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APPROACHING ABORIGINAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN WINNIPEG:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ABORIGINAL SERVICE DELIVERY NETWORKS

Kevin K. Lee

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of City Planning**

**Department of City Planning
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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**APPROACHING ABORIGINAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN WINNIPEG:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ABORIGINAL SERVICE DELIVERY NETWORKS**

BY

KEVIN K. LEE

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the issue of Aboriginal self-government in an urban setting with a focus on the interests of urban Aboriginal service organizations. The operating environment of these organizations with respect to self-government is discussed, including pertinent historical events, socio-economic characteristics of the community, and legal precedents. Models of urban Aboriginal self-government and related issues described in the literature are explored. Existing research on the characteristics of urban Aboriginal organizations is reviewed. Results from new research, conducted for this project, on these organizations' relationships with entities in their operating environments are described. Findings from this thesis suggest that existing urban Aboriginal service organizations can have a political and service provider role in the development and functioning of some forms of urban Aboriginal self-government. Of the models explored, the Political Autonomy and Neighbourhood-based forms of urban self-government appear to be the most amenable to existing organizations. However, these organizations are not currently operating as either a political or service system, and would likely have to increase their levels of coordination as a network to fulfill a governance function. Revenue raising capacities of, citizenship/membership in, and the integration of Aboriginal culture in a governance body remain outstanding issues.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The development of Aboriginal¹ self-government has been primarily driven by existing Canadian institutions. In this context, there appears to be evidence of an overemphasis on the legislative preconditions under which Aboriginal self-government can happen and an under emphasis on the operational conditions necessary to implement it². If Aboriginal self-government in this country is to constitute another level and/or system of government³, it is time Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people begin to ask the very difficult questions regarding its form, functions and effects on all of us.

One of the basic justifications for any system of governance is to provide services to its citizens. Although specific services to the Aboriginal population have been primarily provided by the federal government, and to a lesser degree provincial and municipal governments, it is well documented that these services have not adequately addressed the cultural and geographic needs of Aboriginal peoples, on and off reserves.⁴ According to Weinstein (1986), many people have felt that Aboriginal control in the design and implementation of service delivery is an effective way to address the needs of urban Aboriginal communities. He states that Aboriginal organizations are pushing for more autonomy in urban areas for the following reasons:

First, aboriginal people seek to overcome their dependency exacerbated by socio-economic conditions. Second, they seek to establish and expand culturally supportive services and institutions in order to foster greater social cohesion. Third, they seek a devolution of authority over service delivery from federal and provincial governments to aboriginal people.⁵

¹ The term Aboriginal is used in this text to refer to those people of Indian, Métis, or Inuit ancestry.

² Hawkes, David C., "Conclusion" in Hawkes, David C., ed., *Aboriginal Peoples and Government Responsibility: Exploring Federal Provincial Roles* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press 1989), pp. 363-64.

³ "Ottawa mends historic wrong," *Winnipeg Free Press* (December 8, 1994), p. A4.

⁴ Bostrom, Harvey, "Government Policies and Programs Relating to People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba" in Breton, Raymond & Gail Grant, eds., *The Dynamics of Government Programs for Urban Indians in the Prairie Provinces* (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy 1984); Frideres, James S., *Native Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc. 1993), p. 275.

⁵ Weinstein, John, *Aboriginal Self-Determination Off a Land Base, Background Paper*

Aboriginal organizations are seeking the autonomy to pursue alternative service delivery priorities than those of non-Aboriginal governments.

Boisevert's (1985) definition of Aboriginal self-government suffices for a discussion starting point, which describes it as "the various institutional arrangements which can be put into place to enable the Aboriginal peoples to make their collective decisions."⁶ Self-government, then, is largely about establishing institutions to exercise the will of Aboriginal people. Executive and administrative institutions, functioning collectively, are the channels through which self-government is to operate. The challenge, then, is to establish an operational system of service delivery under Aboriginal control which is responsive to the cultural needs of specific local Aboriginal populations.

For over a decade, some form of this process has been underway in many reserves. Band chiefs and councils have been slowly gaining more control over resources for the provision of services on reserve as the federal government has been actively devolving its responsibilities.⁷ This devolution of powers is particularly the case in Manitoba with the recent agreement to dismantle the Manitoba arm of the Department Indian and Northern Affairs, signed by the federal Minister responsible and the Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs.⁸ One might say that there is, in fact, some degree of an established service infrastructure on many reserves, with administration of those services being conducted by reserve residents.

The urban environment, however, does not have the same degree of Aboriginal service infrastructure in place, partially because federal legislative mandates have historically been reserve based and non-Aboriginal service alternatives exist. This is not to suggest that only Aboriginal agencies can deliver services to Aboriginal people. However, certain needs of this community must be addressed in a culturally appropriate manner in order to be effective. Non-Aboriginal agencies are not meeting these needs, often because they do not recognize or concern themselves with the specific cultural implications of their methods. Aboriginal organizations have demonstrated that in culturally relevant service areas, they are more effective than non-Aboriginal agencies. In Winnipeg, effective service delivery for the Aboriginal community is currently being conducted, but in a limited fashion. There are Aboriginal run service organizations successfully providing services to the urban Aboriginal community in a number of

Number 8, (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Studies 1986), p. 22.

⁶ Boisevert, David A., *Forms of Aboriginal Self-Government; Background Paper Number 2* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University 1985), p. 2.

⁷ Long, J. Anthony & Katherine Chist, "Aboriginal Self-Government," in James P. Bickerton & Alain-G. Gagnon, eds., *Canadian Politics, 2nd Edition* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press Ltd. 1994), p. 230.

⁸ "Ottawa mends historic wrong" in *Winnipeg Free Press* (December 8, 1994), p. A4.

social service areas, but they are categorized as non-profit agencies rather than part of a legitimate government. As well, the scale of these projects is relatively small, funding is often inadequate and short-term, and service provision is piecemeal and reaches only a portion of the population. Nevertheless, these organizations have a place in the present network of social services in urban areas and represent a potential base on which to build a service delivery system for Aboriginal people in the city.

If Aboriginal peoples living in Canadian cities are going to receive government services that effectively address their unique needs, services for them are not only going to have to become more culturally appropriate, they would also need to become more coordinated and comprehensive. Service delivery systems can be established within a framework of Aboriginal self-government in urban areas. For chiefly pragmatic reasons, non-Aboriginal local governments would certainly continue to play a role in providing services to Aboriginal people, although this role is likely to change. By working with Aboriginal leaders, all parties can benefit by determining where they might be able to complement each other in fulfilling their respective mandates. Furthermore, as Aboriginal communities have consistently identified inadequately met needs in non-Aboriginal government service delivery, there is no doubt that established local governments have much to learn from effective Aboriginal organizations regarding their communities' interests.

The urban areas being referred to in this paper are those cities in Canada where Aboriginal peoples do not constitute a majority of the city population but do constitute a sizable population. These cities include Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto, Halifax and many other smaller cities. The content of this paper is not meant to apply to small towns and rural areas where Aboriginal people reside.

1.1 PROJECT OUTLINE

My intention is to demonstrate some roles that existing Aboriginal organizations operating in Winnipeg's current political, economic and cultural environment might have in the transition to self-government. Section 2. of this document, *General Environment of the Urban Self-Government Movement*, starts by exploring the historical and political environment of urban based Aboriginal organizations and the self-government movement, both in Canada and in Winnipeg, from the mid-1960's to the present. Next, the unique socio-economic characteristics and legislative environment of urban Aboriginal community is discussed.

Section 3., *Defining Urban Self-Government*, raises some of the theoretical issues regarding Aboriginal self-government in urban areas. By describing some issues that would be pertinent in the development of an urban form of self-government, some specific models being discussed,

service jurisdictions important in achieving the goals of self-government, and impacts on existing local government operations, a framework for discussion is outlined.

Section 4., *Theory of Service Delivery Organizations in Networks*, discusses interorganizational theory relevant to the operations of Aboriginal service delivery organizations. It defines organizations as being part of a service network, theory regarding their operating environments, and issues related to coordination in these networks and network configurations. It concludes with a discussion of potential service delivery and political roles of existing Aboriginal service organizations.

Section 5 (*Characteristics of Existing Aboriginal Service Organizations*) and Section 6. (*Relationships of Existing Aboriginal Service Organizations and Service Delivery*) have a distinctly Winnipeg focus. In Section 5, characteristics of Aboriginal service organizations that currently exist in the city are described. Section 6 contains a review of the results from interviews conducted with selected respondents from Aboriginal service organizations. The interviews, conducted by this author, focused on relationships between these agencies and other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations, client populations, and funding agencies, as well as some self-government issues.

Section 7, *Review of Service Organizations' Operating Environment*, includes discussion of the implications of the literature review and the interview research described in Section 6. The operating environment of Aboriginal service organizations in Winnipeg is discussed in terms of the theory discussed in Section 4. This discussion is followed by some conclusions about the implications of pursuing each of the urban Aboriginal self-government models described in Section 3. Finally, implications of particular issues with respect to urban self-government are outlined.

2. GENERAL ENVIRONMENT OF URBAN SELF-GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Aboriginal self-government in urban areas is being pursued primarily due to the dissatisfaction many Aboriginal people have with the general environment. This section defines some of the environmental characteristics that have influenced the development of the self-government movement in Canada, and more specifically in Canadian cities. Long and Chist (1994) conceptualize five driving forces behind the self-government movement in the following:

Aboriginal demands are rooted in a number of concerns. First, they involve a rejection of the federal government's historical policy of forced assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into the dominant society and a corresponding claim for the recognition of the cultural uniqueness of their own societies. Second, they stem from the long struggle by Aboriginal people for acknowledgment of their ownership claim to their traditional lands, which they argue have never been surrendered to the Canadian state. Third, they reflect a desire to reaffirm what Aboriginal peoples believe to be their inherent right to self-government. Fourth, in the case of treaty-based First Nations, they reflect what Indian peoples believe to be a trail of broken promises by the federal government regarding the fulfillment of treaty obligation as well as the failure to recognize the "nation-to-nation" nature of the treaties themselves. And fifth, these demands stem from a deeply held conviction on the part of Aboriginal leaders and their peoples that self-government is the only path to escaping the poverty and social pathologies that afflict many Aboriginal communities.⁹

The combination of these concerns have culminated into a significant force in Canadian politics. Addressing Aboriginal issues has become part of the national and most provincial agendas, and are of great concern to the general public.

Aboriginal people in cities are in an environment with circumstances unique from those in reserve and rural areas. As such, their pursuit of self-government will entail different strategies and arrangements. As discussed in the *Introduction*, existing urban Aboriginal organizations would likely have a significant role in shaping new relationships with existing governments in cities. The first section tracks recent historical events that have influenced the urban self-government movement. The current socio-economic conditions, and legal and political contexts, of Aboriginal people in cities is explored in the following section. These explorations lay the

⁹ Long & Chist, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

of Aboriginal people in cities is explored in the following section. These explorations lay the foundation for further discussions on possible models of urban self-government.

2.2 THE ABORIGINAL SELF-GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT IN CANADA

2.2.1 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: 1960-1990

Since Confederation and their loss of self-government, Aboriginal peoples have objected to their relationship with the Government of Canada.¹⁰ However, Canada has always been looking to get out of the "Indian business" through the assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into the larger society.¹¹ The historical record of exchanges (or lack of exchanges) between government and Aboriginal people has demonstrated the need for autonomous Aboriginal organizations to monitor government activities and speak for the interests of the Aboriginal people. These organizations, whether political or service agencies, have a definite role in the development of urban Aboriginal self-government in Canada.

The Government of Canada has long seen its national interest as being incongruent with Aboriginal interests. This perception of conflicting interests is arguably the primary reason that Aboriginal peoples have been historically marginalized by government in the name of the interests of the majority. Indian and non-Aboriginal peoples have not seen their interests coincide since the early phases of the fur trade.¹² As Miller (1989) states:

¹⁰ Milloy, John S., "The Early Indian Acts: Developmental Strategy and Constitutional Change," in J. R. Miller, ed., *Sweet Promises; A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1992).

¹¹ Tobias, John L., "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in J. R. Miller, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹² Miller, J. R., "Introduction," in J. R. Miller, ed., *op. cit.*, p. vii-ix. The first two phases of the fur trade saw Aboriginal and European traders engaged in mutually, but not always equally, beneficial relationships. These phases extended from first contact to the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The record of Indian-white relations in Canada is one molded by the reasons that the various parties have had for making contact and maintaining relationships. When their motives were complementary, the relationship was harmonious and the consequences mutually advantageous. ... Conversely, when their motives were antagonistic or competitive, the relationship became unhappy and the consequences unfortunate.¹³

While motives in relationships between government and Aboriginal peoples may still be antagonistic, it may be time to re-evaluate the interests of the Canadian majority to reflect the view that Aboriginal interests are state interests. Government/Aboriginal relationships as currently defined are in neither party's best interests.

The birth of the Trudeau era marked a shift of national and international attention towards issues dealing with Aboriginal interests. Beginning with the *Hawthorn Report* in 1966, the federal government has frequently commissioned reports recommending more autonomy for Indian peoples in addressing their needs. The terms Aboriginal self-government have repeatedly been redefined, from something resembling Indian administration of government programmes and policies to the present levels of First Nations autonomy being negotiated with the Department of Indian and Northern Development in Manitoba.

The DIAND commissioned *Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* in 1966 was one of the first government generated reports in favour of increasing Aboriginal control of their own affairs. The primary assumption of the document, commonly referred to as the *Hawthorn Report* after the name of its editor, was "that Indians be enabled to make meaningful choices between desirable alternatives".¹⁴ The Report demonstrated that First Nations people off-reserve were better off economically than those on-reserve, and suggested that more funds should go towards resettlement programs in cities, without decreasing on-reserve funding. As well, the Report recommended that the government discontinue its efforts to encourage Indians to stay on-reserve and identified the needs of off-reserve Indians as integrally linked to those of on-reserve Indians. Hawthorn suggested that the provincial governments had the same statutory obligations towards status Indians as it had toward any other citizen of Canada,¹⁵ and suggested that the provinces

¹³ Miller, J. R., *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1989), p. 275.

¹⁴ Hawthorn, H. B., ed., *Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch 1967), vol. 2, p. 5.

¹⁵ Many Aboriginal people, however, do not consider themselves as citizens of Canada as they have never agreed with the sovereignty of the federal government in their affairs. Their arguments are based in the concept of inherent rights of the Aboriginal people of this land. For an overview, see Morse, Bradford W., *Native Council of Canada Royal Commission Intervenor Research Project: A Legal and Jurisdictional Analysis of Urban Self-Government*, (Ottawa: The Native Council of Canada, October 1993), pp. 3-4.

"citizen plus" in Canada, rather than that of a second class citizen. It recognized that status Indians have more rights than other Canadians, and that they should be treated as such. The Hawthorn Report remains a timely document as it set out foundations for policy that has only very slowly been built on by government over the past thirty years.

The election of Trudeau as Prime Minister in 1968 represented both a step forward and a step backward for Aboriginal interests in Canada. Trudeau, although dedicated to dealing with the inadequacies of the *Indian Act*, brought strong liberal views about the nature of Canadian politics that were incongruent with Aboriginal perspectives. As Miller (1989) suggests:

Trudeau was unimpressed by historical arguments that Canadians should make redress for past transgressions, and he perceived the body politic as composed of individuals who related to their governments as atoms or isolated entities rather than as members of ethnic, racial, class, or regional collectivities.¹⁷

Needless to say, this Western liberal-democratic philosophy was not one shared by most people in Aboriginal communities. In his second year in office, Trudeau introduced the most controversial piece of proposed Indian Affairs legislation in recent history, the 1969 *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*. More commonly referred to as the *White Paper*, this discussion ignored many of the recommendations of the Hawthorn Report and suggested an entirely different policy direction more in line with the Prime Minister's philosophy. In order to have true equality in Canadian life, the *White Paper* recommended "that the legislative and constitutional bases for discrimination be removed; ... that services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians; ... that lawful obligations be recognized; that control of Indian lands be transferred to the Indian people." In order to act on these recommendations, it proposed that the federal government repeal the *Indian Act*, enable Indians to acquire title to Indian land, close down the Department of Indian Affairs, and that the provinces take responsibilities for Indians as they would any other citizens.¹⁸ The *White Paper* was an attempt by Prime Minister Trudeau and Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs, to deal with the issue of the federal government's fiduciary responsibilities for Indian people through the application of liberal-democratic principles and get out of the "Indian business" once and for all.

The *White Paper* united and galvanized First Nations people from across the country into action. They rose in unison to soundly reject the idea that their rights could be dismissed unilaterally with the sweep of a pen. They reminded the government that the treaties signed with the First Nations were signed by autonomous political bodies in a spirit of cooperation. The 1970 response of Alberta chiefs cited the "citizen plus" status they were entitled to, as recommended

¹⁷ Miller, J. R. (1989), p. 224.

¹⁸ *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969: Presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.*

in the Hawthorn Report. They also released their version of recommendations for changes to *Indian Act* legislation, entitled the *Red Paper*. British Columbia chiefs released a *Brown Paper* and Manitoba chiefs released *Wahbung* addressing the same subject. All of these submissions argued for DIAND to undertake structural change to allow it to become more responsive to the needs of Indian communities, but opposed its total abolishment, as suggested by the *White Paper*.¹⁹ They also focused on the problems of service delivery, said to have resulted from *Indian Act* implementation, primarily in the areas of education and economic development in Indian communities. Although it was a perceived threat to Indian people, the *White Paper* did have some positive effects on Indian organizations. They found themselves in agreement in their displeasure with the proposed legislation, and discovered they were organized well enough to respond to a common enemy in an effective manner.²⁰ The *White Paper* signaled the beginning of what Gibbins and Ponting (1986) called (borrowing a phrase from Indian leader Harold Cardinal) the "Indian Quiet Revolution", which set into motion the Indian movement of decolonization.²¹

Indian leaders' response must have come as no surprise to bureaucrats involved in the background research and consultation process with Indian communities prior to the release of the *White Paper*. Unfortunately, it appears as though Indian viewpoints were given little weight in considering actual Indian policy. Miller (1989) interprets the events as such:

The brutal truth was that the series of consultations that had been carried out with Indian leaders never had any impact on the review of policy. When Indian leaders at the end of April 1969 had been congratulating Chrétien for listening to them and agreeing to continue the dialogue, officials were putting the finishing touches to a white paper whose assumptions, arguments, and recommendations were the antithesis of Indians had been saying.²²

Within a year of its release, Trudeau was forced to dismiss the *White Paper* and changed his tune regarding Aboriginal rights in Canada. However, the little trust that Indian people felt towards the federal government was already damaged, and the *White Paper* incident continues to haunt government/Aboriginal relationships to this day. As well, many segments of Canadian society still see the application of liberal-democratic principles as a viable option to deal with the issue of the federal government's fiduciary responsibilities for Indian and all Aboriginal peoples.

¹⁹ Frideres, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-25.

²⁰ Miller (1989), p. 230.

²¹ Gibbins, Roger & J. Rick Ponting, "Historical Overview and Background," in Ponting, J. Rick, ed., *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart 1986), pp. 34-41.

²² Miller (1989), p. 228.

With the issue of Aboriginal rights entering the constitutional arena came the further articulation of Aboriginal groups' political positions. The strengthening of Indian organizations continued throughout the 1970's, largely due to changes in legislation that enabled Aboriginal groups to be funded by federal departments other than DIAND. As the Secretary of State began to play a much larger role supporting Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginal organizations representing various interests began to proliferate and establish stable funding for their pursuits. However, this development had the effect of further entrenching the divisions between Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Among other provincially and tribally based groups, 1970 saw the emergence of the National Indian Council (representing the interests of treaty Indians), the Native Council of Canada (representing the interests of Métis and non-status and non-treaty Indians), and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (representing the interests of Inuit peoples).²³ These organizations' primary purpose was to lobby for the recognition of Aboriginal rights in Canadian political forums and abroad. Most of them are still active today, although operating under different names. These divisions, formally established in the early 1970's, continue to dog Aboriginal politics as each organization lobbies for self-government on the basis of its own constituency's specific relationship to the federal government.

The 1970's were also the time when Aboriginal groups renewed the dialogue regarding self-government in their reserve communities. Many reserves had begun to administer policies previously administered by DIAND and saw self-government as a logical extension of their powers. As well, Indian people had long preserved the idea that their entitlement to self-government had never been extinguished. According to Miller (1989), band administration of education, child care and some aspects of welfare have been a large part of the platform advocating self-government.²⁴ In fact, control in these areas was a major political thrust of the National Indian Brotherhood in the 1970's, and continues to be in most contemporary Aboriginal communities. It is worthy of notice that the desire for control in these jurisdictions is often driven more by the needs of the community rather than by Aboriginal rights.

The 1980's signaled a significant boost for the formal recognition of Aboriginal rights in Canada. With the passing by Parliament of the *Canada Act of 1982*, recognition of "the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada ..." were constitutionally entrenched in section 35. Ironically, the *Act* was the product of a Liberal government with the same Prime Minister that had introduced the *White Paper* to Parliament in 1969. This time around, however, Trudeau ended up fighting provincial leaders rather than Indian leaders over the proposed legislation. In the end, it was provincial politicians that insisted on the wording

²³ In 1968, the National Indian Council split into two groups: the National Canadian Métis Society (representing the interests of non-status Indians and Métis), and the National Indian Brotherhood (representing interests of status Indians). The National Canadian Métis Society, however, was short-lived and changed its name to the Native Council of Canada in 1970. See Frideres, *op. cit.*, p. 287; Gibbons & Ponting *op. cit.*, p. 38; and Miller (1989), pp. 232-33.

²⁴ Miller (1989), p. 236.

"existing" rights to be used in section 35, as it implied that any rights that weren't recognized then would not be seen as legitimate. Section 35 was the first time all Aboriginal peoples (Indian, Métis and Inuit peoples), rather than simply status Indians, were legislatively recognized as having rights.

As section 35 was vague in nature, the parties involved recognized the need for negotiations to take place in order to further define Aboriginal rights. Section 37 of the 1982 *Canada Act* ensured this would in fact happen. It required a series of conferences to be held to "deal with constitutional matters that directly affect the aboriginal peoples of Canada." These meetings took the form of numerous First Ministers Conferences between 1982 and 1987. Aboriginal leaders were suddenly formally recognized by government as representing the interests of various groups and actively lobbied for the rights to self-government in their communities. These conferences, although fruitful in raising many of the issues regarding self-government for Aboriginal peoples, were unsuccessful in establishing any concrete agreements between the parties involved, largely due to resistance to the concept by provincial leaders of the time. During negotiations, however, it became obvious that the interests of off-reserve and non-status Indians, as defined by the *Indian Act*, took a back seat to the interests of the easily definable reserve based interest groups. Although dealing with relatively homogeneous, discrete reserve groups has historically been seen as a priority, there is now a new recognition that Aboriginal peoples living off-reserve represent a majority of the overall Aboriginal population and should have their rights accommodated as well.

The politics of Aboriginal organizations continued to be dynamic. In the early eighties, the National Indian Brotherhood changed its name to the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and the Métis National Council was formed. Some constituents, upset with the AFN's philosophy and set of priorities, have recently broke away from the organization to form the Prairie Treaty Nations Alliance. Also, the Native Council of Canada (NCC) changed its name to the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples in 1994.

2.2.2 URBAN BASED ABORIGINAL ORGANIZATIONS

Although many of Aboriginal political organizations have operated in urban areas, they have tended to harbor a rural and reserve orientation in addressing the needs of their membership in cities.²⁵ However, Aboriginal organizations that were formed to provide other services to the urban Aboriginal population seem to have developed from primarily a needs based rather than a politically based approach. Many of these groups also originated in the 1970's, as they were redefined as non-political and became eligible for the Federal Department of the Secretary of

²⁵

The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and the Manitoba Métis Federation are two examples of essentially political organizations offering limited services in the city exclusively for their membership. See Bostrom, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

State funding.²⁶ Today, there are numerous urban based Aboriginal service organizations currently existing in major Canadian cities, although they generally lack political coordination between them. Some urban service organizations, however, are starting to speak out about self-government as they feel the needs of their communities are not being met by existing Aboriginal political organizations.²⁷

Probably the oldest urban based Aboriginal organizations are the Indian and Métis Friendship Centres (IMFC), one of the earliest of which was established in Winnipeg in 1959. The original mandate of these Centres was to help Aboriginal people settling in urban areas adapt to their surroundings. This first Winnipeg Centre was funded by 50/50 cost sharing agreement between the provincial and the federal governments, and represented the first recognition of problems related to the migration of First Nations from reserves to the city. In 1972, however, funding agreements changed and the Federal Department of the Secretary of State (DSOS) took up a majority of the fiscal responsibility for start-up and maintenance costs of all Friendship Centres, with the Centres themselves being expected to privately raise from ten to twenty percent of their capital requirements. This policy came under criticism in a 1978 Winnipeg IMFC report to the federal government for its criteria based on the size of client community rather than on the needs of the community. Furthermore, the Friendship Centres have criticized the federal government for seeming to favour the Centres acting in a referral capacity and drawing on existing services provided by other levels of government operating in the area. Conversely, the IMFC's have seen their role as actually providing services to the community as other levels of government have provided only minimal and inappropriate services. According to the Winnipeg IMFC report, the core funding provided to the Centres was only adequate for them to develop programmes large enough to address the needs of a limited number of their target population.²⁸ Today, there are 111 Friendship Centres in urban areas across the country, and a National Association of Indian and Métis Friendship Centres that acts as a coordinating body. They are now providing a range of services for Aboriginal people in cities and claimed to serve over 600,000 individuals across Canada in 1993. Core funding for all friendship centres and NAFC is provided by the DSOS under the permanent Aboriginal Friendship Centre Program.²⁹ As the most established urban

²⁶ Frideres, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

²⁷ See the section entitled *Separation of Political and Administrative Bodies* (3.6) for more discussion.

²⁸ Bostrom, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-76.

²⁹ National Association of Friendship Centres *Friendship Centres: Service-Based Government, The Inherent Right to Self-Government Consultation Report* (May 6-7, 1994), pp. 1-33. In May of 1994, the National Association of Friendship Centres (NAFC) held a consultation process in Winnipeg. Sixty delegates from friendship centres across Canada attended. The purpose of the consultation was to clarify the role friendship centres will play in urban self-government from the perspective of the NAFC. Delegates agreed that self-government should build on the strengths and principles of the friendship centre movement. They noted that the principle of participatory process would be of particular importance in urban self-government. They stated that friendship

based organizations in many cities, friendship centres have developed a good reputation in local Aboriginal communities and arms of governments for their expertise and stability.

2.2.3 SUMMARY

The Aboriginal self-government movement can be conceptualized as largely a reaction to Government of Canada policy, ranging from the *Indian Act* and proposed alterations to it to government funding of Aboriginal political and other organizations. Although by no means comprehensive, the above historical overview of the self-government movement is enough to substantiate this trend. This characteristic is likely due to two significant factors: 1) the apparent unified approach to Aboriginal policy by the federal government relative to the fragmented approach by various Aboriginal groups, and 2) the heavy dependence of Aboriginal organizations on federal government funding. As such, the self-government movement has been historically driven by conditions in the relationship between the Aboriginal community and the Government of Canada. As well, the *Indian Act*, which is based on the reservation system, has tended to focus the emphasis of any self-government negotiations on treaty and status Indians on reserve. However, the federal government has been committed to dealing with the issue of Aboriginal self-government, although with varying degrees of good faith and enthusiasm, since the late 1960's as they continue to pursue their ultimate objective of getting out of the "Indian business".

With the recognition of Aboriginal rights in the *Canada Act of 1982* and the increasing migration of Aboriginal peoples to urban areas, the self-government movement is bound to show an increasing presence in cities. Urban based organizations, such as friendship centres, are inevitably going to have a higher profile as the movement develops. As well, provincial governments, which serve urban Aboriginal people in many areas and have largely ignored this issue, will be confronted with and be forced to deal with self-government agendas.

2.3 CURRENT POLITICAL CONTEXT

2.3.1 OVERVIEW: 1991-1995

As discussed in the previous subsections, the past two decades have witnessed an unprecedented development of Aboriginal organizations. However, the most powerful of these organizations have been reserve based and political in function. Although they have frequently called for improvements in service delivery to Aboriginal communities, their efforts have largely been

centres are already a form of self-governance as legitimate service providers to communities. Delegates were generally not satisfied with the previously proposed models of urban Aboriginal self-government. These models were defined as the Urban Reserves model, the Aboriginal Neighbourhood Community model, the Pan-Aboriginal Government model, and the Sector-Specific Aboriginal Institution model.

concentrated on issues of Aboriginal rights. Aboriginal organizations directly addressing Aboriginal needs, especially in urban areas, have been overshadowed by voices of political organizations that have held the federal government's ear. As a result, urban based Aboriginal service organizations have been hindered in their development and continue to play second fiddle in self-government discussions.

In 1991, the federal government again commissioned a study of the state of Aboriginal affairs in Canada, entitled the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). The Commission has a mandate to tour the country and hold forums to hear interested parties speak, then to prepare and present a report to Parliament. This time around, Aboriginal groups representing urban Aboriginal people received more attention, although their levels of recognition are still not near those enjoyed by reserve based groups.

Not surprisingly, changes in federal/Aboriginal relations happened before the long awaited release of the final RCAP report. Ron Irwin, Federal Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, announced in the House of Commons on March 9, 1994, that Manitoba would be the site of the dismantling of the provincial arm of the Department and the subsequent transfer of federal powers to Aboriginal governments. Irwin stated that he had begun negotiations with Phil Fontaine, Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC), the representative body for band chiefs, to develop a framework for the phasing out of the Department. December 7, 1994, was the date the historic agreement between DIAND and the AMC was signed. It includes transfer of executive, legislative, administrative and judicial powers on a community by community basis. It also encompasses federal recognition of the inherent right of self-government, fiduciary responsibility, liability from past actions and enhances federal interpretations of treaty agreements.³⁰

Although this process will eventually lead to self-government in Manitoba, it is primarily focused on the reserve areas. The city of Winnipeg is currently home to the over 45,000 persons of Aboriginal family background³¹ many of whom would be excluded under the proposed status based systems of service delivery. There exists a tension in the urban community between status blind or inclusive agencies and those organizations representing off-reserve status Indians, as defined by the *Indian Act*. Both factions claim they can meet the needs of the urban Aboriginal community. Many Aboriginal women's groups have also voiced their opposition to the current process towards self-government. They have called for the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* to be included in any agreement to protect their rights, a proposal which many band councils reject.³² Women's groups also feel that their interests, and the interests of youth and Elders, are

³⁰ "Agreement aims to establish native institutions, authorities," *Winnipeg Free Press* (December 8, 1994), p. A4.

³¹ Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Data.

³² Byrne, Karina "Indian women want protection," in *Winnipeg Free Press* (March 27,

not represented well enough in the current hierarchical structures of band councils, which form the foundation of the AMC. Clarkson (1994) warns against a narrow implementation of urban self-government based on the existing status based forms of reserve governments.

... if self-government is limited to on-reserve First nations, and if the model provides only for the removal of the authority of the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Government of Canada, thereby vesting governing authority with an Indian Act type of government, self-government is not likely to eradicate the pervasive negative socio-economic conditions which prevail on reserves, nor can change be expected within rural Métis territories and urban Aboriginal communities.³³

The current dismantling of DIAND in Manitoba is certainly a status based initiative and, as such, does not address the desires of non-status Aboriginal peoples for self-government.³⁴ However, it may address the issue of Aboriginal government linkages between urban residents and their home reserves.

Most likely in an effort to address the exclusionary nature of negotiations like the AMC/DIAND process, the federal government has recently announced another national initiative dealing with self-government that may be more beneficial to the urban community. On August 10, 1995, the Government of Canada, represented by Minister Ron Irwin of the DIAND and Minister Anne McLellan, Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians, launched its new process for negotiating self-government. In this process, the federal government's recognition of the inherent right to self-government as an Aboriginal right under the Canadian Constitution is proposed to serve as a starting point for negotiation. The federal government proposes "setting aside legal and constitutional debates that have stymied progress toward Aboriginal self-government and instead working out practical arrangements through negotiated agreements." The process outlines a number of additional key principles on which to base all self-government agreements:

- ◆ Self-government will be exercised within the existing Canadian Constitution. It should enhance the participation of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian society.

1994). See section *Self-Government and Confederation* (3.2) for more discussion on Aboriginal women and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

³³ Clarkson, Linda., *Discussion Paper: Urban Aboriginal Issues, Models, and Stakeholders Relative to the Transition to Self Government*. (Winnipeg: The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, May 1994), p. 9.

³⁴ The present process of dismantling of DIAND in Manitoba was viewed with serious reservations by Wayne Helgason, President of the National Association of Friendship Centres (personal notes from the conference entitled *Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Areas* organized by the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, May 25-26, 1994).

- ◆ The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* will apply fully to Aboriginal governments as it does to other governments in Canada.
- ◆ Due to federal fiscal constraints, all federal funding for self-government will be achieved through the reallocation of existing resources, as outlined in the 1995 Budget.
- ◆ Where all parties agree, rights in self-government agreements may be protected in new treaties under section 35 of the Constitution, in additions to existing treaties, or as part of comprehensive land claims agreements.
- ◆ Federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal laws must work in harmony. Laws of overriding federal and provincial importance such as the Criminal Code will prevail.
- ◆ The interests of all Canadians will be taken into account as agreements are negotiated.³⁵

Of particular interest to urban based Aboriginal groups is the formal recognition of Aboriginal rights and possibilities of self-government in the absence of a land base. This represents a major barrier crossed in the history of federally driven self-government processes. As stated in an official Government of Canada release:

The government is prepared to enter into negotiations with provinces and Métis and Indian groups residing off a land base. With provincial agreement, the Government is also prepared to protect rights in agreements as constitutionally protected section 35 treaty rights.

The type of self-government arrangements off a land base will naturally be different from those which can be implemented on a land base. The federal government is willing to look at various approaches to self-government off a land base including: forms of public government; devolution of programs and services and the development of institutions providing services; and other arrangements where feasible.³⁶

Despite the imposed restrictions with regards to the establishment of self-government within Confederation, the lack of new resources being allocated, and the supersedence of existing Canadian law, the agreement has many advantages for the urban self-government movement. This federal policy direction has cleared the way for the establishment of self-government in urban areas, and particularly in Winnipeg. It has established provincial governments as key stakeholders in the process, which has generally not occurred in past self-government initiatives

³⁵ Government of Canada, *Government Launches Process for Negotiating Aboriginal Self-Government: News Release*. (Ottawa: Government of Canada, August 10, 1995a).

³⁶ Government of Canada, *A Summary of the Government of Canada's Approach to Implementation of the Inherent Right and the Negotiation of Aboriginal Self-Government*. (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 1995b), p. 5.

due the special relationship between the federal government and Aboriginal peoples. Provincial government involvement is particularly important in urban settings due to the level and diversity of provincial funding for urban Aboriginal groups and the provincial jurisdictions in which more Aboriginal autonomy is being called for. The federal government will consider a variety of potential forms of government that includes all Aboriginal peoples, which is a virtual necessity in urban areas. It focuses on practical arrangements which are favoured by many urban based Aboriginal groups. Most importantly, it recognizes the inherent right of Aboriginal self-government in the absence of a land base. However, the conditions of negotiation have yet to be seen as acceptable to the general Aboriginal public in urban areas. As well, the level of integration between potential parallel self-government processes in Manitoba that could develop is unclear, but possibilities are present.

Some Aboriginal service organizations have inherited a status based orientation, reflected in their operations, presumably from government and national and provincial Aboriginal political organizations. The existence of these divisions in the Winnipeg Aboriginal community are evidence of the many interests involved in the self-government movement. Regardless of what negotiation processes are sanctioned by the community, accommodation of all interests of all the Aboriginal people living in urban areas would be a tremendous challenge in the establishment of self-government. Furthermore, perpetuation of political differences may very well result in the establishment of a system of governance that is able to incorporate a number of different models for different groups within the city. As Dunn (1987) states of the constitutional conferences of 1982 to 1987, "[i]f the [First Minister's Conferences] process has served no other purpose, it has at least make it clear that the resolution of constitutional issues will vary greatly with the locale and the circumstances of the people and the communities involved."³⁷ While most informed people recognize this potential diversity of approaches, they may be also aware that such a system might be rife with contradictions and could perpetuate jurisdictional problems.

Although establishing the authorities of Aboriginal self-government in urban areas is certainly important, it appears that much of the discussion taking place is focused on power issues and not on ensuring the conditions created by the proposed structures are actually beneficial to reaching and providing for members of the community. The Hawthorn Report essentially defined the role of self-government as provision of services at the community level.³⁸ Although first made public in 1966, this definition is still relevant as long as services for Aboriginal people are operating at their current levels of effectiveness. Self-government is a mechanism for achieving

³⁷ Dunn, Martin, *Access To Survival; A Perspective on Aboriginal Self-government for the Native Constituency of the NCC* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University 1986).

³⁸ Franks, C.E.S., *Public Administration Questions Relating to Self-Government, Background Paper Number 12* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University 1986), p. 75.

a most important end, appropriate service delivery. As such, service delivery should be a primary focus in the development of Aboriginal self-government.

Service provision for urban Aboriginal people can be provided by essentially three possible entities. These include urban arms of reserve based governments, autonomous urban based institutions, or the extension of specialized services provided by existing federal, provincial and municipal governments. Any number of co-operative efforts between these entities is of course not only possible but probable due to the number of parallel self-government processes in Manitoba.³⁹ As Miller (1989) concludes of historical relations between Aboriginal peoples and Canadian governments, "... new policies that benefit Natives and non-Natives alike can be developed only within a real partnership. ... And real partnership has two aspects. First, there must be meaningful consultation. Second, non-Natives must not only listen to Natives; they must also agree to try solutions that the aboriginal peoples consider desirable."⁴⁰ The future of effective service provision may lie in such partnerships.

2.3.2 THE WINNIPEG ABORIGINAL COALITION

A new group has recently been established in Winnipeg that may have a significant impact on the political organization of Aboriginal organizations in future. Established in May of 1995, the Winnipeg Aboriginal Coalition is a group of active leaders from over 50 organizations, agencies and associations serving the Aboriginal community of Winnipeg. The Coalition's mission is to unify the voice of its members and coordinate community efforts to realize a better way of life for all. Through regular meetings, it provides a strong support network for Aboriginal organizations and a forum for discussion of service delivery and organizational issues. Though focused on the geographical boundaries of the City of Winnipeg, the Coalition supports all Aboriginal concerns and consolidates its resources to that end. The existence of the Coalition represents a significant step in the organization of service providers in the Aboriginal community, something which has not happened in Winnipeg since the Neeginan proposal in the 1970's.⁴¹ The Coalition may be the appropriate forum to deal with conflicts in the community, to develop a unified approach to service delivery, and to work towards an agreed upon strategy to pursue self-government in Winnipeg. As one interview respondent (that participated in the research for this project) noted:

³⁹ In addition to the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs negotiations for the dismantling of DIAND in Manitoba and the potential for urban based negotiations in Winnipeg under the new federal initiative, the Manitoba Métis Federation are also involved in self-government negotiations.

⁴⁰ Miller (1989), p. 278.

⁴¹ Damas and Smith Limited, *Neeginan: A Feasibility Report Prepared for Neeginan (Manitoba) Incorporated* (April 1975).

[Before the Winnipeg Aboriginal Coalition,] we didn't have a forum where we could discuss our territorial needs and demands. There has been no ... harmonizing factor in the community. Everybody ... said "this is my territory, this is our turf, this is our specialty. Don't nobody else get involved in it." And that has been guarded jealously, and that creates a lot of friction.

The Winnipeg Aboriginal Coalition is still developing as a group. While it conducts regular meetings, it is still in the processes of defining its membership, structure and function. It is currently not incorporated or highly formalized, and is not intending to move in those directions. However, individuals from status based and inclusive organizations attend Coalition meetings. As well, the Coalition members have started to talk about public consultation processes and lobby politically.

2.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN CITIES

Acton's aphorism states that 'absolute power corrupts absolutely.' But, the apathy and the dulled emotions - the feeling of not caring about self, others, or even life itself - which are pervasive in most Indian communities stand as evidence that absolute powerlessness destroys absolutely. Indian powerlessness has its roots in Canada's Indian policies. The story of Canadian government oppression and exploitation of Indians has been well documented.⁴²

Aboriginal peoples in cities live in circumstances different than First Nations people on reserve and other urbanites. As a group, they have distinct socio-economic characteristics and are subject to unique legislative conditions. As well, they have specialized needs unlike any other segment of the Canadian population and require specific structures to deal with these needs. A discussion of the current socio-economic context of Aboriginal people living in urban areas hopefully helps the reader to gain a better understanding of the driving forces behind self-government. As well, the needs and characteristics of the urban Aboriginal population would affect the structure and functioning of their government.

The demographic information available on Aboriginal people in cities has largely been gathered by Statistics Canada.⁴³ While Toronto and Montreal have larger absolute numbers of people of Aboriginal ancestry, the major prairie cities have proportionately more. The population is

⁴² Boldt, Menno, *Surviving as Indians: The Challenge of Self-Government*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1993), p. xvii.

