

DECISION-MAKING AND LEADERSHIP
AMONG THE SQUAMISH

by

Richard W. Band

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

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Name: Richard W. Band

Degree: Master of Arts

Title of Thesis: Decision Making and Leadership among the Squamish

EXAMINING COMMITTEE APPROVAL

(David G. Bettison)
Senior Supervisor

(A.H. Somjee)
Examining Committee

(H.B. Hawthorn)
Examining Committee
Professor of Anthropology
Department of Anthropology and
Sociology
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, B.C.

ABSTRACT

This study has attempted to isolate those processes that make for decision-making and leadership within the Squamish Tribe. In so doing, it has been necessary to discard previously held notions about such concepts as community, leadership, power, law, and class, to name a few.

In 1923, sixteen Squamish-speaking bands amalgamated to form the Squamish Tribe. Although the individual bands have ceased to exist as separate territorial and social units, their significance within the present political and social situation is still of critical importance. A band was essentially composed of one large extended family. Through competition for the economic, political, and social opportunities that the Tribe offered and the demand for equal access (as groups and as individuals) to such opportunities, kinship affiliation has remained as the major underlying factor involved in decision-making and leadership. Because of competition and because of the demand for equality, a status system (a system of regularized inequality based upon unequal access to economic, political, and social opportunities) has not developed. The egalitarian make-up of the Squamish has, as a consequence, obstructed the development of leadership. Where leadership has developed, it tends to be of an intra-kinship nature rather than of an inter-kinship nature. Prestige is highly valued, but what a Squamish individual might consider to be a gain over his rivals is effectively checked and "neutralized" by his competitors. To give recognition to his accomplishments would, in effect, introduce an imbalance into the

system. Such an imbalance would threaten the individual identity of the competing groups, which would be unacceptable to them.

This particularistic approach not only pervades the patterning of social relationships within the community at-large, but it also influences the organization of the Tribe's formal decision-making body, the Council. Functionaries are placed in a somewhat impossible situation; on the one hand they are expected to meet the demands of their office, and on the other the demands of their respective kinship groups. Generally, it is the latter set of demands that prevails. As a consequence, in part, the elected and appointed officials, as representatives of different groups and as individuals, have been forced to keep a watchful eye on each other's activities to ensure "an equal access to available opportunities." The councillors are reluctant to transfer decision-making authority beyond the routine level to its administrative branches for they are afraid of losing control of the situation. The Council as a body possesses authority; no one councillor can gain more personal influence than any other councillor. However, the hierarchical patterning of relationships generally required by most bureaucracies to function effectively and efficiently involves, by definition, an unequal distribution of authority. The Squamish are well aware of this aspect of organization, but they are, at present, unwilling to "introduce an imbalance into the system."

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For what follows here I am alone responsible. Certain sources, however, require acknowledgement. The amount of work conducted during the past twenty years within the general area of contemporary Northwest Coast social organization has been far from considerable, considering the wealth of possibilities that exist. Particular group studies have been next to non-existent. I have, therefore, heavily relied upon those sources that are available, the most significant of which include: (1) Hawthorn et al, The Indians of British Columbia; and, (2) Hawthorn et al, Part One (1966) and Part Two (1967) of A Survey of The Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies.

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INTRODUCTION

Most writers have found it convenient to define concepts in a particularistic rather than in a universalistic way. Concepts such as community, leadership, power, law, and class, to name only a few, have been defined within a situational context; that is, the definitions have been constructed in such a way as to satisfy certain operational purposes. They have a use value, not an intrinsic value. This view not only holds for analytical purposes, but also for the methodological approaches involved.

Comparative studies--studies which are either of an intra-cultural or of a cross-cultural nature--have been beset by two related but somewhat different problems. First of all, concepts derived from a particular situation have been applied universally or to situations very different from that in which they were evolved. This approach involves the questionable assumption that concept and situation are not inextricably linked. Studies within the Anthropology of Law are instructive in this regard. Secondly, different models--analytical and methodological--have been viewed by their developers and subscribers as if they were the only legitimate systems of explanation. This approach is questionable because phenomena can be viewed from a number of different angles. More accurate explanation can be acquired from a number of different models concerning the same phenomena. Any one model can be as "legitimate" as any other model, but it is limited in its perspective.

In a large number of cases, different models have been employed to compete for universal acceptance. The result has been

the production of models, based upon particular points of view, often differing from each other, that have had a fashionable acceptance. Unfortunately, some social scientists have become over-zealous in the defence of their models. And in some cases, beliefs bordering on an ideological rectitude have developed about certain models. Often it would appear that facts are overlooked in favour of a particular model. The value of a model as a tool, in such cases, is superseded by its value as an "ideology." Such would appear to be the case within the structural/functionalist and the Manchester schools in the sub-discipline of Social Anthropology. Community power studies also appear to be beset by the same difficulties.

