. Women like Spillett, Bartlett, and Fontaine are inspiring a much more culturally responsible, emotionally supportive form of community social and economic development than has been practiced before. Although the women in this study do much of their networking through their offices and not their homes (like "urban clan mothers" described in Susan Lobo's 2003 study), these women brokers (and the men that support them) act as clan mothers through their roles as network brokers. Like key-households of urban clan mothers, some of the organizations in this research serve as network hubs or anchor points within the wider and more extensive social networks linking urban Aboriginal people to relatives and friends still living in First Nations reserves. Such hubs are places of stability and support, but also places that help restore, bolster and honour Aboriginal peoples and their cultures.

Kanikanichihk has succeeded in doing what few other organizations of its kind have done. It has balanced institutional professionalism and financial transparency and accountability with a culturally relevant and supportive 'family' of care-workers who view the people they serve not as clients to be cured or reprimanded, but sisters, brothers and elders needing love and compassion. As the principal leader of Kanikanichihk, Spillett is using her extensive social network of contacts and network allegiances to build innovative forms of social capital within the organizations she is

connected, and as a consequence, increases the capacity of the urban communities that are connected to them.

Two generations of Aboriginal women advocates and a handful of men are responsible for devising and directing more accountable and transparent, culturally-focused programs and initiatives within their partnered (and non-partnered) organizations. To apply Lobo's (2003) original wording, one might even go so far as to suggest that these women and their alliance networks represent an emerging social structure akin to 21st Century urban "clan mothers" with the hypothetical "clan" (in fact more like what anthropologists call a sodality) based on weak social ties and bridging social capital. Key brokers such Spillett and Bartlett, work to stabilize their network clusters for serving the wider Aboriginal community of Winnipeg. This finding is significant given that SNA data indicates that gaps or structural holes do exist between urban Aboriginal organizations and their First Nations counterparts. Only a few actors bridge these holes, allowing for partnerships to germinate and flourish. For example, actor ACW-6 interconnects ACW and EUTC, and actor CAHRD-3 connects CAHRD and EUTC. Together these actors represent the only ties linking EUTC (and Onashowewin) directly to the Bartlett-Helgason-Johnston-SCPW-1 clusters (and their organizations). Similarly, Kani-EUTC-1 links EUTC to Kanikanichihk.

The clusters of organizations comprising these interagency divisions have a pronounced effect on the funding received and work achieved by each individual organization. Research for this project reveals that little or no connections exist between certain organizations and actors, between organizations with divergent approaches (institutional vs. grassroots), and most prominently between jurisdictional divides

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established by AANDC and the Indian Act, that formerly earmarked funding and payments to rural First Nations band reserves alone, and few dollars to urban peoples.

Although changes have been implemented through the Office of the Federal Interlocutor (or the AANDC) to remedy these funding imbalances, most urban Aboriginal organizations still receive far less funding than their rural counterparts. Given this rural-urban divide, it comes as no surprise that this research identified that few ties interconnect organizations administrated by the AMC, MMF, SCO and agencies that are supported more directly through municipal and provincial funding. Despite major divisions separating the AMC, the MMF, and urban institutions (e.g., ACWI and the University of Winnipeg), Kanikanichihk remains directly connected to all organizations, except for EUTC; which it connects indirectly through an informal partnership with Onashowewin. The majority of ties connecting Kanikanichihk to its partners and funders are due to Leslie Spillett's extensive, yet diverse network of contacts facilitated by her use of various forms of CMC-based and face-to-face networking.

● Computer-Mediated-Communications and Knowledge Networks

Brokers who use CMC to communicate with their contacts are better able to form partnerships with other organizations and government agencies, and to expand the reach and capacity of their alliances with other actors and organizations. Evidence in support of these findings is demonstrated in consultant surveys and interviews, and through a comparison of services arising and exchanged between their connected organizations.

Social networks and communications surveys revealed that although 10% of the primary and secondary network actors (who are members of alliance networks) rely on 'various modes' of media to communicate and network with their supporters, those actors

who are better positioned to broker information, resources, and exchange within the greater total network use mainly email and telephone to communicate with others spanning their networks. Brokers rely on Google-searches to locate information, knowledge, financial funding, and use email to cold-call organizations and government agencies that they may be unsuccessful in contacting with without such technologies.

People such as Spillett, who use email and face-to-face communications to the same degree, realize the benefits of each. Spillett uses email to ask questions she may not be able to ask in person, and to build across a wide range of organizations and people. The ethnographic data-set, namely interview transcripts and participatory-observations, corroborates this finding. It suggests that consultant actors who use email and telephone primarily are better able to expand their network alliances and the ties they have to other organizations and leaders. These social ties allow network brokers to identify, access, and exchange a range of resources, services, and other initiatives beyond what an organization may be able to afford. In other words, while strong ties can be maintained through face-to-face communication between leaders, CMC technologies, such as email and text-messaging, increase each organization's capacity to contact clients and supporters, participate in community-wide development efforts, and access more, consistent, and appropriate financial supports (or to refer clients to funded organizations).

Further, the ethnographic data-set provides anecdotal evidence on how consultants use CMC to expand their available services, exchange information, and form partnerships with a greater span of agencies and organizations. Leaders use CMC to identify and network with the leaders of other organizations and government bodies. Such weak social ties are instrumental for they may be called on to access and exchange

services, resources, and even expertise. Evidence in support of these findings is substantiated by the SNA data-set indicating that consultants who mainly used mediated communication technologies (i.e., email, phone, text) to network with social contacts, produced more weak ties that served to link their organizations within a web of relations called organizational clusters.

The growing importance of CMC cannot be overstated. The Internet is here to stay, and young people today, regardless of where they reside are accessing and utilizing email, SMS text messaging, and online social networking media to communicate and socialize with a much broader cohort of friends, acquaintances, co-workers, and family.

The quantitative and qualitative data-sets used in this dissertation substantiate that CMC technologies are instrumental to the brokers and youth who use them. They bridge structural holes between organizations in the overall network, as well as between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and between communities and government. It is likely, that given young peoples' access to CMC and their proficiency in networking, future generations of Aboriginal youth will, no doubt, be at the forefront of urban Aboriginal CED and organizational management. CMC promotes social solidary and collective action, whether in maintaining strong relations with family and friends, or by broadening our knowledge and access, through weak relations, to contacts and resources that are beyond our social circles.

If Helgason is correct in his prediction that as urban Aboriginal populations expand, there will come a time (perhaps in the next decade) when Aboriginal youth will vastly outnumber Aboriginal adults and seniors. When this 'tipping point' is reached, Helgason foresees a time when much more work in the area of Aboriginal CED will be

needed. He envisions a population of young, educated Aboriginal professionals who have grown up using CMC technologies (especially SMS text messaging and social networking media). These new leaders will likely play an even greater role in the future of social and economic development projects. The problems faced by Aboriginal people will be addressed and perhaps resolved by Aboriginal people who can see "the forest, despite the trees" and envision more culturally appropriate and self-sustaining initiatives and incentive for aiding and bolstering Aboriginal cultures in Canada.

Theoretical Relevance

Alliance networks, whether possessing band-model organizational structures and alliance networks (such as chief and councils, or AMC-MKO-SCO), or involving hybrid-model organizational structure and alliance networks (such as Kanikanichihk, or ACW-CAHRD-SPCW), are sources of social capital for Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg.

Evidence of the bridging social capital arising through these alliance networks of actors and organizations is substantiated by theories described in Coleman`s (1988, 1990, 1993) and Putnam (1995, 2000); namely that social capital is a "public good." The networks of alliance leaders are built on a core of strong ties among closely related organizational leaders who meet face-to-face, but are supplemented by mediated communications technologies. Research findings are also supported by Haythornwaite and Wellman (1998). Their study of a university research network revealed that work and friendship ties were related to the kinds of media used for exchanging information. As Granovetter (1973) predicted, and Hampton and Wellman (2001), Kavanaugh and Patterson (2001) and Hampton (2003, 2005) confirmed, strong ties (and thus bonding capital of small groups of close friends or family) are supplemented, if not strengthened

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by the presence of weak ties (and the bridging social capital arising through contact with those external to our networks) facilitated by CMC technologies such as email and the Internet.

Bourdieu`s (1980, 1983, 1986) more pessimistic understanding of social capital does shed light on existing jurisdictional divisions related to federal funding discrepancies between First Nations band-organizations and urban Aboriginal hybrid ones. Bourdieu's insights remind us that social capital may have unforeseen and negative consequences. The alliance networks described in this research represent important sources of social capital to the leaders and organizations they represent; however, such organizational dominions may inadvertently replicate and further entrench existing divisions in jurisdictions in funding and control currently affecting CED and service delivery in cities such as Winnipeg. Whether or not these alliance networks represent "leadership dynasties," as one consultant in this research referenced, that represent a wider demographic of experts and clients in benefiting from the social capital represented within their network of organizations and services is yet to be determined.

To some degree, a few of the network alliances described in this research may have monopolized access to government programs, services, and financial aid – effectively acting as gatekeepers. Band chiefs and grand chiefs of political organizations such as the AMC and MKO may benefit from their positions and access to knowledge, funding and human capital within their networks. Aside from those leaders already in power –such as those at the core of the ACW, CAHRD, and SPCW alliance network– can others access this social capital and join their ranks? The average Aboriginal person, with few connections to councils, government agencies, and community groups has little

choice or opportunity for improving their position in society.

Like the First Nations chiefs and grand chiefs representing reserve communities, the leaders of urban Aboriginal organizations may benefit personally from their alliance networks, especially if these networks are relatively tight-knit and closed. How do such leaders identify and provide services to those that fall outside their areas of jurisdiction, or who reside in other city neighbourhoods or on reserve? Can these leaders access the wider population of urban Aboriginal peoples living in cities and those migrating to and from reserves, or do their programs and services mostly benefit "people in the know."

For the most part, principal funding blockages in urban development programs are due in part to how the AANDC divides financial and program resources between rurally-based First Nations bands and the growing population of urban Aboriginal people living in cities such as Winnipeg. This is especially true in how current (although changing) systems benefit Aboriginal people with Status more than they do Aboriginal people without Status.