⁴³ It should be recognized that Statistics Canada data is also generally considered incomplete as many members of the urban Aboriginal population are difficult to survey as they do not have a stable address, will not participate in the Census exercise, or do not consider themselves Aboriginal.

relatively young and moves more often than non-Aboriginals and reserve based Aboriginal people. There are high unemployment rates and a relative shortage of year-round work for this population when compared to other Canadians. Although there is proportionately less representation of Aboriginal people in managerial, professional, and manufacturing positions relative to other Canadians, there is representation of urban Aboriginal people in all socio-economic levels.⁴⁴ The introduction of a Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples document on Aboriginal Peoples in urban areas provides a concise synopsis of some of the characteristics in the community:

Over the past thirty years the Aboriginal population in Canada has become increasingly urbanized. Pushed from their home communities by poor economic conditions, substandard housing, limited educational opportunities, and social problems -- and pulled to urban centres by the potential for education, employment and health care -- increasing numbers of Aboriginal people are taking up urban life. ...

Aboriginal people who find steady employment and social acceptance in the city blend into the increasingly multicultural city scene, while those who encounter difficulties retain high visibility and reinforce the stereotype of urban Aboriginal people as poor, marginal and problem-ridden. Some Aboriginal residents are transient, moving back and forth between the city and their home communities. Many others stay permanently in urban areas or are second- or third-generation urban dwellers.

... whether they live in cities for a short time or plan to stay there permanently, Aboriginal people in urban centres often face overwhelming problems that are rooted in cultural dislocation and powerlessness, discrimination and economic hardship.⁴⁵

Aboriginal people in cities come from different Aboriginal cultures and have different levels of connection to their culture and conceptions of their personal identity. As shown in Table 2.1, a large proportion (78%) of the Aboriginal Ancestry Population in Winnipeg identifies with a particular Aboriginal group in 1991. Urban Aboriginal peoples are not a homogenous group and cannot be treated as such.

⁴⁴ Statistics Canada, Census Data 1991.

⁴⁵ Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues* (Edmonton: Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1993), pp. 2-3.

Unfortunately, information about this group is noted to be generally incomplete. According to Peters (1992), more information is needed in areas of total population, socio-economic characteristics, migration patterns, and destination choice.⁴⁶

Table 2.1: Winnipeg Aboriginal Population, Aboriginal Identity Groups, and Total Population, 1991

Population Group	Metropolitan Areas					
	Edmonton	% of Total	Toronto	% of Total	Winnipeg	% of Total
Total population	832,155	100.00	3,863,110	100.00	645,610	100.00
Aboriginal ancestry population	42,695	5.13	40,040	1.04	44,970	6.97
Aboriginal identity population ^a	29,235	3.51	14,205	0.37	35,150	5.54
Registered Indian ^b	11,710	1.41	5,440	0.14	15,670	2.43
Métis	13,515	1.62	1,430	0.04	14,990	2.32
Non-status Indian ^c	4,200	0.50	7,480	0.19	4,585	0.71

^a Identity sub-group counts may not sum to total due to multiple identity responses.

^b Registered Indian population estimated from 1991 Census of Canada.

^c Non-status Indian population estimated non-registered residual of North American Indian identity group.

SOURCE: 1991 Census and Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 1991, Statistics Canada, Catalogue number 94-327 (adapted from Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren 1995).

2.5 LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN CITIES

Apart from having specific group characteristics, people of Aboriginal descent are a unique sector of urban society for other poignant reasons stemming from the Constitution and other federal government legislation. Two relevant pieces of legislation include the *Indian Act*, under which First Nations peoples gain their registered status as *Indians*, and section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, which defines the ethnic groups that constitute Aboriginal peoples. The federal government has consistently defined *Indian* people on the basis of patriarchal lineage and a registration system subject to place of residence, which denies the heritage of First Nations

⁴⁶ Peters, Evelyn J., "Self-Government for Aboriginal People in Urban Areas: A Literature Review and Suggestions of Research," in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, XII, 1(1992), pp. 51-74.

peoples that do not meet these limited criteria. Boldt (1993) describes the situation in the following passage:

The term 'Indian' as used in the Indian Act was adopted by the colonial powers for purposes of political control and administrative convenience. For these reasons, indigenous peoples, generally, find the term 'Indian' objectionable. As a legal category, it denies their nationhood, their tribal cultures, and their histories as Squamish, Blackfoot, Mohawk, Dakota, Micmac, and so on. But, despite its offensive origins and obvious deficiencies, the term 'Indian' has a constitutional, legal reality, and after more than a century of Indian Act application, it has also acquired a socio-political reality.⁴⁷

If the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are ever going to be self-defining, new criteria for recognition of their heritage will have to emerge. Redefining what is *Indian* poses a tremendous challenge to not only the Winnipeg urban community but every Aboriginal community across the nation. Boldt (1993) suggests part of the solution lies in revitalizing North American Indian heritage.

Unless Indians can revitalize their traditional philosophies and principles they will become extinct as *Indians*; they will survive only as Indians, that is, as a legal-racial category defined in the Indian Act.⁴⁸

Altering the legal status of Aboriginal people within Canadian borders is potentially a lengthy, challenging endeavor. However, the result could be a greater sense of self-reliance in Aboriginal people.

Those status Indians that live on land reserved for Indians supposedly fall under the full weight of the fiduciary responsibility of the federal government. This is not the case for all jurisdictions, however, as the federal government does not use its full legislative powers in some areas, such as health care. The provinces, as a result, have assumed some de facto responsibilities over status Indians in certain jurisdictions.⁴⁹ While it is well documented that this position has not been an overall positive situation for status Indians, there are some benefits in terms of service delivery for Indians residing on reserve. Although service delivery levels are not consistent with most of the rest of the country, services are primarily funded by the federal

⁴⁷ Boldt, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xvi. Note that Boldt distinguishes between these two definitions of Indian through the use of italics. For the purposes of simplicity, this distinction was not made by the author of this document.

⁴⁹ Cowie, Ian B., *Future Issues of Jurisdiction and Coordination Between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Governments, Background Paper No. 13* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University 1987), p. 61. For a more detailed discussion of federal/provincial jurisdictions and Aboriginal people, see Morse, Bradford, "Government Obligations, Aboriginal Peoples and Section 91(24)," in Hawkes, David C., ed., *op. cit.*.

government as status Indians on reserve are the responsibility of DIAND and are not taxed on income derived or property held on reserves.⁵⁰ As well, First Nation leaders have been slowly gaining more control over services, especially in the areas of education and economic development, as DIAND devolves its responsibilities.

In theory, status Indians residing off-reserve fall under the federal government's fiduciary responsibility. The idea of certain rights being tied to a place of residency contradicts section 6 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which ensures "Mobility rights". This section enables Canadian individuals to enjoy freedom of movement within the country without having to sacrifice any of their rights as citizens. In practice, however, the federal government ends up acknowledging little of their special relationship with either status or non-status Indians living off-reserve. Part of the reason may be that the *Indian Act* was originally designed for Indians that resided on reserves and as such, does not translate well to the urban context. However, DIAND constantly seems to be attempting to shirk itself of its responsibilities towards urban based status Indians by administering funds for Aboriginal services through their reserve band councils or the provinces. The provinces, on the other hand, are reluctant to assume full responsibility for Aboriginal peoples off-reserve. They fear that the federal government will claim that provincial governments are adequately addressing urban Aboriginal needs and there is no reason for federal involvement. A jurisdictional nightmare results in which both senior levels of government claim Aboriginal people in cities are the responsibility of the other, while they are actually the responsibility of both levels of government.⁵¹ The result of this jurisdictional wrangling is that Aboriginal people in cities are forced to use mainstream services that have been demonstrated repeatedly to be largely ineffective and culturally inappropriate. Ironically, provincial programs delivering services to status Indians residing off-reserve, as well as people of Aboriginal descent that are not recognized by the federal government's definition of Indian, have been demonstrated to receive better funding and deliver a larger range of better quality services. However, provincial programs often do not target Aboriginal people in their operations and there is often no coherent strategy that guides provincial responses to service needs for this population.⁵²

It is obvious to government observers that Aboriginal self-government in urban areas is one logical option for cleaning up the jurisdictional mess of service delivery for Aboriginal peoples in Canadian cities. An urban Aboriginal government could theoretically assume responsibility for providing services to Aboriginal peoples in cities, thereby relieving both the federal and provincial governments in this area. However, Aboriginal self-government would itself be a struggle to establish, regardless of the legislative environment. It cannot be assumed that an Aboriginal self-government in urban areas would immediately provide a more effective services

⁵⁰ See section 87 of the *Indian Act*.

⁵¹ Hawkes, David C., "Conclusion," in Hawkes, David C., ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 362-63.

⁵² Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

to its constituents than what is currently provided by non-Aboriginal local governments. Contemporary self-government is uncharted territory involving immense responsibilities and risks, and an initial amount of learning and stabilization would have to take place as powers are transferred. As was recognized by Sylvia Maracle, Executive Director of the Ontario Association of Friendship Centres, the Aboriginal community will "fall and scrape its knees" a few times in the process of developing self-government. She said that this is inevitable given the task of moving from a position of powerlessness to control of their own affairs is so great.⁵³

While there are many dedicated leaders working to incorporate the interests of all Aboriginal peoples in decisions affecting them, it is well known that these leaders are not always in formal positions of authority, especially in some reserve situations. As Boldt (1993) states:

As political and economic authority are devolved to band/tribal councils, responsibility for the continuing sense of powerlessness by Indian peoples increasingly falls on the shoulders of Indian leaders. In this regard, my discussion takes note of some disturbing trends associated with Indian 'advancement,' specifically, the bifurcation of the Indian community into a ruling élite class and a powerless lower class.⁵⁴

Regardless of this risk of a ruling 'élite', there is great merit in the idea of Aboriginal people understanding the needs of their community better than those from outside their community. Many of them face the problems in Aboriginal society everyday. We know from history that for all their best intentions, those external to the community, such as federal bureaucrats and Christian missionaries that have been so heavily involved in Aboriginal affairs in this country, can only understand the needs of the community as those looking in from outside. They can never claim to have experienced the situation that an Aboriginal person has lived through. The community itself, just as any other Canadian community, is often aware of its best interests. The exercise of the collective will of Aboriginal communities in addressing their needs is ultimately the very essence of self-government.

⁵³ Maracle, Sylvia, "Urban Self-Government: Setting the Context," in Peters, Evelyn J., ed., *Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Areas: Proceedings of a Workshop, May 25-26, 1994* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations 1995), p. 115.

⁵⁴ Boldt, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

3. DEFINING URBAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

While there exists a 30 year history of government, academic and public interest in Aboriginal self-government, there has been relatively little focus on self-government in cities. This lack of discussion may be attributed one particular dilemma that seems to inhibit its consideration by many people. It involves the conception that Aboriginal self-government requires a land base to exist. In the past, it was thought Aboriginal self-government had to be tied to an exclusive territory, and as a consequence, Aboriginal people had to reside on this land to be self-governing.⁵⁵ However, as the former Native Council of Canada (NCC) argued, non-Aboriginal governments function in territories without owning a majority of land within their boundaries. As well, different governments inevitably function in certain jurisdictions in the same geographical area. One must question why complete ownership of a land base by a government is a necessary legitimizing factor of its authority. The NCC also argued that Aboriginal rights must be legally extinguished before they are considered not applicable in certain lands, which NCC says they are not when First Nations people migrate to urban areas.⁵⁶ The latest federal government self-government negotiation process has finally recognized these arguments as it is inclusive of arrangements in the absence of a land base.⁵⁷

As a result of a historically focusing on government on an exclusive land base and the legitimacy given to selected Aboriginal political figures by the federal government, many of the discussions about self-government have revolved around reserve based forms of governance. While these models deserve consideration, forms of Aboriginal government that do not require a land base must also be evaluated. Much of the work in defining possible forms of self-government in urban areas has only taken place in the last five years. Needless to say, much more research, public education and consultation is necessary before a new form of governance can be established in our cities.

In order to start defining the concept, a discussion of some key elements of urban self-government was undertaken. Self-government and confederation, cultural recognition, membership, financing, political and administrative relationships, and programme development in self-government were explored.

⁵⁵ Weinstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁶ Morse (1993), p. 37.

⁵⁷ See the section entitled *Current Political Context* (2.3).

3.2 SELF-GOVERNMENT AND CONFEDERATION

While the establishment of self-government would not come about through legislative arguments alone, they would obviously be a large part of the equation. A discussion of the extent to which Aboriginal rights might be operationally realized, taking into account the current legislative environment, is useful in determining possible forms of self-government.

The right to Aboriginal self-government stems from two possible sources. One is the recognition of an inherent right to self-determination. It is based in the idea that Aboriginal nations existed as autonomous entities from time immemorial, and their rights as autonomous bodies were never extinguished. This right draws its powers from International law and supersedes any Canadian law that has been since implemented. Inherent rights are also reinforced by the recognition of treaty agreements between sovereign First Nations and the nation of Canada in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and recognition of existing Aboriginal rights in the section 35 of the *Constitution Act*. This perspective is lobbied for by many Aboriginal groups.

The other source of powers necessary for Aboriginal self-government may be delegated rights from the government of Canada. In this option, powers of Aboriginal governments are drawn from the Constitution but areas and levels of jurisdiction are ultimately decided on by the federal government. This interpretation would likely translate to is a limited form of sovereignty, constitutionally mandated in some jurisdictions, which is similar to powers that the provinces now enjoy within confederation. This perspective makes Aboriginal governments subservient to the federal government, and seems to be largely favoured by the federal and provincial governments.

Cassidy (1991) defines these possible arrangements as such:

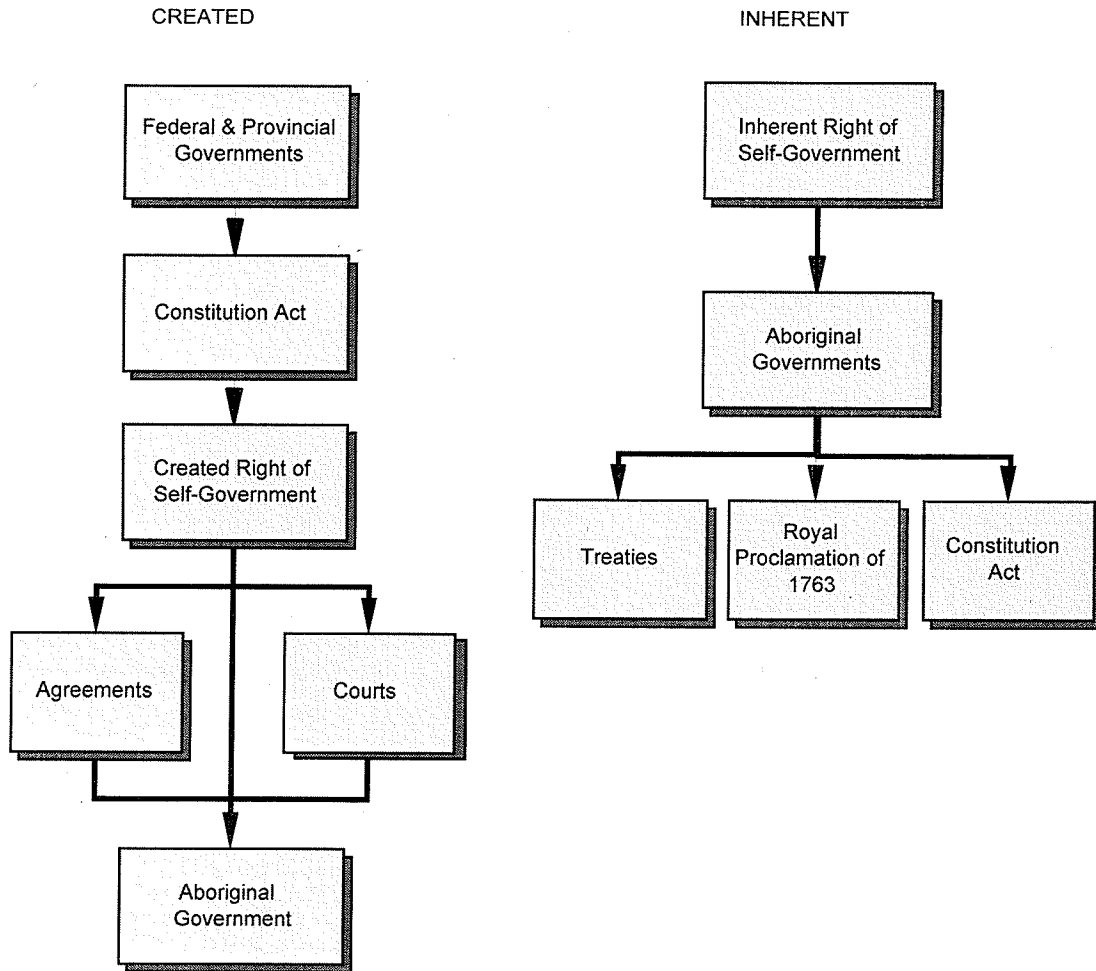
Aboriginal self-government is a contested concept that is expressed in contrasting ways. If First Nations' self-government is viewed from the perspective of a Canadian nation state that asserts undivided paramountcy, then the matter is simply one of defining quite limited, if significant, decision-making powers that reflect this supremacy. From a different viewpoint, if self-government is an act of self-determination, self-government must reflect the sovereign powers of First Nations and, if their relationship with Canada is to continue, these sovereign powers must be recognized as equal to those of Canada.⁵⁸

⁵⁸

Cassidy, Frank, "Self-determination, Sovereignty, and Self-government," in Frank Cassidy, ed., *Aboriginal Self Determination* (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan Books and The Institute for Research on Public Policy 1991), p. 3.

Both of these perspectives are graphically portrayed in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Perspectives of Created & Inherent Aboriginal Rights



SOURCE: Adapted from Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The Right of Aboriginal Self-Government and the Constitution: A Commentary. (Ottawa: February 1992) Diagram I & II, p. 12.

According to Long and Chist (1994), the Aboriginal self-government movement to date has taken place within federalist Canada. They describe it as seeking to "redefine the place of Aboriginal peoples within the Canadian state." In the following quote, they suggest that federalism is slowing adjusting to achieve this end:

Traditionally, federalism has been offered as an institutional solution to the disruptive tendencies of intra-societal ethnic pluralism. A federal system can allow ethnic groups to exercise significant authority within their own territorial jurisdictions while at the same time providing hegemony for national political institutions. Attempts to accommodate Aboriginal demands through constitutional reform over the past decade suggest that although the adjustment process within Canadian federalism has been slow, significant movement has occurred.⁵⁹

The failure of the *Charlottetown Accord* reflects the fundamental conflict between concepts of delegated authority and inherent rights as the basis for self-government. The *Accord* assumed that the inherent right to Aboriginal self-government could be recognized within the Canadian state, and self-government would be implemented within Canadian federalism. However, many treaty based First Nations people rejected this notion and the *Accord* as it implied that the right was created by the Canadian state. They hold that such an agreement does not recognize the nation-to-nation basis of treaties and inherent Aboriginal rights. Furthermore, any agreements regarding treaties struck with the Canadian government must be on a bilateral nation-to-nation basis that does not include the provinces.⁶⁰

Since it seems as though both camps are unlikely to fully support the positions of the other, it has been suggested that new definitions of confederation be explored to accommodate both interests.⁶¹ Brown (1992) suggests that some form of layered sovereignty that would recognize both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal governments may be an option worth pursuing.⁶²

Regardless of the constitutional outcome, it is well recognized that Aboriginal government would likely have circumscribed powers. Aboriginal citizens would likely be bounded by many of the same laws that apply to other citizens of Canada while concurrently being subject to Aboriginal government powers in many other jurisdictions.⁶³ George Erasmus, former Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations and Co-Chair of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, has supported a type of federalist structure where Aboriginal governments would

⁵⁹ Long & Chist, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-230.

⁶¹ Cassidy, *op. cit.*, p. 5 Cassidy also states that, "... real self-government can only, in the final analysis, arise from within First Nations communities and be accommodated by a renewed and restructured federalism."

⁶² Brown, Douglas, "The Road Ahead," in Douglas Brown, ed., *Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing in Canada* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations 1992), p. 26.

⁶³ Boisevert, *op. cit.*; Courchene, Thomas J., and Lisa M. Powell. *A First Nations Province*. (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University 1992).

constitute an autonomous level of government with powers similar to those enjoyed by provincial governments. However, in Erasmus' view, Aboriginal government powers would stem from inherent rights rather than from the constitution.

The kind of powers that would probably be acceptable to us are those that provinces already have in their areas of sovereignty. Canada lends itself very easily to what indigenous people want. We already have a division of sovereignty. We already have a situation where the federal government has clear powers, S. 91 powers, and the provinces have clear powers, S. 92 powers, many in which they are absolutely paramount and sovereign. Not another government anywhere in the world can interfere with their legislation. That model lends itself very nicely to what First Nations always told the people in this country. You already have federal powers. And we will have three major forms of government. Three different types of sovereignty. Two coming from the Crown, one coming from the indigenous people, all together creating one state.⁶⁴

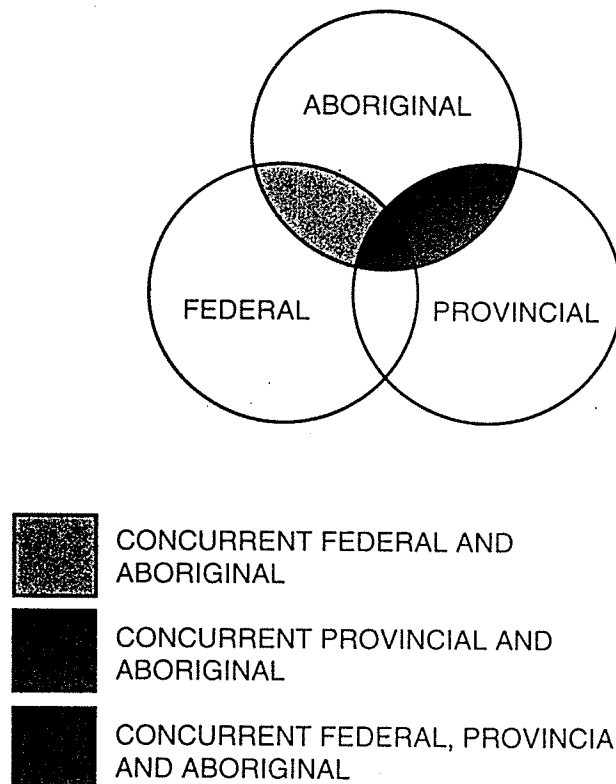
Figure 3.2 graphically portrays this perspective. If this model were to be representative of the nature of government structure in Canada, there would definitely be a large degree of intergovernmental cooperation that would be necessary.

In searching for a more appropriate definition of what it means to be Aboriginal to better address their needs, Aboriginal peoples would likely encounter resistance to further entrenchment of specific rights. An ongoing ideological debate pits the provision of special status to Aboriginal people against liberal democratic Canadian law and political values. Franks (1987) articulates the situation in the following, and suggests that defining the Aboriginal public would be a key issue.

Liberal democracy considers all citizens as equal for the purpose of voting and participation in political activities. Discrimination in voting on the basis of ethnicity, religion, colour, sex, or other external and ascribed characteristics is anathema. ... As long as the problems of Canadian aboriginals were treated as administrative questions the problem of defining the public was not important. But once they became questions of self-government, and the assignment of political power to separate groups within and often part of the greater society, they became crucial issues. How an aboriginal self-government is structured and works, and the questions that are important in its administration, are to a large extent dependent on how its "public" is defined. Here, as in most other aspects, there will be enormous variety.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Cassidy, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁶⁵ Franks, *op. cit.*, p 42-43.

Figure 5.2: Concurrent Federal, Provincial and Aboriginal Rights

SOURCE: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *The Right of Aboriginal Self-Government and the Constitution: A Commentary*. (Ottawa: February 1992) Diagram III, p. 13.

The ability of liberal democratic ideology to address Aboriginal concerns has also been questioned through challenges to the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. It is unclear whether or not the *Charter*, based in liberal democratic political values, can accommodate the collective rights of Aboriginal peoples possessing distinctive minority cultures. The debate was probably the most heated during the Charlottetown Accord negotiations where the application of the *Charter* to Aboriginal government was proposed. The issue came to the fore during public exchanges that took place between the two opposing parties: the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) and the Assembly of First Nations (AFN). As Long and Chist (1994) describe:

The NWAC, which claims to speak for a large number of Aboriginal women in Canada, argued that the individual rights and freedoms contained in the *Charter* are universal human rights and must be applied to First Nations' governments The leadership of this group has been particularly adamant in their belief that unless the equality guaranteed in Section 15 of the *Charter* is applied to Aboriginal governments, Aboriginal women will continue to face discrimination from male-dominated band councils and continue to be denied an equal voice in the activities of their communities. ... In contrast, the AFN, which represents

of 630 Indian band governments, has consistently maintained that First Nations' governments should be exempt from the unqualified application of the Charter in their relationship with members of their own communities by virtue of Section 25 of the Charter. ... In its most basic forms, this argument holds that First Nations possess an inherent right to self-government that is a collective right, and that this must override the Charter-grounded rights of individual Indians in their relationship to First Nations' governments. ... Both the federal and provincial governments have historically maintained that the Charter must apply to First Nations' governments because their constituents are Canadian citizens and as such entitled to all the individual rights and freedoms guaranteed in the Charter⁶⁶

As a large proportion of the Canadian public hold liberal-democratic values as essential and already feel special interests (which are seen by many to include the interests of Aboriginal peoples) have too much influence over government,⁶⁷ further entrenchment of Aboriginal rights may not enjoy popular support. While not the only answer, public education could help in promoting a better understanding of the situation.

3.3 CULTURAL RECOGNITION

As mentioned previously, the quest for self-government is partially driven by "a rejection of the federal government's historical policy of forced assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into the dominant society and a corresponding claim for the recognition of the cultural uniqueness of their own societies."⁶⁸ Reformed service delivery mechanisms under Aboriginal government is hoped to better reflect Aboriginal cultures in the future. A number of challenges related to the incorporation of culture into self-government and service delivery are identified in this section. First, self-government would have to recognize the diverse cultures and material needs of the urban Aboriginal population. Second, self-government should theoretically embody Aboriginal cultures in its executive and administrative structures in order to be culturally based. Third, it would have to address the inherent paradox of cultural administration.

Consistent with all cultures, contemporary Aboriginal cultures are continually being defined. As well, individual members of any ethnic group may conceive their culture in different ways. Tizya (1992) defines four types of cultural connectedness in Aboriginal people:

⁶⁶ Long & Chist, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233.

⁶⁷ Pross, Paul A., "Pressure Groups: Talking Chameleons," in Michael S. Whittington & Glen Williams, eds., *Canadian Politics in the 1990s, Fourth Edition* (Toronto: Nelson Canada 1995).

⁶⁸ Long & Chist, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

So we have among our people several levels of psychological and emotional bases. We still have our *traditional* people who retain and maintain and protect our sovereignty, our traditions, our culture. We have people now who are *transitional*. They are caught between two cultures, not able to fit really in either world for a number of reasons. We have people who are *assimilated* - not to condemn them in any way, we all have freedom of choice and free will. And we have people who are *bicultural*, able now to function well in either world. The real conflict is between the traditional values and the assimilated ones. So when you hear about even the Nunavut or the Yukon land claim or any land claim issue, you are going to find that there is a conflict between the traditional values and the assimilated values of selling land for money. What we have not really seen emerge are the bicultural people. There is a lot of work that has to be done at the community level, a lot of feeling that has to take place. At the community level you will find a number of bicultural people working there in various ways.⁶⁹

An Aboriginal government in the city would likely have to be satisfactory to Aboriginal people holding a full range of interpretations of contemporary Aboriginal cultures.

The degree of differences between all Aboriginal cultures is another dimension that would effect the formation of an Aboriginal government. Many Aboriginal people in the urban community do not feel there are enough similarities between various Aboriginal groups to justify a unified approach to self-government or service delivery. For example, both the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs and the Métis National Council have suggested approaches to self-government that incorporated only their membership.⁷⁰ The basis for this orientation lies both in the traditional and more recent cultures of these groups. Furthermore, it is well known that First Nations people residing in Winnipeg have varying levels of connection to their home First Nation. This being the case, the question arises: "Would urban First Nations people best be served by a government that is an extension of their home reserve in the city or by a Aboriginal government that draws its powers from the urban community of diverse backgrounds?" In the *Models of Urban Self-Government* (3.8) section, proposed arrangements reflect a number of these possible authorities.

Another stream of thought suggests that due to the common circumstances experienced by Indians, Métis and Inuit, they can be unified and effective in their fight for autonomy in their

⁶⁹ Tizya, Rosalee, "Comments on Urban Aboriginals and Self-Government," in Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁷⁰ Métis National Council *The Métis Nation On the Move: Report on The Métis Nation's Constitutional Parallel Process* (March 1992); and Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs and the Government of Canada *The Dismantling of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Restoration of Jurisdictions to First Nations Peoples in Manitoba and Recognition of First Nations Governments in Manitoba: Framework Agreement* (December 1994), p. 2.

affairs, especially in urban areas. As well, First Nations cultures can also be defined in terms of commonalities, stemming primarily from the effects of colonization, rather than traditional cultural differences. According to Boldt (1993), this "pan-Indian" culture is a reality today. He writes:

... it cannot be denied that the category 'Indian,' as defined in the Indian Act, does represent a collective identity for the indigenous peoples of Canada today. This identity, however, derives for 'post-contact' experiences. In particular, it derives for their common experience as colonized peoples. The cumulative shared experiences and effects of colonization (i.e., cultural repression, forced assimilation, political oppression, theft of ancestral lands, injustice, maladministration, dependence, poverty, racism and so on), compounded by the imposition of separate laws (the Indian Act), a separate administrative system (the DIAND), the reserve system, the boarding-school experience (which gave them a shared language), as well as other shared circumstances, have created a remarkably uniform political, legal, economic, and social environment for all Indians. This uniformity is characterized, chiefly, by their condition of dependence. These common social-political-economic-legal-administrative experiences of colonialism and their condition of dependence have had a profound impact upon Indian attitudes, world-views, motivations, and behaviours. And, while different bands/tribes have responded in varying ways to these common experiences, a high level of post-contact pan-Indian cultural homogeneity has resulted. This homogeneity, defined primarily by the culture of dependence rather than by their historic cultural similarities, provides the pan-Indian identity.⁷¹

In a similar vein of thinking, Frideres (1993) suggests a segment of the larger Aboriginal community has a shared sense of experiences that permeates all their respective cultures, with equally negative effects. He states:

[This segment of the community] point out that oppression over the past century has produced a unique culture - one under siege. As a result, Native people experience numerous personality conflicts, have a reduced self esteem, and seek relief in the overuse of defense mechanisms. They argue that Natives must be able to resolve their inner conflicts and conquer the inner self. Freedom from within is the first step that Native people must take if they are to resolve their conflicts and remove the self-hatred that characterizes Native behaviour today.⁷²

Also, it was suggested by participants of a recent conference on Aboriginal self-government that urban Aboriginal leadership should meet to define and act on common interests and goals and that community involvement is necessary for any self-government process to be successful.⁷³ Many urban service agencies currently operate under the assumption that much of what the

⁷¹ Boldt, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁷² Frideres, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

⁷³ Peters, Evelyn J., ed., *op. cit.*.

contemporary Aboriginal community has in common is their recent history and their present socio-economic status in society. As well, many organizations use traditional Aboriginal cultures in efforts to combat the common effects of colonization. While significant commonalities in Aboriginal cultures exist, contemporary urban Aboriginal culture is certainly not a single set of distinct values that guides all individuals, much like any other culture. At the recent conference, it was stated by some participants that it would be a mistake to gloss over the differences in First Nations history.⁷⁴ It was also stated by conference participants that self-government and new institutions must be defined in terms of identity.

The willingness to distinguish between Aboriginal cultures in self-government raises a potential logistical problem in pursuing a unified approach to service delivery. It should be questioned whether or not these differences are sufficient enough to serve as a basis for separate systems of Aboriginal service delivery or, conversely, whether a single system of service delivery can be sensitive enough to account for the many traditional Aboriginal cultural differences in its operations. In an effort to address this concern, however, the National Association of Friendship Centres has recommended that urban self-government should be unified but based on the unique Aboriginal cultures that make up the urban population.⁷⁵ However, many of the services currently being offered are not presented as emanating from certain Aboriginal cultures; they are only defined as being traditionally based. Perhaps this point is mute as contemporary Aboriginal cultures, in which cultural practices are predominately drawn from the traditions prevalent in a certain geographic area, continue to be defined. Regardless of the various conceptions of the most culturally effective manner in which to deliver services, there seems to be no disagreement that the role of culture should be an integral, central part of self-government everywhere.

As mentioned previously, self-government should theoretically embody Aboriginal cultures in its executive and administrative structures. For example, differences in decision making between contemporary Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples would have to be articulated and worked into the structure of Aboriginal governments. As Boldt (1993) states:

If the goal of Indian leaders is government 'of, by, and for' the collectivity, then the first step in their quest for self-government should not be to take over the existing colonial political and bureaucratic institutional structure, but to engage their people in planning and developing political and administrative structures and norms consistent with traditional philosophies and principles, i.e., structures that will empower the people ...⁷⁶

As well, Clarkson (1994) suggests that the entire philosophical basis of government, as it is defined today, be re-evaluated to better reflect Aboriginal culture. She suggests that self-

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ National Association of Friendship Centres, (May 6-7, 1994).

⁷⁶ Boldt, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

government would likely to require the development of new principles, philosophies, and programs that are based upon both Aboriginal cultural values and traditions and the contemporary material conditions of Aboriginal peoples in cities. In the following, she states that development of these new institutional forms would constitute a healing process in the community.

The need for the transition to self-government to reflect a healing and reconstruction process, which will define and implement strategic responses to the internal and external conditions which have been created by historical colonialism, thereby ensuring reliance upon Aboriginal values, philosophies and practices in the creation of truly sustainable self-determining societies.⁷⁷

In many instances, such a rethinking of government structures does not seem to be happening. Much of the discussion about self-government has treated Aboriginal culture as automatically present in the elements of an Aboriginal government. For example, definitions of membership in some First Nations constituencies seems to have been based more on fallout from *Indian Act* legislation than on revisiting cultural roots in the community. While cultural issues are central to self-government, the methods of incorporating culture into service delivery design and operations is not always clear.

Attempts have been made to determine exactly which service areas provided by existing forms of government impact the cultural health of an ethnic community. Service areas that have been defined by non-Aboriginal government but also have the most impact on culture, such as education, child welfare and health, are seen by many as starting points for reform. From an administrative point of view, these are logical and pragmatic areas of responsibility that Aboriginal governments can take over. By adopting existing divisions in non-Aboriginal service delivery, a re-evaluation of the appropriateness of such an organization is unlikely to be considered. As a consequence of such a straightforward response, for example, a truly holistic approach to service delivery may not be possible. Problems arise when one attempts to define culture in such narrow terms as service provision, as it is a pervasive idea that permeates all levels of society and not just government services. All forms of service provision, and in fact the entire organization of government itself, is a cultural manifestation.⁷⁸ How then is it possible to provide certain culturally appropriate services for the Aboriginal community when the non-Aboriginal values they are based upon differ from those of the traditional community? For example, in an urban form of Aboriginal government, physical infrastructure services and urban land use may be seen as value free and not related to culture.⁷⁹ As both Boldt and Clarkson suggest in the above quotes, new philosophies around governance would have to be developed.

⁷⁷ Clarkson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁷⁸ Western government bureaucracies can be traced back to Weber, who will be discussed in later section.

⁷⁹ Of course, a community's standard of living is seen as being related to its level of social and physical infrastructure. Is it possible to have similar levels of services in a

Furthermore, it is unclear whether or not services, as they are defined by existing governments and continue to be defined by some Aboriginal leaders, can be administered in a manner which does not diminish Aboriginal cultures. According to Adorno (1978),

... culture suffers damage when it is planned and administrated; when it is left to itself, however, everything cultural threatens not only to lose its possibility of effect, but its very existence as well.⁸⁰

Following Adorno, Aboriginal leaders may be caught in a no win situation when it comes to culturally appropriate services. Lynes (1995) warns that:

The policies and procedures understood to be essential to administrative success may never be "culturally appropriate." The failure to entertain this possibility seriously risks encouraging not cultural appropriateness, but the appropriation of culture; the appropriation of cultural traditions for administrative ends.⁸¹

Lynes gives the example of the use of effective traditional healing practices from a holistic health perspective in the medical treatment of Aboriginal people. He states that because the practices cannot be reliably explained by biological medicine, they cannot be controlled. From an administrative perspective, something which cannot be controlled cannot be sanctioned when values of precision, continuity, speed and calculability are pursued. He suggests that awareness of the possibility of the inherent conflict between administrative practices and traditional Aboriginal cultures is key to overcoming it. Lynes also states that unsuccessful attempts to integrate traditional Aboriginal practices into service delivery may often be due to this paradox of cultural administration. However, these failures may frequently be attributed to a lack of political will or uncooperative attitudes on the part of administrators, whether or not these attitudes exist. Redefining the relationship between culture and governance would be one of the most critical challenges in the implementation of urban Aboriginal governments.

contemporary context while still paying heed to traditional culture? This is ultimately an issue for Aboriginal people to decide.

⁸⁰ Adorno, Theodore W. "Culture and Administration," Wes Blomster, Translator (1978) in J. M. Bernstein, ed., *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays in Mass Culture* (London: Routledge 1991), cited in Lynes, David A., "Cultural Spirit and the Ethic of Bureaucracy: The Paradox of Cultural Administration," in *The Journal of Native Studies* XV, 1(1995), p. 85.

⁸¹ Lynes, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

3.4 MEMBERSHIP IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

Issues around defining membership constituencies in urban Aboriginal governments are closely related to those concerned with cultural recognition in the previous section. Some contentious issues, similar to those relating to restrictive band membership criteria on reserves, may arise in the urban Aboriginal community in the movement towards self-government. Some models for an Aboriginal government propose that constituents be designated using family heritage, existing legal definitions or present band membership criteria. Another option proposes that constituents be defined by their *community of interest*, or common interests, rather than their geographic community.⁸² However, membership based on self-identification raises some concerns relevant to the self-government process.

The Native Council of Canada (NCC) has suggested that constituents in an Aboriginal community have the right to individually declare themselves a member rather than being subject to artificial classifications imposed upon them, such as the federal *Indian Act's* definition of status and, by default, non-status Indians. As Dunn (1986) states in a position paper for the NCC:

Whether or not that individual can be associated with a specific land-based Aboriginal community, he or she has a basic right to self-identification, and a recognized association with his or her Aboriginal heritage and birthright.⁸³

Membership in a Aboriginal constituency may also be defined by both the community itself and the individual citizen, and mechanisms would have to be in place for individuals to be formally recognized as citizens. Brown and Wherret (1994) have suggested an adjudicative body, established jointly by interested parties, deal with disagreements about membership in Aboriginal constituencies. They state that self-identification may be appropriate in the transition to self-government, but standards for community acceptance may be necessary in the future.⁸⁴

Membership based on self-identification raises a whole host of issues, not least of which is the recognized difficulty in regulating a population that can choose not to be served by Aboriginal government. For example, if an individual anticipates that they would in some way suffer the consequences of contravening Aboriginal law, they may choose to interpret a possibly more lenient non-Aboriginal law instead, or vice versa. As well, perceptions of differences in rights and benefits may lead some individuals to self-identify themselves as Aboriginal, regardless of their ethnic heritage. Strong cooperative mechanisms between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal legislative and policing agencies would be necessary to avoid offenders constantly switching

⁸² Dunn, *op. cit.*.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁸⁴ Brown, Douglas M. and Jill Wherret, *Models for Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Areas* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, May 1994), p. 26.

their constituencies in order to avoid consequences of their actions. Worth mentioning is a larger issue related to the perpetuation of racial classifications by attaching legitimate authorities to them, especially when the classifications are exclusionary. However, that issue is beyond the scope of this paper. Whatever the form that urban self-government ultimately takes, it would most likely be representative of and serve those Aboriginal peoples who make an effort to be represented by it and wish to be served by it.

3.5 FINANCING SELF-GOVERNMENT

One central reason for the establishment of improved institutions is to address some of the needs and combat the culture of dependency lived out by many of urban Aboriginal people today. Self-government can be an effective framework in which these institutions can develop. However, financing for any of the proposed self-government models is a significant stumbling block which all Aboriginal governments, on and off-reserve, would have to overcome. The Native Council of Canada was very much aware of this hinge upon which the viability of urban self-government hangs. As a quote from its report to the Royal Commission reads, "... it also bears mention that the issue of financing or revenue raising will be critical for any form of urban self-government."⁸⁵

Being in times of fiscal restraint, securing the funds required for the implementation of new forms of government and the building of new institutions would be no easy task. A number of revenue raising options for an urban Aboriginal government have been discussed in the literature. Dunn (1986) suggests a combination of fiscal arrangements, tax base, and revenue raising to fund the operations of Aboriginal self-government in the absence of a land base.

Fiscal arrangements could take the form of transfer payments from the federal and provincial governments. Although it may be generally accepted by the federal government is obligated to contribute funds towards self-government, provincial responsibility in this area is not so clear. What is clearer is that both parties would theoretically benefit from self-government by being able to shift their responsibilities for Aboriginal people to other organizations. However, autonomous Aboriginal government would mean that federal and provincial governments would be subsidizing separate services for a minority of the larger Canadian population. As well, non-Aboriginal Canadian taxpayers would be financing a government that did not directly serve them and had little accountability to them. Furthermore, whether or not self-government is perceived by mainstream society as essentially a duplication of services, Aboriginal leaders may have a difficult time justifying its existence due to the current trend of government downsizing. The general cost cutting orientation in government budgeting may lead to a situation, similar to the one currently being experienced by existing governments receiving transfer payments, in which

⁸⁵ Morse (1993), p. 69.