Ted C. Smith points out that "past studies of community power have been concerned primarily with the identification of influentials and the attributive bases of their power" (p. 83).¹ Two schools of thought evolved out of this concept. Smith points out that the stratificationist school, as represented by Floyd Hunter, for example, assumed that "community influentials tend to be structured into an integrated unity at the apex of a single hierarchy of power, and that they exert a unified, pervasive control over the course of community decisions" (p. 83). The pluralists, on the other hand, countered with the suggestion that "power may be tied to issues, and issues can be fleeting or persistent, provoking coalitions among interested groups and citizens ranging in their duration from momentary to semi-

¹ Page references will be included in the text. Bibliographical references are listed at the conclusion of the text on page 197.

permanent" (Polsby/p. 115). Both schools have attacked each other on the grounds of the tools that they make use of in the collection of their data. A demonstration of this approach can be found, for example, in Nelson W. Polsby's Community Power And Political Theory. Such an approach is to be desired, in one sense, since social scientists do need to improve their tools; however, in another sense, such an approach does little towards weakening the theoretical position of the opposite school. The major problem that these two schools have over-looked, it would appear, is the fact that they have discussed communities in a somewhat "unitary" way, as if the processes in a community were the same throughout or that all communities resemble each other. Polsby and Hunter, for example, have talked about the "American Community" as if such a generalized concept actually related to reality; if it does relate to reality, what would its utility be outside the environs of the mass media? Surely, such an approach is questionable. It appears to me that these two schools should concern themselves with the identification of the processes appropriate to particular structural situations.

Typologies would appear to be on much firmer ground because they can be modified to give recognition to the existence of different structural situations.² Perhaps one of the reasons for the continued existence of the stratificationist/pluralist debate is the fact that different structural situations exist. Both schools have documented case studies of community power

² Typology is being used here as a series of models.

structures which have been employed to support their individual approaches. Although it would appear that their approach to community power structure is based upon false assumptions, it does not follow that their individual models are totally devoid from reality. Their two models may be viewed as two different types of structural situations, which might be termed "stratificational" and "plural." This approach does not negate the possibility of both types existing within the same community. In the article, "power and Community Structure", Peter H. Rossi suggests that if we look carefully at the studies of community power structure, we may discern the following types:

(1) Pyramidal. Lines of power tend to have their ultimate source in one man or a very small number of men. Decision making tends to be highly centralized, with lower echelons mainly carrying out major policy decisions made by the small group at the apex....

(2) Caucus rule. Lines of power tend to end in a relatively large group of men who make decisions through consensus. Decision making tends to be a matter of manufacturing consent among the "cozy few" who make up the caucus. Typical power structure in the small town or dormitory suburb....

(3) Polyolith. Separate power structures definable for major spheres of community activity. Typically, local government in the hands of professional politicians backed by the solidary strength of voluntary associations, with the community service organization in the hands of the business and professional subcommunity.

(4) Amorphous. No discernible enduring pattern of power. Logical residual category. (p. 398)

This construction is an improvement over the two types mentioned above, although it is hardly adequate in the face of additional types. However, the important point here is the recognition that different structural types exist. The inadequacy in the list

is the inability to identify the nature of the structure of power in the so-called "amorphous" type.

My field work within the Squamish Community and the subsequent reading--reading that has to a large extent been concerned with communities exhibiting similar processes--have forced me to discard a number of pre-conceived ideas. The approach that I have taken is similar to the approach taken by Marc J. Swartz et al in the "Introduction" of their Political Anthropology. They have defined the study of politics as:

...the study of the processes involved in determining and implementing public goals and in the differential achievement and use of power by the members of the group concerned with those goals. (p. 7)

My understanding of the Squamish political organization comes from two related but somewhat different sources. "Concentrated" field work was conducted during the six-month period, November 1968 to May 1969. However, as a member of the Squamish Tribe, it might be said that my field work period began twenty some odd years prior to November 1968. As a member of the Community, I have been especially fortunate in gaining the confidence and, perhaps more importantly, the good will of all the councillors and of the community at-large. This situation has enabled me to obtain data that would, perhaps, not be as available to other students of Indian communities.

Through the prior consent of the Council, I was able to:

1. attend and take notes at the Council and the General Meetings;
2. study the Council's own Office Records (minutes of meetings, lease applications, etc.);
3. study the records of the Department of Indian Af-

fairs and Northern Development that relate to the Squamish Tribe (it was also necessary to obtain the permission of the Superintendent of the Fraser Agency); and,

4. study the data collected by Acres Western Ltd., a land development firm commissioned by the Tribe to study the future developmental possibilities for its land holdings.

Extensive use of the statistical data collected by Acres Western Ltd. has been made. Such data was based upon the records of the Council and of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Through cross-checking, I have found their data to be reliable.³ Other data was collected at informal social gatherings. "Coffee sessions" with different individuals and groups after Council meetings often proved to be highly informative.

At times I have found it necessary to protect the anonymity of certain individuals and groups; I have, therefore, changed a few names in order to comply with this necessity. Such changes, however, have in no way led to the distortion of the actual political processes that exist within the Squamish Tribe.

³ Tables I, II, VI, VII, and X are based upon data collected by Acres Western Ltd.