Troubled by these inequities, a few of the consultants interviewed in this research expressed their desire to see band (e.g., AMC, MKO, SCO) and urban (e.g., ACW, EUTC, Onashowewin) organizations unite through the establishment of more formalized partnerships, or even in the very least, to establishing communication and contribution agreements. These partnerships would encourage sharing the responsibilities and costs of producing services and supports to a wider demographic of Aboriginal people. However, these partnerships are unlikely, unless the structure of the alliance networks observed in this research are not balanced structurally in their arrangement of strong and weak ties between network actors.

Strong ties between a core of network allies at the heart of each alliance network help to produce and bolster bonding social capital (i.e., passionate, dedicated, and closely associating actors) through the culturally enriching programs and initiatives they jointly administer. These innovators are passionately committed in promoting and celebrating their Aboriginal identities at the same time as providing much needed services to clients. Further to this, actors within these same alliance networks must remain open to new ideas, solutions, services and initiatives available and provided through other organizations within the city (and abroad).

CMC certainly helps expand each leader's awareness of and access to this external knowledge and programming. Such connections represent weak social ties that may or may not be utilized – yet remain options for innovating existing services and programs in local organizations and alliance networks. CMC can be used by organizational leaders to advertise, learn about, discuss, and debate existing and potential CED and service-based strategies and programs; increasing the possibilities of partnerships between disparate organizations and agencies. This broader form of awareness, is in itself places where bridging social capital exists (i.e., joint initiatives where clients may locate new services and supports, and experts may brainstorm and innovate). Such activities help to prevent leaders within alliance networks from dominating the organizations at their disposal, since all actors connected through this extensive network may access and use ideas, service and program ideas and the like, to bolster their own organizations. CMC makes it much easier for networks of actors –who risk dominating control of urban Aboriginal organizations through their elite alliance networks– to learn about other groups of successful leaders and partnered organizations

and to advertise the services and programs at their disposal (i.e., bonding social capital) to a much larger clientele through the facilities of the Internet and social media. While CMC may not solve social and economic problems, they certainly make it easier to learn about them and for people to form alliance networks that seek solutions.

The hybrid-model of some alliance networks, with their balance of strong and weak ties (and subsequent bonding and bridging social capital) certainly "fits the bill". Putnam's (1995, 2000) understanding of social capital certainly helps explain how social capital benefits communities in general and supports partnership development and other collective actions. However, Putnam also says that increases in CMC usage would depress civic engagement and collective actions, as people became less concerned with those they are more strongly tied and become engrossed in interest-based concerns and activities that suit their immediate needs. Granovetter's (1973) findings are certainly supported here – namely that there is a strength to weak social ties, and the capacity for bridging social capital to build more democratic social organizations and networks; a strength that scholars such as Hampton, Wellman, and Kavanaugh and others say is being promoted by CMC today (see Kavanaugh 1999; Hampton and Wellman 1999, 2001; Kavanaugh and Paterson 2001; Wellman et al 2001; Hampton 2003, 2005; and Kavanaugh et al 2003, 2005). And although we should pay heed to Bourdieu's (1980, 1983, 1986) warnings about the negative effects of social capital within the networks of elites at the core of organizational networks, I have found the hybrid-model of alliance networks identified in this research, for instance the Kanikanichihk-Onashowewin network (and core of women leaders) are providing for a much more inclusive an holistic system of services and supports – call couched within pan-Aboriginal cultural beliefs and

practices.

This latter pattern of Aboriginal CED and service delivery is consistent with that presented by Peters (1995, 2000), Clatworthy and colleagues (1995), Newhouse (2003), Newhouse and Peters (2003), and Lobo (2003). Organizations providing services and supports within a holistic Aboriginal cultural framework, such as Spillett and her alliance network, are leading the way in providing for a wider range of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg and abroad. Urban living can be support by Aboriginal organizations that act as extended households of supports, encouragement, teachings and supports – providing important programs to clients within a spiritually and culturally enriching environment of pan-Aboriginal customs, practices and teachings.

The research also contributes to knowledge of the social networks Aboriginal leaders are building, especially women-led organizations, and how such networks enable such leaders to partner in achieving mutually sought after goals and objectives. Given my focus on the social capital arising through these alliance networks, this research contributes significantly to our understanding of what Gittell and colleages (1999) observed in their study of social capital and social change arising within women-led community development organizations. The research also builds on the work of Mignone and O'Neil (2005), Mignone and Henley (2009) and Lahn (2012) who focus on the social capital emerging within rural and urban Aboriginal communities, to show how leaders' alliance networks of often informal social ties are building social capital and capacity in those organizations for reaching a broader Aboriginal population, and for partnering in funding and administering programs and services that not only fill-a-need, but also serve as symbols and lessons in urban Aboriginal cultural accomplishment and cultural

revitalization.

The success or failure of Aboriginal organizations may have less to do with the policies they employ and the funding structures that constrain them, and have more to do with the networks of informal, 'weaker' social ties certain members rely on to achieve their agendas and personal goals despite the challenges they face. Using CMC the women at the heart of these alliance networks are using their weak social ties to learn of and be inspired by each other's organizational successes, thereby inspiring in all connected members, a higher level of commitment and volunteerism. These weak ties may then become strong ties as the core of leaders at the center of these alliance networks form allegiances based on a blurring of social relations, including kin-like ties, friendships, as colleagues, and as people who are committed and dedicate to undoing (and healing) the effects of demeaning and controlling, colonial practices and policies, and the stereotypes perpetuate them.

Policy Implications

There are many benefits to the brokered partnerships and allegiances that constitute the meta-structure of the total network I have identified. Access to programs and services through referrals is one of the most obvious benefits. Referrals between organizations reduce employment and administrative costs. Partnerships and alliances also increase each organization's access to a wider diversity of Aboriginal people; those living in different areas of cities and those living on reserves. Jurisdictional divisions perpetuated by AANDC, MANA, and the province funding policies are minimized, or at least bridged by understandings based on cooperation and sharing, rather than by competition and monopolies concerning those funds. The UAS and the Tri-level Initiative

between the City, the Province, and the Government of Canada were designed, in part, to achieve these ends. Distributed responsibility and cost sharing is promoted by these initiatives. Each Aboriginal partner within the Tri-level initiative has different things to offer.

The UAS and the federal government's relinquishing of control of urban Aboriginal people to the responsibilities of provincial and municipal governments resulted in a modest redistribution of funds normally available to First Nations bands. A few of the organizations described in this research are AHRDA holders and thus recipients of funding provided through the ASET program. These organizations receive federal funding for their urban programs, funding that would normally be directed to the AMC and MKO and their member First Nation bands. One such urban organization is CAHRD. Using funds normally provided to band-based educational organizations, Bartlett and fellow alliance network leaders have found ways for CAHRD (and ACWI for that matter) to achieve its mandates while helping to fund social services and programs at Kanikanichihk. Although this contribution agreement does not represent a formal partnership between these two organizations, the UAS policy was a gateway through which Spillett and her network allies could access and benefit from services and supports that are external to Kanikanichihk's areas of jurisdictions and practices. This research has shown how such UAS has affected the social capital present within funded organizations, and more importantly how the hybrid-based alliance network helps to distribute such resources and supports to much a wider Aboriginal population.

Taken together, hybrid-model organizations, and the cohort of women leading and directing them represent innovative new forms of social capital growing out of

organizational alliances between their networked urban Aboriginal organizations. Should these women and their organizational clusters succeed in uniting First Nations political organizations and urban Aboriginal service organizations within their extensive, CMC-facilitated networks, Aboriginal people will be better served and represented in the process. The hybrid-model organizational cluster may be leading the way towards such a collective action and representation. Obviously, more extensive policy is needed; ones that go beyond the UAS. Such policies should make it easier for non-band urban councils and organizations to share in the responsibilities of providing culturally appropriate and sustainable programs and services to all Aboriginal clients, whether members of bands or the vast majority of non-status peoples living in cities such as Winnipeg. For now, however, jurisdictional and funding issues continue to pose considerable challenges for these organizations.

Limitations of Study

As a direct consequence of the methodologies used in this study, a number of limitations are present. There are two main limitations of this research. The first limitation concerns how social network ties among tertiary actors were estimated. Due to issues of confidentiality, ties between tertiary actors were based on primary and secondary consultant's appraisals of whether or not social relations existed between actors within their local networks. The names of all tertiary actors are replaced with labels that conceal the personal identities of these actors. Therefore, these ties are unconfirmed and are represented on network graphs using dotted lines. These relations also do not account for the strength (or multiplex) of these ties nor the communication modes utilized by network actors. While these "perceived," unconfirmed ties have been

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used to calculate various SNA metrics, they were not used for estimating the strength of ties, nor the modes of communication producing those ties –and thus do not negatively affect conclusions drawn from network data.

A second limitation to this study concerns the number of contacts each primary and secondary actors listed as part of their personal, local networks. The wording of the online social network survey question producing this information may have been interpreted differently by each consultant. For instance, the survey question asked each consultant to name people with whom he or she communicates and works with in to the daily operations of their organizations. Some consultants may have interpreted the question to refer to organizational staff and volunteers only, while other may have included contacts that are non-staff and friends. While some consultants, such as Fontaine and Johnston list far fewer network contacts as members of their personal networks, others, such as Bartlett and Rattray, provided longer lists of contacts. Since the SNA measure of network degree-centrality is based on the total number of actors within a respondent's network of contacts, higher numbers of contact may artificially inflate the significance of an actor's degree-centrality in the total network.

For instance, based on my participant-observations and a few interviews, Helgason is described as a "maverick" in Aboriginal CED, and is well known for his efforts. He knows a vast number of people, both in Winnipeg and abroad, yet social network data indicates he is one of the least connected individuals within the total network of actors spanning the eight Aboriginal organizations examined in this research. However, this shortcoming in my research method does not negatively skew the conclusions elicited from network data, since measures of betweenness-centrality, and

more importantly, eigenvectors are based on more global measures of the overall centrality of actors within the network. The significance of Helgason's position within the total network has been re-evaluated and substantiated based on qualitative, ethnographic data.