Aboriginal governments find themselves being subjected financial rationalization resulting in inadequate operations funding. Even before any forms of self-government had been established, there has been a history of attempts to reduce spending in the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. According to Murray Angus (1991):

Since the fiscal crisis became acute in the late 1970s, the federal government has been systematically searching out ways to reduce its long-term obligations to Native people. This usually unstated objective can be discerned in practically every major policy initiative related to Native people in the last decade. Theoretically, the government has two major options for achieving this goal: 1) It can either make direct and unilateral cuts in its spending on Native programs (an approach with some political risks); or 2) It can transfer its responsibilities.⁸⁶

One can assume that at least one of the reasons the dismantling of DIAND in Manitoba is taking place is to reduce long term costs to the federal government. It can realistically interpreted that both of the unstated federal objectives, articulated by Angus, are being pursued in tandem in this initiative. The second objective of transferring responsibilities would not likely be sanctioned without the fulfillment the first objective of cost reduction. However, the Hawthorn Report (1966) warned against establishing too narrow an objective in pursuing self-government. In the following, the Report states:

In some cases there has been a temptation to see self-government as a means for encouraging the withering away of the Indian Affairs Branch. A number of internal memoranda mention a reduction in Branch staff and "arresting or even curtailing the increasingly heavy outlay now being made from public funds on behalf of Indians." This approach is almost certainly invalid ... [as] the saving of funds is only one of many possible policy criteria ... What is required is an assessment of Indian needs to determine the financial requirements of alternative solutions, and then careful scrutiny of actual expenditure in terms of policy objectives ...⁸⁷

Franks (1987) suggests self-government should be driven by values other than financial rationalization. He states that Aboriginal self-government has the "potential for performing essential and unusual functions for unique and disadvantaged parts of the Canadian mosaic."⁸⁸ He warns that considering it solely as a cost saving measure risks perpetuating and entrenching the harms of the present system.

The resentment of some portions of non-Aboriginal society towards supporting Aboriginal governments suggests other options should be considered as well. One possible arrangement

⁸⁶ Angus, Murray. *"...And the Last Shall Be First": Native Policy in an Era of Cutbacks* (Toronto: NC Press Limited 1991), p. 24.

⁸⁷ Hawthorn, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 293.

⁸⁸ Franks, *op. cit.*

sees non-Aboriginal governments contracting out to Aboriginal institutions to provide services to Aboriginal people. Also, per capita funding arrangements may be utilized in calculating government contributions. Another option promotes the establishment of complementary systems of service delivery through relatively autonomous Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal institutions. In a fiscally restrained environment, this option speaks to pragmatism and cost effectiveness values in service delivery. A combination of all these options, the beginnings of which currently exist in the environment of service delivery environment for urban Aboriginal people, may be the most effective arrangement. In the following passage, Franks (1987) highlights that funding arrangements are key elements in implementing a successful form of urban Aboriginal self-government:

Clearly, funding arrangements, including the strings attached, the structure and form of negotiations, the clarity, objectivity and fairness of the funding formula, and the arbitrariness of the federal government in giving or withholding funds, will have a crucial effect on the success or failure of aboriginal self-government.⁸⁹

Direct taxation of Aboriginal people is another potential revenue source for urban Aboriginal governments. In areas of Aboriginal majority, Aboriginal citizens could pay taxes to their local Aboriginal government, and non-Aboriginals could have the option of paying taxes to non-Aboriginal governments. Where Aboriginal people are the minority, they could pay taxes to Aboriginal institutions in an arrangement similar to separate school boards in the province of Ontario.

Although Aboriginal governments would likely have taxation authority over their membership and implement some sort of taxation system, the revenue gained would be far below the costs of running the proposed governments, due to the lack of potential taxable income that most Aboriginal people receive.⁹⁰ According to Franks (1987), a larger proportion of their constituents must become employed in order to support accountable Aboriginal governments.⁹¹ Furthermore, many First Nations people do not favour taxation in any form. While Section 87 of the *Indian Act* states that on-reserve status Indians are exempt from taxes, many First Nations people extrapolate this exemption further. As Courchene and Powell (1992) state:

... many Indians believe that they are *immune* from taxation by non-Indian governments. *Indian Act* or no *Indian Act*, they believe that tax immunity is an inherent aboriginal right. Thus, in the context of immunity, there are no exemptions to trade away, as it were.⁹²

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁹¹ Boldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-37.

⁹² Courchene & Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

If this is the prevalent attitude regarding taxation in all Aboriginal communities, Aboriginal governments would have to cautiously approach the situation of taxation as the sole support for their operations. There is a danger that efforts to establish a form of self-government may be thwarted if potential constituents choose not to participate due to the substantial personal financial commitment involved. However, under current legislation, Aboriginal people that work and live in cities already pay taxes to non-Aboriginal governments. These individuals may prefer to at least partially support an Aboriginal government through taxation, rather than to support the status quo.

Other forms of potential revenue raising include moneys from land claims settlements. However, in using money from land claims settlements, Aboriginal governments and communities on reserve may see themselves being asked to financially support separate Aboriginal governments that are nowhere near their traditional lands. If some band members living in cities are able to justify benefiting from land claims settlements, mechanisms would have to be developed to address potential accountability problems in such an arrangement. Other revenue could also be raised from activities such as licensing and lotteries.

Aboriginal governments would indeed have to design creative revenue raising and taxation techniques in order to sustain themselves. However, non-Aboriginal citizens in the current financial situation are, and would continue to be, the primary supporters of services provided to many Aboriginal people, on and off reserve. In the final analysis, the federal government certainly possesses a fiduciary responsibility to treaty First Nations and arguably to all Aboriginal peoples. As well, provincial governments has some responsibility to all their citizens and the Constitution. A stable form of self-government may eventually reduce the tax burden for all people in Canada. As well, an organized urban Aboriginal service delivery system may require less taxpayer money than current arrangements, particularly if the system was able to focus of more preventative measures than what is presently possible. In the future, Aboriginal government can be a largely self-sufficient entity. However, this would inevitably not happen without the financial and technical support of existing governments.

3.6 SEPARATION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES

In non-Aboriginal governments, the separation between political and administrative bodies was a concept, based in the rhetoric of scientific and technical objectivism, advanced by Woodrow Wilson in 1887.⁹³ Wilson suggested that only politicians should make political choices and the administrators should only be carrying out political mandates. However, Hult and Walcott

⁹³ Wilson, Woodrow, "The Study of Administration," in *Political Science Quarterly* 2 (June 1887), pp. 197-222.

(1990) put forth that "whatever the theory may hold, administrators do make political decisions, because they have no other choice."⁹⁴ Although the premise for the establishment of separate executive and administrative bodies has been frequently criticized for being practically unworkable, the separation has enabled a level of checks and balances to be built into the Canadian system of governance. Aboriginal people may desire a similar system of checks and balances built into their new governments, and as such, may also attempt to separate executive and administrative functions.

Administrative bodies are those that could be actually supplying services to Aboriginal peoples in urban areas. Aboriginal organizations that currently exist in Winnipeg are largely administrative in nature, although some are attempting to become more political in their operations. The National Association of Friendship Centres and the Native Canadian Centre in Toronto are only two services based agencies with expanding mandates as their executives see a political role for their agencies. Conversely, the United Native Nations (UNN), claiming to represent all people of Aboriginal ancestry in British Columbia, have purposely tried to separate themselves from the administrative functions of the Urban Representative Body of Aboriginal Nations (URBAN), an umbrella group that represents most of the Aboriginal service organizations in the Vancouver area.⁹⁵ Needless to say, the administrative and political roles of urban organizations providing services to Aboriginal peoples is something that must be further defined. If there is in fact a legitimate political role for these organizations, it may point to a situation where strictly political Aboriginal organizations are poorly representing the needs of service users and providers in their efforts.

In one of its recommendations, the Hawthorn Report supports the development of an Indian civil service. Franks (1987) supports this recommendation because he believes it would act as a moderating influence in government. As well, he suggests that an Indian civil service would increase the competence and accountability of band council while also recognizing the political body's distinct function. Franks states that in operation, the relationship between the two bodies would like be based more on such factors as "personality, individual abilities, and personal relations because of the small size of the civil services in aboriginal self-government." In commenting on the relationship between political and administrative functions is an Aboriginal government, Franks (1987) suggests:

⁹⁴ Hult, Karen M. & Charles Walcott, *Governing Public Organizations: Politics, Structures, and Institutional Design* (Pacific Grove, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company 1990), p. 29.

⁹⁵ Personal notes from the Queen's conference. The political role of Aboriginal service organizations will be explored in more depth in the subsection *Service Organizations as Pressure Groups* (4.5.2). The organization known as URBAN is described in the subsection *Non-territorial Models* (7.2.1).

First, there is in any system of government a need to recognize the separate interests and independence of the political and administrative spheres and to reach an acceptable balance of power between them. *Second*, it is by no means obvious that, in all instances, the political power should dominate the administrative. *Third*, to fulfill its responsibilities, a civil service must not only be technically qualified, but must also be sensitive and responsive to the particular characteristics and needs of the community it services. This last point is particularly important for aboriginal self-governments, where there is almost invariably and by definition a cultural gap between the western administrative culture and the non-bureaucratic traditional culture of the community, and this gap can extend to the ethnic and cultural identity of civil servants, as it is at present, with most of the administrators being from the non-aboriginal society.⁹⁶

While these issues are based on concerns around self-government on reserves, they would likely be present in any urban form of self-government as well. As mentioned previously, the roles of urban service organizations in the political arena is currently unclear. Establishing the structural arrangements and linkages between political and administrative bodies would indeed be difficult in urban areas, particularly because of the lack of formal connection that currently exists between them. As well, the necessarily small size of both entities would likely have an impact on the demarcation of executive and administrative responsibilities. A relatively small government is likely to encourage both strong communicative and political links between its executive and administrative elements. As such, the roles of each body may blend and risk undermining the benefits of a separate political and administrative structure. However, a tight connection between separate political and administrative entities might help to deal with an issue constantly being raised by citizens -- the prevalent unresponsiveness and inflexibility of the civil service. This problem is often perceived as one inherent to a bureaucratic organizational structure. While the earlier comments regarding cultural administration in the *Cultural Recognition* (3.3) section of this document still apply, urban Aboriginal governments may be overcome the impersonal nature of bureaucracy due to an individualized service delivery focus carried out through a novel organizational structure by a small government. Aboriginal leaders have the opportunity to develop a more accountable administrative system.

On another level, jurisdictional arrangements would have to be determined between larger coordinating bodies (perhaps at the provincial, regional or national level) and the local administrative institutions (actually providing services), and between local political bodies and service administrators at provincial, regional or national levels, if they exist.

3.7 PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT

Policy setting is concerned with setting community goals, and programme development is about practically implementing policy. Much of the criticism made by Aboriginal organizations of the existing governments is that, as funding bodies, they have exerted too much control over Aboriginal service agencies.⁹⁷ External bodies have often designed programmes and Aboriginal organizations, who argue that they are best aware of their clients' needs, end up administering policy directions that they have not set and may not agree with. Not only have Aboriginal leaders been uninvolved in programme development in the past, there is a danger they would continue to stay that way under a new self-government framework. Clarkson (1994) warns that a transfer of jurisdictions and funding must be accompanied by the development and implementation of comprehensive strategies to effect change in Aboriginal communities.⁹⁸ Franks (1987) states that programme development has been seriously neglected in the evolution of the political and administrative structures serving Aboriginal peoples. He writes:

There is a danger that the development of aboriginal self-government will ignore the need for [the programme development] aspect of policy-making, will not provide the administrative structures necessary to perform programme development, and will fail to provide the financial resources needed for them. A serious gap in policy-making resources and performance could be passed on to aboriginal self-government and perpetuated in them. Another danger is that competition and rivalry among provincial governments, aboriginal groups, and DIAND could make the development of useful policies and programmes difficult.⁹⁹

In order to effectively implement Aboriginal derived policy directions, programme development should be one of the goals of self-government.

The level at which programmes are developed (when it does happen) is an important concern, especially in urban areas. While the same programmes may not be appropriate for all urban localities, service agencies working individually may be too small for a programme development function. As well, Franks (1987) foresees a wide variety of organizations eventually developing policy and programming, and warns against fragmentation. A Aboriginal designed policy framework may be desirable in a situation where a number of organizations are functioning relatively separately but have similar service delivery objectives. A policy framework that could be flexible to local interpretation may be a balanced approach to programme development. For example, Aboriginal school boards could develop curriculum guidelines in conjunction with local school representatives. Franks (1987), however, suggests that national aboriginal organizations "... are a logical location for policy and programme development. With greater

⁹⁷ See the *Characteristics of Existing Aboriginal Institutions* (5) section of this document.

⁹⁸ Clarkson, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁹⁹ Franks, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

stability, and closer links with their constituents, their potential resources of knowledge, experience, and specialized professional skills could become a vital part of the policy-making process in aboriginal self-government."¹⁰⁰ Local self-governing units could band together and form national institutes or supra-organizations to develop programmes and policies for Aboriginal communities. However, national Aboriginal organizations representing wide and varied interest, as with any national organization, are in danger of overgeneralizing diverse community concerns in order to reach common policy directions. Even now, many national Aboriginal organizations are criticized for losing contact with their membership.¹⁰¹ Ultimately, it would be up to those involved in programme delivery that would likely be deciding at which level programme development is most appropriate. Due to the popularity of individualized service and decentralization in many urban Aboriginal organizations, it is probable that programme development would happen as close to the front line of service delivery as economically possible.

3.8 MODELS OF URBAN ABORIGINAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

A number of urban Aboriginal self-government models have been put forth by various bodies in the past few years.¹⁰² A discussion of some of these models may help to define the role of existing Aboriginal organizations in the transition to Aboriginal government for various reasons. Many of the models under consideration might lay the foundations of a structure in which established organizations could better exercise their expertise in serving the Winnipeg Aboriginal community. Urban areas are the context in which self-government is developing, and the state of existing organizations in those areas would influence the appropriateness of chosen forms of governance. As well, representatives of Aboriginal service and political organizations are some of the most vocal stakeholders in urban self-government discussions. Finally, without the inclusion of existing Aboriginal organizations into some form of self-government, there is a risk that the community could lose whatever these organizations have accomplished. Some of the models discussed propose direct roles for established Aboriginal service organizations, while their role in others is defined by the extent that these organizations are interested parties in the process of establishing self-government.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰¹ For example, see Campbell, Murray, "Selling a philosophy of peace in Indian Country," in *The Globe and Mail* (March 2, 1996), p. D1.

¹⁰² For example, the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations (1992), the Native Council of Canada (1993), and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (1994) have all commissioned papers specifically dealing with urban models of self-government.

The proposals for urban self-government discussed here are drawn primarily from a discussion paper written for the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg by Linda Clarkson (1994)¹⁰³ and the *Friendship Centres: Service-Based Government* report that resulted from a National Association of Friendship Centres consultation (1994).¹⁰⁴ Some secondary resources consisted of a Native Council of Canada intervenor report to Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1993)¹⁰⁵ and a research paper by Wherret and Brown (1994).¹⁰⁶ The number and variety of urban self-government models possible is by no means limited to those discussed in this paper. Unfortunately, many self-government options have not been fully explored, nor are they in written form. Much of the knowledge of traditional structures of governance is held by Elders who, as in the oral tradition, often do not document it. While traditional structures of governance may be limited in their applicability in contemporary society, the principles of traditional governance may be vitally important in the development of a culturally relevant Aboriginal form of self-government. Incorporating and maintaining traditional and cultural knowledge in the design of new Aboriginal governance structures can be accomplished through open processes in which Elders, and others who are particularly culturally knowledgeable, have central roles. The models articulated in this paper can serve as starting points for the discussion process around urban self-government structures.

Clarkson broadly defines three frameworks for urban self-government based on their relationship to a land base. She describes these models as Non-territorial, Extra-territorial, and Territorial/Urban Lands, and discusses variations of each. Table 5.1 shows all these models and their variants, as well as some indication of each model's authority source, whether or not each model requires the creation of a reservation under the *Indian Act*, the likely intended territory of operation, and each model's membership criteria. These models are further discussed in terms of their implications for the Winnipeg context in the later section entitled *Self-Government Models in Winnipeg*.

¹⁰³ Clarkson, *op. cit.*. The contents of Clarkson's paper are not endorsed by the Social Planning Council, as it has yet to determine an official position. Clarkson's assessment is based on research and discussion papers produced by academic and government research bodies and Aboriginal organizations, such as the Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg and the Native Council of Canada.

¹⁰⁴ National Association of Friendship Centres, (May 6-7, 1994).

¹⁰⁵ Morse (1993). In 1993, the Native Council of Canada was seen by the federal government as representing the interests of non-status and off-reserve Indian and Métis living in Canada, many of whom reside in urban areas. The NCC has recently undergone a leadership and name change and is now known as the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples. It is unclear at this time whether or not the models proposed by the NCC in 1993 will be altered by this newly reformed organization.

¹⁰⁶ Brown & Wherret, *op. cit.*.

3.8.1 THE NON-TERRITORIAL MODEL

The Non-territorial model is based on jurisdictions of government over a specific population, rather than a geographic area. Clarkson describes two variants of this approach.

Table 3.1: Urban Aboriginal Self-Government Models

<i>Model Options</i>	<i>Authority</i>	<i>Territory</i>	<i>Membership</i>
NON-TERRITORIAL			
Institutional Autonomy	Service organizations	City-wide	Aboriginal
Political Autonomy			
1. Pan-Aboriginal	Urban Aboriginal body	City-wide	Aboriginal
2. New Aboriginal	Urban Aboriginal body	City-wide	Aboriginal
Métis Boards	Métis provincial body	Province	Métis
EXTRA-TERRITORIAL			
	Band governments	City-wide	Status Indian
	Tribal councils	City-wide	Status Indian
TERRITORIAL/URBAN LANDS			
Urban Reserve 1			
1. Band governed	Band governments	Urban Reserve	Status Indian
2. Tribal council governed	Tribal councils	Urban Reserve	Status Indian
3. First Nations body	First Nations body	Urban Reserve	Status Indian
4. Language & culture body	Language & culture body	Urban Reserve	Language based
Urban Reserve 2	New Band government	Urban Reserve	Aboriginal/Status Indian
Neighbourhood Based	Urban Aboriginal body	Neighbourhood	Aboriginal/Status Indian

3.8.1.1 Institutional Autonomy

An Institutional Autonomy approach calls for the development of single purpose Aboriginal institutions that would have jurisdiction over Aboriginal peoples in a particular city. These institutions would be autonomous in nature and deliver services, such as education, health care, and employment training, to all people of Aboriginal heritage. Services would be designed to meet the needs of Aboriginal people and could be delivered in a manner that reflects various Aboriginal cultures. NAFC defined this model as the Sector-Specific Aboriginal Institution model.

It appears that the foundation for this model variant is already in place in many major Canadian cities. Provincial governments and philanthropic organizations have been funding organizations providing social services to Aboriginal peoples for some years now. However, many of these organizations can be thought of as accommodating agencies; their role has been to facilitate the

integration of Aboriginal people into larger non-Aboriginal service systems. These organizations have had only limited delegated powers and a history of conditional and erratic funding. This model variant suggests a situation where Aboriginal service organizations are invested with the appropriate authority and funding to operate at the level of their counterpart provincial institutions. An overall coordinating body at a resource allocation level could be included in the structure of this form of self-government.

3.8.1.2 *Political Autonomy*

The Political Autonomy model variant would be similar in form to existing governments, although decision making processes could differ. An urban political body could be established to act as a legislative body with institutions and systems delivering services and programmes to its Aboriginal constituents. This option could be status driven in its operations, but would differ from the Extra-territorial models in that three separate but parallel bodies would be accountable to their respective constituencies of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples. However, this variant would more likely be inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples due to operating philosophies of Aboriginal organizations already making up a degree of service infrastructure in most major Canadian cities.

The Métis National Council have proposed a model of self-government in which they would have political autonomy at the provincial level with regional affiliates similar to the current Manitoba Métis Federation structure. In this model, services for their membership in the absence of a land base (which would be in most if not all major cities) would likely be administered under the authority of these regional affiliates.¹⁰⁷

In a 1994 consultation process, the National Association of Friendship Centres proposed a New Urban Aboriginal Self-Government model. This model is based on what they called the Pan-Aboriginal Government model (similar to the Political Autonomy option), as it would have a decision making body with city-wide jurisdictions in a number of service areas. It would not be responsible only in a single discrete land base, but would operate on an Aboriginal collectivity basis. However, the proposed form would be more sensitive to the unique histories and cultures within and between each urban area than proposed in the Pan-Aboriginal Self-Government model.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Métis National Council, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁸ National Association of Friendship Centres Friendship Centres, (May 6-7, 1994).

3.8.2 THE EXTRA-TERRITORIAL MODEL

The Extra-territorial form of government could only be considered by status First Nations peoples as a desirable option. Political authority for the Extra-territorial model would stem from reserve based governments extending their jurisdictions over band members to urban areas. In this model, First Nations bands hold responsibility for their citizens, no matter where they reside.

In this model, many possible structures could have governing jurisdiction over First Nations peoples in Winnipeg. In one option, urban First Nations band members would be the responsibility of their individual bands, which may or may not develop service infrastructure in the city. Structures would likely have to be developed to give urban residents more of a voice in the reserve based political system. Another possibility suggests the development and provision of services in Winnipeg be established by the existing Tribal Council structure. The existing combination of authorities exercised by both individual bands and the Tribal Council would likely be preserved in this urban form of governance, and operate much like the current Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs. Implementation of a third option would see the formation an overall governing structure, representative of First Nations bands, that would act as a parallel structure to relate to existing non-Aboriginal levels of government.

There is also some discussion of re-establishing political structures along the lines of culture and language or treaty areas. Such a reorganization would necessarily have impacts on the design of service delivery jurisdictions for First Nations people in the Extra-territorial models of urban self-government.

In the event that any of the Extra-territorial models of First Nations government are implemented, parallel structures would likely have to be developed for Inuit and Métis peoples as well due to their constitutional status as Aboriginal people.

3.8.3 THE TERRITORIAL/URBAN LANDS MODEL

The Territorial/Urban Lands model is structured around the establishment of a land based government in an urban area. There are three possible options in this model: two Urban Reserve and the Neighbourhood Based option. In the Reserve options, a government exclusively for either status First Nations people or a community of Aboriginal people would be formed in a designated area. In the Neighbourhood Based option, a public form of government would be established in a designated area. This government would have jurisdiction over all residents of the area, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, much like municipal governments have now.

3.8.3.1 Urban Reserve Options

There are two possible variations to Urban Reserve options presented by both the NCC and the NAFC. Both variations would entail the creation of a new land base, under the *Indian Act*, within a city. In the first variation, governance through the extension of existing settlements or *Indian Act* bands would occur on satellite reserves in urban areas. This option is similar to the Extra-territorial model of self-government, except with an added land base.

The second Urban Reserve option entails a newly established land base in an urban area, where a newly formed band council would have jurisdiction. As this new reserve and band would be established under the *Indian Act*, it would operate in a similar manner as its counterpart rural reserves, although the powers of such a government would have to be expanded as compared to existing reserve powers. Eligibility criteria that are not based on relations to traditional tribal communities in the area might have to be established. This constituency would be defined as a "body of Indians" and could only include First Nations individuals unless *Indian Act* legislation was amended.

3.8.3.2 Neighbourhood Based Option

In the Neighbourhood Based option, an Aboriginal government would be established in an area with a majority of Aboriginal residents. A neighbourhood based government would relate to all levels of existing government in its operations and may be partially or fully responsible for the provision of services, such as infrastructure and economic development. NAFC defined an almost identical model as the Aboriginal Neighbourhood Community Model. The NCC has suggested that a supra-urban body could also be formed in order to co-ordinate, or at least provide information to, different neighbourhood governments within a city and between other cities.

3.8.4 SUMMARY

The above urban self-government models are some of the more popular models that have been partially developed in the literature to date. An overview of these options suggests that while they are able to incorporate many of the current Aboriginal organizational structures, each one tends to selectively focus on certain interests in the political environment. This tendency is reflected in the proposed authority sources for each of the self-government model options, as seen in Table 3.1. To date, none of these models have been formally presented, discussed or approved by the Aboriginal community at large. One option in this situation may be to develop some combination of many of these models that links various structures reflective of the many interests that would be affected by urban Aboriginal self-government. Whatever is proposed, however, would hopefully be driven by Aboriginal cultural values and traditions, and eventually ratified by the whole Aboriginal community. The above models and the potential implications

of their establishment in the Winnipeg context is further discussed in the later section entitled *Self-Government in Winnipeg* (7.2).

3.9 SELF-GOVERNMENT SERVICE AREAS

Service agreements would likely define the legal framework of Aboriginal governments. Obviously, there are a substantial number of issues yet to be debated, but it is possible to hypothesize which areas of and at what level service jurisdictions would be included in most agreements, based on the needs of specific Aboriginal communities. Dunn (1986) states that jurisdictions in service areas would vary with each form of Aboriginal self-government. In discussing Aboriginal governments' application of powers he writes:

The policy sectors in which the powers, jurisdiction, and authority of Aboriginal governments would be exercised would vary ... In some sectors, Aboriginal jurisdiction would be exclusive and complete, while in others it would be shared or minimal. The precise application and ratios would be specified in the agreements involved. Obviously, those areas would relate to the priorities of the specific Aboriginal population involved.¹⁰⁹

Service areas that would most likely to be included in such agreements are those in which the cultural perspective of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population are markedly different. In most cases these jurisdictions are directly involved with the survival and enhancement of Aboriginal culture and peoples as distinct social and political entities. Autonomy in these areas may be particularly relevant for urban Aboriginal people who are more likely to have been deprived of the little cultural protection that reserve enclaves might have provided against the influence of non-Aboriginal perspectives. Although there most certainly would be variation among different forms, Franks (1987) comments on service jurisdictions echo a common theme in the literature. He defines the most important functions of self-government as:

1. cultural preservation: the maintenance of traditional lifestyle, language and culture;
2. cultural adaptation: *assisting a culture and community to change so that it and the individuals within it can interact effectively with the economy and lifestyle of the non-native society;*
3. service delivery: *the economic and effective provision to the community, in a form adapted to and suitable to its needs and circumstances, of services such as health, welfare, education, justice;*

¹⁰⁹

Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

4. economic development: *the active involvement of the self-governing unity in projects and activities which improve the well-being of individuals and the community;*
5. resources and environmental management: *aboriginal populations who maintain a traditional lifestyle will need some control over the resources of their land base; and*
6. law and enforcement: *the relationship of the aboriginal peoples to the law and the judicial system is a major issue at present and will continue to be for most self-governing units.*¹¹⁰

As Cowie (1987) notes, the service areas of education and economic development are engines of self-government. He also writes that domestic relations and justice are culturally sensitive areas where the provinces have failed to provide adequate services, yet remain protective of their powers. Health and social development are also jurisdictionally messy. However, Cowie notes that cultural development is well underway in many Aboriginal communities.¹¹¹

Education is of primary importance in the exploration of self-government. Education related institutions are not only currently seen as exerting a negative force on Aboriginal culture and empowerment, but their reform is seen as a revitalizing element in the cultural survival of Aboriginal people as Aboriginal people. Dunn (1986) states that jurisdiction in this area may be the single most important area for cultural development and survival for the NCC constituency.¹¹² Frideres (1993) suggests a new kind of education for Aboriginal children that is better adapted to their current circumstances.

[Self knowledge can be gained] by coming to grips with reality through education. However, it is a unique type of education that is advocated. To take on a White education would be to ignore the fact that it prepares Natives for a world that is denied to them, that it bears, in other words, little relation to the Native individual's future experiences. Such an education would be neither functional nor adaptive for most Native people. On the other hand, only to engage in traditional education would also be maladaptive in an urban-industrial society. Leaders speaking from this third position argue that Natives' education has to be in the context of the marginal man.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Franks, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹¹¹ Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56.

¹¹² Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹¹³ Frideres, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

The provision of health care is another area that Aboriginal governments would likely want to gain some control. Dunn (1986) feels health is a key jurisdictional area for Aboriginal self-government for the following reasons:

The first is cultural, in the sense that traditional healing practices would be more readily available to those who require them. The second is socio-economic, in that access to general health services would be provided to Aboriginal population on a more equitable basis than is currently the case. Again, this is of particular significance to NCC constituents who have been deprived by Federal policy of health services currently available to Status Indians.¹¹⁴

Because financing is such a critical issue in self-government initiatives, economic development and job training are certainly areas where Aboriginal governments are likely to desire substantial authority. According to Dunn (1986), employment is a necessary jurisdiction due to the marked differences in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal work patterns. He uses specialized training and accommodation of seasonal workers as examples of needs that must be better addressed.¹¹⁵

In urban areas, any self-government initiative that involves Aboriginal service organizations would likely consider jurisdictions in the specific areas in which they are already providing services. As mentioned previously, however, the transfer of service jurisdictions would ultimately be negotiated on a specific agreement by agreement basis. Success in governance would be dependent not only on the mandates and capacities of existing Aboriginal organizations, but also on reaching agreements with those non-Aboriginal governments that are absolving their responsibilities.

It should be noted that the construction of a service delivery system is not contingent on having absolute authority in all service jurisdictions. What is important is a unified policy direction and appropriate interlinkages between service organizations to allow for comprehensive and holistic service delivery. This may require varying degrees of control in different service areas, but would likely require substantial jurisdiction in areas of particular cultural importance and in areas where the average urban Aboriginal resident has unique issues. Collaborative initiatives with non-Aboriginal governments may be a pragmatic approach to service delivery, but only in appropriate service areas.

¹¹⁴ Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

3.10 EFFECTS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE JURISDICTIONS

In urban areas, most of the service delivery authority that is being called for is in areas where provincial governments have power. These areas include education, economic development, health, and justice. Both municipal and provincial governments could be affected by Aboriginal control in the area of urban land use.

Public education systems under all the models of urban self-government could be controlled by Aboriginal school boards in a system similar to denominational school boards operating in many provinces. The Aboriginal school system would have authority over curriculum and hiring and firing practices, among other responsibilities. Another option would be that existing school boards have guaranteed Aboriginal representation in their executive, possibly even in areas where Aboriginal residents are not the majority, although this option does not lend itself well to the concept of Aboriginal autonomy.¹¹⁶ Aboriginal governments might have to have autonomy in setting overall policy. However, Aboriginal and provincial governments would have to work together to establish some standards for Aboriginal students wanting to attend non-Aboriginal educational institutions, such as most existing post-secondary schools.

There is a need to provide jobs and training that are on a large enough scale and appropriate for the Aboriginal community. Any one of the proposed models could feasibly incorporate these areas of service delivery. Of course, the success of these services are intricately tied to the economy of the surrounding areas and would be dependent in fundamental ways on non-Aboriginal government efforts in these arenas.

In urban areas, acute and long-term health care for Aboriginal people is primarily funded by the provinces, most of which charge back to the federal government to pay for services to status Indians. Also, in some cities like Winnipeg, health care in other areas such as health inspections and community health initiatives are partially or fully funded by the local municipality. As Aboriginal governments would likely be unable to afford entirely separate institutions in this service area, there are at least two approaches that could be explored. One is the representation of Aboriginal people on a reformed system of health care boards that administer hospital and related services to specific geographic areas. Another option would be to incorporate traditional healing in Aboriginal health care programs through the provision of traditionally oriented health care in conjunction with Western hospital and community health care. All of the proposed models of Aboriginal government could implement this second initiative. Of course, the successful implementation of these arrangements would largely depend on political will as health care for Aboriginal people is presently a jurisdictional quagmire.

The provincial justice system could be improved with regards to its treatment of Aboriginal peoples, as demonstrated by the conclusions and recommendation of the recent Manitoba

¹¹⁶

Also, see Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Aboriginal Justice Inquiry. Reform in the law and its enforcement is necessary, but it is unclear how this would happen in urban areas, even if Aboriginal governments were to have jurisdiction in this area. Although some Aboriginal leaders may be calling for absolute authority in the implementation and enforcement of laws affecting Aboriginal people, issues relating to the interface between and dominance of Aboriginal, Canadian and provincial jurisdictions are viewed with some contention. This point is especially relevant in self-government models where there is no land base from which to govern, such as the Non-territorial models and the Extra-territorial models. If self-government falls within confederation, it is pragmatically unlikely that non-Aboriginal governments would accept a completely different legislation for Aboriginal people, but it may be possible that they would accept a separate Aboriginal system for the interpretation and enforcement of legislation. As Long and Chist (1994) state:

To what extent the federal and provincial governments will support the development of separate Aboriginal justice systems remains an open question at this time. Canada has always been committed to the idea of equal protection of the law for citizens, which assumes universal standards of justice and common instruments of enforcement. On the other hand, some significant steps have been taken in the areas of Aboriginal community involvement in sentencing of offenders, the creation of Aboriginal police forces and the establishment of correctional facilities on reserves, among other initiatives.¹¹⁷

One popular initiative that could be used in Aboriginal courts is that of sentencing circles to deal with offenders in a more culturally appropriate manner. Also, special police detachments consisting of Aboriginal peace officers could be formed to patrol Aboriginal neighbourhoods and deal with Aboriginal offenders. Partial funding for these initiatives could be provided by Aboriginal governments through a negotiated contract arrangement. Community policing in urban Aboriginal neighbourhoods is another means of friendlier law enforcement for Aboriginal people.

Land use issues under the Territorial/Urban Lands model of self-government would be particularly relevant to municipal governments and would indirectly impact provincial government. The implementation of these forms of government might mean that certain areas within cities -- that were formerly the jurisdiction of municipalities -- could operate using different land use regulations and planning premises than surrounding urban areas. The possibility of land use conflicts at points of interface would arise in such a situation, even though the governments involved might be well within their jurisdictional authority to oppose each other. In issues concerning the construction and maintenance of infrastructure, a variety of agreements could be negotiated.

These are only some of the service sectors in which Aboriginal governments could impact existing government operations. Various arrangements for service provision in many of these areas are possible under each of the proposed models. As discussed, service agreements could

¹¹⁷ Long & Chist, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

be struck between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations where Aboriginal organizations carry out specific functions and assume defined responsibilities. The Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres (OFIFC) has proposed a model based on such agreements as a means to self sufficiency without compromising their financial security. They suggest that a co-management approach that could result in a transfer of jurisdictions from local governments to Friendship Centres in three phases. First, special initiatives, such as employment equity programs, could be undertaken in cooperation with non-Aboriginal organizations. These initiatives could evolve into a co-management system where Aboriginal peoples and existing governments have equal decision making powers with respect to programming and services. Third, these systems could develop into Aboriginal controlled institutions, in which Friendship Centres or other Aboriginal organizations have control over a specific service area with authority that flows from the Creator. As institutions, these organizations could carry out the governance functions in specified service areas.¹¹⁸ This approach would allow for the gradual capacity building of Aboriginal institutions and transfer of authorities of non-Aboriginal institutions. As well, it would encourage communication and learning to take place between both entities. However, substantial negotiations would have to take place before these types of agreements would be feasible and agreeable to the interested parties.

It has been suggested by Cowie (1987) that mediation organizations could be formed to deal with some of the potential conflicts between governments in some of these service sectors. These organizations could provide a forum in which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal government representatives could inform each other of their administration's intentions and negotiate in areas of possible conflict. Such institutions would help to minimize potential discord between governments where overlapping jurisdictions exist or government activities produce effects outside their jurisdictions.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ The National Association of Friendship Centres *Final Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Intervenor Participation Project* (October 1993), pp. 37-38.

¹¹⁹ Cowie, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66.

4. THEORY OF SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS IN NETWORKS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Existing forms of government in Canada subscribe to a number of principles with regards to the delivery of services. In operationalizing them, administrative systems have been constructed. Service delivery by the existing forms of government are theoretically built on the following conditions:

1. the system must ensure service delivery is consistent with the goals and objectives of the government;
2. the system must treat all people fair and equitably, regardless of their socio-economic status, where they seek services within a predetermined geographic area;
3. government must be prepared to provide a minimum level of service to all of its constituents;
4. the system must have mechanisms in place to ensure all of the above.

In short, the government must function as a unit to provide equitable services to its constituents. Coordination of service delivery agents is the central mechanism through which these conditions can be met. In a country with the size and physical, economic, and cultural diversity of Canada, uniform service delivery is an immensely difficult task. As a result, these principles are often being attacked as practically and financially unworkable. Aboriginal service agencies are currently not yet, nor may they wish to be, operating at a level of coordination to accomplish these ends. However, equity and accountability in government are two elements that the federal government is insisting upon in its current framework for self-government negotiation.¹²⁰

For the most part, non-Aboriginal governments are based upon a structure that resembles Weber's (1946) bureaucracy where division of labour and hierarchical control are central.¹²¹ Many contemporary Aboriginal leaders reject this model for the development of their proposed

¹²⁰ Government of Canada (1995b), p. 7.

¹²¹ Weber, Max, "Bureaucracy" In *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Hans Gerth & C. Wright Mills, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press 1946), pp. 196-230.

governments as it seen to be too far removed from traditional Aboriginal cultures. They often feel that such a structure cannot accommodate their value systems. The challenge, then, is to design a structure that can provide the governance functions of a bureaucracy, can interact with existing bureaucracies, and can incorporate an alternative value system. As a consequence, all of the urban self-government models articulated in the previous section would require a service delivery system, although these structures have not been defined. This section provides a framework for analyzing the current operating environment of Aboriginal service agencies. It also discusses organizations as components in interorganizational networks and discusses some dimensions of interorganizational linkages and methods of coordination. It includes a discussion of some interorganization configurations and organizational forms that may be relevant in the consideration of future structures of coordination for service delivery in a transition to self-government. Finally, it outlines current and potential roles for Aboriginal service organizations, individually and within a network. It should be noted that much of the following theory substantially veers from Weber's idea of bureaucracy as it deals with laterally oriented networks instead of hierarchical control. However, it is based on the study of non-Aboriginal organizations and principles of organization. As such, its inclusion here is intended to facilitate discussion and should be constantly evaluated for its appropriateness in Aboriginal self-government.

Some discussion of interorganization analysis and organization (or intraorganization) analysis provides a framework for understanding the current operating environment and the linkages between Aboriginal service organizations. The overall aim of interorganization theorists, according to Negandhi (1975), "is to examine the impact of the external environment and/or the other social units on the internal functioning of a parent organization."¹²² Some attempts have been made to distinguish the two bodies of work, defined as *intraorganizational* analysis and *interorganizational* analysis. While both approaches are concerned with principles of coordination, the basic unit is the organization in intraorganization analysis and the system/network in interorganization analysis. Furthermore, Litwak and Hylton (1962) suggest that assumptions about conflict and authority differentiate the two approaches. As Negandhi (1975) explains:

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Negandhi, Anant R., "Interorganization Theory: Introduction and Overview," in Anant R. Negandhi, ed. *Interorganization Theory* (Kent: Centre for Business and Economic Research of Kent State University 1975), p. 2.

These authors suggest that *interorganizational* analysis assumes the conflict between organizations as a given, and hence they directed their investigations toward the forms of social interaction necessary under such conditions. In contrast, *intraorganizational* analysis assumes that the conflicting values lead to a breakdown in the organizational structure and thus attempts are made to establish harmonious relationships between different units and/or personnel. Further, *interorganizational* analysis stresses the examination of social interaction under conditions of unstructured authority. *Intraorganizational* analysis, on the other hand, places emphasis on formal authority in studying behavior patterns in a given organization.¹²³

As this research focuses more on the current network of service organizations in Winnipeg than the internal functioning of individual organizations, it would seem that interorganization analysis is more suited to this discussion. As well, the service delivery network operates under conditions of unstructured authority as it has no central decision making structure and its component organizations are formally accountable to a variety of funding agencies. However, due to the many similarities between interorganizational and intraorganizational theories, some intraorganizational theory is used where appropriate.

4.2 DEFINING NETWORKS AND SYSTEMS

Conceptions of networks and systems have typically been inconsistently defined in the literature. Hage (1975) initially defined an *organizational network* as all those groups, organizations, and consumers associated with a system delivering a particular service. He suggested that *interdependence*, or the degree to which organizations must take into account each other's actions, defines the boundaries of the network.¹²⁴ More recently, Alter and Hage (1993) defined *networks* as constituting "the basic social form that permits interorganizational interactions of exchange, concerted action, and joint production."

In more specific terms, Alter and Hage (1993) describe networks as *interorganizational networks* and describe them as having the following common characteristics:

1. *Interorganizational networks are cognitive structures.* Antecedent to advanced network formation there must be a mutually shared conceptual framework held by the individuals who have common perception about their mutual technical competencies, and who have make similar judgments about strategies relative to their environments ... One of the

¹²³ Litwak, Eugene and Lydia F. Hylton, "Interorganizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Co-ordinating Agencies," in *Administrative Science Quarterly*, (1962), vol. 5, p. 398, cited in Negandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Hage, Jerald, "A Strategy for Creating Interdependent Delivery Systems to Meet Complex Needs," in Negandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

major problems in building networks is that while there may be a mutual objective in the cooperative relationship, it does not necessarily mean that there is agreement about the methods and strategies to be used. Conflict over means exists and is common.