PART ONE: THE COMMUNITYCHAPTER ONE: DEFINITION OF THE TRIBE AND ITS MEMBERSHIP

On July 23, 1923, sixteen Squamish-speaking bands amalgamated into one unit under the provisions of the Indian Act. At that time the union involved twenty-four distinct reserve areas of which one or more was occupied by each band. A band was essentially composed of one large extended family.

Today, only six reserves are classified as residential areas, with approximately seventy-two percent of the reserve population living on what is known as the Capilano Reserve in the District of North Vancouver and on the Mission Reserve in the City of North Vancouver.⁴ The distance between these two reserves is about two miles. The remaining twenty-eight percent of the reserve population resides on four reserves that are within walking distance of each other in the District of Squamish, which is about 25 miles north (along the coast) of North Vancouver.⁵

In terms of the Indian Act (1951) Sect. 2(1)(a), the word "Band" means "a body of Indians (i) for whose use and benefit in common, lands, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, have been set apart before or after the coming into force of

⁴ The meaning of the emphasis given "reserve population" in this sentence is to distinguish those individuals who normally reside on the reserve as opposed to the "off-reserve population" who normally reside outside its territorial boundaries.

⁵ Hereafter, the residents of these four reserves will be referred to as the residents of the District of Squamish, as the residents of the Squamish Valley, as the Squamish residents, or as the residents of Squamish in order not to cause confusion with the terms "Squamish Tribe"--the general community at large--and "Squamish Band"--the legally-defined term.

this Act; (ii) for whose use and benefit in common, moneys are held by Her Majesty or; (iii) declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purpose of this Act." The vagueness of the term "a body of Indians" in this definition has complicated the ordinary use of language. Often the term "tribe" has been employed instead of the legal term. Some justification exists for this approach as it permits the identification of smaller units, bands, from the larger, tribe. Such a union of bands, as occurred among the Squamish, implies the organization of one legal, administrative body, but this legal status does not necessarily include or lead to the re-organization of the different bands involved into a single interactory unit. By this I mean that the social "distance" between the bands could quite easily remain unaffected by the legal amalgamation. Social interaction does not necessarily increase. I have found the term, Tribe, to be useful in distinguishing between the major unit now known as the Squamish Tribe and its component parts or bands as they existed at the time of amalgamation. This does not accurately reflect the legal terminology used in the Indian Act, but has become necessary for analytical purposes.

The Indian Act defines a Reserve as "a tract of land, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, that has been set apart by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of a band." The use and benefit of such land tends to take three forms: (a) as a source of Public Income; (b) as a source of private Income; and (c) as a place of residence.

Rights in the Tribe's assets are of great significance to

the Squamish because a conflict often exists between the Indian Act definition and the definition that the Squamish are forced to accept. The basis of this conflict may be seen in the question: "Who has rights to the Tribe's assets and who does not?" The Indian Act recognizes legal rights but not social rights.

Wilson Duff points out in the first volume of The Indian History of British Columbia that there are two different definitions of an Indian in use. He states:

Two different definitions are in official use at the present time, and these do not apply to entirely the same group of people. The first, which refers to what are usually called "registered Indians," is the legal definition used by the Indian Affairs Branch for the people who come under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act; that is, those whose names are included on the official Indian Register, either on a Band List or a General List....The second definition refers to "Indians by racial origin," and is used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Division of Vital Statistics. It includes all residents whose racial origin, traced through the father, is Indian. These are not all registered Indians, nor do they all live on Indian reserves. (pp. 46-47)

With respect to the first definition, he goes on to point out:

Registered Indians do not necessarily live on Indian reserves; in fact some of them live outside the Province. Some of them (in-marrying wives) are not of Indian racial origin. Legal status as an Indian is acquired at birth if the father is an Indian, or by marriage to an Indian husband. Illegitimate children of Indian women are also usually granted Indian status. Indian status is given up by "enfranchisement," which is automatic for women marrying non-Indian husbands, and otherwise voluntary, by application. (p. 47)

He further states:

An Indian woman who married a non-Indian husband thus loses her Indian status, as do in most cases any minor children she may already have, and all children resulting from the marriage. A non-Indian woman who marries an Indian, on the other hand, assumes Indian status, and children of the marriage are also regarded as Indian.

With respect to an application for enfranchisement, no Squamish Tribe member has applied in the past ten years. As Duff points out, the process and the word have become obsolete, because the franchise and the other rights of citizenship have been made available to the Indians (p. 48). It appears that there are only two reasons why an individual might undergo the process: first, to formally break all the legal ties involved in Indian status in order to pursue fuller integration or assimilation; and secondly, to acquire a desperately needed amount of available money. Upon enfranchisement, an individual receives his per capita share of the Tribe's Capital and Revenue Funds; in the case of the Squamish, the amount totals a little over two hundred dollars. The latter possibility is described as "desperate" because one would have to be in such a state to give up all his legal rights to the Tribe's assets for "all time" in order to obtain such a relatively small amount. Also, the approach would be illogical because the Council will provide support to anyone who is in need of support. In any case, when a Squamish woman marries outside the Tribe's membership, she also receives her per capita share or a portion of it. She receives the total amount if she enters into marriage with a Non-Indian or a Non-Legal-Indian; however, if she marries a Legal-Indian, part of her per capita share will be transferred to the two Funds of her husband's band. This portion is based upon the amount of his per capita share. The remaining portion she receives directly.⁶

⁶ It is possible that she will not receive any of her per capita share, because there are a few other bands that have larger shares; however, this situation very rarely occurs.