A further limitation to this research pertains to my sample size. Given time constraints, I limited my snowball sample to eight Aboriginal leaders and their organizations. Additional research is required to describe and analyze the social networks of other leaders connected to these eight leaders. Yet in its present form, the total network of Aboriginal leaders and their contacts described in this project illustrate some very important conclusions regarding urban Aboriginal organizations as sources of social capital. Conclusions regarding the importance of leadership networks and CMC for producing social capital should not be overlooked in future studies of urban Aboriginal organizations.

Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

The individual leaders comprising the network of organizations examined in this research represent important sources of bridging social capital. More importantly, their affiliations and social connections with other actors, although seldom officially recognized by funders, are the foundation on which their organizations are able to achieve their goals. As clan mothers of sorts, these women, and the men who support them, are working to distribute and transform financial capital (awarded through funding, or earned through social enterprises such as the ACWI) into social capital and Aboriginal human potentiality. If these organizations are to succeed in reducing or eliminating the many challenges and problems facing Aboriginal peoples in their urban (and rural)

communities, then Aboriginal people need to be motivated to tackle and correct the problems they face. For although the "charity model" may have worked to reduce some of the effects of poverty (e.g., low levels of education, homelessness), these problems are likely to worsen as the population of Aboriginal peoples increases in size. Women elders, such as Bartlett and Spillett, represent one source of social capital more valuable than a transfer of cash between a government agency and a band nation, and more effective than programs designed to mitigate, punish, or support problems faced by all people of poverty. Social welfare and charity, although compassionate by design, may have unforeseen consequences.

The reserve system and social programs developed as Band-Aids for alleviating social, economic, and health deficits are likely to reproduce the very conditions that keep people in their place. Funding models that reward failure and punish successes do nothing but enslave generations of people in poverty within urban communities that differ very little than from the reserve communities they may seek to escape.

Concluding Thoughts

Given the challenges urban Aboriginal organizations (and First Nations political organizations, for that matter) are facing regarding the consistency and extent of government funding, the hybrid-model represents a new source of social capital promoting more distributed and networked service and program providers. Whether those services and programs are based on or related to economics and employment, education, health and justice, they are directed towards building and strengthening Aboriginal cultures and people in Canada.

Leaders of the hybrid-model of networked organizations described in this research

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combine mainstream social theory and practice within a framework of traditional Aboriginal cultural values and beliefs based on more globalized cultural practices. Leaders use inherent and pre-existing, yet simultaneously pan-Aboriginal cultural traditions and practices, as lived and experienced symbols of cultural values shared by all Aboriginal peoples. What is important is not whether such customs and practices are historically genuine or invented, for the beliefs and practices of all cultures are fluid and adaptive and produced through the lived experiences of people. What is important is that urban Aboriginal people are actively reclaiming their entitlements and their cultures, and applying their principles and practices for raising awareness, promoting, and encouraging cultural practices as part of urban living. This reality is lived by the consultants surveyed and interviewed in this research.

The eight leaders whom I interviewed are for the most part relying on practices and ceremonies borrowed from a range of Aboriginal cultures, to promote a shared sense of Aboriginal cultural values and beliefs in a multicultural urban setting. These "reinvented" values are essential to providing culturally-sensitive service and program delivery to the clients of their organizations. The values expressed and ways of passing on knowledge within these organizations are, from the perspectives of their leaders, just as important as the services and programs they provide. The social networks leaders are using to promote such practices and pedagogies in CED are vital sources of social capital.

The study suggests that a new type of Aboriginal organization is developing in Winnipeg. This hybrid-model organization tends to be run by women, funded by various levels of government, and provides services including life-skills and job training, health service and legal support to Aboriginal people living in the City of Winnipeg. Such

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organizations include densely bound local networks of actors, connected by a widely

dispersed network of social ties which are maintained largely through email

communication. Organizations of this type form interrelated clusters that over time may

evolve into alliance networks. These networks have quite a different structure from that

of the more traditional Aboriginal bands and tribal councils, which tend to be run by men,

funded largely by the AANDC and provide services to Aboriginal people who are either

living on reserves or who have recently moved to urban centres. These latter

organizational networks are based on what I call the "band council" model of

organization. Communication between the leaders of organizations modeled on band-

councils (i.e. "chiefs") tends to be face-to-face; the organizations themselves tend to

display higher eigenvector values (i.e. be dominated by a few influential leaders) than

hybrid-types of alliance-based organizations. Communication between leaders of hybrid-

modeled organizations display slightly lower eigenvector values (i.e., power is distributed

through other local leaders) and are more likely to reach a boarder client-base.

The hybrid-model reflects the educated activists, mainly women, who are at the

forefront of a new type of Aboriginal organizational networking. The hybrid-model is

partly a reflection of the way Winnipeg Aboriginal women communicate. While email is

not precisely the same as traditional Cree discourse *tipaachimowin* or 'news, gossip' used

in the past, modern communications technologies do allow people to express and transmit

knowledge and opinions within a wider public forum similar to that of traditional forms

of discourse. And urban Aboriginal peoples, although less migratory than Aboriginal

peoples in the past, are no different. Although Spillett claims successful women are

ridiculed and made the source of gossip by other leaders who have typically occupied

positions of authority, these same women are now "turning-the-tides" towards social enterprises in Aboriginal human and cultural development. Together, they are building social capital within their organizations, forming partnerships and other agreements with a range of other organizations and agencies and doing so in a fiscally responsible and sustainable way.

A union of the "urban" and traditional "band" models of Aboriginal organizations exists today. These are the hybrid-models identified in this research. While Kanikanichihk certainly exemplifies such a hybrid organization its partner organization Onashowewin is living proof of social capital at work. While Morgan is dedicated to offsetting the cycle of crime experienced by Aboriginal youth in the inner-city, her organizational mandates, controlled by Manitoba Justice and the SCO, restrict how successful Onashowewin can be. Since case files must be transferred from Manitoba Justice, and monies only used to provide workshops and counselling for such persons, Morgan's organization is effectively paralyzed by its mandates. However, despite these limitations, Morgan and her dedicated staff volunteer their time in providing free aid, support, and hope to walk-in clients. However, given Morgan's connections to other organizational and cluster leaders, the "old boys club" may now benefit from urban networks that access clients where few band councils have accessed them before, and to provide aid and supports to people who would normally have been forgotten.

Traditionally, one of the strongest social values of Aboriginal cultures in Canada is an impetus to share knowledge, wealth, and family-relations. These humanitarian social practices have not been abandoned, but are reoriented within urban and global socio-economic contexts. The sharing of ideas, knowledge, and material resources are

crucial for addressing and resolving social-economic and health related concerns affecting urban Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people, whether living on reserves or in urban centers, are using computers, smart-phones, and the Internet to extend their social networks to locate, access, and share information/knowledge, and material resources important in building and maintaining not only financial capital, but social capital that is crucial to supporting and strengthening Aboriginal people and communities today.

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---APPENDICES---

Appendix 1:
RESEARCH ETHICS, LETTERS OF ENDORSEMENT & CONSULTANT CONSENT FORMS—

(A) University of Manitoba – Ethics Approval Certificate:

CTC Building
208 - 194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2
Fax (204) 269-7173
www.umanitoba.ca/research

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Ethics
Office of the Vice-President (Research)

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

September 27, 2010

TO: **Brian Myhre**   B.Schwimmer
         Principal Investigator

FROM: **Brian Barth, Chair**
         Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: **Protocol #J2010:115**
         "Urban Aboriginal Social Networks in the Internet"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to the Office of Research Services, fax 261-0325 - please include the name of the funding agency and your UM Project number. This must be faxed before your account can be accessed.

- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/ethics/ors_ethics_human_REB_forms_guidelines.html) in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.

(B) <u>Letter of Endorsement of Research from the *Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg* Inc.</u>

112-181 Higgins Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 3G1
Telephone: **(204) 989-6380**   Facsimile: **(204) 942-5795**

February 1, 2010

Two Whom It May Concern

Please be advised that the Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg is pleased to provide our support to the research project proposed by Brian Myhre, Phd Candidate, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba.

The creation of a "map" of existing internet based social network channels is both intriguing and seen as providing vital information in relation to long term communications planning by organizations such as the Council.

Generally speaking, the internet is viewed as being the most cost efficient and one of the most effective methods of connecting our communities in real time throughout Canada. Many of these communities are small, sparsely populated, and isolated. The internet is a window to the world in many different ways. At the same time, there are several challenges that come out to this newer form of connectivity.

Mr. Myhre's project will give us an opportunity to explore and identify how Aboriginal leaders and managers are using this tool to improve their capacities to further the cultural, spiritual, social and economic development goals of their agencies and communities.

In closing, it is our hope that Mr. Myhre's proposed work in this area will receive the necessary support from the University and I can assure you that the Council will actively encourage our colleagues and organizations to do the same.

Yours in friendship,

Damon Johnston, President
ACW

ABORIGINAL COUNCIL OF WINNIPEG

(C) <u>**Consultant: Letter of Introduction & Ethics Consent Forms**</u>**:**

Brian Myhre
419 Fletcher Argue Building
Department of Anthropology / University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

UNIVERSITY OF **MANITOBA**

DATE

[Name of Research Consultant]
[Address] [Phone]

Subject: Participation/Consultant in Ph.D. Research Project

Dear potential research consultant;

You have been contacted because you have been identified as a member of _____ organization, and hence as an individual who can contribute significantly to my field research study of Aboriginal organizations from the standpoint of members' social networks and Internet-usage.

Your participation within this study and any answers you provide to the principle researcher through informal conversations, focus group meetings, online surveys, and interviews will be kept in strict confidence and will not be disclosed to anyone. Information for this project will be written up in summary-form only, and all participants' names will appear as aliases only.

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may drop out of the project at anytime. In this case, all personal information I have collected concerning your experiences within the organization will be excluded from final analysis, write-up, and publications. Data from this project will be used for scholarly and educational purposes only, and is owned by yourself and the principle investigator.

Three main research tools will be used to collect information: (1) online surveys, (2) interviews, and (3) a focus group meeting. I will spend approximately one week working as a volunteer within your office and will observe its day-to-day operations. I ask you to devote 1-hour of your time to complete our online surveys pertaining to your use of communications technology (e.g., telephone, Internet) and a survey pertaining to your social network. You may also be chosen to participate in a 2-hour focus group of members/employees from other organizations to help brainstorm 'best practices' in achieve mutual goals/objectives.