2. *Interorganizational networks are non-hierarchical.* Networks, as opposed to hierarchies, are constituted by lateral linkages but, like all organizational and interorganizational forms, are influenced, to a lesser or greater degree, by their environments and can vary in the degree of autonomy they possess. ... But when a network is dominated by a single organization or several large ones, it is less likely to perform successfully. ... The consequence of domination is less effectiveness, with ancillary costs of conflict, delays, and errors.
3. *Interorganizational networks have a division of labor.* Each firm or agency brings ... a technical competency to the interorganizational relationship. ... once demonstrated, it results in mutual dependency.
4. *Interorganizational production networks are self-regulating.* If networks are non-hierarchical, by extension their decision-making structures are horizontal. For a laterally linked cluster of autonomous organizations to act and work together, there must be a degree of solidarity achieved through democratic principles. The opposite side of the coin, of course, is that organizations must surrender sovereignty and operate under conditions of diffusion of power. In other words, order in networks is achieved through negotiated processes ..., which evolve through mutual adjustment of members ...¹²⁵

Much of the literature suggests that systems are a type of coordinated, unified network. Heffron (1989) defines *system* as "a set of units with relationships among them, and the totality of the system is greater than the sum of its parts."¹²⁶ Webster's (1979) defines a *system* as "a regularly interacting or interdependent group of items forming a unified whole"¹²⁷ Alter and Hage (1993) coin the term *systemic networks*, which they define as "clusters of organizations that make decisions jointly and integrate their efforts to produce a product or service."¹²⁸ In other words, they are networks performing as systems. For the purposes of this paper, Alter and Hages' definitions of *interorganizational networks* (hereafter referred to as networks) and *systemic networks* (hereafter referred to as systems) are used as starting points for discussion.

¹²⁵ Alter, Catherine & Jerald Hage, *Organizations Working Together* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications 1993), pp. 78-79.

¹²⁶ Heffron, Florence A., *Organization Theory and Public Organizations: The Political Connection* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall 1989), p. 8.

¹²⁷ Webster, *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Toronto: Thomas Allen & Son Limited 1979), p. 1175.

¹²⁸ Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

These approaches to networks suggest that a maximum degree of coordination between organizations should be pursued. However, maximum coordination is not the goal of this project. While the current collection of service agencies may constitute a network, a future network in self-government would necessarily have to fulfill the role of a service delivery system performing governance functions. This future role would certainly entail a level of coordination and may well entail structural changes to the network. Viewing Aboriginal service organizations in terms of networks or systems is simply to ensure that whatever structural form they may choose to organize, they can provide more effective services. Effective service delivery may or may not require a maximum degree of coordination between agencies.

4.3 THEORY OF OPERATING ENVIRONMENTS

The operation and structure of organizations are profoundly influenced by their environments. Organizations operating in the same general environment are seen as interdependent because they can impact each other. Mulford (1984) suggests that established repeated transactions and established relationships are the basis of a "community structure" or network of interconnections.¹²⁹ As such, organizations that interact with other organizations to fulfill their mandates are part of a network. Conversely, a network is part of an organization's environment.

Mulford (1984) defines two conceptions of the environment, one based on resources and one based on information. Analysis of organizations' environment in terms of resources deals with issues including resource exchange, relative power, control over sources of support and the impact of transactions on organizational structure. Research into the resources in an organization's environment is considered more objective in nature as it deals with tabulations of objects or events. Defining organizations' environment in terms of information is based upon theories of perception and decision making. When the environment is conceptualized as the flow of information, uncertainty for decision makers is the dimension of measurement. As research in this area is based on perceptions of organizations' members of their environment, it is considered more subjective in nature.¹³⁰

Van De Ven, Emmett and Koenig (1975) identify two basic approaches to conceptualizing the operating environment of organizations:

1. *The environment as an external constraining social phenomenon.* Constraining social phenomenon is primarily defined along resource exchange lines.

¹²⁹ Mulford, Charles L., *Interorganizational Relations: Implications for Community Development* (New York: Human Sciences Press, Inc. 1984), p. 4.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

2. *The environment as a collection of interacting organizations, groups, and persons.* This approach explores the relationships between parties in the common environment. This conception has to do with the flow of both resources and information between organizations.¹³¹

These two conceptions of organizations' operating environment are discussed in the following.

4.3.1 THE ENVIRONMENT AS AN EXTERNAL CONSTRAINING SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Conceptualizing the environment as an external constraining social phenomenon addresses the influencing forces that are external to the organization. These include studies that attempt to define characteristics of the environment, their effect on the internal structure of the organization, and strategies used in attempts to manipulate the organization's environment. This approach also incorporates the general environment and open systems conceptions, which originate from organization theory.

The general environment of service organizations can be defined as those influences that apply to all the organizations in the same environment. Elements in the general environment conception includes technological, political, economic, demographic, ecological, and cultural conditions.¹³² This research project addresses some issues in the general environment of service organizations in Section 2. of this paper, the *General Environment of the Urban Self-Government Movement*.

The open systems approach sees organizations as having open borders and treats their environment as a pool of resources. As such, the health of organizations is heavily dependent on the flow of resources between itself and its environment. To survive as an open system, organizations must constantly monitor and adjust for changes in their environment in a variety of ways. According to Heffron (1989), organizations are constantly:

... receiving resources from that environment, transforming those resources into outputs, and transmitting them to the environment. Environmental reaction to those outputs is fed back to the system as an input, and the cyclical dependency of the relationship is maintained. To survive - and survival is the primary goal of an open system - organizations must acquire and develop negative entropy.

...¹³³

¹³¹ Van De Ven, Andrew H., Dennis C. Emmett & Richard Koenig, Jr., "Frameworks for Interorganizational Analysis," in Negandhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-35.

¹³² Mulford, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹³³ Heffron, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

With respect to service organizations, this means that they must constantly benefit from their interactions with their environments, including in interactions with other service organizations and their network as a whole. The same principle of resource exchange theoretically applies when looking at resources at the network level.

4.3.2 THE ENVIRONMENT AS A COLLECTION OF INTERACTING ORGANIZATIONS, GROUPS, & PERSONS

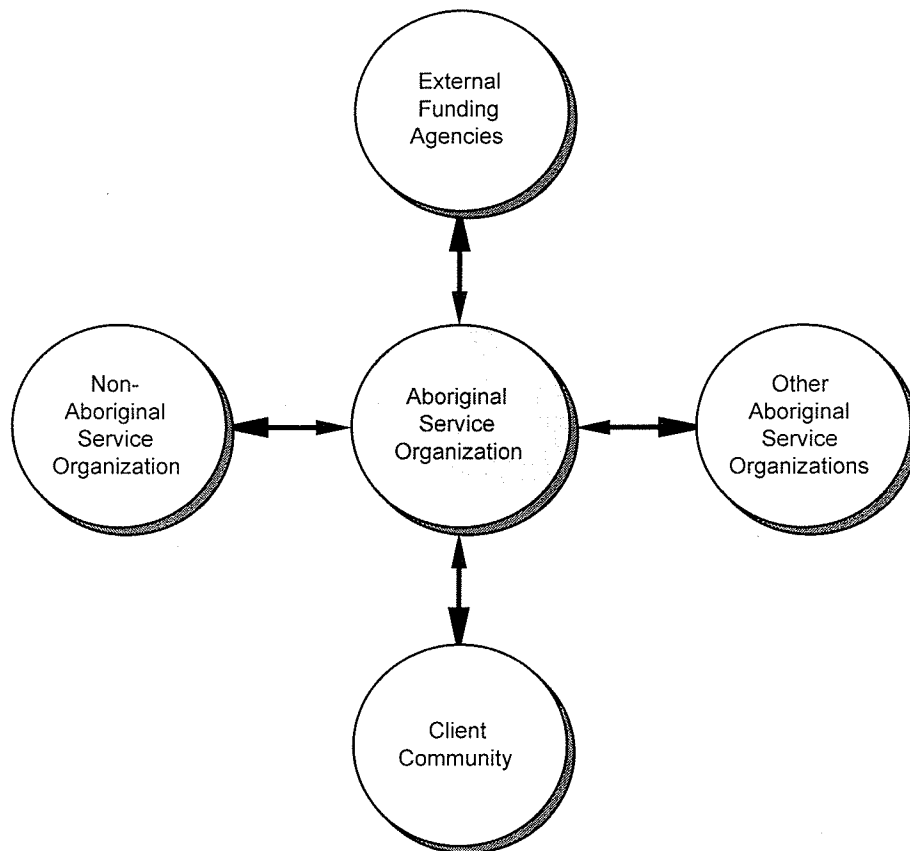
Conceptualizing the environment as a collection of interacting organizations orientation results in a focus on relationships between parties involved in a network. Negandhi (1975) stated that in order to understand influences on systems in terms of multiple causation, one must recognize the two most important attributes of a system, interdependence and interlinking of various subsystems.¹³⁴ Service delivery agencies would have to address the interconnections between them in order to achieve their larger common goals. For example, the development of a more integrated service system would incorporate decisions regarding the level at which coordination of services is to happen. The further removed the connection between service delivery arms is from the front line, the more autonomous these arms and the more specialized service delivery can become. Conversely, the more integrated services are at the delivery point, the less the degree of autonomy enjoyed by each service arm.

4.3.3 RESEARCH APPLICATIONS

This project considers the operating environments of organizations as both an external constraining social phenomenon and a collection of interacting organizations, groups and persons. It explores some elements of resource flow between service organizations and their environments. It also focuses on the relationships between Aboriginal service organizations and other entities that make up their environments: non-Aboriginal service organizations, external funding agencies and client communities. Aboriginal service organizations as a whole can be considered a service delivery network for Aboriginal people, and as such, these relationships deserve particular focus. Figure 4.1 shows the simplified conception of Aboriginal service organizations and in their environments that forms the basis of the primary research that is described in the later section entitled *Relationships of Existing Aboriginal Service Organizations and Service Delivery*.

¹³⁴ Negandhi, Anant R., "Interorganization Theory: Introduction and Overview," in Negandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Aldrich discusses subsystems in the following: "Organizations are conceptualized as open systems, internally differentiated into organizational subsystems which may be only loosely joined to one another. Thus, while one dimension of the environment may be of special significance for one organizational subsystem, it may have little relevance for another." Aldrich, Howard, "An Organization-Environment Perspective on Cooperation and Conflict Between Organizations in the Manpower Training System," in Negandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Figure 4.1: Simplified Version of Aboriginal Organizations' Operating Environment



4.4 COORDINATION IN NETWORKS

Most often, the relationships that exist between service organizations are based on efforts to coordinate activities. This section explores the concept of coordination and its application to service networks and/or systems. It discusses definitions of coordination, motivations for coordination, measurements of coordination, and network configurations that result from varying degrees and methods of coordination (among other influences such as environmental factors).

4.4.1 DEFINING COORDINATION

While it is evident when a system is not coordinated, most people would hard pressed to articulate what makes a system coordinated. Alter and Hage (1993) suggest that coordination is a method of control. They say that "it refers to methods that regulate the work system within and between organizations or organizational units." When interorganizational coordination exists, efforts of each organization work towards common goals or objectives of the network. If coordination is absent, unrestricted organizations establish individual goals and objectives. They also describe coordination as the "the quality of the relationship between human actors in a working system and is often equated with cooperation" and "the articulation of elements in a service delivery system so that comprehensiveness, accessibility, and compatibility among elements are maximized." They suggest that the degree of integration and articulation -- and therefore coordination -- may vary between systems, although some degree must always be present. What is clear is that coordination is not a singular outcome but rather a method or process that must occur at all hierarchical levels.¹³⁵

Hage (1975) makes the distinction between interdependent networks and integrated and coordinated networks. He suggests that integration can simply mean the passage of information or resources, such as clients or funds. Coordinated networks may be achieved by mechanisms such as coordinating councils or information transfer. Interdependent and coordinated networks can but do not necessarily incorporate joint programs, "where the organizations do the coordinating together at various points or stages in the production process ... rather than having some fixed hierarchical coordination system." Hage noted that barriers to coordination are often a result of organizations' tendency to want to maintain autonomy and their resistance to cross political boundaries that may be necessary in interdependent networks.¹³⁶

Coordination, then, is the method that organizations in a network cooperate. Linkages between organizations are maintained for the purposes of coordination. As such, the more coordination that takes place in a network, the stronger the bonds between organizations. In addition, systems require substantial coordination and strong interorganizational linkages to operate as a unit. Figure 4.2 shows a simplified version of this relationship.

¹³⁵ Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-93.

¹³⁶ Hage, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215.

Figure 4.2: Relationships Between Networks and Coordination

Alter and Hage (1993) articulate two types of coordination: administrative coordination and operational coordination or task integration. Administrative coordination primarily applies to decision making, whereas operational coordination applies primarily to sequencing in service delivery. They state that operational coordination is critical because "that is where case management or mismanagement can occur" and as such, "is the core of the matter for effective service delivery."¹³⁷

4.4.2 MOTIVATIONS FOR COORDINATION

A variety of reasons motivate organizations to integrate or coordinate with other organizations in their common environment, most of which are driven by financial concerns, the need for effective service provision, and organization survival. These motivations, and other articulated in this section, largely seem to apply to Aboriginal organizations in their pursuit to provide quality services to the community.

Drawing from existing literature on interorganizational relationships, population-ecology and on the theory of group solidarity, Alter and Hage (1993) have outlined four conditions for interorganizational collaboration.¹³⁸ These variables are a willingness to cooperate, a need for expertise, a need for financial resources and sharing of risks, and a need for adaptive efficiency.¹³⁹ Van De Ven, Emmett and Koenig (1975) state that some authors suggest that organizations join together in their actions for a number of reasons:

1. to communicate pertinent information by forming a social service exchange;
2. to promote areas of common interest ... ;

¹³⁷ Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹³⁸ Collaboration is defined as the act of working together or coordinating.

¹³⁹ Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

3. to jointly obtain and allocate a greater amount of resources than would be possible by each agency independently through a community chest; and
4. to protect areas of common interest and adjudicate areas of dispute ...¹⁴⁰

They state that the primary goals of network cannot be achieved by individual organizations.

More specifically, the motivation for integration of Aboriginal service organizations may be primarily driven by their clients' needs for simultaneous multiple services. The ability to provide such services may be similar in orientation to the idea of holistic service delivery, where the person is treated as a whole person in their environment rather than treating compartmentalized need. Lefton (1975) states that organizations can characterize their relationships with clients along the lines of two constructs: *laterality* and *longitudinally*. Laterality refers to an organization's interest in the client's "biographical space", which can range from a limited aspect of the client to a broad interest in the client as "a product and participant in society". Longitudinally refers to the amount of time an organization is interacts with in the client.¹⁴¹ It appears that a common concern of Aboriginal service organizations is their inability to provide anything more than short-term, compartmentalized services to their clients. The desire for long-term, holistic services may be a common denominator on which to build linkages between Aboriginal service organizations.¹⁴²

Decisions made as a unit are usually a result of interactions within the collective and, as is the nature of collective goals, may not always be to the optimum benefit of individual organizations.¹⁴³ Mulford (1984) notes that while interdependence is necessary, it can lead to uncertainty in decision making by individual organization managers:

Organizations cannot exist alone since they are not self-sufficient, do not represent specialized action systems, and perform only part of the total behavior necessary for the system. Interdependencies make for uncertainty in decision making because they may lead to the necessity of increased coordination and mutual control over each other's activities.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Litwak & Hylton, *op. cit.* vol. 5, p. 398, and Levine, Sol, Paul E. White, and Benjamin D. Paul, "Community Interorganizational Problems in Providing Medical Care and Social Services," in *American Journal of Public Health* (1963), vol. 53, pp. 1183-95.

¹⁴¹ Lefton, Mark, "Client Characteristics and Organizational Functioning: An Interorganizational Focus," in. Negandhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

¹⁴² See the section entitled *Relationships Between Existing Aboriginal Service Organizations and Service Delivery* (6) for more detail regarding service delivery needs.

¹⁴³ Van De Ven, Emmett & Koenig, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁴⁴ Mulford, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

According to White, Levine and Vlasak (1975), attempts at coordinating health care services often provide an example of this tendency. Motives behind the integration of health services have been driven by the assumption of "fulfilling community needs and ensuring that sets of "necessary" services exist with areas to meet patients' needs, particularly those patients requiring multiple or comprehensive health services." However, the authors state that organizations are constantly splintering to provide services not offered by their parent organizations. They attribute this "fission" of organizations to constraints that prevent integration, resulting in most integration consisting of some form of "primitive barter". They suggest that change is driven by technological change rather than attempts at more congruency between organizations, for which there seems to be little motivation and much hindrance due to accountability mechanisms.

White, Levine, and Vlasak (1975) state that:

... in the health system, each organization attempts to "rationalize" its environment and to maximize its own criteria of accountability. Each organization sets its own goals, function, and "accountability scores" independently, and the search for integration, to the extent it exists, is in terms of prevailing complementarity. ... In the health system, organizational functions are determined by a range of factors other than the need for system integration.¹⁴⁵

While this analysis refers to only non-profit health organizations, there are many similarities in behaviour motivations in social service organizations serving Aboriginal people. It demonstrates that although the desire to coordinate service delivery may be driven by the objectives of the overall network, coordination or integration of operations may not always be considered to be in the best interests of individual organizations. As such, integration may be approached half-heartedly and have a limited effect on service delivery effectiveness. Increasing accountability to other organizations and setting joint goals may be a structural change that would address White, Levine, and Vlasak's warning of organization fragmentation.

4.4.3 DIMENSIONS OF COORDINATION

Not only must organizations in a network be motivated to coordinate operations, they must have the functional ability to do so. Parsons (1956) outlines four functional problems that must be overcome if systems (i.e.: coordinated networks) are to survive:

1. goal attainment, or enabling system participants to attain their goals;
2. integration, or articulating together the actions of system members;

¹⁴⁵

White, Paul E., Sol Levine, & George J. Vlasak, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for Understanding Interorganizational Relationships: Applications to Nonprofit Organizations," in Negandh, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

3. adaptation, which refers to the boundary maintenance relationship between the system and its environment; and
4. the instrumental pattern maintenance, or ensuring that the task activities, norms, and values of participants are consistent with those of the system.¹⁴⁶

Similarly, Alter and Hage (1993) suggest that coordination should be thought of in terms of network performance, thereby making clear what the purposes of coordination are in the first place. In other words, does coordination help to achieve the goals of service delivery organizations? The authors describe three basic performance criteria and cross-reference them with four basic elements of service delivery that are performed.

Comprehensiveness is defined as the first performance criteria in coordination. Ensuring comprehensiveness is ensuring whether or not all the necessary components are present and available in the system to reach the desired goal of the network. Alter and Hage argue that obtaining missing components of a system is the most important objective of coordination.

Although all the components of a system may be in place, the network is not effective if it is not accessible to service users. Criteria for user's access to programs and services may stand in the way of organizations in a network to best make use of the resources available.

Finally, organizations in a network must be compatible with each other. This performance criteria measures the "appropriate linking and sequencing of elements" in a system.¹⁴⁷

As shown in Table 4.1, system elements that must be coordinated are defined as programs or occupations, resources, supplies or consumers, and information.

The conditions or performance criteria of systems articulated by both Parsons and Alter and Hage reflect the principles of service delivery followed by non-Aboriginal governments, as described in the introduction of this section.

¹⁴⁶ Parsons, Talcott and N. J. Smelser. *Economy and Society*. (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1956), cited in Van De Ven, Emmett & Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁴⁷ Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85.

Table 4.1: Objectives of Coordination by System Elements

<i>System Elements</i>	<i>Comprehensiveness</i>	<i>Accessibility</i>	<i>Compatibility</i>
Programs or Occupations	All kinds of expertise that are needed are available; continuum of care.	All needed expertise is accessible to those who need it; eligibility criteria are not barriers to intake entry.	All kinds of expertise are congruent; the parts complement, rather than contradict, one another.
Resources	Resources are adequate to support continuum of care or research project goals.	Resources allocated on basis of consumer need or project requirements rather than a priori resource categories.	Resource providers' goals and values are harmonious with needs and desires of consumer.
Supplies/Consumers	Individual consumer's needs are met; system is responsive to individual diversity.	Individual consumer has access; system provides sufficient outreach, information, and transportation.	Individual consumer is treated consistently by different parts of the system; multiple problem clients have one case plan.
Information	There is a central inventory of component parts (services), information and referral (resources), and central case files (clients) or research data bank, and continuous feedback on operation of the system at all three levels.		

SOURCE: Adapted from Alter and Hage (1993), p. 84.

As these conditions or objectives can only be addressed through coordination, some indication of how coordination is achieved is useful in analyzing networks. Marrett (1971) synthesized the work of others in examining the relational properties between organizations. She put forth four key dimensions in exploring linkages between organizations.

1. *Formalization*: the degree to which exchanges between organizations are given official sanction or agreed to by the parties involved, and the extent to which an intermediary coordinates the relations.
2. *Intensity*: the amount of involvement required by parties to the exchange in terms of the size of resource investment required, and the frequency of interaction.
3. *Reciprocity*: the directions of the exchange (unilateral, reciprocal, or joint), and the extent to which terms on the bases and conditions of the exchange are mutually reached.

4. *Standardization*: some reliable determination or fixedness of the units of exchange and procedures for exchange between organizations.¹⁴⁸

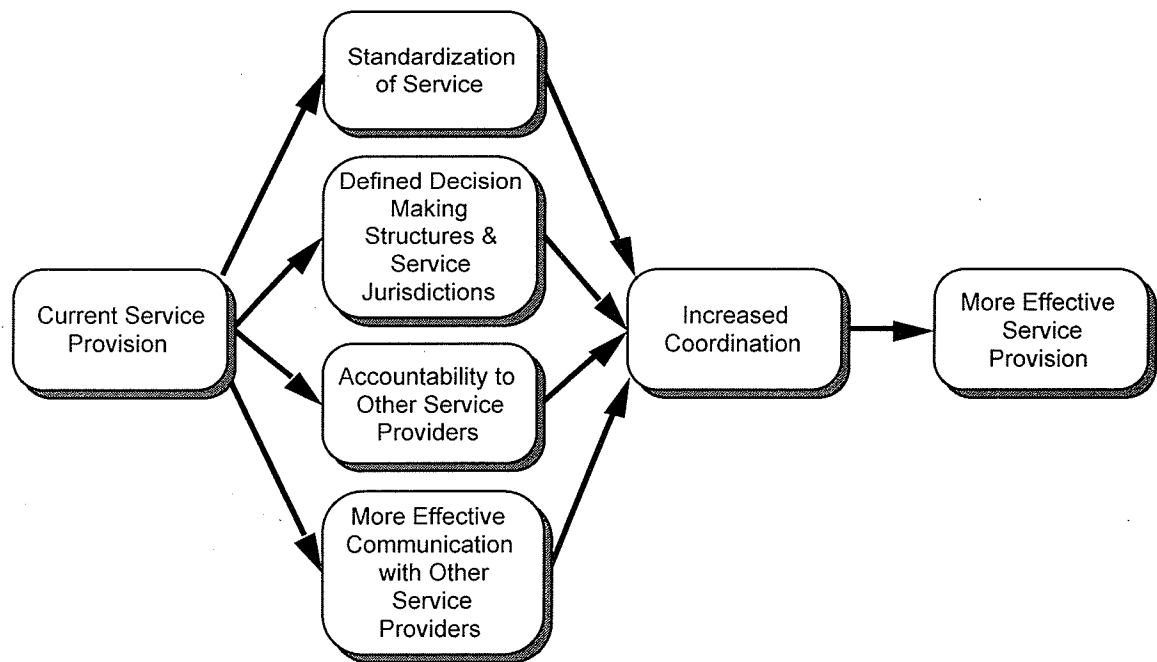
Alter and Hage (1993) state that the dimension of reciprocity is actually one objective of coordination. Achieving some level of compatibility between programs, however, presents a challenge when problems can occur in different organizations and with different workers. They suggest that feedback information becomes particularly important in combating these problems, especially when individualized treatment is being utilized.¹⁴⁹

Popular theory suggests that standardization of interdependent activities is desirable to reach mutual goals of a program and greater coordination. Again, Alter and Hage (1993) argue that coordination in human services is better pursued using feedback mechanisms. They state that because it is impossible to predict treatment or service outcome, predetermined interventions cannot be standardized. On the other hand, feedback is necessary, especially when multiple organizations and problems are being dealt with, because it injects new information into the process.

Marrett's (1971) exploration on relational properties between organizations, as well as other work on the role of coordination in networks in the subsection *Defining Coordination* (4.4.1) appear to be applicable in the study of relationships between Aboriginal service organizations and their environments. Based on this theory, four specific coordination structures that take place in organizations' relationships can be identified. These structures include communication methods, service standardization, decision making structures and service jurisdictions, and lines of accountability. By exploring these elements of relationships in service networks, some understanding of their current effectiveness (with respect to their impact on service delivery) and possibilities for improvements in service delivery can be reached. See Figure 4.3 for a simplified graphic representation of the potential impact of strengthening these methods of coordination.

¹⁴⁸ Marrett, Cora Bageley, "On the Specification of Interorganization Dimensions," in *Sociology and Social Research* (1971), vol. 61, pp. 83-99, cited in Van De Ven, Emmett & Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁹ Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

Figure 4.3: Conceptual Impact Model

4.4.4 NETWORK CONFIGURATIONS

As networks are altered to become systems, they are likely to undergo structural change. Although the current network configuration of Aboriginal service delivery organizations is not explored in-depth in this paper, some discussion of network configuration theory is useful to understand how it might change. This subsection articulates some of the environmental factors and network objectives that currently influence the operations of individual service organizations, and likely to continue to do so in the future. This topic area differs from the one in the previous subsection in that it deals with structures at the overall network level rather than structures at the individual organization level.

Alter and Hage (1993) state that the interorganizational network structures are not coordination methods nor organizational structures. Rather, they suggest that network structures are a result of environmental forces and network goals.¹⁵⁰ They identify five structures that shape or configure interorganizational network systems.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹⁵¹ This list is adapted from Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5, pp. 149-185.

1. *Centrality* in interorganizational network systems is the degree to which the total volume of work flows through a single or few core organizations in the network.¹⁵²
2. The *size* of an interorganizational network system is the number of organizations that participate in the work system.
3. *Complexity* in interorganizational network systems is the number of different service/product sectors presented by the member organizations.
4. *Structural differentiation* in interorganizational network systems is the degree to which there is functional and service specialization among the member organizations of the system.¹⁵³
5. *Connectiveness* in interorganizational networks is the total number of linkages between organizations in a system.

Alter and Hage see centrality as the most important structure in network analysis. They hypothesize that centralized cores form when effectiveness is an interorganizational network objective. Effectiveness is achieved by coordination of decision making or integration of service tasks. They suggest that these methods of control are utilized for various reasons, two of which are explained in the following:

The first condition that leads to centrally patterned work flows in networks is growth in the volume of work. After an interorganizational network system is established, and as time passes, the number of clients perceived to need the service may increase -- regardless of their status. Increased funding is then usually required, and community stakeholders often find it necessary to solicit state and federal funds. As increased state and federal support is obtained, service objectives and regulations are imposed by the funding authorities on the network system. Centrality, due to increasing vertical resource dependency, is for the purpose of controlling the behavior of organizations participating in the system. The federal government pays, and administers from afar.

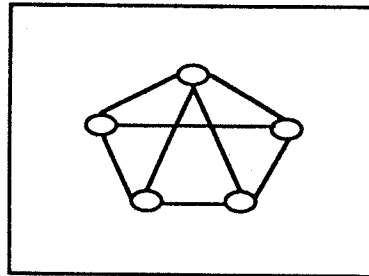
Most Aboriginal organizations are aware of federal involvement in service administration, even outside of network systems. Vertical resource dependency in the above passage refers to a high

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

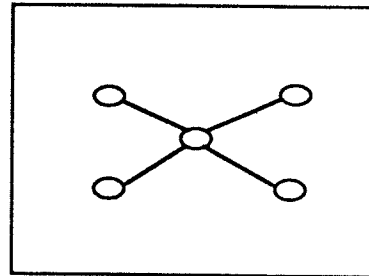
¹⁵³ According to Alter and Hage (1993), "it is primarily the division of function and labor among organizations that is the best indication of structural differentiation. When there is specialization, differentiation is high. Organizations within these systems each provide one or a limited number of services and fulfill one function. ... When specialization is low, there is little differentiation, and the agencies are generalists. Differentiation is : (a) the extent to which organizations fulfill specific functions (intake, assessment, or treatment) and (b) the extent to which agencies specialize by providing one service, as opposed to providing all the services available within the system."

degree of dependency on a revenue source that is further removed from service delivery than the service agency, and is commonly thought to impose tighter restrictions than horizontal sources of revenue, or sources closer to the service front line.¹⁵⁴

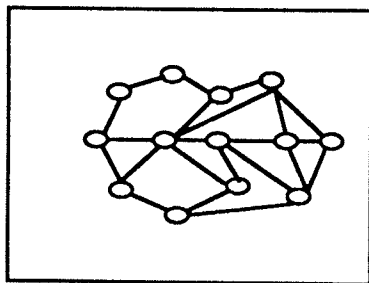
Figure 4.4: Graphs Depicting Different Network Structures



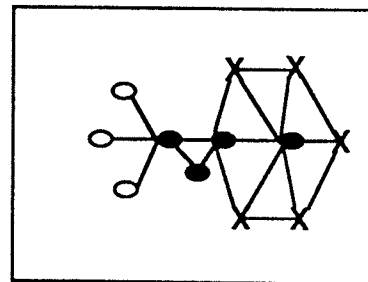
(a) Small highly connected network



(b) Small highly centralized network



(c) Large decentralized non-differentiated network



(d) Large highly complex differentiated network

SOURCE: Alter and Hage (1993), p. 150.

Alter and Hage (1993) also suggest that predictability in service delivery, especially for non-voluntary clients, is another driving force behind centralized networks. For example, if clients have been legally ordered into treatment, this treatment is often seen as risky and very important. Furthermore, the involvement of legal authority produces set paths for client flows and makes organizations involved in treatment more responsible if they fail in their objectives. However, they suggest that centrality can be produced by a number of agencies providing high quality care. The state that:

It is perfectly possible for a number of agencies, which desire to provide very high quality treatment to the same client population, to join together and create a centrally located structure to manage treatment planning and intervention. Many of the new case management projects currently being implemented are of this type and they are under the auspices of either a centralized program administered by the member organizations or a free-standing "governance structure" created by them for this purpose. Within this structure joint decision making by both administrators and workers can occur."

Figure 4.4 shows examples of a number of network configurations. Of course, actual network structures are likely to be unique as they are influenced by different environments, objectives and internal dynamics.

Figure 4.2: Models of Symbiotic Network Development

	embryonic		developed
	Obligational Networks	Promotional Networks	Systemic Networks
Interorganizational Activities:	almost none ad hoc	peripheral segmented	essential enduring
Emergent Properties:	boundary spanners	pooling of resources	division of labor
Goals:	individual member needs	supra-ordinate member problems	supra-ordinate societal problems
Examples:	patterned resource exchanges	federations coalitions	service delivery / systems
	groups supplier associations interlocking directorates	Sematech Chip United Way AFL-CIO	Japanese production systems Keiretsu

SOURCE: Alter & Hage (1993), p. 74.

Alter and Hage (1993) attempt to classify different network configurations along a continuum of increasing coordination, gauged by the types of interactions between organizations in the network. In studying networks in which organizations benefit from cooperation with each other,

called *symbiotic interorganizational networks*, the authors identify three stages of development. They describe embryonic stages of development as *obligational networks* in which almost none or ad hoc interorganizational activities are conducted. *Boundary spanners* -- individuals who engage in networking tasks -- are evident in this stage. In the next stage of development, *promotional networks*, peripheral and segmented interorganizational activities are carried out. Also, a pooling of resources takes place. Developed symbiotic networks are labeled *systemic networks* and are of particular importance when discussing urban Aboriginal service delivery systems. In these networks, a division of labour takes place and activities are essential and enduring. Table 4.2 shows these stages of development in a table format. Of particular note is the example given of service delivery systems under the column of systemic networks.

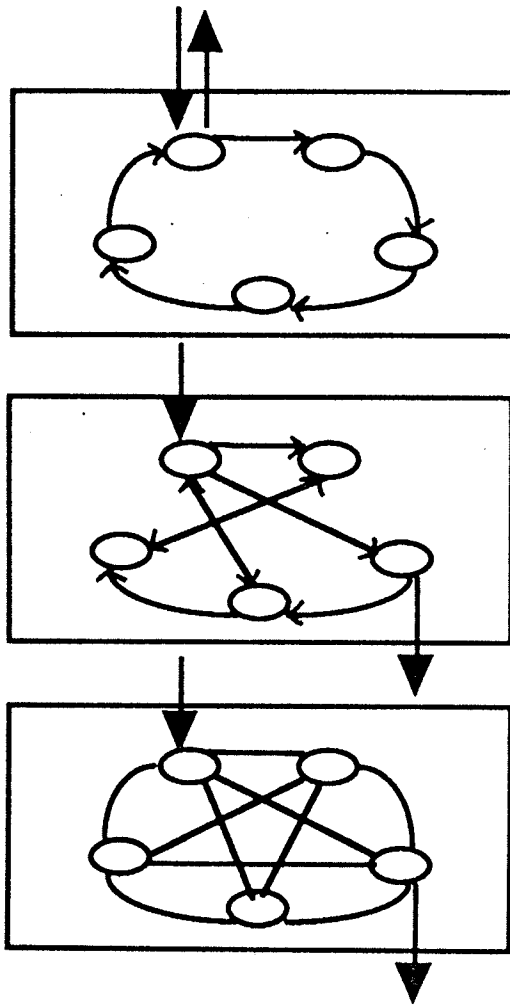
Another way to conceptualize coordination in service delivery is to focus on its impacts on service recipients. Thompson (1967) articulates three patterns of operational coordination that apply to service delivery. These include:

1. Task Integration by Sequential Client Flow, whereby the patient is treated by one agency, service is terminated, and the patient is referred to the next agency for service.
2. Task Integration by Reciprocal Client Flow, whereby the patient is treated simultaneously by more than one agency.
3. Task Integration by Collective Client Flow, whereby the patient is treated simultaneously by staff from several agencies who develop treatment plans together and systematically share tasks.¹⁵⁵

These models graphically portray increasing levels of coordination in service delivery, as shown in Figure 4.5. They demonstrate the need to consider appropriate sequencing of service delivery and linkages between service delivery agencies in network configuration. More importantly, they demonstrate that service delivery integration can have substantial impacts, potentially positive or negative, on service recipients. Depending on the services provided and the needs of clients, they may be appropriate conceptions for service delivery for individuals in the Winnipeg Aboriginal community.

¹⁵⁵

Thompson, J. D. (1967). *Organizations in action*. New York: McGraw-Hill, as cited in Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

Figure 4.5: Models of Task Integration

The Sequential Method—organizations make referrals to and accept referrals from other agencies in the system (clients flow from one organization to another but are served by only one at a time).

The Reciprocal Method—organizations make referrals to and accept referrals from more than one organization in the system (clients are served simultaneously by more than one agency).

The Collective Method—organizations share the work of serving or treating clients (clients are served by agencies whose treatment staff have developed one treatment plan together and who constitute one intervention team).

SOURCE: Adapted from Alter & Hage (1993), p. 97.

Regardless of which network structures are seen to be most important, the complexity of any network makes predictions about the influence of different factors on their configuration difficult. As such, manipulating certain network structures may or may not achieve the desired effect. Alter and Hage (1993), however, suggest a number of hypotheses using the network configuration variables they identified:

1. When network systems are dependent on a single vertical funding source, they will be high in centrality (and vice versa) in order to regulate work objectives and costs.

2. When network systems must serve non-voluntary work, they will be high in centrality to assure accountability.
3. When network systems are vertically dependent, they tend to be large in order to provide the required mix of services.
4. When task volume¹⁵⁶ is high, the size of the network system is larger, especially if the market/need demands a variety of services or products.
5. When network systems are vertically dependent, they tend to be complex in order to provide the required mix of services.
6. When task volume is high, the complexity of the network systems is high if there is pressure for a variety of service or perspectives.
7. In network systems where workers have a broad task scope,¹⁵⁷ structural differentiation is low in order to achieve consensus about service paradigms and methods.
8. In network systems with high task volume,¹⁵⁸ especially when duration is also high, structural differentiation is high in order to routinize and standardize service.
9. In network systems that have a large number of involuntary clients, structural differentiation is high because of the need for a high level of client control.
10. When network systems are vertically dependent, network systems are low in connectivity in order to increase efficiency.
11. In network systems with high task volume, the connectivity of the systems is low in order to control work flow.

While the application of these hypotheses are beyond the scope of this paper, they have some merit in identifying some of the potential influences on present and future network structures.

Some case study research has suggested particular network structures that appear to be effective in multi-organization service delivery. Based on the experiences of five demonstration projects attempting to coordinate the care of mentally handicapped clients, Hage (1975) put forth

¹⁵⁶ *Task volume* as defined by the authors is "the average number of [cases] that must be processed simultaneously by the worker." Alter and Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁵⁷ *Task scope* refers to "the degree to which tasks are variable and require a multidisciplinary or multidimensional approach." *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁵⁸ *Task duration* is defined as "the total length of time it takes to produce or process one unit of output." *Ibid.*, p. 120.

recommendations for creating interdependent organizational networks. He suggested that organizations serving clients with multiple service needs form stable and relatively permanent coalitions with joint programs and central record keeping. Funding would flow through the coalition (and not through single organizations) to avoid the threat of hegemony by the administering organization and to preserve traditional corporate identities and sources of revenue. While organizations would have to sacrifice some autonomy, they would gain much more power to influence their environment and resource allocation. Hage recommended the creation of a "supracorporate board" made up of representatives from three main interest groups in order to have their needs met: the elite (such as representatives of funding agencies), service professionals, and service consumers. These boards would not be intended to act as centralized decision making bodies. Rather decision making would be approached cooperatively between organizations at the service delivery level through the creation and administration of joint programs. Joint programming increases the visibility of service provision and the communication of new technologies between organizations, and as such, serves as a highly tuned evaluation mechanism.¹⁵⁹ These suggestions to facilitate network coordination may or may not be appropriate for Aboriginal service delivery in Winnipeg.

It should be suggested that initiatives to fully coordinate service delivery systems should be tempered by achievable goals. According to White, Levine, and Vlasak (1975), three customary attempts to integrate health systems have facilitated change, but have been largely unsuccessful in terms of total system integration. These attempts are classified as change driven by councils of peers, "outsiders" with sanctions, and "consumers" with sanctions. The council of peers has been said to increase communication but does not substantially affect relationships between organizations. In the second type of initiative, outsiders, defined as community councils, are put in place to review community needs and the organizations that serve it, and allocate resources accordingly. These initiatives are said to fail in modifying organizations' behaviour due to the infinity of community needs, lack of consensus on priorities, and the actors' parochial commitments to one another. Categorical federal funding is labeled as another type of outsider intervention. While partially effective, federal resource allocation priorities does not ensure integration and often leads to splinter groups in the system. Centralized decision making to redefine organizations' operations is said to be undermined by organizations' flexible use of categorical funds. In the third type of initiative, service consumers have a primary decision making role. Consumers with sanctions refers to consumers with vouchers for service to receive treatment where they wish. Unfortunately, once the consumer is in the system, organization staff decide where the clients are referred and as such, consumers have little control. Finally, consumer representation on decision making boards often result in a priorities such as the generation of local employment rather than system integration.¹⁶⁰ All of the above past initiatives reveal the difficulties in reaching total system integration. They suggest that

¹⁵⁹ Hage, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-231.

¹⁶⁰ White, Levine, & Vlasak, (1975), pp. 193-194.

regardless of who initiates change in a system, increasing coordination should be viewed as a process rather than a single objective.

4.4.5 ORGANIZATION CONFIGURATIONS

A number of organization models in the literature may have relevance for the future organization of Aboriginal service agencies into government structures. While the previously reviewed literature is concerned with network configurations, this subsection describes organizational configurations that are similar in form to networks. As such, they can apply to the study of service delivery systems in the same manner. The following are models presented only as possibilities in order to facilitate discussion regarding future forms of service delivery systems. These models of organizations are Matrix Organizations, Committee Structures and Plural Executives, Conglomerate Structures, and Interstitial Organizations.

4.4.5.1 Matrix Organizations

While considered organizations, matrix organizations are based on a network configuration. Heffron (1989) defines them as organic systems, based on fluid, non-hierarchical structures.¹⁶¹ Authority is based on a dual chain of command that recognizes knowledge, competence and expertise. Its communication system is based on a complex network and carries information and advice rather than instructions and decisions. However, Heffron (1989) notes that matrix organizations tend to have some familiar problems.

[M]atrix organizations are subject to their own pathologies: power struggles, anarchy (no one identified as clearly in command or responsible), groupitis (pressure for all decisions to be group decisions), excessive overhead, and decision strangulation (decision-making is slowed by the inability of team members to make decisions without clearing them with supervisors) and the consequent escalation of conflict to higher levels.¹⁶²

Its advantages, however, are worth noting. Structural flexibility and the ability to respond quickly to problems are assets of matrix organizations. They allow for the optional use of specialists and provide employees with a challenging, diverse and constantly changing work environment.