Table I --- New Family Formations From 1958-1967

Type of Formation	Number
Female Tribe Members Marrying Non-Indians	40
Female Tribe Members Marrying Non-Tribe Member Indians	9
Male Tribe Members Marrying Non-Indians	19
Male Tribe Members Marrying Non-Tribe Member Indians	23
Tribe Members Marrying Tribe Members	17
Total	108 ^x

x Although the Table indicates that 108 marriages took place, 125 Squamish members were involved.

Table I, which indicates the types and numbers involved in the new family formations for the period, 1958-1967, suggests a number of interesting points. Forty-nine females married outside the Tribe's membership; whereas, only forty-one of the males did so. Since these females had, in effect, ceased to be legal-Squamish, the marriages for this period have resulted in a net loss of eight individuals from the total membership of the Tribe.

The Indian Act has legally guaranteed the rights of the wives of Tribe members to an equal share of the Tribe's assets-- whatever their status before the marriage. The members of the Tribe have fully accepted this fact and, since the Non-Squamish wives, Indian and Non-Indian, have to a great extent been accepted socially within the Tribe, a problem does not exist here with respect to a definition of the Squamish (as based upon rights). However, the discussion of legal and social rights

with respect to Squamish females who had returned to the reserves after an unsuccessful marriage to a Non-Squamish, contained in the first part of Chapter Three, would suggest that the Act's definition does not cover all the Squamish who may identify themselves as such. Just as important is the general approach of the legal-Squamish, specifically the members of the Council, to regard these females as Squamish, even though they do not possess the status legally. In a very real sense, two definitions exist side by side--one, a legal definition and the other, a social definition.

Actually, when the modified term "general approach" is used, it is employed in a very different sense than what it might be taken to mean. Through kinship ties, the out-marrying Squamish females are still considered to be Squamish. However, most of the Squamish do not hold the view that these women and any children that they may have should be defined as Squamish legally. The Council is very much against the principle of providing welfare support, for example, to these women. They take the view that out-marrying females should be supported by the family that they have married into. However, the kinship ties that she possesses are usually important enough to negate the application of this approach in reality. Although the situation among the Tonga is somewhat different from that which exists among the Squamish, a few statements made by J. van Velson in The Politics of Kinship are instructive:

Marriage is the most important factor integrating otherwise independent groups of kinsmen: it provides a link between them by providing them with a common interest. Thus marriage serves not only the ends of

ordered procreation but it has also emotional, domestic, economic and political functions. The integrative role of marriage is of great political importance, because the Tonga political system is basically a system of over-lapping networks of kin groups and kin interests. (p. 79)

Later on, he states:

Because the status of a wife in her husband's village is one of subordination and isolation she relies for moral and legal support on her own village. This prevents her husband and his kin from abusing her weak position in the village. (p. 106)

Generally, the status of a wife in her husband's village is not one of "subordination and isolation" in the sense that van Velson means, because of the legal rights that she is guaranteed by the Indian Act, if she is married to a legal-Indian, or by the courts, if she is married to a Non-Indian (legally or racially). If her rights are abused, she still may return to her own family for moral and financial support, which often results in a petition to the Council to provide further support. What is important here is the "system of over-lapping networks of kin groups and kin interests" and its role in the political field. A woman who applies to the Council for assistance is, generally, faced by a number of councillors who are directly and indirectly related to her through kinship ties. This situation often proves to be an impossible one for the Council as a whole, because the non-related councillors do not want to create hostilities with the other councillors by "opening old wounds" or by inflicting new ones through a refusal of the application. The atmosphere in such a situation is often tense, and at times, it takes an unusual length of time for any of the councillors to raise the first question or state a position on the subject. The non-related

members know very well that hostilities will certainly develop if they speak against the application, and yet, they are against the provision of support to such a person.

The case of illegitimate children is somewhat similar. According to the Act, if it can be proven that the father of an illegitimate child is a Non-Indian, the child assumes his status, whereas, if the father is Indian, the child assumes the status of an Indian. However, who is to be registered as such is determined by the Department of Indian Affairs. Often a child is included on the Tribe's List, when some of the physical characteristics are obviously not of Indian origin. The Council may protest such additions (or deletions) to the List, but such protests generally prove to be without much success. Its failure can be traced to the Department or to itself. Simon Baker, speaking at the Chilliwack Indian Act Consultation Meeting, indicated the dilemma that the whole Council faces when he stated:

...his Council had protested many cases. However... there were complications and hard feelings because many of the subjects of protest were to someone on the Council.