I am very grateful that you have chosen to contribution to my research project. Your opinions will greatly enhance the quality and usefulness of this research, and will no doubt help your organization to achieve its goals and to highlight its 'best practices'. For further information, please contact me at the address/phone/email below.

Sincerely,

Brian Myhre,
Principal Researcher

Project Summary and Consultant Consent Form:

Research Project Title: "Urban Aboriginal Social Networks and the Internet: Building social capital in the electronic age"

Research Site(s): Organizations/Tenants of the Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg Inc. (ACWI) at Higgins Avenue and Main Street; and Aboriginal organizations external but connected to the ACWI.

Principal Researcher: Brian Myhre, Ph.D. Candidate,
419 Fletcher Argue Building
Dept. of Anthropology, University of Manitoba
Phone
Email:

Information for Consultant:

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Description of Project:

-Gives a brief, understandable description of the study, in a level-appropriate language for the study group (e.g., English, and if necessary, Cree/Ojibwa).

Terms of Consultants' Participation and Anonymity:

-Outlines the task and time required by the participants, and/or any remuneration.
-Provides for confidentiality and informed consent
-Clearly explains the risks and benefits of study participation
-Provides for withdrawal without penalty and/or explains process of withdrawal.
-Provides the opportunity to obtain a summary of the results

Research Instruments and Tools:

-Gives description of any recording devices to be used

Research Ethics Approval:

This research project has been approved by the following institutions:

Fort Garry Campus Research Ethics Board
CTC Building, 208 – 194 Dafoe Road
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2

Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg
112 – 181 Higgins Avenue
Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg Inc.
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 3G1

CONSULTANT CONSENT FORM

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Principal Researcher: Brian Myhre
419 Fletcher Argue Building
Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB

Office Phone: ~~~~
Personal Cell: ~~~~
Fax Number: ~~~~
Email: ~~~~

Ph.D. Supervisors:

Dr. Brian Schwimmer
303 St. Paul's College
Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB
~~~~
~~~~

Dr. George Fulford
Room 4C22
Department of Anthropology
University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, MB
~~~~
~~~~

This research has been approved by the University of *Manitoba's Fort Garry Campus Research Ethics Board* (UMFG-REB). If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at (204) 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

AUTHORIZING SIGNATURES:

Signature of Consultant/Participant: _____ Date _____

Signature of Principal Researcher: _____ Date _____

(A) <u>Online Demographic & Communications Survey</u> (URL:
<u>www.surveymonkey.com</u>)

--Demographic/Personal Survey Questions:

(1) What is your first and last name? _____

(2) Do you reside in Winnipeg? [Yes or No]

(3) Please list a telephone number that you can be reached _____

(4) What is your gender/sex? [Male, Female, or Third Gender]

(5) What is your age?

[Drop-Down Menu: 14 or less, 14-19, 20-24, 25-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74, 75-84, 85+]

(6a) Are you of Aboriginal Identity? (North American Indian, Inuit, or Métis) [Yes or No]

(6b) Please select the Aboriginal ancestry that best describes your identity?

[Drop-down menu: Non-Aboriginal, Other Aboriginal ancestry, MIXED ancestry, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Cree, Dene, Innu, Inuit, Iroquois or Cherokee, Métis, Mi'kmaq, Navajo or Apache, Ojibwa or Chippewa, Pueblo–Zuni–Hopi, Salish or Suquamish, Shoshone, or Sioux]

(6c) Are you a Treat Indian or a Registered Indian as defined by the *Indian Act* of Canada?
[Yes or No]

(6d) Are you member of an Indian Band/Tribe or First Nation?   [Yes or No]

(6e) What is the name of your Indian Band/Tribe or First Nation?_____

(7) Are you married or common law? [Yes or No]

(8) Do you have any children? [Yes or No]

(9a) What is your current residential postal code? _____

(9b) How many people reside in your household?

[Drop-down menu: 1-2, 3-5, 6-10, 10+]

(9c) What is your residential status?

[Drop-down menu: Renter(apartment), Renter(house), Owner(House/Condo), Other]

(9d) Aside from yourself, who else resides in your household?

[Drop-down menu: No one, Spouse, Spouse and children, Own Children, Other kin members, Other kin members and children, Non-kin member(s), Non-kin members(s) and children]

(10) What is your level of education?

[Drop-down menu: Less than high school, High school, Trade School/College, Undergraduate University, Graduate degree, Post-Graduate degree]

(11a) Are you currently employed? [Yes or No]

(11b) What is your occupation or profession? _____

(11c) What is your approximate personal gross yearly income?

[Drop-down menu: Under $10,000, $10,000–19,999, $20,000–29,999, $30,000–39,999, $40,000–49,999, $50,000–59,999, $60,000–69,999, $70,000–79,999, $80,000–89,999, $90,000–99,999, or $100,000 and over]

--Communications Survey Questions:

(12) Do you own/use telephone in your home? [Yes or No]

(13a) Do you own/use a mobile/cellular phone? [Yes or No]

(13b) Do you have access to the Internet on your cell phone? [Yes or No]

(13c) Do you use SMS text-messaging to communicate with others? [Yes or No]

(14) Do you own a personal computer? [Yes or No]

(15) Do you know how to operate a computer? [Yes or No]

(16) Do you have Internet access from home? [Yes or No]

(17) Do you have Internet access from your place of employment? [Yes or No]

(18a) Do you use the Internet? [Yes or No] *If not, please skip to Question (20).*

(18b) How often do you use the Internet for web-browsing (Mozilla Firefox or MS Explorer)?

[Drop-down menu: many times per day, several times per day, once or twice a day, several times a week (less than 7), less than 8 times per month, once a month, rarely, or never]

(18c) How frequently do you use Internet Browsers to do each of the following activities

(Sub-questions: Employment and work-related duties (e.g., scheduling meetings, discussing business), Socializing with Friends and Acquaintances, Communicating with Family Members and Kin, Seeking Information/Knowledge, Products, and/or Services, Meeting and Socializing with Strangers, Browsing website with no purpose in mind, searching/viewing 'adult content' websites)

[Drop-down menus: 1= never, 2= rarely, 3= a few times a month, 4= several times a month, 5= a few times a week, 6= several times a week, 7= a few times a day, 8= several times a day]

(18d) How often do you use Email?

[Drop-down menu: many times per day, several times per day, once or twice a day, several times a week (less than 7), less than 8 times per month, once a month, rarely, or never]

(18e) How frequently do you Email to do each of the following activities:

(Sub-question: Employment and work-related duties, Socializing with Friends and Acquaintances, Communicating with Family Members and Kin, Seeking Information/Knowledge/Products/Services, Meeting/Socializing with Strangers, Browsing website with no purpose in mind, or searching/viewing 'adult content' websites)

[Drop-down menus: 1= never, 2= rarely, 3= a few times a month, 4= several times a month, 5= a few times a week, 6= several times a week, 7= a few times a day, 8= several times a day]

(18f) How often do you use Chat-Relays (e.g., MSN Messenger)?

[Drop-down menu: many times per day, several times per day, once or twice a day, several times a week (less than 7), less than 8 times per month, once a month, rarely, or never]

(18g) How frequently do you use Chat-Relays (e.g., MSN Messenger) to do each of the following activities

(Sub-question: Employment and work-related duties, Socializing with Friends and Acquaintances, Communicating with Family Members and Kin, Seeking Information/Knowledge, Products, and/or Services, Meeting/Socializing with Strangers, Browsing website with no purpose in mind, or searching/viewing 'adult content' websites)

[Drop-down menus: 1= never, 2= rarely, 3= a few times a month, 4= several times a month, 5= a few times a week, 6= several times a week, 7= a few times a day, 8= several times a day]:

(18h) How often do you use Social Networking Sites (e.g., Facebook, Myspace, or Twitter)?

>[Drop-down menus: 1= never, 2= rarely, 3= a few times a month, 4= several times a month, 5= a few times a week, 6= several times a week, 7= a few times a day, 8= several times a day]:

(18i) How frequently do you use Social Networking Sites to do each of the following activities

>*(Sub-question: Employment and work-related duties, Socializing with Friends and Acquaintances, Communicating with Family Members and Kin, Seeking Information/Knowledge, Products, and/or Services, Meeting/Socializing with Strangers, Browsing website with no purpose in mind, or searching/viewing 'adult content' websites)*

>[1= never, 2= rarely, 3= a few times a month, 4= several times a month, 5= a few times a week, 6= several times a week, 7= a few times a day, 8= several times a day]

(18j) How often do you write in your Blog or Online Journal?

>[Drop-down menus: 1= never, 2= rarely, 3= a few times a month, 4= several times a month, 5= a few times a week, 6= several times a week, 7= a few times a day, 8= several times a day]:

(18k) How frequently do you use Blogs or Online Journals to do each of the following activities

>*(Sub-question: Employment and work-related duties, Socializing with Friends and Acquaintances, Communicating with Family Members and Kin, Seeking Information/Knowledge, Products, and/or Services, Meeting/Socializing with Strangers, Browsing website with no purpose in mind, or searching/viewing 'adult content' websites)*

>[1= never, 2= rarely, 3= a few times a month, 4= several times a month, 5= a few times a week, 6= several times a week, 7= a few times a day, 8= several times a day]

(18l) Please rate the frequency of time you spend online engaged in the following activities

>*(Sub-questions: Accessing news/information, accessing personals websites, accessing/viewing adult content, accessing health information, applying for government services, blogging, browsing with no purpose in mind, chatting on a chat-relay, emailing, job/employment searches, online banking, online shopping, online social networking, researching/data gathering)*

>[1=none, 2=less than once a month, 3= few times a month, 4=few times a week, 5=few times a day, 6=several times a day]

(19a) Please select from the list below the 3 Most Common Ways you communicate with Family and Kin:

> [Drop-down menu: Blogging, Chat-relays (e.g., MSN messenger), Email, Face-to-Face social interaction, Letter/Memo Writing, Social networking websites, Telephone–cellular, Telephone–land-line, Telephone – Internet (e.g., skype), or Text Messaging (on cellphone)]

(19b) Please select from the list below the 3 Most Common Ways you communicate with Co-Workers, Business partners/Clients/Customers, and Organizational members:

> [Drop-down menu: Blogging, Chat-relays (e.g., MSN messenger), Email, Face-to-Face social interaction, Letter/Memo Writing, Social networking websites, Telephone–cellular, Telephone–land-line, Telephone – Internet (e.g., skype), or Text Messaging (on cellphone)]

(19c) Please select from the list below the 3 Most Common Ways you communicate with Friends and Acquaintances:

> [Drop-down menu: Blogging, Chat-relays (e.g., MSN messenger), Email, Face-to-Face social interaction, Letter/Memo Writing, Social networking websites, Telephone–cellular, Telephone–land-line, Telephone – Internet (e.g., skype), or Text Messaging (on cellphone)]

(19d) Please select from the list below the 3 Most Common Ways you communicate with Neighbours:

> [Drop-down menu: Blogging, Chat-relays (e.g., MSN messenger), Email, Face-to-Face social interaction, Letter/Memo Writing, Social networking websites, Telephone–cellular, Telephone–land-line, Telephone – Internet (e.g., skype), or Text Messaging (on cellphone)]

(20) If you have reported that you are a Non-Internet User, please choose one answer that best explains why?