¹⁶¹ Heffron, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

4.4.5.2 *Committee Structures And Plural Executives*

Organizations administered by committees and plural executives allow decision making power in the organization to be seated in more than one person. Like any other model it has both advantages and disadvantages. Its multiple top level decision makers allows maximum member participation and encourages specialization. As such, decision making can incorporate diverse points of view and expertise of the organization's members. However, this structure is also said to fragment power that can interfere with efficient operations. Heffron (1989) states that:

Indecisiveness, hesitation, and slowness become the most notable characteristics of the organization. The participatory, decentralized nature of the decision process determines the way decisions are most commonly made: through bargaining, negotiating, and compromises. The decisions thus reached may not be most appropriate for the problems or issues at stake but instead are an inconsistent conglomeration of ideas put together to obtain majority support.¹⁶³

4.4.5.3 *Conglomerate Structures*

Organizations with conglomerate structures consist of independent units with important interdependencies.¹⁶⁴ Their main disadvantage is their frequent problems with coordination and control of member organizations. However, the typical size of conglomerate organizations assist individual member organizations in protecting themselves politically. According to Heffron (1989), "... a program that loses favor may be protected by the parent organization from some of the adverse consequences of political neglect or hostility." As well, "[t]he diversity and size of a conglomerate may also assist it in attracting new resources and new programs because it may be able to demonstrate that it already has the expertise and experience necessary to implement it."¹⁶⁵

4.4.5.4 *Interstitial Organizations*

Interstitial organizations consist of members from organizations in a network. They act as linkages in interorganizational networks, promoting exchanges and coordination between other organizations in the network. As such, interstitial organizations serve to reduce conflict.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁶ Bates, F. L., & Bacon, L., "The community as a social system," in *Social Forces* (1972), vol. 53, p. 377, cited in Mulford, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

4.4.6 SUMMARY

Coordination is defined as an important activity that takes place in relationships between organizations in a network. It is seen as an effort to regulate tasks in a network to work towards goals of that network. Coordination can be considered to be a process that can involve the transfer of both information and resources. The more coordination that takes place in the network, the more likely it will act as a unit to constitute a system. Motivations and conditions that facilitate coordination include a willingness to cooperate and a need for information exchange, resources, adaptive abilities, the promotion and protection of common interests, and the ability to adjudicate disputes. In many service networks, organizations engage in coordination in efforts to better serve their overlapping client groups. Coordination enables choices to be made about appropriate linking of services. Though network coordination can often further overall network goals, it unfortunately can sometimes be at the expense of individual organizations in the network.

Coordinated networks must be able to overcome four functional problems to survive: they must enable system participants to attain their goals, they must integrate the actions of system members, they must be able to adapt the system to its environment, and they must ensure that activities, norms and values of participants are consistent with those of the system. The performance of networks is based on their comprehensiveness in system functions, accessibility to clients and compatibility of constituent organizations' operations.

Marrett (1971) identified four key dimensions in exploring characteristics of relationships between organizations: formalization, intensity, reciprocity and standardization. Feedback mechanisms were identified as particularly important in effective coordination in service delivery. Based on definitions of linkages in networks and Marrett's work, four coordination structures (or methods) that partially define relationships between individual organizations and their environments are identified: communication methods, service standardization, decision making structures and service jurisdictions, and lines of accountability. Alternately, Alter and Hage (1993) identify five network structures that influence network configuration: centrality, size, complexity, structural differentiation, and connectiveness. Centrality, or the degree to which work in the network flows through a single or a few core organizations, is seen as the most influential structure. The types of activities that take place between organizations in a network are also seen as a strong influence on its configuration. For example, the degree to which information and resource sharing takes place and the degree to which client treatment is integrated are some of the activities that define a network configuration. Alter and Hage (1993) put forth a number of hypotheses which view network configuration as a function of the activity types and characteristics that take place in the network.

4.4.7 RESEARCH APPLICATIONS

If Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg constitute a network, research into the linkages that exist between organizations in the network is needed to define these linkages and search for improvements in service delivery. To provide justification for conceptualizing organizations as part of a network, the primary research component of this project attempts to verify potential motivations and conditions for organizations' participation in a network. In addition, some of the variables identified by Marrett (1971) are adapted for use in a research questionnaire. Using similar theoretical underpinnings, the four specific coordination structures (communication methods, service standardization, decision making structures and service jurisdictions, and lines of accountability) are researched to define the relationships that exist between organizations and possible alteration to those relationship to improve service delivery. Also, the types of activities that take place in relationships between organizations and their environment are researched.

4.5 POTENTIAL ROLES OF ABORIGINAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, there seems to have been a definite focus on the legislative justification for Aboriginal self-government while assuming that this end would automatically provide better service delivery. However, this is not necessarily the case. A primary justification for legislating and implementing self-government is that it is a means to more effective service delivery. Identifying the roles that Aboriginal service organizations currently play or could play in the future, administratively and operationally, would help to ensure that a self-government structure would indeed incorporate an improved service delivery system.

At present, there are two levels of organization at which existing Aboriginal service delivery agencies are operating. The first, most obvious, is that of organizations or agencies providing services as their primary function. Most service agencies are currently incorporated as not-for-profit organizations, and as such, are bound by applicable legislation regarding their operations. As not-for-profit organizations, they are not often thought of as a component in a system of service delivery. The following section explores Aboriginal organizations, seen separately and collectively, in their roles as service providers.

The second manner in which organizations can interact with their environments is politically. Aboriginal organizations can perform a political function to influence government policy and other environmental factors that shape and bind them. While many organizations have been attempting to influence policy individually in specific service areas, they can potentially be much more effective by grouping together. Despite the historic divisions between them, these organizations can be considered as a pressure group in the policy community¹⁶⁷ of urban

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Pross (1995) defines the players in policy making as the *policy community* and describes

Aboriginal service delivery. Their role in the policy community likely goes beyond most of the mandates of these service organizations. However, they have a great impact as experts in the operations of service delivery and, therefore, can have a major role in its reform. The stronger the interconnections between individual organizations, the more unified and effective they can be in lobbying for policy changes. Through establishing shared goals and objectives, and coordinated communication with government and the media, organizations can collectively establish themselves as a powerful interest or pressure group. The subsection *Service Organizations as Pressure Groups* (4.5.2) explores this issue further.

4.5.1 SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING SERVICES

A number of different types of institutions currently serve Aboriginal peoples in cities, many of which are run by Aboriginal people. According to Frideres (1993), these organizations differ in how much they are able to resist assimilation tendencies in their operations. The definition of Aboriginal organization typologies is useful in understanding the philosophical underpinnings and effectiveness of the urban institutions serving Aboriginal people.

Frideres (1993) suggests that a major the driving force behind the urban-rural migration of many First Nations people is reserve community characteristics, as well as poor housing availability and employment opportunities.¹⁶⁸ He states that the federal government has provided substandard services to First Nations people on reserves, particularly in housing, to encourage them to abandon reserves and treaty rights and migrate to urban areas where provision of most Aboriginal social services are the responsibility of provincial governments.¹⁶⁹ He indicates that the level of services in many Aboriginal communities has dire consequences for people that migrate to cities.

[Most Native people from reserves or Métis colonies] are poorly prepared for urban life. Educational standards on the reserves and colonies have been considerably below those in other Canadian schools. The quality of social services, particularly for housing and health, has been well below national norms. Not surprisingly, the lifestyle of the rural Native has adapted to inferior levels of education, work experience, housing and health.¹⁷⁰

them as "groupings of government agencies, pressure groups, media people, and individuals, including academics, who, for various reasons, have an interest in a particular policy field and attempt to influence it."

¹⁶⁸ Frideres, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-67.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

Frideres states that due to this poor quality of social services that First Nations people get on reserves, they are predisposed to be unsuccessful in urban institutions such as schools, work and/or obtaining social services. As well, due to their poverty and lifestyles, Aboriginal peoples are more likely to come into contact with police forces. He states, "In the end, most Natives are not successful in adapting to city life."¹⁷¹

Frideres (1993) breaks organizations that deal with urban Aboriginal issues into four categories: public service agencies, acculturating service agencies, accommodating service agencies and member organizations.¹⁷² Public service organizations are defined as agencies which work within the prevailing Canadian system of values and beliefs to provide a minimum level of service to the general public in areas such justice, education or welfare. They are seen as mechanisms through which individuals can participate in the larger society. Frideres (1993) states that these organizations have by and large failed Aboriginal peoples in this goal and "... often present a barrier that denies Natives entry into the mainstream of urban Canadian life."¹⁷³

Accultural service organizations attempt to culturally integrate Aboriginal peoples into "White" culture. They include organizations such as post-secondary institutions, provincial apprenticeship branches, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and the Alberta Opportunity Fund (a source of credit for small businesses). In attempting to better integrate Aboriginal peoples into mainstream society, these service agencies may be denying people their respective cultural heritage. Because these agencies typically use a referral system, they only accept clients who have a good chance of being successful in their programs.

Accommodating service organizations attempt to assist clients to better "fit" into operations of public service and acculturalization organizations. Frideres suggests that these organizations actually do little to accommodate Aboriginal clients because they are dependent on outside agencies, driven by non-Aboriginal values, for funding.

Member organizations are the only agencies which "work against the assimilation of Natives into the mainstream of Canadian society" and represent Aboriginal peoples as a distinct ethnic group. Among other functions, they provide employment for some Aboriginal people, promote cultural revitalization, encourage the development of an Aboriginal elite, and "provide a broad range of social support necessary to allow people to lead a Native lifestyle." These organizations include Aboriginal political organizations and Indian and Métis friendship centres. However, their effectiveness is limited because they cannot find culturally appropriate employment for their members.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 273, see also Boldt, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 273-80.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

Table 4.3: Attributes of Types of Service Organizations

Organizational type	Selected attributes of organizations					
	Organizational effectiveness	Value representative	Membership recruitment	Extent of services	Ethnic comp. of staff	Ability to place clients
Public Service	High	Middle-class	Mass ^a	Singular	Middle-class; White	High
Acculturating Service	High	Middle-class	Very selective ^b	Multiple; Integrated	Middle-class; White	High
Accommodating Service	Low	Native	Mass	Singular	Mixed-Native; middle-class; White	Low
Member	Moderate	Native	Mass; Native	Singular	Native	Low

^a Recruitment is selective, yet the service offered are considered the right of all citizens.

^b Recruitment is usually based on a sponsorship basis.

SOURCE: Adapted from Frideres (1993), p. 274.

Frideres writes that as the number of Aboriginal individuals migrating to urban areas has been increasing, the effectiveness of public service and acculturation organizations has decreased and expenses have risen as Aboriginal persons have a higher likelihood of being "problem" clients. In an attempt to better integrate Aboriginal peoples, accommodating organizations have been given more legitimacy and funding and an increased number of clients have been transferred to these agencies. However, accommodating agencies have eventually fallen under the same criticism as public service and acculturation organizations in that they have limited effectiveness. Frideres hypothesized that this trend is due to their promotion of Aboriginal cultures and lifestyles, which prevents clients of these organizations from being successful in the usual channels of success in Canadian urban society. Aboriginal clients of such agencies still cannot find appropriate work and often perpetually require the services of these organizations. As well, funding for accommodating agencies is generally inadequate for addressing larger issues within the urban Aboriginal community as it is usually short-term and/or project based.

According to Frideres, agencies serving the urban Aboriginal population are often unsuccessful in helping Aboriginal peoples due to their assimilation orientation. This orientation is often promoted through organizations' structures, which are influenced by the values of non-Aboriginal governments through administration, legal status and/or funding arrangements. As well, accommodating agencies in particular are often seen as unsuccessful because Aboriginal people who use their services are not able to retain their values when participating in urban society. The definitions of success for Aboriginal organizations here raise some interesting questions. For example, is Aboriginal participation in mainstream society a form of cultural corruption, and can Aboriginal cultures survive if Aboriginal peoples are participants in Canadian society? As well, can Aboriginal people benefit from non-Aboriginal services at all? Are Aboriginal agencies that promote involvement with mainstream Canada destined to reinforce the status quo? While there are no easy answers to these questions, every Aboriginal organization must address these questions at some level. They must decide if their fundamental philosophy promotes the integration of Aboriginal service delivery into existing dominant institutions or promotes segregated services for Aboriginal people.

Striking a balance between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal lifestyles seems to be an integral part of survival for the urban Aboriginal resident. While not universally accepted, Tizya's (1992) idea of *bicultural* survival seems especially relevant here. She defines *bicultural* as people who are able to function well in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal worlds.¹⁷⁴ While non-Aboriginal organizations, such as post secondary institutions and business entrepreneurship programs, may be in many ways an affront to Aboriginal traditions, they can also be seen as one of many vehicles for the survival of Aboriginal cultures in modern society. Perhaps the benefits of Aboriginal participation in Canadian institutions should be judged by the degree that participants

¹⁷⁴ Tizya, Rosalee, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

are able to retain their values in doing so. As Boldt (1993) states regarding First Nations people, Indians are going survive as *Indians* if it is on their own terms.¹⁷⁵

In an era of shrinking budgets, partnerships in service delivery seems to be the rallying cry of the 1990's. Not surprisingly, Aboriginal organizations are increasingly working in conjunction with non-Aboriginal governments to provide services to the population. As a fairly novel arrangement, few of these relationships currently exist. The Aboriginal organizations involved have relatively autonomous mandates and work with existing governments to complement the services of the other party. These arrangements might be considered to be attempts to assimilate Aboriginal people to the extent that they can utilize non-Aboriginal services. For example, an Aboriginal school might be seen as preparing children to cope in non-Aboriginal post-secondary institutions. Alternately, these arrangements may be seen as a pragmatic strategy for Aboriginal organizations to make effective use of their resources by concentrating on service areas that are of particular importance. In this manner, Aboriginal values can be represented in service delivery by Aboriginal organizations, which can interact with systems based on non-Aboriginal values only when it is in their best interests. As well, Aboriginal organizations with little or no jurisdiction in certain areas can gain power in the decision making of non-Aboriginal institutions. If one of the justifications for Aboriginal self-government is combating inappropriate service provision by public service agencies, cooperative initiatives, with true power sharing among the parties involved, would help to counteract the effects of non-Aboriginal governments operating independently of Aboriginal organizations. As stated earlier, effective examples of these arrangements may have a place in the structure of Aboriginal self-government in cities.

Although Aboriginal service organizations in Winnipeg may be classified as either acculturating service agencies, accommodating service agencies or member organizations, they all serve the same client community. As defined in the introduction to this section (*Theory of Service Organizations in Networks*), these organizations can be seen as part of a service delivery network. As such, they can work together provided they are able to agree upon network goals, one of which may be the coordination of service delivery. However, this would be no small task as there are fundamental differences in their explicit or implicit mandates.

4.5.2 SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS AS PRESSURE GROUPS

As discussed in the introduction of this subsection, an expanded role of Aboriginal service organizations is that of a pressure group. Pross (1995) states that pressure groups perform a number of functions to influence governments to accommodate the special interests of their members. These functions include the legitimization of member interests, service administration, regulatory functions, and most importantly communication linkages between the

¹⁷⁵ Boldt, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

government and the special public affected by specific policy. He suggests that not only are the pressure groups effective in persuading government and the public, they occupy a necessary place in the formulation of government policy. Pross (1995) states that, "[p]ressure groups have become prominent because they are effective where parties fail. They can identify and articulate the views and needs of individuals who may live far apart but who share common interests," something which is difficult for a spatially oriented political party.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, pressure groups occupy a unique role in their function as communicators and legitimizers. They can sometimes act as political brokers to facilitate the policy making process to their advantage.

Pressure groups ... have an ability to cross organization lines that is denied more formal actors such as government departments. They can, therefore, act as go-betweens, provide opportunities for quiet meetings between warring agencies, and keep the policy process in motion. These services, together with their ability to evaluate policy and develop opinion, make pressure groups integral members of the policy community.¹⁷⁷

Not surprisingly, Pross (1995) states that in order for interests to reach the status of pressure groups, they must be brought together in structured relationships to express their common interests. Once organized, individuals with special interests can collectively influence public policy.

In political life, there are many interests, and over time a considerable number exert influence in the public process. But unless these interests have access to more resources than do most individuals and the majority of companies, they lack the ability to sustain their influence. Unaggregated demand, as political scientists call the political demands of individual persons and corporations, tends to occur sporadically and on a piecemeal basis. ... For most of those who want to take part in this process, the only feasible way to do so is to band together, to share costs, to deploy at appropriate times the different talents that participation requires, even simply to maintain continuity as the process unfolds -- in other words, to organize.¹⁷⁸

Organizations would have to agree on common political objectives if they are to work together. While Aboriginal service organizations can be considered a network as a function of occupying a similar operating environment, having similar structures and serving the same client community, they often hold minor or significant differences in their orientations. For example, some organizations are focused on service integration with dominant institutions and others that are striving for segregated institutions. As well, some organizations have more resources (such as financial and human resources) and/or are better able to mobilize those resources towards

¹⁷⁶ Pross (1995), p 252 - 253.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

political initiatives that other organizations.¹⁷⁹ However, if joint political goals can be established, the ability to politically influence the operating environments of all organizations would be significantly increased.

Pross (1995) defines the players in policy making as the *policy community* and describes them as "groupings of government agencies, pressure groups, media people, and individuals, including academics, who, for various reasons, have an interest in a particular policy field and attempt to influence it." He states that there are two segments in this community: the *subgovernment* (the policy making body) and the *attentive public* (the policy review body). Some national Aboriginal political organizations have become part of subgovernment dealing with policy affecting Aboriginal peoples. Their place in the subgovernment was altogether evident during the *Charlottetown Accord* negotiations which involved the Assembly of First Nations, the Inuit Taspirisat, the Métis National Council, the Native Council of Canada and the Native Women's Association of Canada.

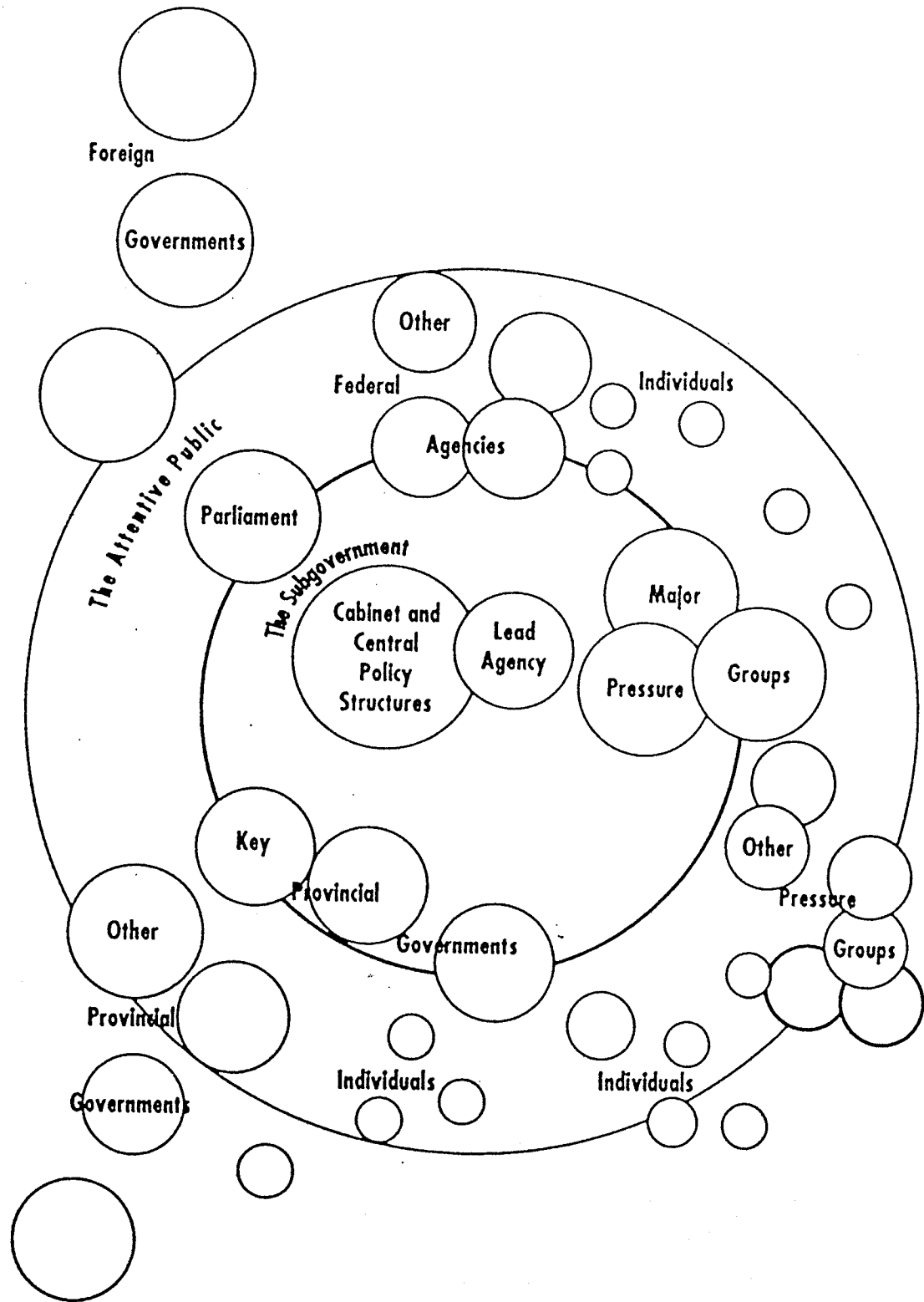
When it comes to the formation of government policy, Aboriginal service agencies are currently in a reactive position that has arguably not served them very well. They cannot be classified as part of the subgovernment of the policy community as they are often not even consulted let alone being in a position to negotiate policy with the government. They often find their only means to influence policy is public protest of government departments. As well, the interests of urban Aboriginal peoples have been claimed to be represented by national and provincial Aboriginal political bodies. In the case of First Nations organizations, urban people can only participate in the political process through an organization that is based outside cities. These political organizations may represent their constituents on the legislative and constitutional front, but tend not to exercise political influence in the areas of service delivery for the urban community.

As a result of the lack of power they experience, some Aboriginal service organizations have recently started to increase their role in political sphere and begun to lobby on their own behalves. As government and Aboriginal political and service organizations begin to recognize the place of service organizations in the development of Aboriginal policy in urban areas, their role in policy making may increase. It should be noted, however, that the present policy community, which includes national and provincial Aboriginal political bodies, may not be open to the participation of urban Aboriginal service organizations. As Pross (1995) notes, "the policy community is a protective device, limiting rather than expanding the opportunities for the public at large to achieve major policy changes."¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ See Frideres, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-16, for a more in-depth discussion of resources and interest groups.

¹⁸⁰ Pross (1995), p. 268.

Figure 4.6: The Policy Community



SOURCE: Pross (1995), p. 267

The role of pressure groups in policy making, however, has frequently come under fire. Special interests (which may be considered to include Aboriginal interests) are said to be challenging the fundamentals of the party politics. Pross (1994) sums up the charges leveled at pressure groups in the following:

1. they do not actually represent the people they claim to speak for.
2. their internal decision making processes are frequently undemocratic, dominated by an elite and not the membership at large.
3. the tactics used by some groups abuse the canons of civil discourse in politics.
4. some groups unnecessarily polarize issues, encouraging their members to take extreme positions and to refuse to compromise.
5. even those groups that do not engage in the politics of polarization often pursue their narrow special interests at the expense of the broader public good.¹⁸¹

He notes that these criticisms do not apply equally to all interest groups, although most Canadian groups probably do select their leaders through indirect election and are dominated by small cadres of dedicated members and employees. However, Davis (1993) notes that critics often overlook the benefits of interest group involvement in public debates. Interest groups help to "create a civil society" by fostering public spiritedness and motivation, increasing knowledgeability about public issues, promoting innovation, and helping to mobilize the public.¹⁸² While Pross (1994) recognizes that the debate over the potential fragmentation of the "public interest" is important, he sees the rise of new pressure group politics as being largely about the redistribution of power.

It is unfortunate, however, that it begins by associating fragmentation only with those groups that saw in the constitutional debate an opportunity to seek a redistribution of power in the political system. After all, women's groups, aboriginal groups, and minority groups were only following in the footsteps of other, more established interests. Accompanying the rise of pressure groups have been a tendency for institutionalized groups -- the majority representing business interests -- to dominate debate within policy communities.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Pross, Paul A., "The Pressure Group Conundrum," in Bickerton & Gagnon, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

¹⁸² Davis, Bruce (1993). "Pressure Groups in Canada and Australia" Talk. School for Resource and Environmental Studies, 15 March, cited in Pross (1994), p. 177.

¹⁸³ Pross (1995), p. 272.

Pross (1995) suggests that pressure groups can be compared to each other along a continuum of institutionalization, shown in Figure 4.7. On one end of the continuum, group objectives are single, narrowly defined and group organizational features include a small membership and no paid staff. On the highly institutionalized end of the scale, groups have multiple, broadly defined, collective and selective objectives and extensive human and financial resources. Many Aboriginal service organizations might be categorized as either fledgling or mature pressure groups (but not fully institutionalized) because their objectives are often multiple but closely related or multiple, broadly defined and collective. As well, these organizations usually have a small staff with some professionals and limited alliances with other groups.¹⁸⁴

The institutionalization of special interests should be approached cautiously. As mentioned previously, one of the major criticisms leveled at some Aboriginal organizations is their perceived lack of Aboriginal cultural elements in their internal structures. Pross' (1995) pressure group theory encourages the eventual development of institutions that embody the values of their membership, and reflect these values in their structures.¹⁸⁵ However, the development of pressure group institutions also suggests an alignment of special interests with government decision making processes in order to communicate with policy makers.

Once started on the road to institutionalization, the pressure group more readily wins the attention of government officials, and at the same time, is more likely to adapt to shifts in government policy processes. This largely follows from the decision to hire professionals. Because they are familiar with the way in which policy is made, professional analysts, managers, and lobbyists guide the group away from some lines of action and encourage others.¹⁸⁶

Most Aboriginal service organizations have yet to form pressure group institutions in their operations. While organized pressure groups may be the most effective manner to influence policy, it very well may carry the cost of conformity to established government practices. While these practices are not automatically contrary to Aboriginal cultural norms, some Aboriginal organizations have come under fire for the perception that they have been co-opted by government in their operations. Aboriginal organizations must be able to balance their need to participate in the lobbying process with the maintenance of Aboriginal based practices in their organizations. Some of these institutions may want to begin to rethink their relationship with government, and its influence on their development.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

Figure 4.7: The Continuum Framework

Categories	Group Characteristics							
	Objectives				Organizational Features			
	single, narrowly defined	multiple but closely related	multiple, broadly defined & collective	multiple, broadly defined, collective & selective	small membership / no paid staff	membership can support small staff	alliances with other groups / staff includes professionals	extensive human & financial resources
Institutionalized								
Mature								
Fledgling								
Nascent								

SOURCE: Adapted from Pross (1995), p. 262.

5. CHARACTERISTICS OF EXISTING ABORIGINAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

This section raises some important issues in considering the current state of Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg as a basis for the development of self-government. Some assessment of the characteristics and capacities of existing service networks is necessary in order to develop them further. Compared to other large urban centres in Canada, Winnipeg has a proportionately large number of Aboriginal organizations operating with varying levels of autonomy. Services provided by these organizations are mostly considered in area of social service, focusing on cultural preservation. They range from Aboriginal run schools to child welfare, from language training to employment training, from an acculturation centre to political organizations.

As mentioned in the *Introduction* of this paper, service delivery for Aboriginal peoples is generally inappropriate and/or inadequate in meeting the needs of the urban population. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) conference proceedings, entitled *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues*,¹⁸⁷ highlighted this fact with the numerous statements by the many Aboriginal leaders present at the conference. The document records two primary problems with service delivery to urban Aboriginal peoples: the fundamental nature of their needs and the structure and financing of services responding to their needs. RCAP Commissioners repeatedly heard about the need for healing and holistic approaches to service delivery. The report suggests that Aboriginal peoples must come to terms with their environment, constructed largely by the past and present wrongs inflicted on them. As the report states, "[Aboriginal people] say that they need spiritual renewal and restoration of culture in order to become whole human beings again."¹⁸⁸ As well, service delivery was thought to be too oriented towards dealing with specific problems, and as a consequence, is only able to deal with symptoms rather than restoring the wholeness of the individual. Holism was cited as a more culturally appropriate manner in which to help Aboriginal people in need. Also, resources were said to be inadequate to deal with the magnitude of the need in urban Aboriginal communities. Many of the solutions proposed by Aboriginal conference participants were related to the transfer of authority for service provision to Aboriginal service organizations in areas of funding and programming. However, conference participants did not seem unified in their opinions regarding whether organizations should be delivering services to specific or all Aboriginal groups. Long term, stable funding of Aboriginal organizations was also stated as necessary for the development of Aboriginal organizations

¹⁸⁷ Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

during another conference entitled *Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Areas*, organized by the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University in May of 1994.¹⁸⁹

A recent study by Clatworthy, Hull and Loughren (1995) provides specific information about the state of Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg, as well as in Toronto and Edmonton.¹⁹⁰ It profiles these organizations in terms of the service areas in which they operate, the community they serve, their management, their financing and the evolution of their organization. The authors write, "... the study attempts to provide some baseline information which can serve as a reference point for assessing alternative plans and approaches to developing and implementing Aboriginal self-government in urban areas." They authors designed criteria to gather information only on specific types of organizations each of which had the following characteristics:

1. the organization provides primarily services or benefits for permanent urban Aboriginal residents, which make up a majority of the client base of the organization;
2. the organization has substantial decision making power, separate from its parent organization, in its operation;
3. the organization is effectively controlled by Aboriginal people that can exercise authority over either service policy or organizational finances;
4. the organization does not seek to make a profit.¹⁹¹

The authours of the study state that interviews were conducted to probe for information "... concerning structural and operational characteristics of the organization and were designed to explore the organization's relationship to the urban Aboriginal population and to other organizations, the level and nature of Aboriginal ownership and control of the organization and the extent to which the organization exercises operational independence."¹⁹² Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren were able to interview 22 of the 25 urban Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg that met their criteria for the study. They summarized some of the main themes of these interviews in the following points:

¹⁸⁹ Peters, Evelyn J., ed., *op. cit.*.

¹⁹⁰ Clatworthy, Stewart, Jeremy Hull & Neil Loughren, "Urban Aboriginal Organizations: Edmonton, Toronto, and Winnipeg," in Peters, Evelyn J., ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 25-81.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

1. **A large number and diverse range of urban Aboriginal organizations are currently operating in Winnipeg.** The group of organizations contains a few large organizations and several small service providers delivering (individually) a fairly narrow range of services.
2. **As a group, Winnipeg's organizations have a large base of members although a significant portion of the membership appears not [to] be active.** Organizations (as a collective) reported more than 6900 members. Members participating in recent organizational elections, however, totaled about 1600, only a small fraction of the city's Aboriginal population.
3. **Winnipeg urban Aboriginal organizations exhibit a high level of Aboriginal exclusivity in terms of clients, management and staffing.** Although almost exclusively focused on the Aboriginal population, these organizations also reported a high level of interaction with the broader social service system and with non-Aboriginal service providers.
4. **Winnipeg appears to be the only study area where Métis, status Indian and pan-Aboriginal political organizations are presently functioning simultaneously.** In all cases, however, the activities of these organizations appear to be quite limited by resources.
5. **There is recent evidence in Winnipeg of pan-organizational initiatives which have resulted in the formation of new projects and organizations.** This situation appears to be unique among the study areas.¹⁹³

The data collected shows that urban Aboriginal service organizations are being formed more frequently than in the past and suggests they are becoming better organized to meet the needs of their client population. More than 60 percent of the Winnipeg organizations were formed in the last decade, and almost a third of them were formed through efforts of existing, often Aboriginal, organizations. This increase in the number of groups may be largely due to funding from the recent Core Area Initiative, a tripartite government agreement operating in Winnipeg that targeted the inner city Aboriginal population in its programming. However, the Aboriginal leadership in Winnipeg were obviously involved in priority setting and organizational efforts in forming these groups.

The increase in groups may also be due to recognition by service agencies that there is a growing need for appropriate services for Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. As mentioned previously, many Aboriginal leaders in cities have expressed concern over the current shortage of appropriate services and the growing numbers of people who need those services. Interorganizational cooperation in the formation of new agencies may be a response to perceived gaps in service delivery by focused organizations already working with the target population.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 62.

Such cooperation, as well as other interorganizational structural relationships, may be the beginnings of an overall coordinated service network in Winnipeg.

The study showed that 79 percent of all the organizations surveyed stated that they followed an Aboriginal philosophy, but this philosophy tended to be articulated in vague, fragmentary and imprecise terms. As mentioned in the *Theory of Service Organizations in Networks* (4) section, decision making structures need to be designed into the development of new systems of governance. The data suggests more work could be done in this area.

Most of the organizations in all three survey areas (Winnipeg, Toronto and Edmonton) could be classified as primarily fulfilling a social service role, and "viewed their mission as improving the range and/or quality of social services available to Aboriginal people."¹⁹⁴ As portrayed in Table 5.1, a wide range of services are provided to the Aboriginal population in all three cities, with adult education/training services, political/advocacy functions, religious/cultural/spiritual services, employment referrals/counseling, recreational services, housing services, general community development, and youth programming/counseling being the most predominant in Winnipeg.¹⁹⁵ The existence of these service organizations reinforces the idea that cultural preservation and economic development are the most needy areas for appropriate service for Aboriginal peoples in cities. Of course, the formation of these organizations have much to do with the conditions and environment in which they exist. For example, it would be difficult to form an emergency Aboriginal health care organization with a non-profit legal status in the current legislative context of Manitoba.

Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg serve a relatively small portion of the total Aboriginal population. Monthly client volumes only represent 16 percent of the total identity based population and over 85 percent of these clients are inner city residents. Most of the organizations surveyed provide services to all Aboriginal clients in practice, although some agencies only serve status Indian or Métis clients as part of their mission. The low level of the Winnipeg Aboriginal population that is involved with these organizations may be due to the nature and location of the services provided, the lack of awareness or reputation of these agencies, or their focus on a particular segment of the population. A wider range of services addressing the needs of all Aboriginal people in the city may be necessary for a more comprehensive and inclusive system of service delivery.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁵ These service areas only indicate frequency of service organizations, not the level of service provided.

Table 5.1: Types of Services Provided by Urban Aboriginal Organizations in Edmonton, Toronto and Winnipeg

Types of Service Provided	Edmonton		Toronto		Winnipeg	
	Orgs.	%	Orgs.	%	Orgs.	%
Adult education/training services	5	71.4	12	66.7	8	36.4
Political/advocacy functions	5	71.4	10	55.6	10	45.5
Religious/cultural/spiritual services	5	71.4	12	66.7	8	36.4
Employment referral/counseling	4	57.1	11	61.1	6	27.3
Recreational services	3	42.9	9	50.0	6	27.3
Housing services	4	57.1	9	50.0	5	22.7
General community development	3	42.9	8	44.4	6	27.3
Youth programming/counseling	4	57.1	6	33.3	5	22.7
Child and family services	4	57.1	6	33.3	4	18.2
Communications services	3	42.9	7	38.9	3	13.6
Substance abuse programs	3	42.9	5	27.8	3	13.6
Health services	2	28.6	6	33.3	2	9.1
Child care	1	14.3	5	27.8	4	18.2
Legal services or education	2	28.6	4	22.2	2	9.1
Correctional services/programs	2	28.6	2	11.1	4	18.2
Economic development services	2	28.6	2	11.1	2	9.1
K-13 educational services	0	0.0	5	27.8	1	4.5
Grants/loans to individuals	0	0.0	1	5.6	3	13.6
Grants/loans to organizations	2	28.6	1	5.6	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0	1	5.6	4	18.2
Total Organizations Responding	7	100.0	18	100.0	22	100.0

SOURCE: Adapted from Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren (1995), p. 39.

Levels of participation among the organizations' membership in voting for officers of organizations is relatively low, and larger organizations tended to get smaller levels of voter participation. The authors of the study summarized the role of the membership in these urban Aboriginal organizations as "... typical of those associated with the membership of other non-profit organizations."¹⁹⁶

Decision making control within the surveyed Winnipeg organizations was fairly restricted to Aboriginal peoples. All of the organizations surveyed had at least a majority of Aboriginal board members and executive officers, with most organizations having all Aboriginal board members and executive officers. As well, 93 percent of the staff in Winnipeg Aboriginal organizations were Aboriginal people. However, these organizations are still subject to significant outside influence through funding arrangements. Winnipeg Aboriginal organizations gained 59 percent of their average revenue from government grants/contributions, 20 percent from user or service fees, 10 percent from private foundations/charities, and self generated 12 percent. As well, 88 percent of Winnipeg organizations stated that their funds had to be within

¹⁹⁶

Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

specific budget categories, 38 percent reported some ability to unilaterally shift funds, and only six percent (one organization) stated that they had the ability to spend funds on new activities not specified in their original budgets. The study suggests that in all three cities:

The reliance on external funding sources and the nature of contractual arrangements limit the level of service policy autonomy of urban Aboriginal organizations. ... In general, urban Aboriginal organizations appear to have the least amount of flexibility with respect to establishing eligibility criteria for services. A majority of organizations reported that they were usually required to use criteria established external to the organization. A greater level of autonomy was reported with respect to other dimensions of service policy including the style or procedures surrounding service delivery and prioritizing service delivery activities.¹⁹⁷

This data suggests that Aboriginal organizations often end up administering only what is acceptable to existing governments. As implied above, most Aboriginal organizations are severely limited by these funding arrangements. Under such conditions, utilizing non-Aboriginal organizational structures is mandatory, long-term planning is difficult to implement, and service priorities are set by entities removed from service delivery.

Of the 22 Winnipeg organizations surveyed, 16 had formally considered the organization's role within the context of self-government. Six organizations perceived their role as an Aboriginal service organization, seven perceived their organization evolving into a form of Aboriginal self-government, and three perceived themselves as already a form of Aboriginal self-government. This data suggests that, for the most part, existing Aboriginal agencies see linkages between the services they deliver and Aboriginal self-government.

There seems to be some level of cooperation between Aboriginal organizations and with non-Aboriginal service providers in Winnipeg. These relationships take the form of informal information sharing and networking as well as more formal linkages. Many organization board members are or have been actively involved in many other agencies. However, many Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg do not cooperate with other agencies in their operations.

The Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren study makes a number of conclusions with respect to the state of Aboriginal organizations in Toronto, Edmonton and Winnipeg and the potential for urban Aboriginal self-government. The authours of the study see a couple of primary reasons why existing organizations are not currently an effective form of urban Aboriginal self-government. First, although they are accountable to their membership in a limited fashion, "they do not relate to the broader Aboriginal political entity."¹⁹⁸ The study states that most organizations seem to be focused inwardly on operations and service delivery rather than towards the development of

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

self-government for the whole community. Second, overall control of most of the organizations lies with funding and legislative entities outside of the Aboriginal community. Aboriginal organizations, "... remain accountable, for the most part, to non-Aboriginal governments that control their resources and consequently the range and volume of (and the rules and methods used for distributing) benefits and services to their community."¹⁹⁹ These Aboriginal organizations are funded and regulated to simply provide service functions, not to ensure they have a role in self-government processes.

The study notes that there exists a highly developed level of social services that could form part of a self-governing entity. It concludes with some pertinent predictions about the future role of existing Aboriginal organizations in the three study areas:

In the absence of a broader collective vision and plan of action concerning self-government, it is difficult to conceive of these organizations playing much more than a passive or consultative role in the discussion and debate on Aboriginal self-government. Further, many of these organizations may be placed in reactionary posture by the actions of other parties with urban self-government interests.²⁰⁰

A reorientation of existing Aboriginal organizations may be necessary if they are to play a guiding role in the development of self-government. The establishment of better interorganizational linkages and a collective vision would help to generate the active involvement of the organizations in the transition process to self-governance. The further study of the general operating environment of Aboriginal service organizations, linkages between these organizations and entities in their environments, and implications of these relationships for urban self-government is the focus of the remainder of this paper.

One project with formal linkages between Aboriginal agencies is the Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg, situated in an historic Canadian Pacific Rail Station. The purchase, restoration and maintenance of this building is being undertaken by the Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg, Incorporated (AWCI), a board of directors comprised of Aboriginal leaders and representatives from 20 Aboriginal member organizations, with the help of various public and private stakeholders. Although not yet fully operational, the AWCI Vision statement is "To become a major support institution in the inner city by coordinating the evolution of a self-supporting centre of activities for Aboriginal development."²⁰¹ This type of cooperative initiative is a pragmatic approach to community development in the area in which the Centre is located. Despite the unfavourable context in which the AWCI member service organizations are operating, they are striving for better service delivery through cooperative efforts with other

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁰¹ Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg Inc., *1994 Annual Report* (Winnipeg 1994), p. i.

agencies, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. The Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg could easily be seen as one component with which to build a system of service delivery and self-government in Winnipeg.

6. RELATIONSHIPS OF EXISTING ABORIGINAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS & SERVICE DELIVERY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

While a substantial amount of work that applies to urban Aboriginal self-government has been done, there remains particular areas of study that require more exploration. More specifically, if existing Aboriginal service organizations have the potential to develop into a service delivery arm of an Aboriginal government, they would have to operate more cohesively. As discussed in the section *Theory of Service Organizations in Networks* (4), other organizations and the community comprise the operating environment for Aboriginal service organizations, and as such, relationships with them have a direct and tangible influence on the organizations' functioning. As such, organizations' current and future relationships with their environments deserve more research attention. This section of the paper consists of primary research focusing on these relationships and their implications for potential urban self-government structures. The results of this research are intended to augment the findings of the Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren (1995) study, reviewed in the previous section.