Consequently, in order to avoid open-hostilities, the Council will "approve" of support to these illegitimate children and to the married women who return to the reserve. Because of the number of times that this situation has faced the Council, even if a woman is not related to any of the councillors, she will generally obtain support. The ethic of "fair treatment to all"

7 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Report of the Indian Act Consultation Meeting: Chilliwack, 1968, p. 12.

must be implemented for harmony to exist.

Who should hold the legal status of being a Squamish Indian has been of considerable importance to the Tribe members. The location of the reserves and the Tribe's wealth have undoubtedly influenced certain non-Squamish people to seek membership within the Tribe. About twenty years ago, such a person could apply to the Council and have his name put before a General Meeting to decide on whether or not his application should be approved. People would speak for him, indicating the close kinship and social ties that he had with certain of the Tribe's members. Others would speak against his application, generally indicating that by including him and his family (which was usually quite large) within the membership, the amount of the shares of the "rightful" Squamish would decrease proportionately. Initially, a relatively large number of people were included on the List in this manner.⁸ However, as the number of applications increased, the objections increased in number and in tone. It appears that the approach of a Squamish to conflict is generally of a non-aggressive and non-emotional nature. This nature is, actually, only surface deep. The Squamish rarely attack another person in public; however, in private, the approach is quite a different one. A discussion about questions concerning Tribal status is one of the very few situations in which hostilities will break out into the open. When I was at a General Meeting about twelve years ago, I was amazed to hear the charges that were made against

⁸ The Indian Act permits the transference of band membership if a majority of the people at a General Meeting approve of an applicant.

a man (and certain members of his family beyond the nuclear unit), whose application for membership was being discussed. About two years later, this avenue to membership was closed. Open hostilities were considerably affecting Tribal cohesiveness, and consequently, the Council was forced to ignore any further applications.

The Squamish attitudes towards the question of legal status were developing prior to amalgamation. Verma's research suggests to him that the conflict that developed over the many claims that were being made by individuals on the territory and the assets of different bands actually led to amalgamation, itself, in order to reduce the tremendous hostilities that had been developing. He points out:

...the Squamish continued to be guided, though to a limited extent, by their traditional concepts of ownership. People moved from one band to another closely related band and settled there. In addition, bilateral descent, polygynous marriage, easy divorce and remarriage between members of various bands and kinship groups, created a situation in which each Squamish came to be related to every other, often in more than one way. Thus what was supposed to be land allotted to and owned by one band, came to be burdened with all sorts of claims of ownership from the members of other bands. Since written records of kinship were rarely kept, the loss of memory due to the passage of time tended to confuse the situation still further. (p. 69)

However, he further states that such a situation did not present any serious problem until money became increasingly important and land became an important source of ready cash. The result:

Whenever land was sold, the distribution of proceeds became a serious problem. In the absence of proper records, it was extremely difficult to determine who should rightfully receive a share and who should not. Every time that land was sold and cash was distributed a number of petitions were sent to the Indian Affairs

Branch claiming that some people were erroneously left out and others similarly included. (p. 69)

It is obvious from the above that the problem of distribution of cash income from land was acute. Mutual quarrels, bickerings and threats of violence ensued. It is said some murders also took place. The principle of harmony between kinsmen, the most important tie uniting the Squamish people, was put to a very severe strain. In the face of this threat to Squamish kinship unity, the factors making for unity of the total group were more emphasized and those making for separateness were deemphasized. Thus the circumstances were overwhelmingly in favour of seeking a solution in terms of amalgamation. (pp. 71-72)

These developments have had a tremendous influence on the formation of attitudes with respect to the rights involved in the Tribe's wealth. As this wealth has grown, an increasing number of the members have taken the approach that their rights must be guarded from almost any intrusion. A few exceptions do appear to exist. Before amalgamation most of the Kitsilano Reserve was sold by its residents. The residents, therefore, had little to offer to the other Squamish-speaking bands at the time of union. However, it appears that there was no question of them not joining for this reason. As one informant pointed out, the Kitsilano Band was as Squamish as any other band; not only did they have the same cultural, linguistic, and religious background, but they also had kinship and social ties that were so interwoven with the rest of the Squamish that it was impossible to indicate who was actually a Kitsilano Band member and who was not, as Verma's discussion would suggest.⁹ The only Squamish-speaking band, that did not join, was the Burrard Band. It is suggested that

⁹ The sale of the Kitsilano Reserve led, perhaps, to the greatest uproar over claims of ownership that the Squamish have ever faced.

they stayed out of the union, because they believed that they could fair better by doing so. This explanation seems reasonable since, at the time of amalgamation, development on the North Shore could have proceeded eastwards rather than westwards. However, events have not been in their favour. Since that time, many members of the Council, if not most, have openly advocated the union of the Burrard Band with the Tribe.¹⁰ It would appear that a complete union of all the Squamish-speaking bands is held to be more important than what they might individually have to offer in such a union. Beyond these two examples, the members of the Tribe will not permit any further intrusions upon the rights of the membership as a whole.