> [Drop-down menu: Do not own a computer, Internet access is too expenses for me to afford, -Do not know how to operate computers, Do not know how to operate Internet programs, I have little reason to use the Internet, I am not interested in what the Internet has to offer, or The Internet is a waste of time]

(B) <u>Social Network Survey</u> (URL: <u>https://secure.networkgenie.com</u>)

--Background Questions:

(1) What is your first and last name? _____ _____

(2) What is the phone number that you can be contacted? _____

(3) What is your position within your organization?_____

--'Name Generator' Survey Questions:

(4a) From time to time people discuss important matters with other people. In the last 6 months, how often have you sought the advice and/or opinions from other members before making a key work decision from each of these organizational members? Please rank all people in your organization according to how often you work with them (1= least frequent, 5=most frequent). [-----------list names]

(4b) In the past 6 months (since February 2011), who have you communicated with more than twice in a week within the practice in order to carry out your daily task? [-----------list names]

(5) Who are the people that you work with on a daily basis? [-----------list names]

(6) Who do you regularly turn to for advice and information to get your job done?
         [-----------list names]

(7) Who do you regularly turn to for support (e.g., assisting with work) to get your job done?   [-----------list names]

(8) Who do you turn to for emotional support regarding personal matters?
[-----------list names]

(9) Who do you typically turn to in order to discuss or brainstorm a new or innovative idea?

[-----------list names]

(10) Who among the members of your organization do you feel has the greatest potential to be a leader? [-----------list names]

--'Name Interpreter' Survey Questions:

(11) How long have you known [name-alter]?

> [Drop-down menu: less than a month, less than 6 months, between 6 months and a year, between 1 and 2 years, or more than 2 years]

(12) How emotionally close do you feel to [name]?

> [Drop-down menu: not very close, somewhat close, pretty close, or very close]

(13) Who among the members of your organization would you consider a <u>friend-</u>

of-a-friend or acquaintance, and have interacted with socially? [-----------list names]

(14) How often do you communicate/interact with [name] using each of the following communication methods. Please also select the frequency on communication/interaction:

> [Drop-down menu: In-Person meeting/Face-to-face, Telephone(landline), Telephone(cellular), Telephone(text-messaging), Internet, Emailing, Online Chatting, Blogging, or Social networking website]

> ---*Please select the frequency on communication/interaction:*

> [Never - Less than once a year - Once a year - Once every few months - Once a month - Several times a month - Several times a week - Once a day - Several times a day]

(15) Who among the members of your organization do you consider a friend, and have interacted with socially? [----------list names]

(16) How often do you communicate/interact with [name] using each of the following communication methods:

> [Drop-down menu: In-Person meeting/Face-to-face, Telephone(landline), Telephone(cellular), Telephone(text-messaging), Internet, Emailing, Online Chatting, Blogging, or Social networking website]

> ---*Please select the frequency on communication/interaction:*

> [Never - Less than once a year - Once a year - Once every few months - Once a month - Several times a month - Several times a week - Once a day - Several times a day]

(17) Who among the members of your organization is a close family/kin member, and have interacted with socially? [----------list names]

(18) How often do you communicate/interact with [name] using each of the following communication methods:

> [Drop-down menu: In-Person meeting/Face-to-face, Telephone(landline), Telephone(cellular), Telephone(text-messaging), Internet, Emailing, Online Chatting, Blogging, or Social networking website]

> ---*Please select the frequency on communication/interaction:*

> [Never - Less than once a year - Once a year - Once every few months - Once a month - Several times a month - Several times a week - Once a day - Several times a day]

(19) Who among the members of your organization is a distant family/kin member who you seldom interact with socially? [----------list names]

(20) How often do you communicate/interact with [name] using each of the following communication methods:

[Drop-down menu: In-Person meeting/Face-to-face, Telephone(landline), Telephone(cellular), Telephone(text-messaging), Internet, Emailing, Online Chatting, Blogging, or Social networking website]

---*Please select the frequency on communication/interaction:*

[Never - Less than once a year - Once a year - Once every few months - Once a month - Several times a month - Several times a week - Once a day - Several times a day]

(21) Who among the members of your organization is a co-worker who you often interact with socially? [----------list names]

(22) How often do you communicate/interact with [name] using each of the following communication methods:

[Drop-down menu: In-Person meeting/Face-to-face, Telephone(landline), Telephone(cellular), Telephone(text-messaging), Internet, Emailing, Online Chatting, Blogging, or Social networking website]

---*Please select the frequency on communication/interaction:*

[Never - Less than once a year - Once a year - Once every few months - Once a month - Several times a month - Several times a week - Once a day - Several times a day]

(23) Who among the members of your organization is a co-worker who you seldom interact with socially? [----------list names]

(24) How often do you communicate/interact with [name] using each of the following communication methods:

[Drop-down menu: In-Person meeting/Face-to-face, Telephone(landline), Telephone(cellular), Telephone(text-messaging), Internet, Emailing, Online Chatting, Blogging, or Social networking website]

---*Please select the frequency on communication/interaction:*

[Never - Less than once a year - Once a year - Once every few months - Once a month - Several times a month - Several times a week - Once a day - Several times a day]

(25) Who (i.e., contact), outside or your organization, do you rely on for information, services, and/or resources for carrying out your responsibilities within your organization?   [----------list names]

(26) How often do you communicate/interact with [name] using each of the following communication methods:

[Drop-down menu: In-Person meeting/Face-to-face, Telephone(landline), Telephone(cellular), Telephone(text-messaging), Internet, Emailing, Online Chatting, Blogging, or Social networking website]

---*Please select the frequency on communication/interaction:*

[Never - Less than once a year - Once a year - Once every few months - Once a month - Several times a month - Several times a week - Once a day - Several times a day]

--Reverse-Small-World Generator (RSWG) Survey Questions:

Asks ego to interpret how social network alters relate to (and feel about) each other socially. Questions concern who knows whom and how well; and who communicates with whom and how. These questions are repeated for each pair of alters within EGO's network. Most network actors have on average 5 alters with whom they regularly interact socially.

(1a) In your opinion, does [name-alter1] like working with [name-alter2]?

[Pull-down menu: Yes, No, or Don't Know]

(1b) In your opinion, does [name-alter2] like working with [name-alter1]?

[Pull-down menu: Yes, No, or Don't Know]

(C) Post-Survey Interview

(1) For each of your social network contacts, please state the name of the organization(s) they are a member/employee, and the position they occupy within their organization.

(2) Can you please choose 2-3 people in your social network that you depend on the most for advice/information, assistance, emotion support, and with whom you meet with to brainstorm ideas. Can you please elaborate on the content of your interactions and meetings with each of these people?

(3) Over the last year, you have corresponded with your social network contacts using both email and in-person meetings. Is there any difference in the quality and/or quantity of these correspondences?

(4) Overall, what is the main medium of communication you utilize for communicating and brainstorming with your network contacts?

(5) How do Email-based and In-Person-based communications differ from each other?

(6) Has the Internet and email-communications affected the way you do business with clients and members of your organization, and/or socially connect with people in you social network? Please explain.

(7) Has the Internet and email-communications affected the way you socially interact and/or communicate with friends and family? Please explain.

(8) Would you be willing to introduce me to the 2-3 social network contacts you identified most valuable for brainstorming new ideas, receiving emotional support, assistance, and advice? If so, can you provide me with their contact information (e.g., telephone numbers and email addresses)?

(9) Do you have anything else to add regarding: the role you play within your organization, how you utilize your social network of contacts, and/or how Internet-based communications and text-messaging have altered the way you socially interact and communicate with people within your social network?

(10) Can you suggest ways of improving my online survey, and/or my research project in general?

(D) Formal Interview Guide

(1) Briefly describe what you feel defines the Winnipeg's Aboriginal community, providing examples of problems and concerns, along with its strengths and values.

(2) What do you think needs to be done to alleviate social, economic, and other problems faced by Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg and surrounding reserves/townships? What changes need to be made and how can they be achieved?

(3) Do you know of any people and/or organization who are taking lead roles in supporting and aiding Aboriginal peoples in Winnipeg? Please elaborate.

(4) What Aboriginal organizations (e.g., band councils, tribal councils, non-profits, businesses, or community groups) are you a member? Please also state the position you occupy in each organization, the primary reason you got involved, and duties you perform.

(5) Who had the greatest influence on your decision to become a member of your primary organization? Explain.

(6) Describe the Best Practices (e.g., most successful programs, initiatives, and partnerships) of the primary Aboriginal organization of which you are a member.

(7) Who among your social network contacts do you regularly meet and/or consult with for advice, information/ideas, and support? Please elaborate on your relationships and interactions with your key social contacts (listed on network genie).

(8) Please elaborate on your organization's major projects and initiatives, especially those involving formal partnerships with other Aboriginal organizations, government departments, private businesses, and community groups?

(9) Do you or your organization have any informal partnerships/cooperatives with other groups? If so, can you please give me an example of the type of work you were involved in and their outcomes?

(10) Have computers and the Internet made any difference in the way you run your organization and achieve its mandates and directives? Explain.