Three hypotheses regarding service delivery to Aboriginal individuals in Winnipeg by Aboriginal service organizations were implicit in the design of this research. These assumptions included:

1. While effective service delivery may be carried out by certain organizations, more effective service delivery is possible;
2. Currently, service delivery organizations are not significantly integrated in their administration or operations; and
3. One of the methods for improving the effectiveness of service delivery is to make structural alterations in the current service delivery network and work towards a more coordinated system of service delivery.

This research not only tested the validity of these hypotheses, it expanded on these premises.

6.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

A variety of question topics were dealt with in this study, all of which related to the larger conceptual underpinnings of this paper. Questions were broken into three categories and discussed in the following subsections: general issues in service delivery, service organizations' operating environment, and future issues service delivery. Methodological considerations for this research dealing with the interview sample selection, research typology, question design, and research limitations are contained in Appendix A. Interview respondents for this research were selected from existing Aboriginal service organizations in Winnipeg that met the criteria set out in the Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren (1995) study, also contained in Appendix A. The list of organizations contacted for potential respondents is contained in Appendix C. This list consists of only 20 organizations, and as such, is an indication of the small total sample from which respondents could be drawn. Interview respondents were selected on the basis of their position in Aboriginal service organizations in Winnipeg. The participation rate, a rationale for interview questions, and the questionnaire results are discussed in the following sections. Both closed-ended and open-ended questions were asked in structured in-person interviews. Frequencies of closed-ended question responses were compiled, and all responses to open-ended questions were grouped into categories to assess frequency and trends in the data. Interview questions asked of respondents are contained in Appendix B of this paper.

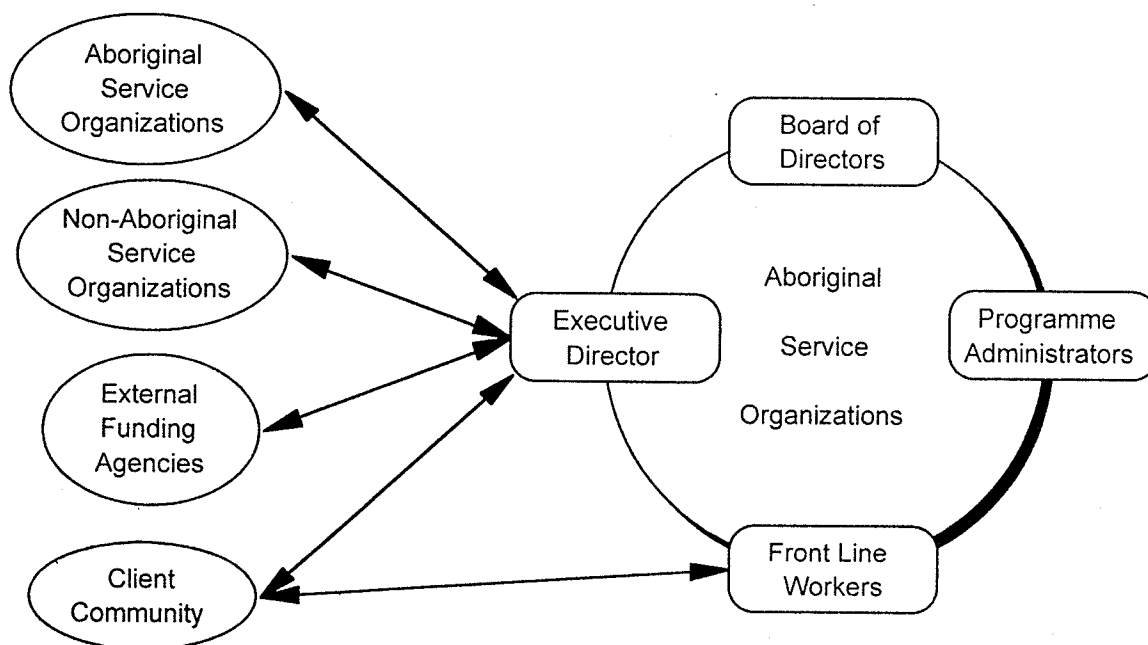
6.2.1 PARTICIPATION RATE

Interviews were conducted primarily with the current Executive Directors of organizations, although a Chief Executive Officer, Program Coordinator, General Managers and Board members were also consulted. The nature of their organizational positions strongly suggests that selected individuals were extremely well informed about the overall structure, function and environmental context of their agencies and had informed opinions regarding future strategies for building a more effective service delivery system in Winnipeg. An individual from each selected organization was approached to act as a respondent. Figure 6.1 shows an executive director, or an equivalent position, as the primary access point between an organization and entities in its environment.

As one respondent suggests in the following quote, leaders in these organizations would have a substantial effect on the development of any self-government in urban areas:

It is the service organizations that run this city, in the Aboriginal community ... so if you are going to try to start up any kind of political self-government body that doesn't consider the fact, that the movers and shakers, or whatever you want to call them, are those executive directors or board members that are active ..., you are not going to get anywhere. You have to recognize the input of service organizations.

Figure 6.1: Simplified Communication in Aboriginal Service Organizations



A total of fifteen out of a possible 20 key informants participated in the study. Potential respondents not interviewed either declined to participate, were not available to participate, or did not respond to requests for participation. The overall response rate was 75 percent.

6.2.2 GENERAL ISSUES IN SERVICE DELIVERY

The first area of interest incorporated general questions regarding priority issues in the present network of service delivery. Respondents were asked, through open-ended questions, to identify important barriers and opportunities to more effective service delivery. These questions did not enable an evaluation of the effectiveness of current service delivery structures as they did not ask for either data on effectiveness indicators or make comparisons. However, the answers did give some indication of perceived problems that stand in the way of, and promising solutions for, *more* effective service provision in the present network.

These questions elicited information that address the assumptions that there is room for improvement in the existing network of service delivery, that service delivery issues relate to the structural context in which service organizations currently operate, and that coordination of service delivery is indeed an issue. By identifying perceived barriers and opportunities for a better service delivery network, these issues can be addressed to improve services.

6.2.2.1 Barriers to Effective Service Delivery

According to the data, many of the barriers to a better service delivery system are related to what can be described as hostile operating environments of Aboriginal service organizations, both internal and external to the community. The highest frequency of responses were related to the restrictive legislative, political and administrative influences of non-Aboriginal institutions on operating environments (20%). Eighteen percent of respondents cited the lack of coordination between service delivery organizations as a significant barrier to a better network. As well, a lack of recognition of Aboriginal organizations' expertise in providing services to the Aboriginal community, and negative attitudes in general, attributed for fourteen percent of the responses. As one respondent said:

a joint working relationship [between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations is needed] where they allow us to do our work. Because who knows better than us how our people are hurting? Who knows better than us how our people are suffering and what kind of services would best enhance their lives, make them more self-sufficient in the way they live.

Other barriers said to hinder service provision were inadequate levels of funding to address the needs of the community (11%), cultural barriers between service users and the service system (9%), a lack of communication with the community (7%), restrictive funding criteria (7%), negative attitudes within the community (5%), a lack of communication with other service providers (5%), and small numbers of well trained Aboriginal professionals (5%).

Table 6.1: Barriers to Better Service Delivery

	n	%
Relationships with other service organizations and the community		
Lack of coordination in service delivery	8	18%
Cultural barriers between users and service system	4	9%
Lack of communication with community	3	7%
Negative attitudes within community	2	5%
Lack of communication with other service organizations	2	5%
Lack of qualified human resources	2	5%
Subtotal	21	48%
Negative non-Aboriginal influence		
Restrictive legislative, political and administrative environment	9	20%
Lack of recognition of expertise and negative attitudes	6	14%
Funding levels can't address need	5	11%
Restrictive funding criteria	3	7%
Subtotal	23	52%
Total Responses	44	100%

6.2.2.2 Opportunities for Effective Service Delivery

Respondents were less able to point out opportunities for better service delivery than barriers (38 responses compared to 44 responses, respectively). However, respondents' answers were more likely to overlap when describing positive trends in service delivery. Over a third of respondents (34%) said the increasing community organization and partnerships were opportunities to improve the service network. More trained Aboriginal people in the workforce was also seen as a positive trend by over a quarter of the key informants (26%). An increase in the recognition and use of culture in service delivery (18%), the healing and increasing political involvement of the community (8%), and an increase in the use of effective communication in the community (5%) were also seen as opportunities to improve service delivery effectiveness. Surprisingly, not one respondent mentioned gains in the movement towards self-government as an opportunity, although it may be that many respondents considered that response to be too vague.

Table 6.2: Opportunities for Better Service Delivery

	n	%
Increasing community organization/partnerships	13	34%
More qualified people in training and service delivery	10	26%
Increasing recognition and use of culture in service delivery	7	18%
Community is developing	3	8%
Increasingly effective communication with community	2	5%
Other	3	8%
Total Responses	38	100%

6.2.3 SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS' OPERATING ENVIRONMENT

The second area of questioning explored the relationships between Aboriginal service organizations and their operating environments. These organizations primarily interact with other Aboriginal service organizations, non-Aboriginal service organizations, the community they serve, and external funding agencies. Data was gathered on the respondents' attitudes regarding present and future relationships between Aboriginal service organizations and the groups in their operating environments.

Respondents were asked to describe the beneficial and detrimental elements of the relationships with each group in their environment. As in the section of questions above, by identifying these elements, they can be addressed in the future improvements in service delivery.

In the sections dealing with organization's relationships with other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations, respondents were asked whether or not their organization was currently involved, or might in the future be involved, in providing services with other service organizations. If so, they were asked to select activities that take place in these present or might

take place in these future collaborative relationships. The explorations of collaborative efforts was a key area in this research. If more coordination is going to happen between Aboriginal service organizations, the current level and nature of coordination must be defined as a starting point. As well, the potential for development of relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations should be assessed in order to identify the level and nature of possible linkages to pursue. The data from these questions gave an indication of the types of activities that are currently taking place in these relationships, and the types of activities respondents predict are likely to happen in the future. This data allowed a prospective longitudinal analysis to be conducted, whereby current activities are compared to likely future activities. As it is unlikely that activities that are not acceptable to respondents are predicted in future relationships, acceptable activities were identified. This type of analysis was limited, however, as it is based on attitudinal data and predictions of activities in an unspecified future time and context. As well, the questions did not address the level of activity or collaboration taking place in these relationships, now or in the future.

In the section addressing the organization/client relationships, respondents were asked to identify the variables their organization uses to define and assess the needs of its client community, and their opinion of this relationship. Also, respondents were asked to select what they personally feel to be the most appropriate client definition to use in providing effective services. Defining the membership or citizenship of Aboriginal governments is not a straightforward issue, as discussed in the *Membership in Self-Government* (3.4) subsection. The data from these question give an indication of the types of client definitions used now for service delivery, and enable them to be compared to preferred definitions derived from some of the proposed self-government models. The data can be used to explore some working definitions of the community that might be acceptable to respondents under self-government.

Sources of funding were asked to be identified in the subsection of questions dealing with relationships with external funding agencies. This topic was included to get some indication of the resource dependency that Aboriginal organizations currently have on government.

Respondents were asked whether or not structural changes were needed in all the relationships between Aboriginal service organizations' and their environment, and if so, to make recommendations. Where appropriate, questions focused on decision making and jurisdictional structures, communication methods, service standardization and issues of accountability. By specifying particular structures of coordination, alterations that are perceived to likely increase service effectiveness can be easily identified and targeted at a practical level. It is one thing to answer questions regarding a general level of coordination, but it was hoped that these questions facilitated respondents to discuss exactly what coordination structures need to be improved. These questions, however, did not assess the current levels of service effectiveness or coordination as they only asked for desired changes.

In questions dealing with the service organizations' operating context, comparisons between identified general elements in the relationships and specific organizational elements enabled some verification of issues due to an overlap in responses.

Finally, respondents were asked to suggest other strategies to improve the relationships with groups in their operating environments. These questions, as with the previous questions, were posed to identify some possible strategies for action to improve service effectiveness. However, they were not limited to specific coordination structures in order for respondents to have room to identify issues not otherwise addressed.

6.2.3.1 Relationships With Other Aboriginal Service Organizations

This section of the interview dealt with the respondent's organization and its relationships with other Aboriginal service providers. These organizations were defined as groups that meet the same criteria as the respondent's organization.

Thirteen out of fourteen of the respondents (93%) stated that their organizations were involved in formal or informal relationships with other Aboriginal service organizations. All of these respondents could see relationships with other Aboriginal organizations in the future, primarily due to the need to work cooperatively to be effective (43%) and because these relationships enhance the community and Aboriginal cultures (21%). One respondent described the situation in the following:

What is really critical is that our relationship as independent organizations has to also be interdependent. ... We have to be interdependent on one another, and then our community can grow and succeed.

Table 6.3: Continued Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations

	Future	%
Need to work cooperatively to be effective	6	43%
Enhances community and culture	3	21%
Ensures accountability	1	7%
Other	4	29%
Total	14	100%

Respondents were then asked to select activities conducted in relationships with other Aboriginal service organizations. Of the activity possibilities provided, the most common activities conducted in current relationships are conducting referrals (93%), sharing information on programme operations (86%), and giving technical support (79%). The most frequent activities in future relationships of this type were predicted to be sharing information on programme

operations (93%), developing programmes in consultation with other organizations (93%), referring clients to other organizations (93%), having common or overlapping Boards of Directors (86%), and giving and receiving technical support to other organizations (both 79%). Through an open-ended question, key informants identified a number of different elements in these relationships that contribute to effective service delivery. Sharing information and good communication was the most common element mentioned (29%), with both support from other organizations in service delivery and the coordination of service delivery being the next most frequent responses (18% for each).

Table 6.4: Activities in Relationships With Other Aboriginal Organizations

	Present	%	Future	%
Share information on program operations	12	86%	13	93%
Develop programs around existing mandates	6	43%	8	57%
Develop programs in consultation with others	9	64%	13	93%
Develop programs in conjunction with others	8	57%	10	71%
Give technical support	11	79%	11	79%
Receive technical support	8	57%	11	79%
Give financial support	5	36%	6	43%
Receive financial support	3	21%	4	29%
Share client information (where appropriate)	6	43%	6	43%
Conduct referrals	13	93%	13	93%
Provide services in conjunction with others	8	57%	10	71%
Politically organize together	9	64%	10	71%
Have common Board members	9	64%	12	86%
Have common staff members	4	29%	5	36%
Have common funding sources	9	64%	10	71%
Sponsor events and meetings	4	29%	1	7%
Help establish other organizations	2	14%	2	14%
Take work placements from other organizations	1	7%	2	14%
Involved in community development	1	7%	1	7%
Amalgamate programs	0	0%	1	7%
Total Respondents	14	100%	14	100%

Table 6.5: Contributing Elements in Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Sharing information & good communication	11	29%
Support in service delivery	7	18%
Coordination of service delivery	7	18%
Strong leadership & accountability	6	16%
Political organizing activity	4	11%
Conducting referrals	3	8%
Total	38	100%

Respondents were able to define fewer elements that work against service delivery in their relationships with other Aboriginal service organizations (26 responses compared to 38 responses for contributing elements). The top three detrimental issues defined were competition and a lack of coordination among organizations (31%), differences in goals or visions for the development of service delivery (23%), and a lack of communication between organizations (15%). In the words of a questionnaire respondent:

The Aboriginal community is fairly fragmented. ... We are probably trying to achieve the same goal, [but] we are all sort of pulling in different directions to achieve the same goal. There is no sort of unified approach to it.

Personality conflicts were also considered detrimental elements in these relationships by eight percent of respondents to this question. Another respondent stated:

Sometimes our communities are just torn apart by internal fighting. That's a real problem. ... It happens over and over and over again.

Table 6.6: Detrimental Elements in Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Competition & lack of coordination	8	31%
Differences in vision/goals	6	23%
Lack of communication	4	15%
Interference of personality conflicts	2	8%
Lack of accountability	2	8%
Lack of financial and human resources	2	8%
Too much accountability	1	4%
None	1	4%
Total	26	100%

Over two thirds of respondents (69%) stated that altering decision making and jurisdictional structures in relationships between Aboriginal service organizations would improve the

effectiveness of service delivery to their clients. The most frequent recommendations suggested increasing both the role of the community and the involvement of educated Aboriginal people in decision making (both 25%). The lack of involvement of the community in Aboriginal organizations is a serious problem, according to one respondent:

[There are] not enough people volunteering in community, [and] those that do have their hands in everything and are very busy. Sometimes they are seen as the same people trying to control everything. Actually, not enough people are involved so the same people are doing all the work.

Many respondents suggested changes in current methods of communication between Aboriginal service providers would allow for more effective service delivery (87%). Thirty-eight percent recommended more structured discussions to coordinate service delivery efforts, fifteen percent recommended sharing more information about other programs, and another fifteen percent recommended more communication at the grassroots level to improve the current situation.

Table 6.7: Alterations in Status Quo Relationship Between Aboriginal Organizations

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Decision Making & Jurisdiction	9	69%	4	31%	13	100%
Communication Methods	13	87%	2	13%	15	100%
Establishment of Service Standardization	6	46%	7	54%	13	100%
Mechanisms of Accountability to Other Organizations	7	50%	7	50%	14	100%

Table 6.8: Recommended Alterations in Decision Making & Jurisdictions Structures in Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Increasing the role of community	3	25%
More educated Aboriginal decision-makers	3	25%
Establishing an umbrella organization	2	17%
More general cooperation/coordination	2	17%
More long-term vision	1	8%
More culturally based organization	1	8%
Total	12	100%

The establishment of service standardization to improve service delivery was not popular with respondents. Only 46 percent of respondents thought it should happen, but only if it was done through collective efforts or a coordinating body (38% of recommendations), or if minimal standards were established (38% of recommendations). Of those respondents that were opposed

to the standardization of service delivery, 71 percent stated that standards don't allow for the necessary diversity of approaches or diversity in the community. One respondent suggested a balanced approach in the following quote:

We should be standardized to the point that we know that we are giving quality service, that we are cost efficient, but I still think that we shouldn't take away ... a program's ability to deal individually with their clients.

Similarly, only half of respondents were in favour of alterations to mechanisms of accountability among Aboriginal organizations. Of these respondents, 57 percent said organizations should be more accountable to the community rather than to other organizations or their funding agencies. Some respondents opposed to changes stated that too much accountability to other Aboriginal organizations would encourage conflict or that the current system is adequate.

When asked to suggest other strategies to improve service delivery that would involve the relationships between Aboriginal service organizations, a third of respondents stated that there is a need to work together. Others suggested the establishment of an umbrella organization/coalition and non-judgmental dealings with other organizations would improve service delivery.

Table 6.9: Recommended Alterations in Communication Methods Between Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
More structured discussion to coordinate efforts	5	38%
More sharing about other programs	2	15%
More communication at grassroots level	2	15%
Organizations in closer proximity	1	8%
Establishing more newspapers, etc.	1	8%
Other	2	15%
Total	13	100%

Table 6.10: Establishment of Service Standardization in Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Recommended		
<i>If a collective effort/coordinating body</i>	3	38%
<i>Minimal standards</i>	3	38%
<i>Cultural standards</i>	2	25%
Total	8	100%
Not Recommended		
<i>Standards don't allow for diversity</i>	5	71%
<i>Other</i>	2	29%
Total	7	100%

Table 6.11: Recommended Mechanisms of Accountability to Other Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
<i>Accountable to community goals</i>	4	57%
<i>Culturally based model of accountability</i>	1	14%
<i>Umbrella organization</i>	1	14%
<i>Other</i>	1	14%
Total	7	100%
Not Recommended		
<i>Encourages conflict</i>	2	50%
<i>Current system adequate</i>	2	50%
Total	4	100%

Table 6.12: Other Recommended Strategies to Improve Service Delivery Through Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
<i>Need to work together</i>	3	33%
<i>Umbrella organization or coalition</i>	2	22%
<i>Non-judgmental dealings with each other</i>	2	22%
<i>More Aboriginal staff</i>	1	11%
<i>Culturally based organization</i>	1	11%
Total	9	100%

6.2.3.2 Relationships with Non-Aboriginal Service Organizations

Questions regarding the relationships among Aboriginal service organizations and the relationships between Aboriginal service organizations and non-Aboriginal service organizations were similar in subject and format. Non-Aboriginal service organizations were defined as non-profit or government agencies not controlled by Aboriginal people that deal with the same client population as Aboriginal service organizations, but do not act as funding agencies for these organizations.

While 80 percent of respondent's organizations were recorded to be currently involved with non-Aboriginal service providers, 93 percent of respondents predicted that their organization would be involved with them in the future. Some reasons cited for the maintenance or establishment of future relationship included: they were out of necessity (36%), both types of organizations had common goals (18%), and there will continue to be a lack of resources in the Aboriginal community (18%). In the following quote, one respondent stated that Aboriginal organizations must strategically form alliances to access resources and meet the needs of the community:

Resources that we can tap into is very important [in working with non-Aboriginal organizations] because we can't do the job by ourselves. We don't have the resources, but these other organizations and agencies have a lot more resources than we do. So by being able to tap into them, we are able to extend our service more effectively.

However, one respondent stated that joint agreements are becoming increasingly difficult to reach due the a diminished level of trust in these relationships:

The changes that have been made, the ones that I have been involved with ... had to be forcibly done in order to take place. ... We just can't negotiate things. We have to knock some doors down, knock some walls down, in order for our voice to be heard. Its not as simple as sitting down at the table and negotiating things. Because that level of trust has been lost, we demand things now. And that is probably indicative of the way things are happening across the country with many Aboriginal groups.

Conducting referrals (79%) and sharing information on programme operations (71%) were the most common activities currently conducted in relationships involving respondents' organizations and non-Aboriginal organizations. Similarly, conducting referrals (79%), sharing information on programme operations (71%), and giving and receiving technical support (both 71%) were predicted to be the most frequent activities in relationships of these sorts in the future.

Table 6.13: Continued Relationships Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	Future	%
Out of necessity	4	36%
Common goals	2	18%
Lack of resources in Aboriginal community	2	18%
Should be integrated services in the future	1	9%
Other	2	18%
Total	11	100%

Table 6.14: Activities in Relationships Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	Present	%	Future	%
Share information on program operations	10	71%	10	71%
Develop programs around existing mandates	2	14%	3	21%
Develop programs in consultation with others	3	21%	7	50%
Develop programs in conjunction with others	4	29%	6	43%
Give technical support	8	57%	10	71%
Receive technical support	7	50%	10	71%
Share client information (where appropriate)	5	36%	5	36%
Conduct referrals	11	79%	11	79%
Provide services in conjunction with others	8	57%	9	64%
Politically organize together	3	21%	6	43%
Have common Board members	4	29%	6	43%
Have common staff members	1	7%	3	21%
Have common funding sources	4	29%	5	36%
Partnership approaches	1	7%		
Send work placements to other organizations	1	7%		
Bound by same legislation	1	7%		
Advisory committee member	1	7%		
Total Respondents	14	100%	14	100%

When asked to identify elements in these relationships that contribute to effective service delivery, over a third of the responses (36%) were related to sharing information and good communication. A quarter of responses dealt with non-Aboriginal respect and recognition of the abilities and differences of Aboriginal organizations. A common commitment or a willingness to cooperate with each other was seen as a contributing element by individuals in 21 percent of the responses.

Conversely, a lack of information sharing or poor communication was suggested in over a quarter of responses (26%) as factors that work against effective service delivery. Twenty-two percent of responses to this question suggested disrespect or a lack of understanding in these relationships was also detrimental to service delivery effectiveness. As one respondent commented:

Our biggest problem is this misunderstanding between the mandated agencies and ourselves, who are not mandated, and the fact that we operate from a different culturally appropriate perspective which people in the non-Aboriginal agencies have a difficult time understanding.

Competition and an unwillingness to cooperate was also stated to be counterproductive in seventeen percent of responses to this question.

Table 6.15: Contributing Elements in Relationships Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Sharing information & good communication	10	36%
Respect/recognition between organizations	7	25%
Common commitment & willingness to cooperate	6	21%
Support in service delivery	3	11%
Conducting referrals	1	4%
Other	1	4%
Total	28	100%

Table 6.16: Detrimental Elements in Relationships Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Lack of information sharing & poor communication	6	26%
Disrespect or lack of understanding	5	22%
Competition & unwillingness to cooperate	4	17%
Imbalance of Power	3	13%
Bureaucratic processes	2	9%
Other	3	13%
Total	23	100%

Alterations in current decision making and jurisdictional structures in relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations was advocated by over three quarters of respondents (77%). Most of recommendations made (70%) were related to increasing Aboriginal decision making power.

As well, over three quarters of respondents (79%) stated that changes in methods of communication in these relationships would improve service delivery. Recommendations that a better level of understanding be established between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations (50%) and regular meetings and communication take place (30%) were made.

The establishment of standardized service delivery between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations was not a popular option for most respondents as only one quarter were in favour of it. Some of those opposed to standardization stated that it was not needed or desired to improve service delivery.

Table 6.17: Alterations in Status Quo Relationship Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Decision Making & Jurisdiction	10	77%	3	23%	13	100%
Communication Methods	11	79%	3	21%	14	100%
Accountability: Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal organizations	5	50%	5	50%	10	100%
Accountability: non-Aboriginal to Aboriginal organizations	6	60%	4	40%	10	100%
Establishment of Service Standardization	3	25%	9	75%	12	100%

Table 6.18: Recommended Alterations in Decision Making & Jurisdictions Structures in Relationships Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
More Aboriginal decision making power	7	70%
More general cooperation/coordination	2	20%
Formal agreements between organizations	1	10%
Total	10	100%

Table 6.19: Recommended Alterations in Communication Methods Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Better understanding should be established	5	50%
Regular meetings & communication	3	30%
More Aboriginal input into decision making	2	20%
Total	10	100%

Accountability of Aboriginal organizations to non-Aboriginal organizations and vice versa are intertwined mechanisms. Half of respondents stated that alterations in the accountability of Aboriginal organizations to non-Aboriginal organizations would improve service delivery, whereas 60 percent said that alterations in the accountability of non-Aboriginal organizations to Aboriginal organizations would achieve a similar effect. Accountability to the community rather than to organizations was the most popular suggestion, but some other recommendations

included establishing feedback structures, joint agreements, and two-way communication. According to one respondent, a reorientation of accountability is certainly necessary:

Right now, every non-Aboriginal service organization that is involved in the field is not accountable to the Aboriginal community. They are accountable to government, they accountable to somebody else. But they are not accountable to us. We can't demand anything from these organizations [serving our people] right now.

When asked to suggest other strategies to alter the relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations that would improve service delivery, respondents had a number of different responses. Encouraging more information sharing and better communication was the most common suggestion.

Table 6.20: Recommended Mechanisms of Accountability: From Non-Aboriginal to Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Accountability to community	3	43%
More non-Aboriginal organization accountability	2	29%
Two-way communication needed	2	29%
Total	7	100%

Table 6.21: Other Recommended Strategies to Improve Service Delivery Through Relationships Between Aboriginal & Non-Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Information sharing & good communication	2	22%
Better understanding of differences needed	1	11%
Get away from "us & them" mentality	1	11%
Get away from cultural superiority mentality	1	11%
Stop manipulative use of Aboriginal people	1	11%
More Aboriginal staff	1	11%
Allow effective services to continue	1	11%
Other	1	11%
Total	9	100%

6.2.3.3 *Aboriginal Service Organizations and Their Client Communities*

The next set of questions dealt with the relationship between the respondent's organization and its client community. Clients, for lack of a better term, were defined as those people who participate in the organization's programs.

The first question asked which variables the respondent's organization uses to define its client community. As expected, clients were defined by a number of different variables, the most common of which was that clients are considered Aboriginal.

Table 6.22: Potential Definitions of the Client Community

	n	%
Status and non-status definitions	0	0%
First Nations, Métis & Inuit definitions	2	14%
Inclusive Aboriginal definitions	10	71%
Linguistic definitions	0	0%
Don't know	1	7%
None	0	0%
Other:	1	7%
Total	14	100%

Respondents were then asked to choose between a number of options that would define client communities appropriately in order to provide the most effective service delivery. These variables are based on some of the established definitions currently being used by governments and Aboriginal political organizations to define their membership. Again, definitions inclusive of all Aboriginal people was the most common response (71%).

When asked how organizations define needs in their client communities, most respondents stated that they were established by communicating with existing clients (53%). Respondents also defined their clients needs using established data sources (24%) or through community consultation (18%).

When asked to describe their organizations' relationship with its client community, most respondents said that their organizations had a good reputation or respect in the community (33%), or that their organization maintained a balance between client and organization goals in their operations (27%).

Contributing elements in the client/organization relationships were most commonly said to be accessible, open or non-judgmental service delivery environments (29%) and a good reputation, respect or trust by the community (26%). Respondents stated that the most frequent element in these relationships to work against effective service delivery was some clients' unattainable

expectations of the service organizations (38%). Part of the problem, according to one respondent, is the culture of dependency that has taken hold in the Aboriginal community.

We have to constantly struggle against this dependence that has been created by the social service structure over a period of time. People have this mentality [where they say,] 'You're here to help me. That's it. I'm not going to help myself.' ... It's almost as if they are saying, 'It's a right for me to be receiving services, rather than it being a privilege.'

Table 6.23: Contributing Elements in Relationships with the Client Community

	n	%
Accessible, open & non-judgmental	11	29%
Good reputation/respect & trust in community	10	26%
Listen to clients	4	11%
Individualized/quality service	4	11%
Culturally oriented	3	8%
Staff qualifications	2	5%
Presence & promotion in community	2	5%
Don't over-stretch limitations	1	3%
Other	1	3%
Total	38	100%

Table 6.24: Detrimental Elements in Relationships with the Client Community

	n	%
Some unattainable client expectations	9	38%
Poor self-esteem of clients	3	13%
Lack of resources	3	13%
Client mistrust of service organizations	2	8%
Lack of long-term services	2	8%
Lack of accessibility to clients	2	8%
Other	3	13%
Total	24	100%

Over three quarters of respondents (79%) suggested that alterations should be made in the methods of communication between service organizations and their clients. A third of these respondents recommended more communication in Aboriginal languages and the use of traditional methods. They also suggested more development of communication tools, a two-way flow of information, and more client education regarding available services (all 17%).

A majority (64%) of respondents were in favour of alterations to accountability mechanisms with regards to their client communities. Recommendations included encouraging membership involvement (36%), more open accountability to the community (18%), an "open circle"

administration (9%), a medicine wheel model of administration (9%), and referral follow-up mechanisms (9%). As described by one respondent, the current system is in need of a better follow-up mechanisms for service providers.

Right now, ... each individual's chance of success is only as good as the one program, because there's nobody there [at the end] saying I am responsible next.

A variety of other strategies to improve service delivery involving the client/organization relationship were suggested. Among them were a review of organization mandates, more organization staff, more client involvement, more people involved in leadership, more culturally appropriate management, and keeping client communities more informed about services.

Table 6.25: Alterations in Status Quo Relationship Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Client Communities

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Communication Methods	11	79%	3	21%	14	100%
Mechanisms of Accountability to Clients	9	64%	5	36%	14	100%

Table 6.26: Recommended Alterations in Communication Methods Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Client Communities

	n	%
More use of Aboriginal languages & cultures	4	33%
More development of communication tools	2	17%
Two-way flow of information	2	17%
More client education on services	2	17%
More client education on community situation	1	8%
Involve teachers & Elders more	1	8%
Total	12	100%

Table 6.27: Recommended Mechanisms of Accountability: From Aboriginal Organizations to Their Client Community

	n	%
Encourage membership involvement	4	36%
More accountability to community	2	18%
Open circle administration	1	9%
Medicine wheel model	1	9%
Follow-up on clients	1	9%
Other	2	18%
Total	11	100%

6.2.3.4 Aboriginal Service Organizations and Their External Funding Agencies

External funding agencies are perhaps the most influential component of an Aboriginal service organization's specific operating environment. In exploring the relationships between Aboriginal organizations and their external funding agencies, respondents were able to articulate 28 contributing factors and 22 detrimental factors to more effective service delivery in these relationships. The top three contributing elements were a recognition by funders of the service needs of the community (18%), a willingness of funders to cooperate (18%), and flexibility in funding arrangements (14%). Other positive factors in these relationships were said to be good communication (11%), requirements that ensure accountability (11%), the existence of funding (11%), and steady or long-term funding (7%). The most frequent element in these relationships that was said to work against the effectiveness of service delivery was a lack of resources (27%). However, increasing resources alone would not remove all the barriers to service effectiveness, according to one respondent:

Clearly resources is a major problem. ... I don't think that throwing resources at problems is the answer either. I think it goes hand in hand that as we develop our resources ... our community has to get out of their self-imposed oppression as well

Ironically, one respondent stated that future funding cuts may be beneficial to the service community as a whole:

[Funding cuts] may be an opportunity. ... [W]hen we do start seeing cuts, we start seeing some ... more cooperation between groups, so that we are better using what we do have.

The lack of autonomy in an organization's operations (23%), too much bureaucracy (18%) and the expectation by funders that the same service can be conducted by an Aboriginal organization for less money than it takes government (9%) were also stated as barriers to effective service delivery.

Respondents revealed that the organizations with which they were affiliated are largely dependent on government grants for funding, estimated to be 71 percent of the combined revenue of all of these organizations. An additional sixteen percent of current revenue is estimated to come from fees for goods and services, nine percent from foundations or charities, and only four percent is estimated to be self-generated.

Table 6.28: Contributing Elements in Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Funding Agencies

	n	%
Recognition of service needs	5	18%
Willingness to cooperate	5	18%
Funder flexibility	4	14%
Good communication	3	11%
Requirements ensure accountability	3	11%
Existence of funding	3	11%
Steady or long-term funding	2	7%
Other	3	11%
Total	28	100%

Table 6.29: Detrimental Elements in Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Funding Agencies

	n	%
Lack of resources	6	27%
Lack of autonomy	5	23%
Too much bureaucracy	4	18%
Expectation of same service for less money	2	9%
Funder policy contradictions	1	5%
Lack of funder's understanding	1	5%
Identified too closely with funders	1	5%
Too much reliance on outside funding	1	5%
Chilly political climate	1	5%
Total	22	100%

Table 6.30: Proportional Revenue Sources for Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
Government grants	13	71%
Fees for goods and services	7	16%
Private foundations or charities	4	9%
Self-generated	3	4%
Total Respondents	14	100%

Respondents were largely unhappy with Aboriginal organizations' status quo relationships with their funding agencies. Almost all of respondents (92%) advocated changes in current decision making and jurisdictional structures in these relationships. Many respondents recommended more decision making power for the service organizations (73%) and more spending flexibility (18%). One respondent described the problem in a common scenario often played out by Aboriginal organization management in the following quote:

When governments get involved in delivering a service, they have a fair amount of resources. However, when they ask volunteer organizations to do it, the volunteer organizations, by and large, have to start from scratch, and they work on budgets ... Because you structure agreements for funding of a particular program or project, those funds will be very very limited, and they will be earmarked for particular items. ... When we administer agreements for the delivery of service, we don't necessarily do it so that there is advantage for the delivery of that service. What we end up doing is doing it for the administrative advantage of accounting for the funds that are allocated. And that really hampers the delivery of that service.

Over three quarters of respondents (77%) were in favour of alterations in the current communication methods, with more communication to ensure more accountability as the most popular suggestion (40%).

While only half of respondents advocated a change in the methods of accountability of Aboriginal organizations to their funding agencies, over three quarters of respondents (77%) were in favour of alterations in methods of accountability of funding agencies to Aboriginal organizations. Although varied, most recommendations were related to establishing more of a balance of accountability through revised consultation, reporting and partnership approaches. One respondent described the difference in opinions of accountability (between Aboriginal organizations and their funding agencies) as a function of how they see risk:

By and large, by their very nature, Aboriginal organizations are prepared to take the higher risk. And most of the organizations that they work with are not prepared to take that same high risk in decision making or ... service delivery. And, I think that that is one of the impediments to making things work. ... Aboriginal organizations, by their very nature, ... want to deliver a service so they have to get up and running and so the risk is much more elevated. As the risk is a little bit more elevated, the accountability is not reduced, it's just that they are prepared to be accountable for that risk. When you are talking to an organization that is in the service delivery mode, that is in the volunteer sector or what have you, the people that are out there doing the thing, they say, 'All right, we trust things will work out' and they have that level of risk elevated. Whereas in the public service, delivering that same service, they say, 'Oh no, no. We want to make sure that this happens.' So they put in all the checks and balances and it slows down the process, slows down the quality of service, but it certainly ... provides greater assurance on the accountability side.

Over three quarters of respondents (77%) were in favour of alterations in the current communication methods, with more communication to ensure more accountability as the most popular suggestion (40%).

Other strategies (to alter the relationship between Aboriginal organizations and their funding agencies) that would improve service delivery echoed recommendations made in other areas of questioning. Forty-three percent of recommendations had to do with establishing more of a role

for service organizations in decision making and program development. Twenty-nine percent stressed the need for more understanding between those involved.

Table 6.31: Alterations in Status Quo Relationship Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Funding Agencies

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Decision making & Jurisdiction	11	92%	1	8%	12	100%
Communication Methods	10	77%	3	23%	13	100%
Accountability: Aboriginal organizations to funding agencies	7	50%	7	50%	14	100%
Accountability: Funding agencies to Aboriginal organizations	10	77%	3	23%	13	100%

Table 6.32: Recommended Alterations in Decision Making & Jurisdictions Structures in Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Funding Agencies

	n	%
More organization-based decision making power	8	73%
More spending flexibility	2	18%
Increased funder awareness of needs	1	9%
Total	11	100%

Table 6.33: Recommended Alterations in Communication Methods Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Funding Agencies

	n	%
More communication for more accountability	4	40%
Simpler reporting requirements	2	20%
Increased funder awareness of needs	2	20%
Increase Aboriginal decision making power	1	10%
Regular meetings	1	10%
Total	10	100%

Table 6.34: Recommended Mechanisms of Accountability: From Aboriginal Organizations to Their Funding Agencies

	n	%
Increase organization autonomy	3	38%
Pursue partnership approach	2	25%
Shift "quantity over quality" funder orientation	1	13%
Simpler reporting requirements	1	13%
Decisions should be in public	1	13%
Total	8	100%

Table 6.35: Recommended Mechanisms of Accountability: From Funding Agencies to Aboriginal Organizations

	n	%
True consultation/Advisory committees with power	4	29%
Pursue partnership approach	2	14%
Two-way structured reporting	2	14%
Funders to follow timetables	2	14%
More organization autonomy	2	14%
Process for appeal to funders	1	7%
National level of accountability	1	7%
Total	14	100%

Table 6.36: Other Recommended Strategies to Improve Service Delivery Through Relationships Between Aboriginal Organizations & Their Funding Agencies

	n	%
More involvement in program development & decision making	3	43%
More understanding needed	2	29%
Increased accountability with increased funding	1	14%
More fee for service set-ups	1	14%
Total	7	100%

6.2.4 FUTURE ISSUES IN SERVICE DELIVERY

The final area of inquiry dealt with future issues in service delivery, focusing on potential structures and impacts of establishing urban Aboriginal self-government. Data was collected on attitudes regarding potential organizational and administrative structures for service provision. Specific forms of self-government were asked to be described. These questions were asked to gauge the preferences of respondents with respect to some interorganizational, organizational

and self-government structures that have proposed in the literature to date.²⁰² Also, they allowed for the identification of forms of self-government that have not been discussed in the existing literature.

The first question asked respondents to select a source of administrative authority that would allow for the most effective system of service delivery. Options were based on both established organizations and novel possibilities of authority sources. While 31 percent of respondents selected autonomous separate organizations as preferred sources of authority, another 31 percent selected the "other" option and articulated a Council of Elders, Clan or culturally based model as none of the established question options described what they thought was best. One respondent briefly described the Council of Elders tradition in the following quote.

There was a system by our ancestors where they had a council of Elders. There should be something like that struck where these different Aboriginal service delivery organizations acknowledge, recognize and accept the decisions of our Elders. ... When you have certain clans in certain areas, you would have the council of Elders representing certain clan groups, and within each specific clan, they belong to one of the [four] directions. ... Once your responsibilities are given to you, you have to carry them through.

Another respondent echoed the need for a more culturally based method of decision making in the Aboriginal community.

If people understand a little bit more, from a cultural perspective, what we are all about, in the future, we may not have a board of directors. We may have a different system, a different structure. And that's certainly what we are looking at right now. The difficulty a lot of people have when they talk about organizational systems and organizational structures is that they are looking at it from the dominant Western society's perspective. And that's the problem when you are talking about Indian people, Aboriginal people. We have a different mentality, we have different roots, different values, different traditions, different ways of perceiving life. And that's never reflected in our organizations. And until it is, we are continue to be carbon copies of the dominant society.

The next question addressed the issue of centralization of decision making in service delivery. Respondents were asked to select from a range of hypothetical authority arrangements, from a centralized authority model to decentralized authority in service organizations. Needless to say, such arrangements are considered neither inevitable nor desirable by many people. Respondents most frequently selected a system with shared administrative authority between a central coordinating agency and service organizations (36%). A model where service organizations have completely decentralized authority was the next most popular response (29%). The following respondent's quote describes how future coordination between Aboriginal organizations might happen:

²⁰²

See section entitled *Models of Urban Aboriginal Self-Government* (3.8).

In many cases, you [have] several organizations delivering a similar service, and you might be able to coordinate the delivery of that service much better if the organizations were able to sort of say, 'All right, let's cooperate in terms of who delivers what service.' And maybe strategically they will have to redefine how they delivery services.