In any case, the legal dimension does not completely define who is identified as a Squamish. On and off the Reserve, there are a considerable number of people who are identified as such, although they are not recognized as Squamish under the Indian Act. They may not be entitled to treatment as if they possessed that status, but they are often treated, to a certain extent, as if they were legal-Squamish. Although the legal dimension is significant with respect to identification and, as a consequence, membership within a group, it is not the only important factor involved. Legal rights have, to a great extent, been specifically laid out, although the paper will indicate that the definitions have been interpreted and employed within a range of lim-

¹⁰ Since it would appear that the eastern area of the North Shore will be developed heavily in the next few years, the Burrard Band is not terribly interested, it has been suggested, in a union with the Squamish Tribe at the present time.

its in a number of cases. Other factors such as social rights, essentially based upon kinship ties, are equally as important. The Indian Act demands that the legal members be treated apart from the other members of the social group.¹¹ This demand can only lead to conflict, because it creates an unnatural division within the social group--an unnatural division that the members cannot possibly accept; this division has not only led to conflict between different families, but it has also led to conflict within the same families. Consequently, the Squamish are forced to bend and break rules and regulations in order to maintain harmony.

¹¹Social group is being used here in a very limited sense. It refers to those persons who identify themselves as Squamish; it does not include all those persons who participate in the social community.

CHAPTER TWO: GROUP IDENTIFICATION

Because of the very different socio-cultural patterns and the distinctive legal and social rights involved, the Squamish form a distinct unit apart from the wider society. Many of the Squamish see themselves as a separate "nation" or as a separate "people" residing within the national borders of Canada. This view is not only held with respect to the wider Non-Indian society, but it is also held with respect to other Indian groups.

This identification has been given force by the attitudes of other Indians and Non-Indians. It has also been supported by certain selective measures. These measures may be of a deliberate nature. The Hawthorn study (1967) suggests this approach, when it refers to the development of strong local decision-making units. The study reports:

The type of community where strong local decision-making units develop is that which maintains a kind of deliberate distinction from its environs, while at the same time interacting with it in a selective fashion. In our field reports we see that such groups as the Squamish of North Vancouver...maintain social boundaries around themselves while at the same time linking up selectively with outside agencies in the surrounding society. (p. 180)

Furthermore, the Squamish identity is reinforced by the different factors involved in its socio-economic and religious composition. The Hawthorn study (1966) points out that the Squamish are less integrated and representative of the surrounding city population because of such factors as religion and occupation (p. 99).

The non-treaty status of most of the Indians of British Co-

lumbia, plus other common interests and problems, have been influential in the development of a common identity; however, this development has rarely been expressed in the form of a united front involving a consensus of opinion with respect to the common problems. Pan-Indianism has never developed in British Columbia because of two related factors: dis-organization and factionalism.

The organizations that have come into being have not been very successful in drawing different bands together, as Drucker, La Violette, and Patterson have all demonstrated. The membership of these organizations have generally been recruited on a regional and cultural basis. Whenever different cultural groups, such as the Coast Salish, Interior Salish, Nootka, and Kwakiutl, have been brought together within one organization, the union has always been short-lived. Cohesion has been disrupted by such factors as religion, regional interests, and cultural differences. The major organization in the Province, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, best illustrates, perhaps, some of the difficulties that these organizations have faced. The roots of such difficulties have been of some significance with respect to the participation of a number of Squamish individuals, especially as concerns the Native Brotherhood.

The Hawthorn study, The Indians of British Columbia, concluded:

Three factors limit the spread of the Brotherhood at the moment, none of which are related to the traditional culture and their differentiation. They are: (a) administrative weakness; (b) close relation to a particular maritime industry with little appeal to

other peoples; (c) the identification of religion, in practice, with Protestantism. (p. 477)

It has been pointed out by Drucker and others that the executive branch of the Brotherhood is very well organized, whereas the organization in local communities is at a minimum. The Hawthorn study also points out:

Much concern has been caused by lack of correspondence and consultation between the central office and each district vice-president, who is the organization's executive in the communities, an unpaid and costly appointment to hold. (p. 477)¹²

The report earlier states:

Work in the communities has not been emphasized to any very great degree and, of recent months, this has been one of the major complaints of some of the groups which have broken away or which threaten to do so....the Brotherhood has become more and more concentrated in the operation of a central office dealing with questions related to the fishing industry, and forwarding legislative briefs. It has appeared in the village mainly as a money-raising fee-collecting group. (p. 476)

In 1967, I interviewed the two major executives of the Brotherhood and asked them about this particular problem. They agreed to a certain extent that communication between the executive and the different districts is at a minimum. The president, Mr. Guy Williams, stated:

This situation is seventy percent true. Communication does break down. Our budget is so tight since we depend upon the salmon runs. However, it is not only the fault of the Office, but also its officers [vice-presidents]. They fail to let our membership know what we are doing....We don't deny this ques-

¹² Drucker defines the office of the district vice-president when he states that "He is expected to see that the units operate effectively, to organize new ones in nearby villages in which no branches have been established, and to keep the whole district active and informed in matters of Brotherhood concern." (1958, p. 113)

tion. We would like to employ a full-time secretary, but we can't afford a qualified person.