(11) Is there any difference in the quality and quantity of your social interactions and communication exchanged between social contact you communicate with via computer-mediated-technology (e.g., text-messaging, computer chatting, and email) and those you communicate with face-to-face? Explain.

(12) You cited several people, within the social network survey, who you communicate with regularly while seeing to your duties in your organization. Would you mind asking your contacts whether they would be willing to answer a very short online survey pertaining how they are each socially interconnected within the wider Aboriginal community of organizations?

(E) Definitions of SNA Terminology

Terminology	Definition
Betweenness-Centrality *(nodal metric)*	A person's popularity or importance in relaying information or resources between other people within a social network. Also, how likely a node is the most direct route between two other nodes in a network; identify potential brokers.
Bridges *(structure of nodes/ties)*	Are nodes and ties that connect across subgroups or cliques facilitating intergroup communication, and increase social cohesion and spur group innovations. Bridges are usually based on weak social ties.
Brokerage *(behavior of nodes)*	The act of transacting information and/or resources between subgraphs and/or nodes within a network.
Brokers *(behavior of nodes)*	Actors who are intermediaries between sub-groups, organizations, or key actors within a network; act to direct and interpret/transform information and resources between network nodes.
Clique *(structure of nodes/ties)*	A subset or block of a network in which the actors are more closely and intensely tied to one another than they are to other members of the network, or the maximum number of actors who have all possible ties present among themselves.
Closeness-Centrality *(nodal metric)*	A measure of social reachability, or how fast a node can reach all other nodes in a network (i.e., the speed of ideas); or the number of steps connecting a node to other nodes in a network. Connections between members tell us how nodes are embedded within their networks, and how their behavior is constrained, the range of their opportunities, and the power than can be exerted on others in the network. Low closeness-centrality indicates how important a node is within a network.
Cut-Points *(structure of nodes/ties)*	Are pivotal points of articulation within a network or graph (i.e., the hub of a star graph), but are also the weakest point in a network, for if such a node where to halt communication/exchange with other nodes, the entire network would be c
Degree-Centrality *(nodal metric)*	The number of direct social relations or ties a person has with other people in their network; a measure of a person's connectedness, dependency and importance to other people in a social network. Also called a node's "opportunity structure".
Density *(global metric)*	Adjacent to other another. The greater a network's density, the more likely network actors all know and socialize/work with each other regularly.
Eigenvalue-Centrality *(nodal metric)*	A local measure of how well a person is connected to other well-connected people within a network, or an actor's potential advantage based on their degree of connection and distribution of contacts over the whole network. Also, the location of each actor with respect to local and global dimensions.
Eigenvector-Centrality *(global metric)*	A global aggregate of the eigenvalues of all local actors comprising a total network.
Gatekeepers *(behavior of nodes)*	Actor-brokers who transact or deny information and resource flows between network nodes.

Geodesic Distance *(nodal/global metric)*	The number of relations in the shortest possible walk from one actor to another or the potential of an actor to cooperate and communicate with others in a network. Email communications reduces the geodesic distance between nodes to 1. Denser networks have smaller geodesic distances.
Global Cluster Coefficient *(global metric)*	An average of every nodes local node cluster coefficients. GCC is also called "transivity." A graph is clustered if a network's global cluster coeeficient is higher than its overall density.
Heterophily *(global structural cohesion)*	The adverse of homophily, or when people of different characteristics socially interact. Heterophily is generally built on weak social ties, network bridges, and interconnected subgroups.
Homophily *(global structural cohesion)*	The tendency to relate to people with similar characteristics (e.g., status, beliefs). Extreme homophily can stifle innovation. Homophily is generally built on strong social ties, network transitivity, and the presence of clusters/cliques.
Local Cluster Coefficient *(nodal metric)*	The density of a local nodes' neighbourhood of ties; the number of closed triplets over the number of connected triplets of nodes (with at least two ties). Friends who are friends with each other's friends have high local clustering coefficient scores. Clustering coefficient decreases proportionately to degree of a node.
Multiplexity *(structure of nodes/ties)*	An aggregate of the strength and compositions of social network relations (or ties). Multiplexity is calculated using the frequency of contact/communication between nodes, along with the number and intensity of activity field relations connecting them. Since how we communication with others has an effect on the frequency and intensity of our contact with them, communication modes (e.g., unmediated vs. mediated modes of communication) affect multiplexity or strength of ties.
Network Centrality *(nodal metric)*	The relative importance of a node within the graph; or how influential an actor is within a network. There are four centrality measures used in SNA: degree, closeness, betweenness, and eigenvalue/eigenvector.
Network Cohesion *(global structural cohesion)*	Are the bonds that bring people together in a given society, or in terms of SNA, the minimal number of actors in a social network that need to be removed to disconnect the group. Cohesion is estimated using network size, density, and cluster coefficients.
Network Size *(global metric)*	The number of actors within a network, or the number of nodes with a graph.
Path *(behavior of nodes)*	A walk in which each other actor and each other relation in a graph may be used at most one time.
Social Network *(nodal/global structure)*	"A specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved" (Mitchell 1969: 2).
Social Network	A branch of mathematical sociology derived from Barnes (1954)

Analysis *(methodology and graph theory)*	and Bott's (1959) initial studies of the social connectedness of persons in families or work-environments. Data is treated as "deterministic" and describes "actual relations" of a network sample. While statistical analysis is inferential and predictive of social behavior, SNA is deterministic in its approach.
Structural Hole *(global structural cohesion)*	When a tie is absent between network sub-groups or between nodes, such as when A is connected to B, and B is connected to C, but C is not connected to A. Actor A and C may know of each other's existence, but may not exchange or communicate with each other. Actor A and B have positional advantage over C since they can exchange with two nodes, whereas C can only exchange with B. Burt (1969) defines structural holes as very important aspects of positional advantage/disadvantage of individuals that result from how they are embedded in neighbourhoods.
Subgroups *(global structural cohesion; structure of nodes)*	Are blocks divided by cut-points that have strong connections (i.e., multiplex relations) among inner actors and effect communication and exchange between groups.
Trail *(behavior of nodes)*	Between two actors is any walk that includes a given relation no more than once.
Transivity *(structure of nodes/ties)*	Of a relation means that when there is a tie from A to B, and also from B to C, then there is also a tie from A to C. In other words, "friends of my friends are my friends". Transivity depends on triads and subgraphs formed by three nodes.
Walks *(structure of nodes/ties)*	A sequence of actors and relations that begin and end with actors, or the number of ties linking nodes.

Appendix 3:
SOCIAL NETWORK GRAPHS & TABLES—

(A) Frequency & Content of Consultant Communications Usage:

--Summary of the Frequency of Network Actor Communications Modes:

Mode of Communication	# of Nodes	Frequency (%)
Face-to-Face	95	47%
Email	63	31%
Telephone/Cell Phone	28	14%
SMS Texting	5	3%
Various	10	5%

--Web-Browsing (Social Relation):

Frequency	Personal	Work	Family	Friends
3-10/day	70%	59%	12%	6%
1-2/day	18%	6%	18%	29%
2-6/week	6%	23%	29%	24%
2-7/month	6%	-	12%	12%
2/month or less	12%	12%	29%	29%

--Web-Browsing (Activity):

Frequency	Info & Knowledge	Online Shopping	Online Banking	Online Socializing with Strangers
3-10/day	53%	-	6%	-
1-2/day	18%	6%	12%	6%
2-6/week	6%	6%	29%	-
2-7/month	18%	12%	6%	-
2/month or less	5%	76%	47%	94%

--Emailing (Social Relation):

Frequency	Work	Family	Friends	Strangers
3-10/day	94%	0%	12%	-
1-2/day	6%	29%	35%	6%
2-6/week	-	23%	18%	-
2-7/month	-	18%	23%	-
2/month or less	-	30%	12%	94%

--Social Networking Sites (Social Relation):

Frequency	Work	Family	Friends	
3-10/day	-	6%	6%	
1-2/day	6%	12%	18%	
2-6/week	12%	18%	18%	
2-7/month	18%	-	6%	
2/month or less	64%	64%	52%	

--Social Networking Sites (Activity):

Frequency	Info & Knowledge	Online Shopping	Online Banking	Communicating with Strangers
3-10/day	6%	-	-	-
1-2/day	6%	-	-	6%
2-6/week	18%	-	-	-
2-7/month	12%	-	-	-
2/month or less	58%	Never	Never	94%

--Blogging Sites (Social Relation):

Frequency	Work	Family	Friends	
3-10/day	12%	-	-	
1-2/day	-	-	-	
2-6/week	-	-	-	
2-7/month	-	-	-	
2/month or less	88%	Never	Never	

--Blogging Sites (Activity):

Frequency	Info & Knowledge	Online Shopping	Online Banking	Communicating with Strangers
3-10/day	6%	-	-	-
1-2/day	-	-	-	-
2-6/week	-	-	-	-
2-7/month	-	-	-	-
2/month or less	94%	Never	Never	Never

(B)Table 5.2: Social Network Graphs: Primary & Secondary Consultant Sub-Networks and the Total Network of all Actors' Strong and Weak Ties:
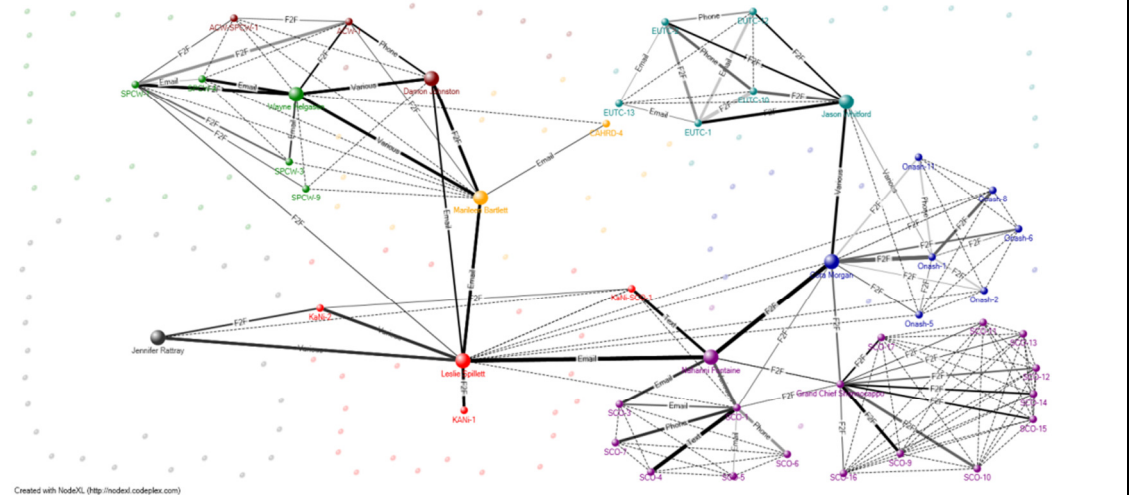
Primary Consultant Network	Primary & Secondary Consultant Network