A question regarding the level of preferred geographic focus in service delivery was asked in an effort to help to articulate future service jurisdictions. While 43 percent of respondents selected the option of a city-wide focus for a service delivery system, 21 percent of respondents stated that the focus would have to depend on a number of logistical factors.

Table 6.37: Preferred Authority Source in a Future System of Service Delivery

	n	%
Service Organizations	1	8%
Band Governments	0	0%
Tribal Councils	0	0%
Autonomous Separate Organizations	4	31%
Existing non-Aboriginal Government	1	8%
Don't Know	1	8%
<i>Council of Elders, Clan or culturally based</i>	4	31%
<i>Community driven</i>	1	8%
<i>Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg model</i>	1	8%
Total	13	100%

Table 6.38: Preferred Distribution of Authority in a Future System of Service Delivery

	n	%
Completely Centralized	2	14%
Mostly Centralized	0	0%
Shared	5	36%
Mostly Decentralized	1	7%
Completely Decentralized	4	29%
Don't Know	1	7%
Other	1	7%
Total	14	100%

Table 6.39: Preferred Geographic Focus in a Future System of Service Delivery

	n	%
One area/neighbourhood	3	21%
Inner City	0	0%
Throughout City	6	43%
Other	5	36%
Total	14	100%

When asked whether or not respondent had personally considered forms of self-government, 64 percent said that they had. Table 6.40 contains brief descriptions of self-government models that were articulated by some of the respondents.

Table 6.40: Respondents' Descriptions of Self-Government Models

- Centered around a coordinating mechanism; both elected & appointed leaders; city-wide service jurisdictions; citizenship is inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples;
- Central coordinating body; governing group is made up of technical people and community representatives; governing group is not elected but is credible in the community; citizenship is inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples;
- Central administering body; United Native Nations approach; specifically structured for each community; citizenship is inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples;
- Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg model (elected representatives, citizenship is inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples);
- National service-specific bodies to advocate and regulate for specific services in cities;
- Community developed consensus model: based on Aboriginal traditions and culture; non-hierarchical in structure; citizenship is inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples;
- Two tiered Aboriginal government: political & administrative components; recognized urban government; some sort of council to make decisions; service institutions with recognized jurisdictions; citizenship is inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples.

Respondents were asked to comment on the level of community agreement on one vision of self-government and whether or not self-government will be established in Winnipeg. Responses to these questions provide one indicator of the level of organization that currently exists in the service provider community. Also, the data gives some indication of people's vision for the future of self-government in Winnipeg.

Only 31 percent of respondents felt that there currently is a collective vision of self-government in Winnipeg. Respondents who said that there is a lack of collective vision in the service provider community primarily attributed it to different visions and concerns of service providers (63%). However, a large proportion of all the respondents (38%) stated that there is a collective

vision currently being developed in the community. This process will take time, according to one respondent, because cultural traditions need to be revisited:

[Self-government] is going to take some time to evolve, simply because ... not enough of us have a strong enough grasp of our past and our history ...

However, an understanding of Aboriginal traditions and culture does not necessarily point to a common vision of how they should be translated to the modern world. In the following quote, one respondent explained that they felt there are serious problems with how some individuals currently use culture in the operations of Aboriginal organizations:

There are people involved in various organizations that sit on the fence. They'll jump on one side if it suits them. ... This is where that bicultural conflict occurs -- where individuals involved in the regular bureaucracy, adapting the eurocentric view of operating, [are] trying to absorb as well the Aboriginal concept of working within the circle. Individuals will jump on to the eurocentric view when they can use these particular tools to their best advantage. There is that bicultural conflict as well where you have communities fully absorbed in the Aboriginal circle and you have individuals that want to play with both sets of tools. It creates serious problems.

All of the respondents stated that they thought self-government would be established in Winnipeg. Although they gave a variety of reasons for their beliefs, they all reflected the tenacity of the service provider community in pursuing self-government for their communities. One respondent described a reason for the level of involvement of Aboriginal organization management in the self-government movement in the following quote:

If [this organization] is a part of the community, it has to both contribute to the development of the community beyond the scope that it exists now and it is critical to our own development, to be a part of that process. ... We have to know what is going on in the community to react or to improve our own program.

However, the establishment of novel governing structures must be accomplished with good planning, as one respondent warns:

Our ancestors talk about seven years of planning, seven generations of planning. I don't think that's being viewed working within the non-Aboriginal system. I don't think that's being considered. The short-sightedness of what is happening now is dangerous. It could crash quite quickly, just as quickly as it is being developed. ... There should be more consultation with our Elders. There isn't enough consultation taking place, particularly with some decision makers.

Table 6.41: Why Self-Government Will Happen in Winnipeg

	n	%
Issue or people not going away	2	17%
Already here	2	17%
Long history of progressive development	2	17%
Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs process underway	2	17%
Strong leadership coming	1	8%
Strong Aboriginal identity here	1	8%
Time is right	1	8%
Other	1	8%
Total	12	100%

Finally, attitudes towards the potential impacts of self-government on the effectiveness of service delivery and on existing Aboriginal service organizations was explored. These questions are an attempt to test the assumption that self-government would improve service effectiveness. As respondents would be directly impacted by self-government, it is hoped that they would have a solid understanding of its potential impacts on service delivery.

Overwhelmingly, respondents thought self-government would have an overall positive impact on service delivery in the city (79%). A majority of respondents predicted that increases would be seen in the number of clients served (85%), staff qualifications (62%), the range of services available (85%), the degree of integration of different services (82%), the degree of linkages between needs and services (92%), the number of long-term programmes, and the cultural appropriateness of services (100%). Cultural appropriateness in programming is a challenging but important undertaking, as described by one respondent:

A large number of our community members lack in their own culture. ... There are a lot of people out there in my generation group and in recent generations [that don't know their own culture]. That's what makes this program such a success - its the cultural component. It provides for a foundation.

Most respondents predicted no effect or a decrease in the following as a result of self-government: the number of recurring clients (77%), the proportional number of staff to serve clients (60%) and the number of short-term programmes (75%).

Table 6.42: Specific Predicted Impacts of Self-Government on Services

	Increase	%	None	%	Decrease	%	Total
Clients Served	11	85%	1	8%	1	8%	13
Recurring Clients	3	23%	4	31%	6	46%	13
Staff/client Ratios	4	40%	3	30%	3	30%	10
Staff qualifications	8	62%	1	8%	4	31%	13
Range of Services	11	85%	2	15%	0	0%	13
Integration of services	9	82%	0	0%	2	18%	11
Linkages between needs and services	12	92%	0	0%	1	8%	13
# Long-term Programmes	9	75%	3	25%	0	0%	12
# Short-term Programmes	3	25%	5	42%	4	33%	12
Cultural appropriateness of service	13	100%	0	0%	0	0%	13
Other:	3	75%	1	25%	0	0%	4
Total Respondents							13

6.2.5 KEY FINDINGS

A number of key points from the research described in this section are listed in this subsection.

- ♦ **Aboriginal service organizations are currently operating in a hostile administrative environment.** Respondents identified barriers for some of their organizations such as a restrictive legislative, political and administrative operating environment, a lack of recognition of expertise, disrespect, a lack of understanding, competition, an unwillingness to cooperate and general negative attitudes as issues. However, trends in relationships are helping to ameliorate negative impacts. External funding agencies and non-Aboriginal service organizations are increasingly recognizing service needs, recognizing the use of culture in service provision, willing to cooperate, providing service delivery support, committed to common goals, and forming partnerships.
- ♦ **There is currently a shortage of qualified Aboriginal service providers, although the situation is thought to be changing.** Many respondents cited the shortage as an important barrier to more effective service delivery. However, more qualified people in training and service delivery was more often cited as an important opportunity to improve the system.

- ◆ **Funding levels are currently inadequate to meet the needs of the community.** A lack of resources was identified as a barrier to a better service delivery system and a detrimental element in relationships with funding agencies, client communities, and between Aboriginal service organizations. Most organizations are highly dependent on government sources for revenue.
- ◆ **More flexibility in funding arrangements is desired.** Restrictive funding criteria was identified as a barrier to a better service delivery system. Other detrimental elements in relationships with funding agencies included a lack of autonomy and too much bureaucracy. However, a willingness to cooperate and funding agency flexibility were identified as trends in these relationships that are assisting in the effective delivery of services.
- ◆ **Some Aboriginal people are difficult to deal with as clients.** Negative attitudes within the community were identified as important barriers to relationships between organizations and their clients. Detrimental elements of these relationships included some unattainable client expectations of service organizations, poor self-esteem of clients, a mistrust of service organizations, and lack of accessibility to services. Identified barriers also included cultural barriers between service users and the service system and a reluctance to use non-Aboriginal services. However, the healing and increasing political involvement of the community was also identified as an opportunity to improve service delivery. Also, accessible, open and non-judgmental Aboriginal organizations, a good reputation and trust in the community, listening to clients, individualized and quality service, culturally oriented service, and presence in the community were all seen as contributing elements in relationships with client communities.
- ◆ **Coordination of service delivery was an important issue to respondents.** Competition and a lack of coordination and communication in service delivery, especially in relationships with other Aboriginal service organizations, were identified. However, many respondents cited increasing organization and partnerships in the community as opportunities for improved service delivery.

- ◆ **Collaborative arrangements between Aboriginal service organizations and with non-Aboriginal service organizations exist in a limited form.** Over 80 percent of respondents' organizations are currently involved with other service organizations, and plan to be in the future. The most frequent current and predicted activities are sharing information on programme operations, giving and receiving technical support, and conducting referrals. Organizations developing programmes with each other was predicted in the future, but most frequently with other Aboriginal organizations. The number of organizations providing services in conjunction with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations was predicted to moderately increase.
- ◆ **While most people want the same thing for the Aboriginal community, there are differences in opinion on how to reach these goals.** Differences in the vision or goals of organizations, and the impacts of personality conflicts on community organization, were cited as detrimental element in relationships between Aboriginal service organizations. However, the sharing of information and good communication, strong leadership and accountability, and increasing political organizing were seen as contributing elements in relationships between Aboriginal organizations. Working cooperatively to be effective and non-judgmental dealings with others were identified by many respondents as strategies to improve these relationships and service delivery. Although most respondents did not feel that a collective vision in the service provider community exists now, many felt that one is slowly evolving.
- ◆ **Better communication linkages with the community was recommended.** Lack of communication with the community was identified as a barrier to a better service delivery. Conversely, increasingly effective communication with the community was identified as an opportunity for better service delivery. The use of Aboriginal languages and culture in communicating with client communities was recommended.

- ◆ **Effective communication is seen as an important element in improving relationships between organizations.** An alteration in methods of communication was recommended by over 75 percent of respondents in relationships with all other organizations. Structural recommendations included more regular meetings and communication between all organizations. Most suggestions, however, stressed a realignment of communication priorities. Open or two-way communication and better understanding between organizations was emphasized.
- ◆ **Most respondents recommended changes to existing decision making and jurisdictional structures in relationships with other organizations and the community.** More Aboriginal decision making power was advocated in relationships with non-Aboriginal organizations and funding agencies. More decision making power for the community was recommended in relationships with the other Aboriginal organizations and with the client community. More cooperative orientations were advocated in all relationships between service organizations.
- ◆ **Service standardization was rejected by most respondents.** Standardization was seen as largely inappropriate, especially between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations. It was not seen to allow for individualized and flexible service to clients. Some respondents said they would consider it if standards were agreed upon collectively with other Aboriginal service providers.
- ◆ **Not all respondents recommended changes in current accountability mechanisms.** Accountability to non-Aboriginal organizations was generally seen as overbearing. More balanced levels of power and accountability, including reporting, was recommended. The idea of establishing direct mechanisms of accountability between Aboriginal service organizations received mixed reactions. Many respondents commented that currently, no one is accountable enough to the community. More community involvement is needed in decision making, and culturally based models of management were recommended.
- ◆ **New organizational structures must be culturally relevant and be based in Aboriginal traditions.** Culture was seen by most respondents as not playing a large enough role in service delivery and its management.

- ♦ **Opinions regarding potential self-governance authority sources and jurisdictions were mixed.** The suggestion to establish some sort of central coordinating agency was a popular with many respondents. Most respondent preferred either autonomous separate organizations or culturally based sources of authority. Either a shared authority, between a central agency and service organizations, or a completely decentralized authority, with power vested in service organizations, were the preferred options for authority distribution. Most respondents selected a city-wide focus for service delivery or a focus depending on the service provided.
- ♦ **Most respondents indicated that the establishment of self-government would have a positive impact on service effectiveness.** Respondents frequently felt that the number of clients served, the range of services, the integration of services, linkages between needs and services, the number of long-term programmes, and particularly the cultural appropriateness of services would all increase.
- ♦ **All of the respondents indicated that they felt that self-government, in some form, will be established in Winnipeg.** Although they gave a variety of reasons for their beliefs, they all reflected the tenacity of the service provider community in pursuing self-government for their communities.

6.2.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVED SERVICE DELIVERY

The results of this research suggest that the original assumptions made by this author regarding the current network of service delivery (also stated in the introduction to this section) are indeed valid. These assumptions included:

1. While effective service delivery may be carried out by certain organizations, more effective service delivery is possible.
2. Currently, service delivery organizations are not significantly integrated in their administration or operations.
3. One of the methods for improving the effectiveness of service delivery is to make structural alterations in the current service delivery network and work towards a more coordinated system of service delivery.

The numerous recommendations for an improved service delivery system suggest the service delivery can become more effective. Most of these recommendations were related to the structure of the service delivery network, including data from general questions about barriers and opportunities for an improved network, suggesting that there are indeed structural problems in the current network. A lack of coordination was seen as a major barrier to more effective service delivery, suggesting that the current network is not well coordinated or developed. Finally, respondents stated that increased coordination and partnerships would lead to more effective service delivery.

The data suggests a number of recommendations which are summarized and divided into the following categories: Supportive Environment and Funding Issues, Overall Coordination and Service Delivery, Decision Making Regarding Services, Accountability Issues, Communication Issues, Standardization of Services, Specific Cultural Issues, and Preferred Structures of Self-Government.

6.2.6.1 Supportive Environment and Funding Issues

- ◆ Non-Aboriginal legislative, political and administrative bodies should better recognize and support Aboriginal service organizations in their efforts;
- ◆ Aboriginal organizations should better support each other in their respective efforts;
- ◆ Personality conflicts should not interfere with service delivery;
- ◆ Funding levels should be adequate and flexible enough to meet the needs of the community;
- ◆ Aboriginal organizations should become less dependent on government funding.

6.2.6.2 Overall Coordination of Service Delivery

- ◆ Service organizations should be more coordinated in efforts;
- ◆ Service providers should discuss establishing common goals for service delivery;
- ◆ Aboriginal organizations should continue to conduct referrals in their relationships;
- ◆ Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations should establish more partnerships and formal arrangements;
- ◆ Umbrella or coordinating bodies for service delivery should be considered;
- ◆ Service organizations should plan farther ahead;
- ◆ The Aboriginal community should be better organized around community issues.

6.2.6.3 *Decision Making Regarding Services*

- ◆ The community should have a larger role and be more involved in decision making;
- ◆ Aboriginal service organizations and non-Aboriginal service and funding organizations should have more balanced decision making power between them.

6.2.6.4 *Accountability Issues*

- ◆ Mechanisms of accountability to the community should be stronger and be more culturally based;
- ◆ Alterations in mechanisms of accountability among Aboriginal organizations and between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations should be approached cautiously;
- ◆ Funding agencies should be more accountable in their communication and for their actions.

6.2.6.5 *Communication Issues*

- ◆ Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations should establish good communication relationships;
- ◆ Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service providers should seek a better understanding of the differences between each other;
- ◆ Open lines of communication with the community should be better established and utilized;
- ◆ Discussion about coordination should be more structured;
- ◆ Some clients should be better educated regarding their expectations of service organizations;
- ◆ Service organizations should maintain a good reputation in the community.

6.2.6.6 *Standardization of Services*

- ◆ Standardization of service delivery between Aboriginal service organizations should be approached cautiously;

- ◆ Service organizations should retain their ability to provide individualized services;
- ◆ Standardization of services between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations should not be established.

6.2.6.7 *Specific Cultural Issues*

- ◆ More qualified Aboriginal people should be working in service organizations;
- ◆ Culture and language should be better recognized and used in service delivery;
- ◆ Healing of the community should be a focus of service delivery;
- ◆ Structures of service organizations should be more culturally based.

6.2.6.8 *Preferred Self-Government Structures*

- ◆ Inclusive definitions are preferred in defining the community served;
- ◆ Autonomous separate organizations or culturally based organizations are preferred authority sources;
- ◆ Equally shared authority between a central coordinating body and service organizations or completely decentralized authority in service organizations are preferred;
- ◆ City-wide, service dependent, or defined neighbourhoods are the preferred geographic focuses of service delivery.

Some of these recommendations reflect some initial steps in establishing an integrated system of service delivery. Not only do the respondents in this study feel that a more unified approach to service delivery should be implemented, the functions of governance would require one. However, this integration in service delivery is balanced with the desire of many respondents for their organizations to remain as autonomous as possible.

While these recommendations have obvious merit, they represent the views of only one group (but a very important group) in the collection of stakeholders involved in service delivery to the Aboriginal community. As such, the above results and recommendations can only be assessed as representing part of the puzzle of improving service delivery effectiveness. The views and recommendations of other stakeholders, such as the Aboriginal community at large and various levels of government, would inevitably have an impact on any reform in the manner services are provided. As a group, Aboriginal service organizations do not operate in a vacuum and there are at least two sets of interests in any relationship between groups.

7. IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH

7.1 REVIEW OF SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS' OPERATING ENVIRONMENT

As discussed in the section *Theory of Operating Environments* (4.3), the environment of service organizations can be viewed as both an external constraining social phenomenon and as a collection of interacting organizations, groups, and persons. Taking into account the literature reviewed and the research carried out in the previous section (6), this subsection examines organizations' operating environment in light of these conceptions of organizations' environment.

7.1.1 ENVIRONMENT AS AN EXTERNAL CONSTRAINING SOCIAL PHENOMENON

Aboriginal service organizations have endured tenuous political and public support over the last 35 years. Government support of their operations has been unstable and variable. Responsibilities for urban Aboriginal peoples as unique citizens have not been formally recognized by either provincial or federal governments. Past and present funding arrangements have been inadequate and constraining. Most organizations are highly dependent on government grants for their operations. Respondents feel that a lack of understanding, respect, and recognition of the Aboriginal community and organizations by politicians, bureaucrats and the general public has been prevalent.

The courts have not recognized the inherent right to self-government of Aboriginal people regardless of their residence. *Indian Act* legislation has fragmented the First Nations and the larger Aboriginal community by providing differential benefits. Legislation applying to non-profit corporations has severely influenced the structure and operations of urban Aboriginal organizations.

Non-Aboriginal service organizations serving the Aboriginal community are often seen as hindering the operations of Aboriginal organizations. They have largely been reluctant to transfer authority to Aboriginal organizations for the provision of services to the Aboriginal community. As well, they often compete for funding dollars to serve the same community. Many feel that the unique economic, demographic and cultural characteristics of the Aboriginal community have not been nor will be recognized by non-Aboriginal service providers.

Due to its unique characteristics, the client community is difficult to adequately serve under the prevalent service delivery structures. Many of the clients cannot afford to pay for services and are in need of employment. Many are suffering from the social ills that grew under misguided government policies and modernist society. Social service delivery approaches have often been

an assault on cultural values, and many members of the Aboriginal community have developed an intense mistrust of them. There is relatively little community involvement in service delivery organizations.

Some Aboriginal political organizations that are not formally connected to existing service organizations are claiming responsibility for Aboriginal people in urban areas. Some status based organizations wish to provide services to the urban community but may not wish to use inclusive Aboriginal organizations to do so.

Civic governments, or local arms of more senior governments, make up a large part of the service delivery environment. They have the jurisdiction to provide most services for Aboriginal people in cities, and in most cases have been reluctant to give this up to Aboriginal agencies. Only after years of community outrage and demonstrated need have Aboriginal service organizations been allowed to deliver services in a culturally appropriate manner. For example, both the Ma Mawi Chi Itata Centre and the Children of the Earth High School, two prominent Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg, had to struggle for years to become established. Resistance to their formations was expressed by the provincial government despite the cultural implications of service delivery in these jurisdictions and the majority of Aboriginal individuals in their client bases. Obviously, a certain level cooperation of provincial and local governments would be required for self-government in urban areas to move anywhere. They are the major controllers in the service areas in which Aboriginal service organizations are seeking more control.

These hostile influences comprising the environment external to the network of Aboriginal service organizations have created a hostile and unstable situation. Aboriginal organizations have frequently found it difficult to establish themselves, get funding and get authority to provide services. Administering and operating programs in a culturally relevant manner has been difficult. They often find difficulty in gaining the support of established Aboriginal political organizations. Attracting and keeping qualified Aboriginal staff and community involvement has been a challenge. As well, the values of the staff and community have difficulty being reflected in organization decision making. The result, from an open systems perspective, is that due to limited resources from the environment, Aboriginal organizations have had a limited impact on the situation.

An unstable and hostile operating environment may be one of the reasons that Aboriginal organizations have adopted a decentralized approach to service delivery. From one perspective, semi-autonomous service organizations enable flexible funding arrangements and adaptable organizations. However, unstable and scarce funding may have also facilitated a competitive atmosphere between organizations.

One of the more pronounced influences of complex environments on the internal structure of individual Aboriginal service organizations has been their multiple lines of accountability. They are not only accountable to their funding agencies, these service organizations must be

responsible to the people they serve and the larger Aboriginal community. Aboriginal organizations are currently operationally bound by existing national, provincial and local government legislation. As well, Aboriginal service organizations function in an environment heavily shaped by other service organizations, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and the larger Canadian public. These entities make up the environment in which Aboriginal service organizations are constantly struggling for survival. Multiple lines of accountability have made it difficult for organizations to satisfy all parties involved. Furthermore, individuals have often expressed frustration with the situation in which organizations have had to be more accountable to funding agencies than to the Aboriginal public or the people they serve. It is no wonder that organizations tend to selectively choose their accountability priorities. As White, Levine, and Vlasak (1975) suggest in health care systems, "each organization attempts to 'rationalize' its environment and to maximize its own criteria of accountability." As a result, efforts to integrate the service network fall behind the needs of organizations to independently define their goals, functions and accountability.²⁰³

7.1.2 ENVIRONMENT AS A COLLECTION OF INTERACTING ORGANIZATIONS, GROUPS, AND PERSONS

As discussed in a previous subsection of the same name (*Environment as a Collection of Interacting Organizations, Groups, and Persons*, 4.3.2), Marrett (1971) put forth a number of variables that apply to the properties of relationships between organizations. She articulated four key dimensions in exploring linkages between organizations: formalization, intensity, reciprocity and standardization. While the research discussed in the previous section (6) has not addressed these dimensions specifically, some knowledge can be drawn from the data.

Almost all of the organizations contacted are involved in formal or informal relationships with other Aboriginal service organizations, and all recognized their organization's interdependency with other organizations in their operating environment. Furthermore, 43 percent recognized the need to work cooperatively to be effective. There seems to be a trend, or at least desire, to increase the level of activity between organizations in the future. While a number of activities are said to be conducted in these relationships, the degrees of formalization, intensity, reciprocity and standardization in exchanges were not clear. It appears that few or none of the exchanges between organizations take place through an intermediary organization and tend to be informal in nature. Most of the activities involve referrals, information exchange, and technical support, and generally do not involve the transfer of financial resources. Overall, there was said to be a lack of communication, joint goal determination and general coordination between organizations. Some respondents recommended more communication with the grassroots and structured communication (such as regular meetings and written agreements) between organizations. Personality conflicts and competition between organizations for authority and funding were said to exist. However, some partnership agreements, the development of

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White, Levine, & Vlasak, (1975), pp. 189-191.

programs in consultation and conjunction with other organizations, and general coordination (including better communication) efforts are taking place. These activities were said to be important opportunities for improving service delivery and are predicted to increase in frequency in the future. Some political organizing and informal information exchange between overlapping board members currently takes place. The role of the community in decision making needs to be increased according to respondents, and decision making structures should reflect this reorientation. Neither standardization in service delivery nor accountability to other Aboriginal organizations was altogether popular with respondents. Establishing joint coordinating bodies or umbrella groups was recommended by a few respondents as a future option to increase service delivery effectiveness. Feedback mechanisms for the operations of service organizations largely do not seem to exist and was recommended as a possible option for service delivery improvement.

The current network of Aboriginal service organization seems to conduct many of the functions of a service delivery system, but not in a comprehensive fashion. The lack of coordinated services may well be due to organizations' hostile and unstable operating environment and decentralized development. As mentioned, organizations are constantly fighting for autonomy, authority and funding. Personality conflicts and competition may have been accentuated by the relatively small number of individuals involved in providing services. However, the seemingly vast number of informal linkages may tell another story. Many respondents appeared to have an aversion for formalized interorganizational structures, perhaps because they are the tools and techniques based in bureaucratic culture. Instead, their extensive use of informal connections may often serve to provide the necessary linkages and flexibility in service delivery. Due to the lack of interorganizational feedback and evaluation mechanisms, however, there is no way to know if services are adequately integrated and compatible, accessible to clients and the community, and comprehensive enough to ensure clients are adequately served by the present service network. As well, judging from the nature and variety of respondent recommendations made, it is highly likely that the current service network could use improvements.

At this point in time, it can be argued that Aboriginal service organizations have been vacillating between obligational networks and promotional networks throughout their history in Winnipeg.²⁰⁴ While obligational networks have existed for some time, recent developments in the form of the Winnipeg Aboriginal Coalition may signal the establishment of promotional networks among Aboriginal organizations. The goal for many is moving to the next level of network development, a systemic network in the form of a service delivery system.

²⁰⁴See section 4.4.4, *Network Configurations*, for definitions of these terms.

7.1.3 RELATIONSHIPS WITH NON-ABORIGINAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

From one perspective, all service organizations seen together, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, can be considered to constitute a network. Furthermore, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations in a specific service area can also be seen as a network. In many areas, relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations are similar to those between Aboriginal organizations. However, other linkages between all service organizations may assume different dimensions than those between strictly Aboriginal organizations. For instance, many Aboriginal leaders reject the notion that Aboriginal organizations should be treated like any other special interest social service agency. Fundamentally, the impetus for the development of Aboriginal organizations has been to serve Aboriginal people in ways that are largely absent in the operations of non-Aboriginal service delivery organizations.

As stated above, most Aboriginal organizations are involved in relationships with non-Aboriginal organizations and continue to see a relationship in the future. Some reasons cited for these relationships included out of necessity, common goals and to encourage a transfer of resources to Aboriginal organizations. Joint agreements and partnerships exist between both types of organizations. Again, conducting referrals, sharing information and giving technical support were thought to be the most common present and future activities in these relationships. Good communication, recognition of the abilities of Aboriginal organizations, and recognition of the needs of the community were said to be important elements in these relationships, but not always present. However, few Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations develop programs or politically organize with each other. An imbalance of power between organizations was perceived by most of the respondents. Competition and an unwillingness to cooperate was also noted. Some more structured communication was recommended. Standardized service delivery was not popular. Many respondents re-emphasized that accountability between service organizations should be focused on the community. Some other recommendations included establishing feedback structures, joint agreements, and two-way communication.

It is clear that Aboriginal organizations recognize their interdependency with the network of non-Aboriginal service organizations serving the same client base as them, and may largely see themselves as part of that network. Activities similar to those conducted in relationships exclusively between Aboriginal organizations are conducted, although not generally in areas of programming and political organizing. Again, the decentralized nature of the network may be contributing to limited degrees of interconnection. However, there seems to be some level of animosity towards non-Aboriginal organizations serving Aboriginal clients. Many respondents highlighted the frequent lack of understanding of the needs of the community by these organizations.

7.1.4 CURRENT NETWORK CONFIGURATION

As discussed earlier, Alter and Hage (1993) state that interorganizational network structures are not coordination methods or organizational structures. Rather, they suggest that network structures are a result of environmental forces and network goals.²⁰⁵ They identify five structures that shape or configure interorganizational networks that can be applied here: centrality, size, complexity, structural differentiation, and connectiveness in interorganizational networks.²⁰⁶

While some organizations are larger than others (the Ma Mawi Chi Itata Centre and the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre), it is unclear from the data whether or not most of the clients flow through these organizations to be referred to other organizations. Network boundaries are defined by the degree to which organizations must take into account each other's actions. Due to the number of services provided, the network can be considered relatively large. However, many of the organizations in the network have small budgets, few staff, and serve a limited number of clients. A wide variety of services are provided, mostly in social service areas with cultural implications. As well, there seems to be a high degree of specialization in service delivery by most operating organizations.²⁰⁷ While the number of linkages between organizations is not known, there is evidence that a substantial amount of informal connections exist.

While the current configuration of the network is fairly decentralized, Alter and Hage (1993) warn it may become more centralized in the pursuit of more effective service. The data reflects the belief that more coordination of decision making and integration of service tasks may lead to a more effective service network. Alter and Hage suggest that predictability (or measurable effectiveness) in service delivery, especially for non-voluntary clients, is a driving force behind centralized networks. In efforts to provide high quality care, they state examples of many organizations banding together to better manage treatment planning and intervention. Centralized structures theoretically allow for greater accountability, joint decision making and coordinated case management. As well, Alter and Hage state that centralization may increase the vertical dependency of the entire network, and as such, control of network directives by government. However, most Aboriginal organizations are already highly dependent on government funding, albeit different sectors within governments. While centralization does not change this, it may make it easier for government to influence all Aboriginal organizations through across-the-board budget cuts. Alternatively, a centralized network may be interpreted as a positive development if it is under an Aboriginal government. Vertical dependency on an Aboriginal government might increase the ability of organizations to focus on a unified approach to service delivery and could help to ensure efficient operations. As well, centralization would

²⁰⁵ Alter & Hage, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²⁰⁶ See definitions in *Network Configurations* (4.4.4) subsection.

²⁰⁷ See *Characteristics of Existing Aboriginal Organizations* (5) section.

likely increase the ability of Aboriginal organizations in cities to act as pressure groups, and thereby increase their political power and influence.

7.1.5 DEVELOPMENT OF AN ABORIGINAL SERVICE SYSTEM

Analysis of the current network of Aboriginal service organizations has shown that it cannot be considered a system of service delivery. Many of the Aboriginal service organizations in Winnipeg experience conflict and interact under conditions of unstructured authority in the network. They tend to be more concerned with internal operations of their organizations than with the construction of a renewed service delivery system and/or self-government. The network does not deliver comprehensive services, cannot ensure access to all services by all clients, and cannot ensure appropriate linking of services. Programs, resources, clients, and information in the network are not entirely coordinated. The network cannot lobby collectively and does not relate politically to the broader Aboriginal public.²⁰⁸ Above all, the network has not established agreed upon directives, and as such, cannot operate collectively as a unit. As discussed previously, the functions of governance would require a service system.

However, this does not mean that the current network is not developing into a system of service delivery. Collaborative initiatives certainly exist and are predicted to be maintained. Examples of partnerships and joint agreements are noted by respondents to be useful in their efforts. The beginnings of collective efforts to raise funds are evident. Many of the recommendations made by respondents express a desire to increase integration of the network.

Efforts to improve service effectiveness have demonstrated Alter and Hages' (1993) four conditions for interorganizational collaboration are present: a willingness to cooperate, a need for expertise, a need for financial resources and sharing of risks, and a need for adaptive efficiency.²⁰⁹ As well, it seems likely that organizations in the service network presently or would in the future join together in their actions for the following reasons, outlined by Van De Ven, Emmett and Koenig (1975):

1. to communicate pertinent information by forming a social service exchange;
2. to promote areas of common interest ... ;
3. to jointly obtain and allocate a greater amount of resources than would be possible by each agency independently through a community chest; and

²⁰⁸ Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

²⁰⁹ Alter & Hage., *op. cit.*, p. 39.

4. to protect areas of common interest and adjudicate areas of dispute ...²¹⁰

The potential for constructing a service delivery system is great. As a collectivity, Aboriginal service organizations can achieve levels of service effectiveness that cannot be reached by individual organizations. A more comprehensive, accessible, and appropriate approach to service delivery involving all programs, resources, clients, and information can be accomplished by working as a unit.

One of the criticisms that may be leveled against the creation of an Aboriginal service delivery system is that it may re-create the social service bureaucracy that serves all residents of Canada. Bureaucracies have often been criticized as limiting innovation, stifling creativity, depersonalizing clients, and diminishing the significance of clients' individual problems resulting in a dehumanizing institution.²¹¹ The results of the interview research in section 6 suggest that promoting individualized service and avoiding standardization is seen by many decision makers in service organizations as a key strategy to avoiding these effects of bureaucratization. While a coordinated system of service delivery serving all Aboriginal people in an area may increase the relative size of service organizations, it does not have to result in a dehumanizing bureaucracy. The size of the system would never reach the size of non-Aboriginal systems as the client population is not large enough to make bureaucracy inevitable. Furthermore, as an Aboriginal government, Aboriginal decision makers can move away from an emphasis on bureaucratic practices to focus on priorities of the community. After all, the goal of self-government is to provide services that are more appropriate for Aboriginal people.

As mentioned in the *Potential Roles of Aboriginal Service Organizations* (4.5) subsection, Aboriginal service organizations operating as a unified, structured pressure group can do much to advance the political and economic goals of many service organizations, especially in facilitating the development of an effective Aboriginal service system. While there is some evidence of political lobbying taking place, it is often in the form of protest and cannot seem to mobilize much of the community or even all the Aboriginal service agencies. The reactive position in which many service organizations find themselves may be overcome if they band together to form a pressure group. As such, the interests of urban based service organizations, and the urban Aboriginal community (to the extent they are represented by these agencies) could be better reflected in federal, provincial and civic policy making. The paucity of adequate political representation of Aboriginal communities in cities, combined with the rapidly changing federal agenda with respect to self-government, may even permit a well organized pressure group of service organizations to break into the subgovernment. This would move Aboriginal service organizations out of a strictly policy review role towards a policy negotiator role. As a

²¹⁰ Litwak & Hylton, *op. cit.* vol. 5, p. 398, and Levine, White, & Paul, (1963), vol. 53, pp. 1183-95.

²¹¹ Heffron, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

member of the subgovernment, perhaps issues regarding the imbalance of power held by funding and legislative entities would get addressed.

However, as a pressure group, Aboriginal service organizations must be prepared to address the common criticisms of interest group politics. In order to counteract these criticisms and strengthen their position, the pressure group must seek community support for their actions and ensure democratic, community based decision making processes within the network. As well, the pressure group could resist the temptation to polarize issues for political gains, present its arguments in terms of benefits to both the urban Aboriginal community and the larger public good, and take a pragmatic approach to negotiation.²¹² Involvement in the lobbying process would likely affect member organizations of an Aboriginal services-oriented pressure group. They would have to be conscious of institutionalization and its effects on cultural elements and community values in their organizations' operations. Of course, the pressure group would in the end have to decide what political strategies are in its best interest. However, there is little question that a unified approach would gain the pressure group the most political currency.

7.2 SELF-GOVERNMENT IN WINNIPEG

The models discussed in the *Models of Urban Aboriginal Self-Government* (3.8) subsection were presented as options for Aboriginal communities in any city in Canada. This section focuses specifically on the implications of these models in the Winnipeg context. This context includes the general Winnipeg environment as well as the specific network environment consisting of local Aboriginal service organizations and other entities in the existing service delivery network, discussed in earlier sections. While different Aboriginal groups might support certain models over others, opportunities exist for the use of some or all of the urban self-government models in the Winnipeg context. The analysis of these models, however, primarily takes into account the interests of existing Aboriginal service organizations for two reasons: 1) the interview research conducted for this project provides direct input from this group of stakeholders, and 2) due to their strength, expertise and experience, these organizations, in their existing forms or other forms, would more than likely become part of the service administration arm of an urban Aboriginal government. As a group, they have developed service capacities and ground level relationships with the community that are unparalleled by any Aboriginal political organizations. Similar to *Table 3.1: Urban Self-government Models*, *Table 7.1* shows the model options and variants and some indication of each model's membership criteria. However, this figure also stipulates whether or not each model requires an integrated system of service delivery in its operations. While the development of an Aboriginal service delivery system may be beneficial to service recipients, the figure shows that only the Political Autonomy and Territorial/Urban Lands model options would require it.

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Discussed in the section *Service Organizations as Pressure Groups* (4.5.2).

Certain criteria should be considered in the transition process to achieve a fair and equitable form of urban self-government. Clarkson (1994) provides an appropriate set of criteria for the purposes of this analysis. She states that the necessary elements of this transition process are that it:

1. is inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples;
2. empowers all constituent groups, especially the most vulnerable and least protected members of Aboriginal societies to ensure that their needs are met, through their participation in the design and implementation process;
3. provides mechanisms and resource allocations for the design and delivery of a holistic and comprehensive strategy, intended to eliminate the poverty and political marginalization that is characteristic of the majority of Aboriginal peoples; and
4. is accountable to the people in terms of performance and outcomes.²¹³

Implications of the three urban self-government model types, as well as possible characteristics of decision making bodies, are discussed in this section.

7.2.1 NON-TERRITORIAL MODELS

As discussed above, the network of existing Aboriginal service agencies provides a good starting point in the development of an infrastructure base for some form of Aboriginal self-government within the city. The Non-territorial models are especially relevant in this respect, as they specifically call for the further enhancement, rather than the dissolution, of these organizations. Furthermore, they can allow for a membership inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples, which not only meets Clarkson's criteria for a transition to self-government, but is already being operationalized in a vast majority of urban based Aboriginal organizations. Membership in these versions of Institutional Autonomy and Political Autonomy governments would not be subject to *Indian Act* definitions of cultural heritage, but would have to rely on newly established definitions of Aboriginal peoples. Membership in these proposed governments' constituency could be voluntary or automatic, both of which might be difficult to enforce. If its is voluntary, accountability to constituents might also be a problem, as service users could easily 'opt out' of this government if their needs were not being met, rather than pushing leaders to be more responsible to them. As discussed earlier, accountability in an Aboriginal civil service may also be an issue. Also, both of these models would have difficulty serving Aboriginal people outside the city. However, an entity coordinating Aboriginal agencies from different cities and regions might be useful here.

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Clarkson, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Table 7.1: Urban Self-government Models & Service Systems

<i>Model Options</i>	<i>Authority</i>	<i>Service System</i>
NON-TERRITORIAL		
Institutional Autonomy	Service organizations	No
Political Autonomy		
1. Pan-Aboriginal	Urban Aboriginal body	Yes
2. New Aboriginal	Urban Aboriginal body	Yes
Métis Boards	Métis provincial body	No
EXTRA-TERRITORIAL		
	Band governments	No
	Tribal councils	No
TERRITORIAL/URBAN LANDS		
Urban Reserve 1		
1. Band governed	Band governments	Yes
2. Tribal council governed	Tribal councils	Yes
3. First Nations body	First Nations body	Yes
4. Language & culture body	Language & culture body	Yes
Urban Reserve 2	New Band government	Yes
Neighbourhood Based	Urban Aboriginal body	Yes

The transition to an **Institutional Autonomy** option, in which institutions are developed in specific service sectors to function relatively autonomously, most closely resembles the strategy adopted by many existing Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg. The mandate of most of these organizations involves the provision of a specific service, and their survival has been dependent on their ability to provide that service. As they have encountered barriers to fulfilling their mandates in an effective way, traditionally in the form of a lack of political support, unstable funding, and a lack of cultural understanding among others, they have pushed for more autonomy in their operations. Due to their mandates and areas of expertise, and the lack of a unified approach to service delivery by all Aboriginal organizations, they have pursued more power in their specific service area.

The main advantage of this approach is that it allows for significant community input, as board of director structures do now. If similar decision making structures continue to exist, the community can hold the executive of service institutions directly accountable to the structure and programming of these organizations.²¹⁴ As urban Aboriginal service organizations have traditionally pushed for more control over their individual affairs, this option could be easier to implement as it follows a status quo structure in the community. Despite these advantages,

²¹⁴ Weinstein, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

however, institutional autonomy alone may not lead to more effective service delivery. In fact, only one out of thirteen respondents in the interview survey selected "service organizations" as their preferred authority source under self-government. The development of institutions separately would likely continue the trend of fragmented objectives and translate into a lack of unity with regards to policy directions. Programme development is more likely to take place isolated from other service institutions and may be underfunded due to the small size of each institution. Information sharing alone may not be enough to ensure an appropriate linking of service delivery, thereby making a holistic approach to service delivery extremely difficult. A lack of unity could result in a dispersion of political impact in dealing with federal, provincial and civic governments in specific service jurisdictions and would undermine negotiations on a nation-to-nation basis. Institutional Autonomy does not require a coordinated, systematic structure of governance, something which may be necessary to reach appropriate levels of service capacity and comprehensiveness. As well, it would be difficult to establish a central coordinating body in this model option, something which was advocated by many respondents in the interview research. It is imperative to determine where the usefulness of institutional autonomy ends and political organization should begin to provide an appropriate system of service delivery for urban Aboriginal populations.