The General Manager, Mr. Nahanee (a Squamish), substantiates this belief when he said:

I'll send two hundred circular letters out, and out of two hundred, I may get two replies. Some of them do not even read them. I've caught them a number of times not knowing what they should have known.

The Brotherhood has also been beset by religious issues. It has been charged by a number of Catholic Indians that the Brotherhood is a predominantly Protestant oriented organization. The Hawthorn study points out that the leadership is drawn almost entirely from well-known Protestant families; the Protestant form of worship is incorporated into procedure; and "Onward Christian Soldiers" is the official theme song of the Organization (p. 475). The first point may have been true at the time of writing of the study, but almost ten years later six of the sixteen vice-presidential positions were held by Roman Catholics, which is very much in excess of the weight that they carry in the general membership. The position of Business Manager is also held by a member of that faith. Both Mr. Nahanee and Mr. Williams agree that certain members of the Roman Catholic clergy were essentially responsible for the difficulty between its Protestant and Roman Catholic members. Mr. Nahanee pointed out that certain Priests and Bishops attended Brotherhood conventions, but did not actively take part, although their influence was noticed through the actions of its Catholic members. However, Mr. Williams says that he is no longer concerned with the religious issue, since he has evidence now that the clergy has changed its

attitude towards the Brotherhood. The charges, that the executives have made, may be correct; however, when the Protestant members entered into the "day versus residential school question" and passed a resolution favouring the former, most of the Catholics left the Brotherhood. Since that time, the Catholic membership has remained at a relatively low level. At the present time, I doubt that the religious issue is responsible for this situation. It would appear that the situation is, in part, due to the co-incidence of occupation and religious affiliation. With respect to the Squamish, three other factors would appear to be relevant: (1) indifference; (2) antagonism; and, (3) ethnocentric bias. These three factors will be discussed shortly.

The Brotherhood actually has two major roles: first, it attempts to present the viewpoint of Indians on certain subjects, such as land and hereditary rights claims, to the different levels of government; and secondly, it acts as the bargaining agent for many of the Indian fishermen on the Coast, especially the Kwakiutl. In 1942, the Government imposed taxation on Indian incomes derived from outside the reserves. The Indians argued that this move was a breach of faith because they had understood their taxation exemption to be a fundamental right. The former policy of the Dominion Government was based, in part, on the stand that income derived from the "traditional occupations" was not to be taxed. In reality, the concept of traditional occupation was applied to all legally defined Indians, because it was impossible to determine the limits of the concept. In any case, the Government's definition was reviewed. The result was

the limitation of the taxation exemption to incomes derived from reserve employment. The Squamish reacted angrily to this development because many of them were fishermen who worked off the reserves at the time. What occupation could be more "traditional" than that of fishing? They also argued that the Coast Indians were being treated unfairly because they would feel the brunt of taxation more than the Indians in the Interior, who generally earned their incomes on reserves. Thus, the Squamish and other Coast Indians have some excellent reasons for their emotional orientation towards the imposition of taxation.¹³ A recent case in point involved the basis upon which wage scales were to be set for the Tribe's employees. In a Council Meeting held on March 18, 1969, a discussion arose over the basis upon which the salaries of the Office staff were to be determined. One of the Councillors suggested that the fact that their income was non-taxable should be taken into account. Some of the councillors (non-employees of the Tribe) were visibly disturbed by the statement. It was quickly pointed out that such a fact had "nothing to do with the subject." In any case, Drucker notes that Andrew Paull, a Squamish, almost single-handedly transformed the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association into a branch of the Brotherhood at this time. This event and the establishment of a business office in Vancouver considerably changed the character of

¹³ Fishermen comprise only one percent of the Tribe's labour force today. I doubt that the imposition of taxation has had much to do with this development. When the Government's policy came into effect, the Squamish were already under-going a heavy population shift from their former fishing base in the District of Squamish to the present area. The major reason for the shift was the relatively plentiful supply of jobs in and about Vancouver.

the organization. Drucker states:

The field [of labour relations] has, however, become the most successful area of operations for the British Columbia Brotherhood, despite the fact that it cannot quite hold its own against the White union. In fact, since the grassroots organization is so weak the labor relations activity is a primary factor in holding the Brotherhood together. Local rivalry and memories of hereditary antagonisms would in all likelihood have shattered the organization long since, were it not for the common and mutual interest of the Indians in the fish price negotiations. (1958, p. 157)

However, this incorporation has not been completely beneficial, as the Hawthorn study points out:

There can be no doubt that the concentration of finance and energies of recent years upon union matters has done the Brotherhood harm rather than good. Some Indians say that if the Brotherhood is simply a union, then they might as well join the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, as they can and do. And Indians of the Interior easily lose sight of the wider functions of the Brotherhood, holding that an organization which is designed to serve the needs of fishermen is not for them. (p. 477)

Although the writers refer to the Interior Indians, the same orientation is often expressed by the Indians of the Lower Mainland, who are involved in occupations other than fishing. The Indians on the Northern Coast have often expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that most of the Brotherhood's union activities are conducted in the Vancouver area, rather than in a center closer to the major fishing sites. When I asked Guy Williams what he thought about such orientations, he stated:

They fail to see that without the fishermen there would be no Native Brotherhood. We are fortunate in that we have reasonable control over his responsibility to pay dues. It has been shown over the years, that the non-fisherman is generally reluctant to pay his dues. Since approximately ninety-percent of our membership is composed of fishermen, we are in a good financial position. Our organiza-

tion is a \$50,000 a year business. If it weren't for the fishermen, we wouldn't have that.