Network Graph of <u>Strong</u> Social Ties (i.e., 3-4 activity fields per social tie)

Network Graph of <u>Weak</u> Social Ties (i.e., 1-2 activity fields per social tie)
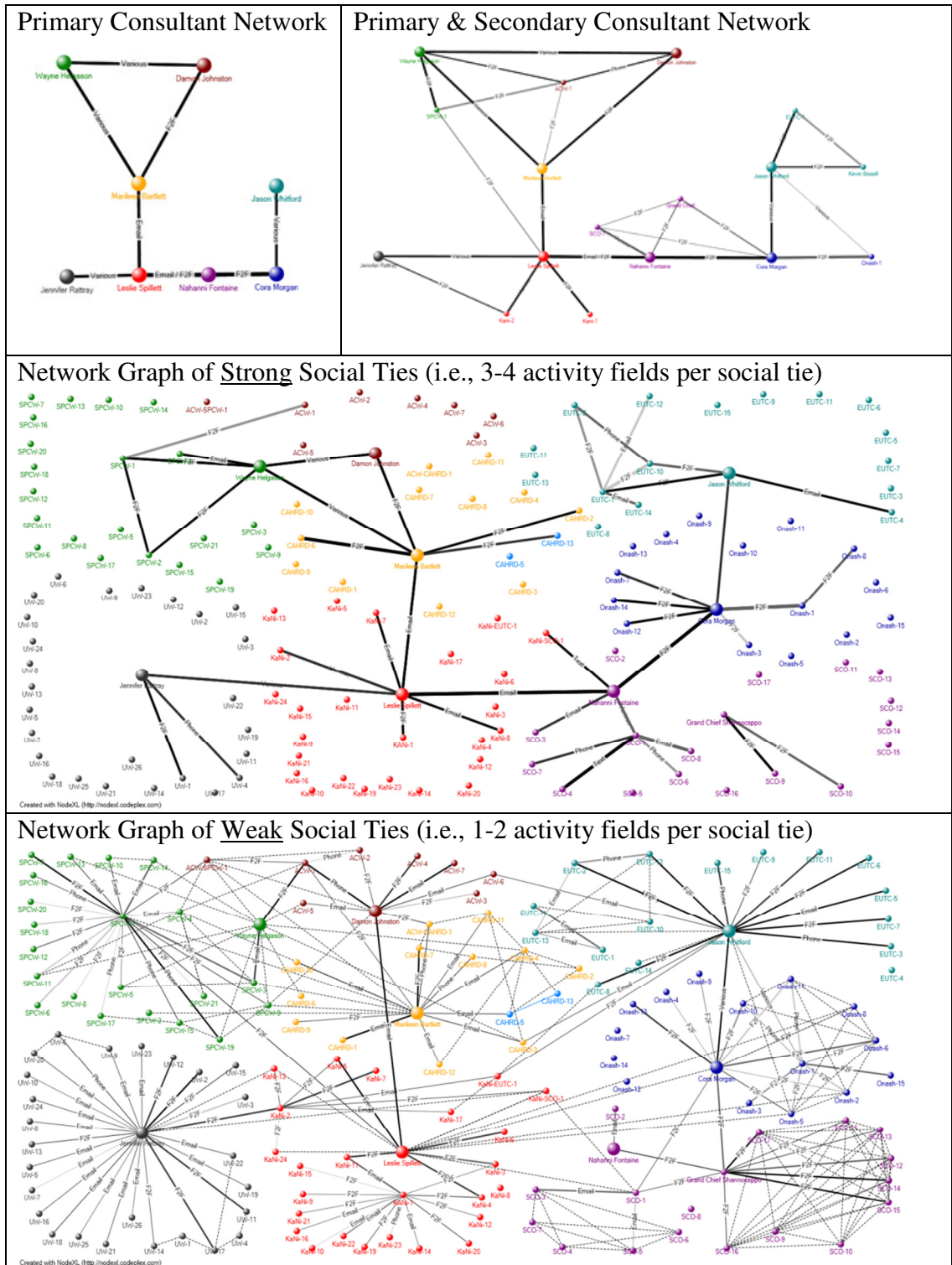
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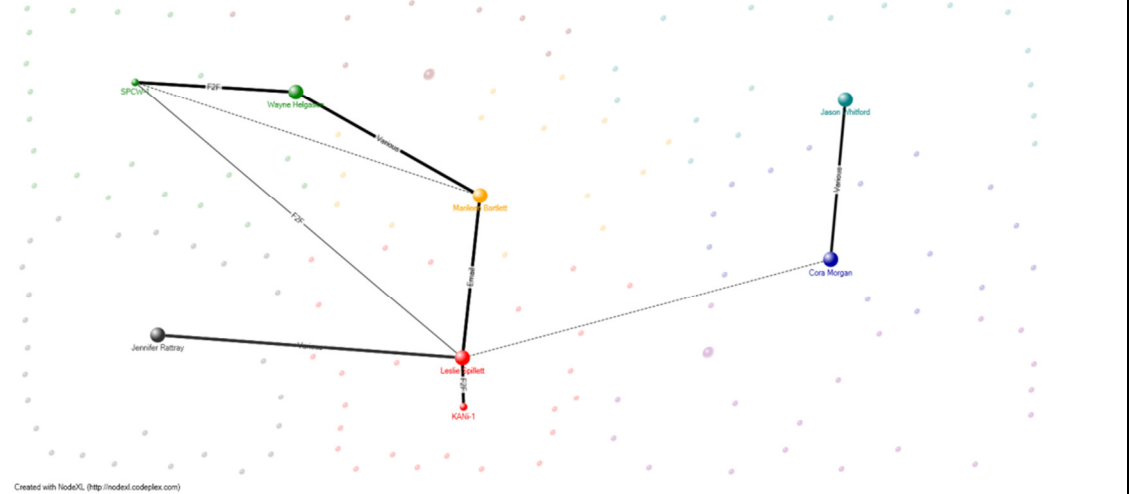
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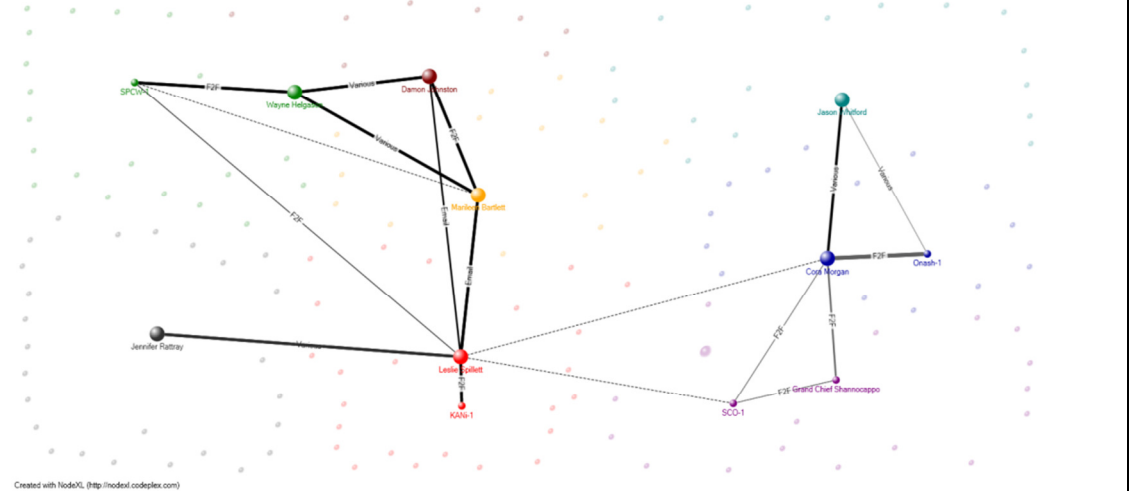
Degree of 5.0 or more

--- 'CLOSENESS-Centrality' of Actors:

Closeness 0.0025 or more
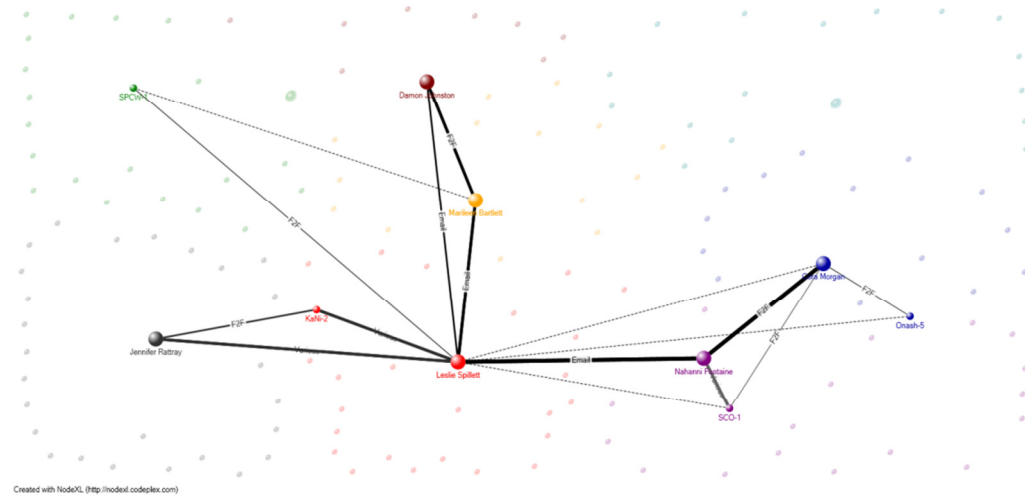
Closeness 0.0020 or more
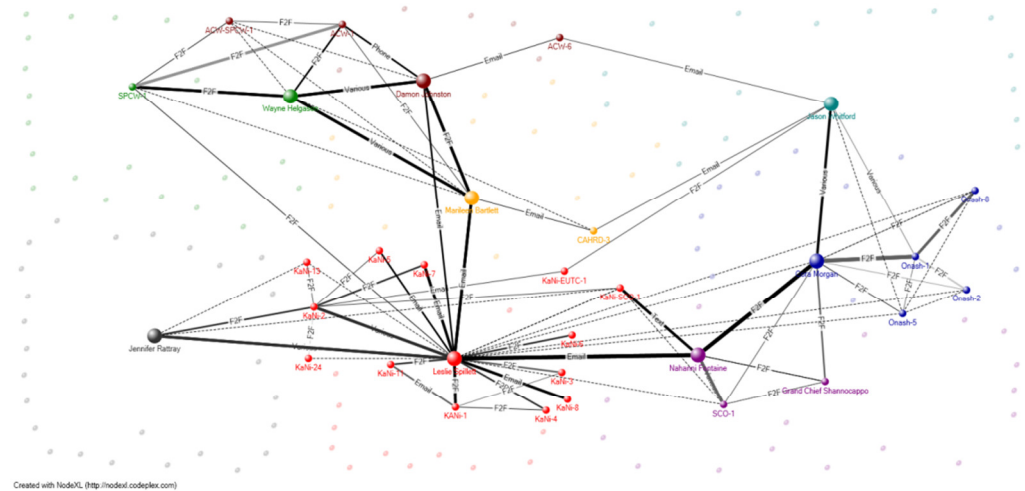
Closeness 0.0015 or more

348
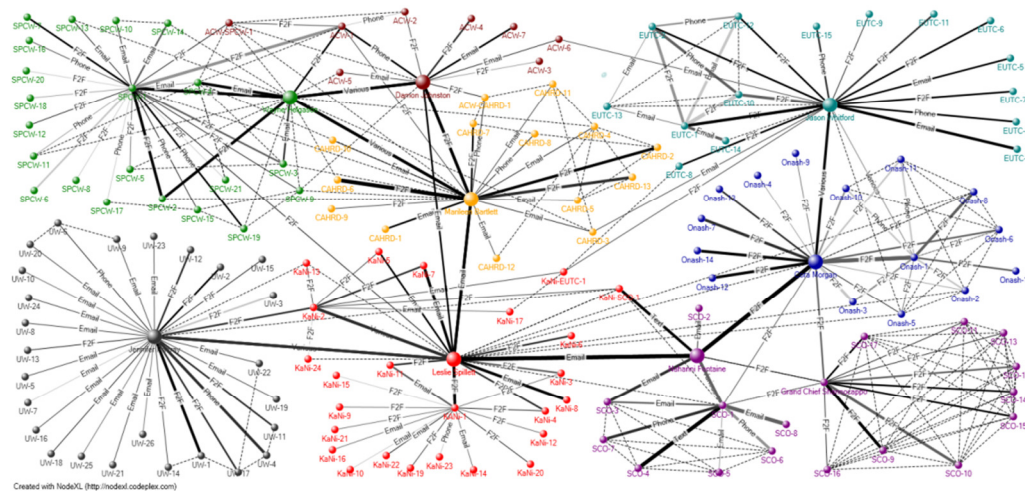
Betweenness 2200 or more

Betweenness of 900 or more
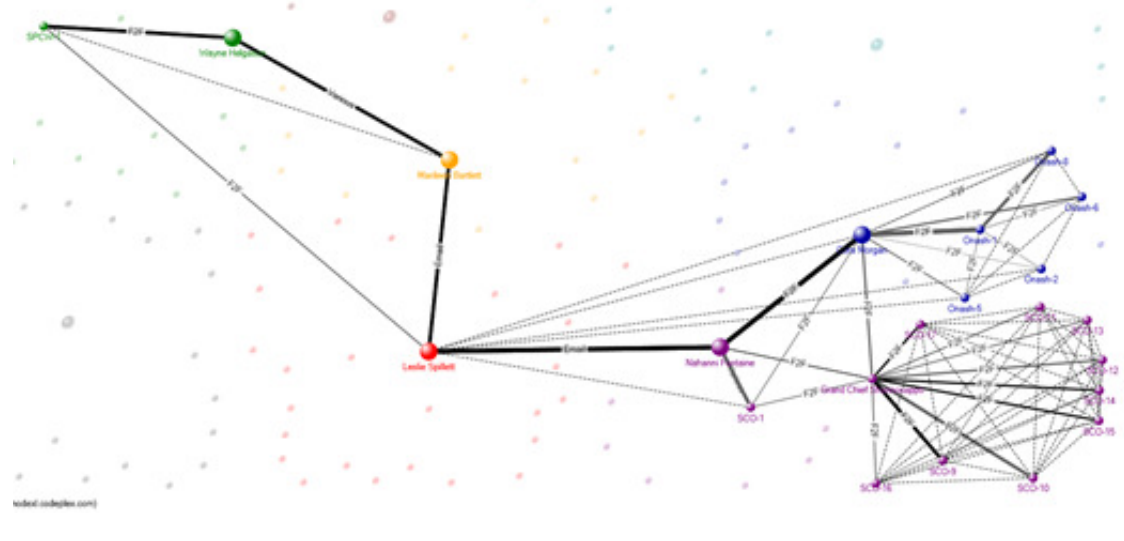

Betweennes 200 or more

Betweenness 20 or more

Eigenvector 0.02 or more
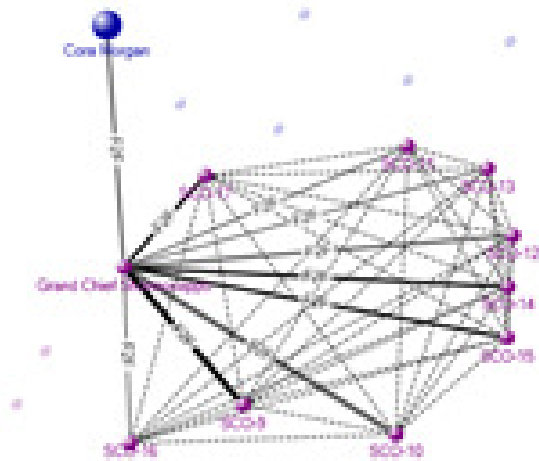
Eigenvector 0.01 or more
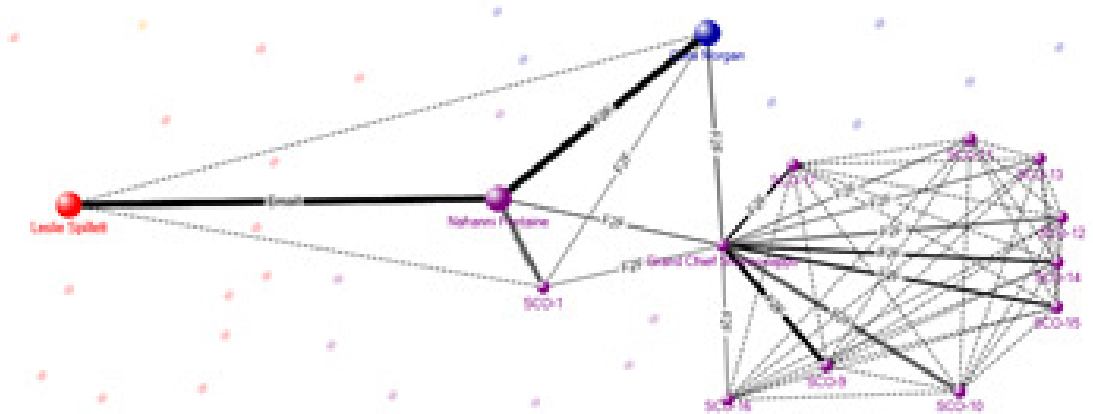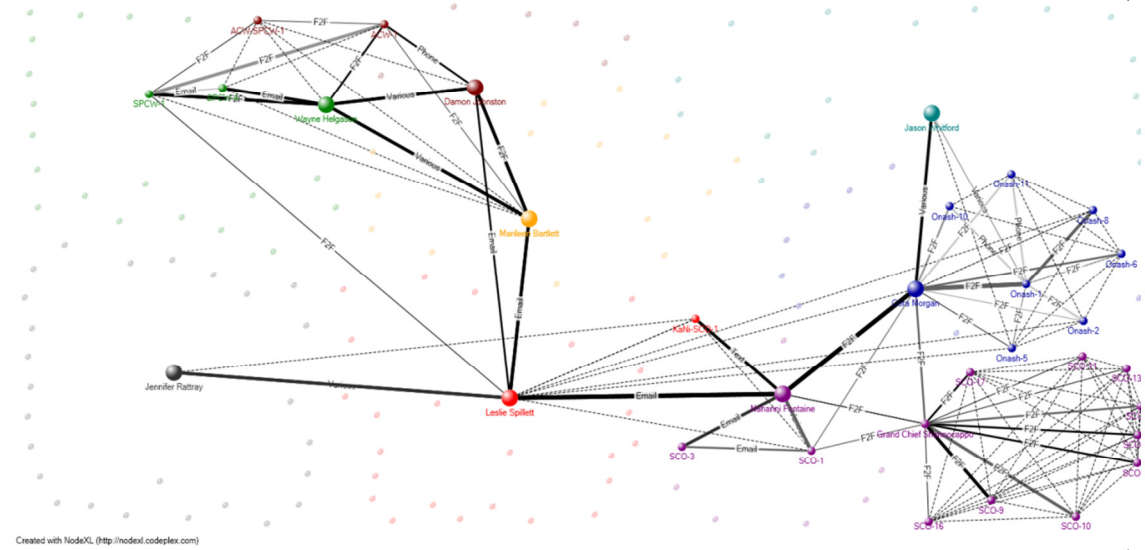

Eigenvector 0.006 or more

Eigenvector 0.004 or more

Eigenvector 0.001 or more

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