The **Political Autonomy** options (both Pan-Aboriginal and New Aboriginal), which propose the establishment of central decision making bodies, hold some promise for self-governance of the Winnipeg Aboriginal community. There is some indication these models may be supported in the community. Thirty-one percent of respondents in the interview survey selected "autonomous separate organizations" as their most preferred authority source of self-government, while another 31 percent suggested more culturally based authority sources that currently do not exist. Weinstein (1986) suggests that political autonomy goes beyond institutional autonomy because it "... articulates and seeks to promote through its operations the broad objectives of aboriginal people which transcend the purview of any individual agency." Furthermore, he states that, "[w]hile provision of this type of political representation in law would deviate from the conventional treatment of minority groups, it would build upon the role already established by Métis and non-status Indian political organizations off a land base."²¹⁵ Existing organizational development could provide the necessary base from which to introduce a central decision making body. A primary drawback of this approach is that it creates more of a potential for, although not the inevitability of, decision making to be removed from front line service delivery and the creation of a bureaucracy.²¹⁶ As well, existing organizations would have to surrender some of their individual decision making powers to a central agency that would politically represent them. However, a Political Autonomy model could bring more benefits to them than existing arrangements. This structure could help to establish a unified approach to self-government. As such, it could facilitate the development of a coordinated system of service delivery and would enhance the ability of individual organizations to lobby politically. Its

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

structure contains a decision making body that is separate from service and programme delivery apparatuses. Programme development could be comprehensive enough to cross service sector boundaries, as such, would allow for a holistic approach to be implemented. As well, distinctions between different Aboriginal cultures in service delivery could be recognized, depending on whether a Pan-Aboriginal or New Aboriginal approach was being utilized. Linkages between organizations could go beyond information sharing to joint program delivery and resource sharing where appropriate. Accountability between service institutions would be established directly or through a central coordinating mechanism.

A similar approach has already been used in Vancouver by the Urban Representative Body of Aboriginal Nations (URBAN), the umbrella organization for Aboriginal service agencies formally operating in that city. On a few occasions, URBAN has implemented a consensus building model for administering funds to these service organizations which was reported to be popular with its membership. Using their method, representatives of all the agencies with related mandates come together to decide the most effective way in which funds for addressing a particular issue in the community should be administered. Through the creation of an understanding of all the organizations involved, representatives are then expected to reach consensus regarding which organization can best address the particular need in the community and receive the funds. URBAN is presently not part of any system of funding administration as its function is not recognized by provincial and federal ministries.²¹⁷

Both inclusive variants of the Institutional Autonomy and the Political Autonomy model options seem to have the support of many existing inclusive Aboriginal service agencies operating in Winnipeg, but currently appear to be largely unacceptable to status based First Nations or Métis political organizations.

Status based systems of service delivery could also be implemented under these models. However, a status based orientation would exclude some of the urban Aboriginal population from service delivery. As well, it is questionable whether or not the desired effects of a service system would be realized due to the significantly reduced size of potential client populations being served by parallel systems. Existing service organizations would have a limited role in the development and implementation of a status based self-government service administration as most of these organizations have been developed to be inclusive based in their operations.

7.2.2 EXTRA-TERRITORIAL MODELS

As would be expected, none of the interview respondents selected band governments or tribal councils as preferred authority sources for urban self-government. Not all First Nations people agree with this model either. Disapproval of this option seems to be primarily related to

²¹⁷ Telephone interview with Lawrence Redwood, Administrator of URBAN on December 21, 1994.

perceived problems of First Nations governments that currently exist on reserves and the automatic exclusion of the many non-status Aboriginal urbanites from self-government. However, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (whose constituency is band chiefs) would likely be a strong supporter of a version of it. As the AMC are partners in the devolution of DIAND authorities in Manitoba, they are likely to ensure that these models are considered.

Due to the exclusive nature of Extra-territorial models, they are generally not intended to include current inclusive urban service agencies in their organizations. In addition, they would not serve those Aboriginal people who do not have status or whose home community is out of province. Because their authority sources are located on reserves, it is difficult to imagine how they would be able to fairly recognize those First Nations people who wish to make their permanent home in the city. As Brown and Wherret (1994) warn:

A number of problems with this model can be identified. It would create different services and regulations both between the non-aboriginal and aboriginal communities, and within the urban aboriginal community. Without coordination between governments, it could lead to a confusing array of different standards and services. As well, urban residents would have to ensure that their interests were adequately represented in the land based governments whose laws apply to them. The success of an extra-territorial model depends on agreements and continuing effective relations with land based aboriginal governments and on self-identification by urban aboriginal residents of their association with the land based communities.²¹⁸

Under the Extra-territorial models, it may be possible to establish urban authorities and service administrations that would be subservient to band or tribal council governments. It is possible that these service administrations could deliver a range of services and that they could reach some economies of scale, especially if they were intended to serve the urban populations of some of the closer reserves or entire tribal councils. However, as Wherret and Brown remark above, it would result in confusing array of services and standards. Inclusive based organizations, and perhaps Aboriginal governments, would likely continue to supply services for Aboriginal people in the city. This situation would result in overlaps in potential memberships and client bases and perpetuate divisions within the community. As well, staff that would remain with inclusive Aboriginal organizations, who have expertise and decades of experience providing services to the urban community, could not be utilized by Extra-territorial governments, who would be starting to build a service infrastructure from scratch.

However, service agreements between Extra-territorial governments, existing service organizations or inclusive Aboriginal governments, and non-Aboriginal government could be struck. While such agreements would likely be confusing, especially to the service user, they could result in a sort of charge back system. As such, status Indian clients could use service agencies that were not under the authority of Extra-territorial governments, but fees for that

²¹⁸Brown & Wherret, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

service could be charged back to the Extra-territorial governments by the service provider. Unfortunately, service providers would have limited formal accountability to service users in this situation. In a charge back system, status First Nations people could be assured that there are a wide range of services available to them. As it is unlikely that there would be a unified policy approach due to the number of authorities involved, it is doubtful whether a holistic approach to service delivery would result.

7.2.3 TERRITORIAL/URBAN LANDS MODELS

The Urban Reserve options are based on the establishment of new reserves in Winnipeg through the *Indian Act*. Because they are based on *Indian Act* legislation and status based, they do not seem to be popular with many people, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, who are trying to distance themselves from this legislation.

In Urban Reserve 1 model, band jurisdiction would simply be extended to those members living on a newly established urban reserve. This variant would suffer from some of the same problems as the Extra-territorial model, with difficulties in providing services to scattered off-reserve band members, in reaching economies of scale in institutions, and in ensuring political participation of urban reserve and off-reserve constituents. While gaining powers from rural reserve governments, these urban communities are unlikely to be self-governing as they would be subject to decisions made by band governments in their "home communities".

Again, membership and representation in Urban Reserve 2 model would be problematic. The "body of Indians" definition does not ensure that the residents of such a reserve would have much in common due to the heterogeneous nature of the urban Aboriginal population. However, the NAFC report does not entirely dismiss it, as stated in the following:

The major disadvantage of these [two previous] options is the *Indian Act*. The *Indian Act* could be used to recognize "new bands", regardless of their connection to the Indian registry, existing band membership or Aboriginal ancestry (Indian, Métis or Inuit). Both of the options could fragment self-government and fragment Aboriginal Peoples between urban cities. ... The reserve scenario at the most can act (if restricted to using the *Indian Act*) as a measure of dealing with recognition problems. However, if it is used at all in this manner then it should be open to all. As an option this model can not be rejected, but should be considered as one of the varied options available to Aboriginal Peoples.²¹⁹

The Neighbourhood Based option of urban self-government might be an possibility for specific areas in Winnipeg, particularly in the North End of the inner city. This area contains high

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National Association of Friendship Centres (1994), p. 50.

numbers of people of Aboriginal descent as well as a high concentration of service organizations specifically catering to Aboriginal peoples. Unfortunately, there already exists a generally negative perception of area, by residents and non-residents.²²⁰ The possibility of neighbourhood ghettoization exists if it were to become perceived as a poor neighbourhood where only Aboriginal people to live. Conversely, such a situation could prove to strengthen the North End community in a very positive manner by allowing the community to develop.

A number of concerns are apparent in the workings of the Neighbourhood Based option. Issues of membership in this community, although by no means straightforward, are more easily defined than in other variants discussed as constituents are identified by their place of residence. However, the question of how much population is necessary for justification of this form of government is warranted. As well, questions remain regarding whether or not it is a truly public form of government, where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents fall under the jurisdiction of the neighbourhood government, or it is government meant only for Aboriginal people in the neighbourhood.

Service delivery systems would likely exist in all the Urban Reserve governments and the Neighbourhood Based government, but they would be focused on a specific area and would only be accessible to those people who lived in the predetermined area. Due to the small geographical focus and client population, it might be easier for these delivery systems to be more holistic. However, their size might also make it difficult to reach economies of scale, and effectiveness might suffer. Existing inclusive urban Aboriginal service organizations would likely not be incorporated into the Urban Reserve governments due to their exclusive orientation. However, they might be used in a Neighbourhood Based government if it was located in an area where these organizations already operate.

7.2.4 DECISION MAKING BODIES

Whatever form of urban Aboriginal government might develop, its decision making bodies can be structured in many ways. They can be considered councils with representative stakeholders from various interests, service sectors or organizations. They can have equal representations of men, women, youth and Elders. They can be clan based and/or follow a council of Elders approach. They can use moral suasion or authority to implement decisions. They can be based on consensual or adversarial decision making processes. In essence, like the entire structure of self-government, they can reflect Aboriginal cultures and traditions in their operations. In keeping with the numerous recommendations made in respondent interviews, decision making bodies could be designed to include effective mechanisms for community input and feedback; decision making bodies could be responsible and directly accountable to the Aboriginal public.

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Lezubski, Darren W., Kevin Lee & Doreen Redhead, *A Window Into Lower Income Winnipeg: North & South Point Douglas and Lord Selkirk Park Neighbourhood Study* (Winnipeg: The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, October 1995).

7.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

Whatever happens with respect to efforts to improve service delivery will happen slowly due to the general lack of internal network agreement, the number of interests involved, the need for capacity building in existing organizations, and the uncertainty regarding a change to the status quo. While a consolidation of interests can start to happen now (such as in the Pathways initiative), agreements regarding the transition to self-government, if undertaken, would likely be long term but hopefully with noticeable effects. As discussed throughout this document, there are many decisions yet to be made and agreements yet to be struck by Aboriginal leaders and the community.

The recommendations made by interview respondents are a solid starting point to improve the effectiveness of the current network of service delivery. As direct participants in providing services to the Aboriginal community, they are faced with issues and problems within the network on a day-to-day basis and as such, likely well informed to comment on them. In many ways, these recommendations can stand on their own. However, leaders in Aboriginal service organizations are only one group involved in service delivery. As has been repeatedly emphasized in this paper, other entities in the same environment have a profound influence in how services are provided. At some point in time, their voices must be heard for any service delivery improvements to take place.

A review of the literature and research results in this paper suggests some important implications of a transition to urban self-government that can be re-emphasized. They are listed in the following:

- ♦ **Coordination between service delivery organizations would likely have to increase if the existing network of organizations is to serve as a basis for a service delivery system under Aboriginal self-government.** This can be accomplished through the development of an overall strategy to guide the network of service organizations through a transfer of jurisdiction to a service delivery system. As well, organizations would need to prepare to increase their capacities to serve increasing numbers of urban Aboriginal residents and continue to strike partnerships with other service organizations.
- ♦ **Conflict within the urban Aboriginal community of service providers does not have formal venue for resolution.** If Aboriginal organizations are going to develop service systems, there would likely be conflicts as respective authorities and responsibilities are decided. A sanctioned adjudication body within the network could help to deal with this conflict.

- ◆ **Individual Aboriginal service organizations seem to be pursuing more autonomy in their specific service areas.** This trend may be detrimental to the development of an overall service system if it is not coordinated with the efforts of other Aboriginal organizations in the same network. The establishment of network strategies and objectives may be necessary if all organizations are to benefit from the efforts of individual organizations.
- ◆ **Urban Aboriginal service organizations are not currently organized as a pressure group to politically lobby for their needs in the development of self-government.** The current political efforts of Aboriginal service organizations could be more effective if they were pursued collectively in a well organized manner. The role of the pressure group could be developed in conjunction with existing Aboriginal political groups to strengthen their support.
- ◆ **There does not exist an established forum to discuss issues and strategies related to self-government.** Input from both service delivery professionals and the public would be necessary for the development of overall service delivery and self-government strategies and models.
- ◆ **The legal status of most Aboriginal service organizations is that of a non-profit agency.** If these organizations are to become part of an Aboriginal self-government, they would need to be able to change their legal status. As well, existing organizations might need to undergo structural changes under self-government.
- ◆ **Membership or citizenship criteria in potential urban forms of self-government are presently undefined.** At some point, these criteria would need to be determined. The criteria could be regulated by an Aboriginal organization, with an impartial adjudication board for appeals. Membership criteria could be accompanied by a voluntary enumeration process.
- ◆ **Potential resource needs for the development and implementation of self-government is currently undetermined.** Resources currently exist to serve the Aboriginal community but they are being administered by a variety of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations with little coordination or long range planning. Self-government would likely require the restructuring of current and new funding arrangements.

- ◆ **Potential Aboriginal government's taxation powers have not been discussed with the Aboriginal community, and federal and provincial governments.**

Taxation powers and other revenue raising opportunities would likely be a volatile issue in the development of urban Aboriginal self-government. Some discussion and research into this topic would be needed for self-government to become established.

7.4 CONCLUSIONS

Franks (1987) suggests that Aboriginal self-government would not be the answer to all Aboriginal community problems, and may be incite further problems. He believes there would be a number of effects as a result of Aboriginal self-government. He writes:

[I]mportant and difficult decisions are still to be made after self-government is achieved. Aboriginal self-government in itself by no means assures happiness or better government. ... Many of the difficulties of governance are masked to a colonized people because governance is carried on by the others, the colonizer, not themselves, the colonized. But self-government means hard choices. The resources of aboriginal self-governments will be limited. They will have to choose between emphasis on economic development as opposed to redistribution, new schools versus new sewers, a health care centre versus caring for the aged, and so forth. There will be conflicting views on priorities and needs. ... Winners, losers, and decision makers will all be part of the same community.²²¹

Also, self-government would introduce a class system of well paid government employees and those earning lesser incomes. There may be tensions between a possible representative government and traditional forms of decision making. There may be a lack of trained Aboriginal individuals to staff this new government, and as a result, services may suffer. Finally, the success or failure of self-government has much to do with how the federal government organizes itself to deal with it. The present federal designed initiative dealing with negotiating self-government has promise, but will only be effective if there are sufficient resources allocated to the process, there is extensive community consultation, provincial cooperation exists, there is eventual legal recognition of urban Aboriginal government, and there is sufficient resolve within the Aboriginal community to deal with this issue.

Urban Aboriginal self-government represents both great challenges and opportunities. And service delivery organizations can play an integral role in its implementation by collectively

²²¹ Franks, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

focusing their efforts towards developing a service delivery system within a self-government framework.

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9. APPENDICES

1.1 APPENDIX A: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The following section explores some of the methodological details of the primary research discussed in section 6 of this paper, *Relationships Of Existing Aboriginal Service Organizations And Service Delivery*. The topics of interview sample selection, research typology, research design, and research limitations are discussed.

1.1.1 INTERVIEW SAMPLE

As mentioned, the desired information for this portion of the study was gained through personal interviews with key informants in the field of social service delivery to the Winnipeg Aboriginal community. By speaking with experts in the field, an accurate picture of present and possible future service delivery structures in Winnipeg can be identified.

The total population from which to derive the sample of key informants was relatively small. Executive Directors (or their equivalents) from each organization were requested to select an appropriate individual to act as a respondent for this study. As an obvious link between organization members involved in both the daily operations and policy making functions, as well as a liaison between the organization and its environment, the Executive Director is well qualified to act as or select a suitably informed individual to interview for the purposes of this study. The use of a single respondent from a number of different organizations ensured that a cross section of perspectives from people directly involved in providing a variety of services was represented in the study findings.

In order to build upon the work of the Clatworthy, Hull and Loughren (1995) --as discussed in the section 6, *Characteristics of Existing Aboriginal Organizations* -- key informants were approached from the same organizations identified in that study. As the data collected was from very similar sources, some comparisons between the results from both studies is possible. As outlined previously, the authours' selection criteria for the organizations from which to draw key informants was based on a combination of factors:

1. the organization provides primarily services or benefits for permanent urban Aboriginal residents, which make up a majority of the client base of the organization;
2. the organization has substantial decision making power, separate from its parent organization, in its operation;
3. the organization is effectively controlled by Aboriginal people that can exercise authority over either service policy or organizational finances;

4. the organization does not seek to make a profit.¹

The Clatworthy, Hull and Loughren study identified a total of 25 organizations in Winnipeg that met their criteria for being Aboriginal. The Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre has since been formed and meets the selection criteria, and as such, has been added to the list. However, the Ikwewak Justice Society was eliminated from the list as it was not active during the time that the research was being conducted. Political organizations were also removed from the list as the study focuses on service delivery issues and the service provider community. In the end, the list of eligible organizations comprised 20 organizations. Appendix C contains the list of organizations from which potential respondents were approached for interviews.

Executive Directors (or their equivalent) from selected organizations were first contacted by telephone to introduce the researcher and briefly explain the topic of the research being conducted. They were then sent more information regarding the study and the actual research questionnaire. This information contained a request that they contact the researcher regarding whether or not they were interested in participating in the study. If they were interested, the agency contacts were asked to either act as a respondent or to choose an appropriate person to do so, and an interview time was set up. Interviews were conducted in person by the author and, if permitted by the respondent, tape recorded. Both the respondent and interviewer had copies of the questions in front of them as they proceeded through the questionnaire. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 2.5 hours in length. Interviews were conducted between May and October, 1995.

While this sample may include key informants involved in the delivery of services to Aboriginal people in Winnipeg, its representativeness of the service provider community cannot be verified. Although key informant surveys ensure a well informed group is able to speak to particular topics, these samples do not use a random selection process, and as such may somehow be biased. However, the total leadership that is involved in the Aboriginal community providing services is a relatively small population. It is likely that a good proportion of this population was actually interviewed using this sample selection process.

In researching structural issues in service delivery as a whole, data on attitudes of individuals performing a multitude of operations is arguably more useful than more detailed data on attitudes of individuals performing a limited number of operations. While it would be useful to gather data from a variety of sources within each organization, the resources available for this study did not allow for it.

¹ Clatworthy, Stewart, Jeremy Hull & Neil Loughren, "Urban Aboriginal Organizations: Edmonton, Toronto, and Winnipeg," in Peters, Evelyn J., ed., *Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Areas: Proceedings of a Workshop, May 25-26, 1994* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations 1995), p. 27-28.

Attitudinal data from this sample is only part of the information needed to address issues in the current service delivery network. As only respondents from Aboriginal service organizations were interviewed for this research, it should be noted that the results are not representative of the views of all the stakeholders involved in service delivery to Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. As mentioned previously, governments, the courts, other types of Aboriginal organizations, non-Aboriginal organizations, the general population and the Aboriginal population are also stakeholders. Aboriginal people involved in service delivery in non-Aboriginal organizations also have important viewpoints that may not be reflected in these research results. Obviously, further research into the attitudes of these other stakeholders in the network should be explored to understand the entire situation and what types of changes are desired. Most importantly, any new forms of service delivery to Aboriginal people in Winnipeg would have to be approved by those people who would be directly affected.

1.1.2 RESEARCH TYPOLOGY

Due to the nature of the research being conducted, a single established methodological theory was not utilized in the design of this study. Instead, theoretical aspects of different research approaches have been combined to yield a methodology that borrows from policy analysis, survey research, quantitative and qualitative techniques.

According to Hedrick, Bickman & Rog (1993), there are distinct differences between basic and applied research that affect their respective methodologies. They contrast these two approaches in the following:

Though it is often hoped that basic research findings will eventually be helpful in solving particular problems, such problem solving is not the immediate or driving goal of basic research. Applied research, in contrast, strives to improve our understanding of a specific problem, with the intent of contributing to the solution of that problem. Applied research also may result in new knowledge, but often on a more limited basis defined by the nature of an immediate problem.²

While this particular study fits more easily into the definition of applied research, the author is not formally accountable in this work to clients that may be involved in the process of developing a system of service delivery. This study is, however, conducted through resources from the academic community, and is more likely to have an interested party or observer status in the process. As such, it may be more objective than a commissioned study by a stakeholder in the process. However, an academic approach does not preclude a complete lack of accountability to primary stakeholders. Rather, the author of this study has the responsibility to portray the issue in as much an unbiased light as is possible. By collecting and analyzing

² Hedrick, Terry E., Leonard Bickman & Debra J. Rog, *Applied Research Design: A Practical Guide* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications 1993), p. 3.

information from a perspective that lies on the periphery of those affected, the author is providing stakeholders with a potentially unique viewpoint on their situation. In the final analysis, however, it is not the author's role to do anything more than study the situation. While it has allies in existing governments and the general public, the Aboriginal self-government movement is ultimately driven by the desire of people within the community to have more control over their circumstances, and it is the members of that community that should decide what type of governance structures are best suited for themselves.

1.1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

Interviews for the collection of this data area were conducted in a structured manner through the use of standardized open-ended and closed-ended questions.³ The actual interview questions asked of respondents are contained in Appendix B.

This study used a range of different research question types, including *descriptive*, *correlative* and *prospective*. Hedrick, Bickman & Rog (1993) defines *descriptive* as:

"what is" and "what was" inquires. ... They generally require information on the characteristics of some entity (e.g., the nature of a problem, the objectives of a program, the needs of a population). The data to be gathered are descriptive in nature, designed to present a picture of what exists or what is happening.⁴

They define *correlative* questions as:

Correlative questions ask whether certain entities are related, that is, to what degree do they covary either positively (as X increased, so does Y) or negatively (as X increases, Y decreases). Correlational data only indicate whether there is a relationship between two or more variables, and the strength and direction of that relationship.⁵

Correlative data is also limited in the sense that perceived correlation between variables are often untested. Changes that would prove that a relationship between two or more variables exists have never taken place.

³ For a definition of structured interviews, see Tim May, *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process* (Buckingham: Open University Press 1993), p. 92.

⁴ Hedrick, Bickman & Rog, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Finally, *prospective* questions "... demand that the researcher use whatever systematic information he or she can array to predict future states."⁶ Due to the nature of such questions, prospective data is inclusive and is often described as a culmination of educated guesses.

The questionnaire starts out with *correlative* question regarding general barriers and opportunities for a better service delivery system. The research questions attempt to define the issues in relationships between existing Aboriginal service organizations and their external funding agencies, other Aboriginal service organizations, non-Aboriginal service organizations and their client community that impact service effectiveness. These are essentially *correlative* questions. *Correlative* and *prospective* questions are asked regarding possible strategies for improving service delivery. Through questions addressing issues of decision making and jurisdictional structures, communication methods, service standardization, and accountability, respondent's attitudes regarding some variables that influence coordination and their impacts on service delivery are explored. Respondents are asked to recommend strategies to possibly improve service delivery, particularly with respect these variables. As these questions are exploratory and future oriented, they can be considered *prospective*. The final section of the questionnaire asks primarily *prospective* questions as it deals with preferred options for possible self-governance structures. Some *descriptive* questions are included regarding the current state of the development of forms of self-government in the minds of respondents and the service provider community.

According to Turner and Martin (1984), designers of survey questions must be cautious of formulating questions that do not allow for the respondents to define issues:

Instead of just telling policy makers how to resolve issues or even how people feel about them, surveys may suggest how to formulate them, indicating what options to offer, what terms to use, and what interpretations to make. And indirect consequence of reliance on surveys has often been to restrict communication between policy makers and the public to those opinions that can be expressed with the constraints of the particular questions posed by an impassive interviewer, able to say or hear little about how questions might be reformulated or reinterpreted. ... Rather than representing apathy or ignorance, refusals to respond may reflect antipathy to the way a question is worded, frustration at the narrowness of the set of option proffered, or inability to express a complex opinion. Rather than representing confusion, apparently inconsistent responses to a set of question on an issue may mean that the questions themselves did not adequately explicate the respondent's points of view or that the questions were liable to conflicting interpretations. Rather than representing recalcitrance or contentiousness, mistrust of surveys may be due to a feeling that they are cutting off debate on an issue or unduly restricting it.⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Turner, Charles F. & Elizabeth Martin, eds., *Surveying Subjective Phenomena, Volume 1* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation 1984), p. 245.

The design of many of the research questions in this study hoped to address these concerns. Most questions in each topic area asked respondents to define issues through the use of open-ended questions. However, many of these questions were not completely unbounded, as they asked respondents to answer with respect to certain relationships and structures in those relationships, and with the goal of improving the current network of service delivery. It was hoped that by relying on respondent defined issues, priorities and strategies, much of the resultant data would strike a balance between the desires of the researcher to explore certain conceptual areas and the respondents to accurately convey their perspectives on the overall situation and on each particular topic area.

The data from open-ended questions were coded through categorization techniques. As questions were predetermined, data was already conceptualized and did not need to go through an open coding process. Categorizing is defined by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as, "the process of grouping concepts that seem to pertain to the same phenomena."⁸ Containing data with similar properties, categories reduce the total units of data. Wherever possible, categories were named using word or phrases used by respondents themselves, or *in vivo codes*. According to Glaser (1978):

[*in vivo codes*] are taken or derived directly from the language of the substantive field ... In vivo codes tend to be the behaviors or processes which explain how the basic problem is resolved or processed.⁹

Analysis that records data as closely as possible to its original form and postpones categorization to after the completion of data collection, rather than using preconceived categories in the recording of data, is called inductive coding.¹⁰ Inductive coding has many advantages, as articulated in the following passage by Nachmias & Nachmias (1987):

The chief advantage of the inductive approach is its flexibility and richness, which enable the researcher to generate explanations from the findings. Moreover, it allows for a variety of coding schemes to be applied to the same observation, and it often suggests new categories as well... The shortcomings of this method is that researchers may be bogged down by the mass of details when they try to explain the data. Sometimes too little context is preserved for the observer to determine which details are trivial and can therefore be eliminated.¹¹

⁸ Strauss, Anselm & Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications 1990), p. 63.

⁹ Glaser, Barney G., *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory* (California: The Sociology Press, 1978), p. 70.

¹⁰ Nachmias, David & Chava Nachmias, *Research Methods in Social Sciences, Third Edition* (New York: St. Martin's Press 1987), p. 346.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

Due to the relatively small amount of data for each question in this study, inductive coding was an appropriate and manageable method for categorization. As such, the data is highly reflective of respondents' answers to the questions posed.

The study also includes highly structured research questions where respondents were asked to select from predetermined options to define their preferences. This technique was utilized to assist in the final analysis of data. Information from these questions were simply compiled and specific answer frequencies were generated. However, in all of these questions, an "other" option was included in cases where none of the predetermined options accurately reflected the respondents' viewpoint. Answers to the "other" option were categorized wherever possible. This technique was included in order to ensure respondents were comfortable with the selecting a particular option and the researcher did not overlook possible variables.

Of course, open-ended questions also have limitations. As stated by one author writing on surveying subjective phenomenon:

But open questions also entail very severe problems. The frame of reference is often so wide that responses are not comparable to none another and contain much that is irrelevant or ambiguous ..., and these problems are accentuated by frequent failures in probing and recording by interviewers and misinterpretations of the part of coders. Moreover, it is not always true that open questions are less constrained than closed questions, for the provision of alternatives can widen as well as narrow the meaning of a questions ...¹²

As no form of questioning seems to be perfect, one must hope to use the most appropriate questions for the topic of study. While open-ended questions were the most frequent in these research questions for good reasons, the above limitations should be kept in mind while viewing data.

1.1.4 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

Some of the questions asked the key informants what they would suggest for "a better service delivery system", "effective service delivery" or "the most effective system of service delivery". The terms "service delivery system" and "effectiveness" were not defined by the interviewer in any communication with the respondents and, as such, may be seen to be ambiguous. Respondents may have had a different understanding of what constitutes a service delivery system and how effectiveness is measured. However, it is hoped that this terminology had minimal effect on the results of the survey. It is reasonable to assume that respondents commonly understood the service delivery system to be the integration of efforts to provide services to the Aboriginal population of Winnipeg. It is also reasonable to assume that effectiveness in service delivery was commonly understood to be the degree to which services

¹² Turner & Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

achieve their intended goals. These assumptions suggest that the possible differences in interpretation of these terms by respondents would have a minimal effect on the questionnaire results.

Although some useful comparisons can be made, the results of this study are not necessarily generalizable to other cities, times or populations. The development of Aboriginal organizations have been unique in every city due to the different general environments. Politically driven policies, especially those of provincial and civic governments, have varied in each place and over time. The small number of active people, and their dedicated involvement over many years, has resulted in development in the Aboriginal community that is heavily influenced by the dynamics of that group. Other groups of active people in other cities have established their own dynamics that may have influenced organizational development in its own way. Aboriginal cultural composition, and its effect on service delivery, varies in each place. Countless other elements in the general and specific operating environments of organizations in each city may have resulted in different issues in service delivery, and as such, may require locally driven solutions. However, two elements in the environments of Aboriginal organizations that may be considered relatively constant in every city over time have been federal government policy and the overall situation of Aboriginal peoples. These elements may be argued to have the largest impact on the development of Aboriginal organizations across the country. As such, a certain amount of generalizability between cities is possible. However, this does not suggest that the development of future systems of service delivery should take place at the national level.

Attitudinal data is not necessarily conclusive. Attitudes are not always stable and can change with time. As Turner and Martin (1984) explain:

... for forced opinion questions, ... or for introspective questions, or for some expert opinion questions, the same stimulus, if it could be asked independently and repeatedly of the same person, would give rise to variability.¹³

However, in exploring this particular topic of current and future service delivery arrangements, attitudes of current service providers are likely to have a substantial impact on changes to the existing system. They would be directly involved in any type of reforms, and as such, data regarding their attitudes is necessary to understand some of the changes that may take place.

Questions on potential structures of self-governance are ambiguous, particularly the questions regarding the preferred distribution of authority and the focus of service delivery. These questions simplify the issues and do not allow for structural variations along the lines of service capacities or methods of administration. However, the questions only ask of preferred structural forms, and as such, are not intended to be definitive.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

The results of this study constitute only a small part of the larger puzzle that is self-government. More substantial consultation with all parties involved is obviously needed in the development of Aboriginal service delivery systems.

1.1 APPENDIX B. RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE**KEY INFORMANT INFORMATION**

Name of Key Informant:

Name of Organization:

Position of Key Informant:

GENERAL ISSUES IN SERVICE DELIVERY

As a person working in the field, you must have a good understanding of the general issues related to the current service delivery system for the Winnipeg Aboriginal population.

What are the three most important barriers, in order of effect, to a better service delivery system for Aboriginal people in Winnipeg? Please describe them.

1.

2.

3.

What are the three most promising opportunities, in order of effect, for a better service delivery system for Aboriginal people in Winnipeg? Please describe them.

1.

2.

3.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER ABORIGINAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

For the purposes of this interview, Aboriginal service organizations are defined by the following criteria:

- ◆ the organization provides primarily services or benefits for permanent urban Aboriginal residents, which make up a majority of the client base of the organization;
- ◆ the organization has substantial decision making power, separate from its parent organization, in its operation;
- ◆ the organization is effectively controlled by Aboriginal people that can exercise authority over either service policy or organizational finances;
- ◆ the organization does not seek to make a profit.

Your organization has apparently met these criteria.

Has your organization established formal or informal relationships with other Aboriginal organizations in providing services to the same client base? (If no relationship, please proceed to the next section)

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what are some of the activities conducted in this relationship? (You may check more than one answer)

- ☐ Actively share information on programme operations
- ☐ Develop programmes around existing mandates and programmes of other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in consultation with other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in conjunction (in a joint decision making process) with other organizations
- ☐ Give technical support to other organizations
- ☐ Receive technical support from other organizations
- ☐ Give financial support to other organizations
- ☐ Receive financial support from other organizations
- ☐ Share client information with other organizations
- ☐ Make referrals to and receive referrals from other organizations
- ☐ Provide services in conjunction with other organizations
- ☐ Politically organize with other organizations around service provision issues
- ☐ Have common Board of Directors members
- ☐ Have common staff members
- ☐ Have common funding sources
- ☐ Others

What are three elements in this relationship, in order of importance, that contribute to effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

What are three elements in this relationship, in order of importance, that work against effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Do you see some sort of continued relationship between organizations such as yours and other Aboriginal organizations serving the same client base?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Why or why not?

If so, what are some of the activities that will be conducted in these future relationships? (You may check more than one answer)

- ☐ Actively share information on programme operations
- ☐ Develop programmes around existing mandates and programmes of other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in consultation with other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in conjunction (in a joint decision making process) with other organizations
- ☐ Give technical support to other organizations
- ☐ Receive technical support from other organizations
- ☐ Give financial support to other organizations
- ☐ Receive financial support from other organizations
- ☐ Share client information with other organizations
- ☐ Make referrals to and receive referrals from other organizations
- ☐ Provide services in conjunction with other organizations
- ☐ Politically organize with other organizations around service provision issues
- ☐ Have common Board of Directors members

- ☐ Have common staff members
- ☐ Have common funding sources
- ☐ Others

Do you think alterations in the structure of decision making or jurisdictions in the relationship among Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in the methods of communication among Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think standardization of service delivery among Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what type of standardization structure would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in mechanisms of accountability to other Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Is there anything else in the relations among Aboriginal service organizations that you would recommend altering in order to improve service delivery?

RELATIONSHIPS WITH NON-ABORIGINAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

For the purposes of this interview, non-Aboriginal organizations, such as existing government departments or non-profit organizations, are defined by the following criteria:

- ◆ the organization provides services, although not exclusively, to individuals of the same client base as Aboriginal service organizations (i.e. permanent urban Aboriginal residents);
- ◆ the organization is effectively controlled by non-Aboriginal people that can exercise authority over either service policy or organizational finances;
- ◆ the organization does not seek to make a profit.

While many non-Aboriginal organizations, in particular government departments, may be external funders of Aboriginal service organizations, this section of the interview is intended to explore the service delivery relationships between these two types of organizations rather than issues of financial control. As such, questions should be answered with service delivery relationships in mind.

Has your organization established formal or informal relationships with non-Aboriginal organizations in providing services to the same client base? (If there are no relationships, proceed to next section)

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, what are some of the activities conducted in this relationship? (You may check more than one answer)

- ☐ Actively share information on programme operations
- ☐ Develop programmes around existing mandates and programmes of other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in consultation with other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in conjunction (in a joint decision making process) with other organizations
- ☐ Give technical support to other organizations
- ☐ Receive technical support from other organizations
- ☐ Share client information with other organizations
- ☐ Make referrals to and receive referrals from other organizations
- ☐ Provide services in conjunction with other organizations
- ☐ Politically organize with other organizations around service provision issues
- ☐ Have common Board of Directors members
- ☐ Have common staff members
- ☐ Have common funding sources
- ☐ Others

What are three elements in this relationship, in order of importance, that contribute to effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

What are three elements in this relationship, in order of importance, that work against effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Do you see some sort of continued relationship between organizations such as yours and non-Aboriginal service organizations serving the same client base?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Why or why not?

If yes, what are some of the activities that will be conducted in these future relationships? (You may check more than one answer)

- ☐ Actively share information on programme operations
- ☐ Develop programmes around existing mandates and programmes of other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in consultation with other organizations
- ☐ Develop programmes in conjunction (in a joint decision making process) with other organizations
- ☐ Give technical support to other organizations
- ☐ Receive technical support from other organizations
- ☐ Share client information with other organizations
- ☐ Make referrals to and receive referrals from other organizations
- ☐ Provide services in conjunction with other organizations
- ☐ Politically organize with other organizations around service provision issues
- ☐ Have common Board of Directors members
- ☐ Have common staff members
- ☐ Have common funding sources
- ☐ Others

Do you think alterations in the structure of decision making or jurisdictions in the relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in the methods of communication between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in mechanisms of accountability of Aboriginal service organizations to non-Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in mechanisms of accountability of non-Aboriginal service organizations to Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think standardization of service delivery between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what type of standardization structure would you recommend?

Is there anything else in the relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service organizations that you would recommend altering in order to improve service delivery?

RELATIONSHIPS WITH CLIENT COMMUNITY

For the purposes of this interview, the client community is defined as the Aboriginal community served by Aboriginal service organizations (i.e. primarily permanent urban Aboriginal residents).

What variables does your organizations use to define its client community?

Of the following options, which criteria do you think Aboriginal service organizations should use to define their client communities to provide the most effective services?

- ☐ Status and non-status definitions
- ☐ First Nations, Métis and Inuit definitions
- ☐ Definitions inclusive of all Aboriginal peoples
- ☐ Linguistic definitions
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ None of these
- ☐ Other

How does your organization determine which services need to be provided to its client community?

How would you describe your organization's relationship with its client community?

What are three elements in your organization's relationship with its client community, in order of importance, that contribute to effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

What are three elements in your organization's relationship with its client community, in order of importance, that work against the provision of effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Do you think alterations in the methods of communication between Aboriginal service organizations and their client communities would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in mechanisms of accountability of Aboriginal service organizations to their client community would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Is there anything else in the relations between Aboriginal service organizations and their client communities that you would recommend altering in order to improve service delivery?

RELATIONSHIPS WITH EXTERNAL FUNDING AGENCIES

External funding agencies are defined as those agencies that contribute revenue to Aboriginal organizations.

What are the organization's sources of revenue for the current year, and about what percentage of your revenues come from each source?¹

	Number of Sources	Percentage of Total Revenue
Government grants or contributions		
Fees for goods or services supplied		
Private foundations or charities		
Self-generated sources (fundraising, membership fees, owners' contributions, etc.		
Other:		

¹ These questions are identical to question #33 in the survey carried out by Clatworthy, Hull & Loughren, *op. cit.*

What are three elements in your organization's relationship with its external funding agencies, in order of importance, that contribute to effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

What are three elements in your organization's relationship with its external funding agencies, in order of importance, that work against the provision of effective service delivery?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Do you think alterations in the structure of decision making or jurisdictions in the relationships between Aboriginal service organizations and external funding agencies would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in the methods of communication between Aboriginal service organizations and their external funding agencies would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in mechanisms of accountability of Aboriginal service organizations to their external funding agencies would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Do you think alterations in mechanisms of accountability of external funding agencies to Aboriginal service organizations would improve service delivery?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, what would you recommend?

Is there anything else in the relations between Aboriginal service organizations and their external funding agencies that you would recommend altering in order to improve service delivery?

FUTURE SYSTEMS OF SERVICE DELIVERY

What source of administrative authority would allow for the most effective system of service delivery?

- ☐ Service organizations
- ☐ Band governments
- ☐ Tribal councils
- ☐ Autonomous separate organizations
- ☐ Existing non-Aboriginal governments
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other

What form of administrative authority would allow for the most effective system of service delivery?

- ☐ Completely centralized authority administering all service organizations
- ☐ Mostly centralized administrative authority with some decentralized administrative authority (service organizations)
- ☐ Shared administrative authority between central coordinating agency and all service organizations
- ☐ Mostly decentralized administrative authority (service organizations) with some centralized administrative authority
- ☐ Completely decentralized administrative authority (service organizations) with a central coordinating agency
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other

What level should service delivery organizations be geographically focused to allow for the most effective system of service delivery?

- ☐ In one area/neighbourhood
- ☐ Throughout the inner city
- ☐ Throughout the city
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other

Have you personally considered any specific forms of self-government in Winnipeg?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If so, please describe the one that you personally see as most appropriate for Winnipeg?

Is there a broader collective vision of self-government in the service provider community?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Why or why not?

If so, how would you describe this vision of self-government?

How do you think self-government might impact the overall effectiveness of service delivery to Aboriginal peoples in Winnipeg?

☐ Positively
☐ Negatively
☐ No impact
☐ Don't know
☐ Other

Please indicate your prediction of how Aboriginal self-government in Winnipeg would it impact service delivery effectiveness.

	Substantial Increase	Moderate Increase	No Impact	Moderate Decrease	Substantial Decrease
Clients served					
Recurring clients					
Staff/client ratios					
Staff qualifications					
Range of services					
Integration of various services					
Linkages between needs and services					
# of long-term programmes					
# of short-term programmes					
Cultural appropriateness of services					
Other:					

Do you think Aboriginal self-government will be established in Winnipeg?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Why or why not?

APPENDIX C. LIST OF SURVEY SAMPLE ORGANIZATIONS

The following is a list of the Aboriginal organizations from which the sample for the original research portion of this project was drawn.

#	Organization	Interviewed?
1	Abinotci Mino-Awaywin	y
2	Aboriginal Centre of Winnipeg Inc.	y
3	Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg	n
4	Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre	n
5	Aboriginal Literacy Foundation	y
6	Aboriginal Training & Employment Services	y
7	Aiyawin Corporation	y
8	Anishinaabe Oway-Ishi	y
9	Anishinabe RESPECT	y
10	Bear Clan Patrol	y
11	Children of the Earth High School	n
12	Indian Family Centre Inc.	n
13	Iwkewak Justice Society	n
14	Kinew Housing	y
15	Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre	y
16	Manitoba Association for Native Languages	y
17	Native Clan Inc.	y
18	Nee-Gawn-Ah-Kai Day Care Centre	y
19	Original Women's Network	y
20	Payuk Inter-Tribal Co-op	n
21	Three Fires Society	n
22	Winnipeg First Nations Council	n
23	Native Women's Transition Centre	n
24	Indian & Métis Friendship Centre of Winnipeg	y
25	Manitoba Métis Federation - Winnipeg Region	n
26	Native United Church	n
Total Interviewed		15