However, many Indians fail to see that we are not only concerned with the interests of the fishermen, but we are also concerned with interests of all the Indians of the Province. What we have gained is for the benefit of all. We are not pressuring the others to join the Brotherhood. We want them to come to us.

The last two statements suggest one of the reasons why the Brotherhood has never made a formal representation to the bands in the Greater Vancouver area with the purpose of adding them to the general membership (as far as I am aware). The President pointed out that the Organization has not been interested in this area because the bands are in an economically sound position and because they are politically able to represent their own affairs. The Squamish would appear to hold the same view. Mr. Tim Moody, for example, stated:

Most of our people belong to other organizations anyway. We have a powerful Council here, and we could best benefit ourselves. It is the isolated communities that need the Native Brotherhood. That is why we didn't take an active role.

Other councillors have often voiced a similar view.

Because of these problems, in part, very few members of the Squamish Tribe have actively participated in the Brotherhood. Membership from the Tribe has been essentially limited to fishermen or former fishermen. One of the fishermen who joined stated that the only reason why he joined was because of the compulsory nature of the Organization as a union. At the present time, I am aware of only one Squamish member, the Business Manager of the Brotherhood.

Other organizations have been beset by very similar prob-

lems. The North American Indian Brotherhood, which was formed by Andrew Paull when he left the Native Brotherhood, has only one member from the Squamish Tribe that I am aware of. Patterson's Andrew Paull And Canadian Indian Resurgence points out:

The nature of the N.A.I.B. was such that a wide disparity of opinion between leaders was not remarkable. Obviously there were no real policy conferences. When Paull spoke "for" the organization, he expressed his own opinions as if they were the will of the group. Other officers did the same thing, and little was made of it; it does not constitute dissension in the ranks, for in a real sense, there were no ranks. (p. 292)

Patterson further suggests that Paull was, in effect, the Organization itself during the period that he was the President. In any case, the N.A.I.B. is not of much significance to the activities of the Squamish.

Between 1966 and 1967 a new organization, the Confederation of British Columbia Indians, was organized. Although there are only two members of the Tribe, both councillors, that are actively involved, a somewhat new dimension has been added. The Council has instructed the two members to keep it informed of the Organization's activities. Often the Council further instructs them to present its view to the C.B.C.I. and to provide support of the Squamish Tribe on certain proposals. Since the Organization is still in the developmental stage, it is too early to suggest what effect it will have upon the activity of the Tribe with respect to such organizations.

The "running battle" between the North American Indian Brotherhood and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia has been well documented by Patterson, so I will not go on any further here, except to point out that the reason for this conflict

is, in part, the contention of both of the organizations that they individually represent most of the Indians in the Province, and consequently, one should have a greater voice in representing the affairs of the Indians than the other; in other words, one views itself as being more legitimate than the other. It is difficult to determine the extent of their individual support. For one thing, they often include the same band as a member of their respective organizations. For another, they will often state that they have a whole band included within their membership, when they only have a few members from that band registered. The rationale behind this approach would appear to be: the larger the membership, the more legitimate your organization is as a spokesman for all Indians. This approach has often been demonstrated by these two organizations at various conferences, in which "floor fights" have developed over the recognition of official delegates. The Squamish councillors have expressed their dissatisfaction over the amount of representation that has been given to these organizations in the past. They feel that greater representation should be given to the band councils because they are the groups that are directly responsible for local Indian government.

The Squamish would appear to be indifferent on the one hand and antagonistic on the other with respect to other Indian groups. What is the basis of this antagonism? I do not think that a "cut-and-dried" answer for this question exists. The existence of this antagonism is demonstrated by the stories related by older persons who indicate the wars, raids, and capture

of "slaves" that occurred in the past between the different groups. Although their traditional cultures have been virtually destroyed, the knowledge of their past histories, whether it be correct or not, has played a significant role in such a development. Actually, contact between the different groups in the past can hardly be described as wide-spread or frequent. Wide-spread association was limited by physical barriers, hostilities between non-related groups, and the tremendous diversity of dialects. In The Coast Salish of British Columbia (1955), Barnett recognizes twelve different ethnic groups and six different dialects among the Coast Salish alone (the Squamish is recognized as one of the ethnic groups, possessing a distinct dialect of its own). Interaction between groups was consequently generally limited to the local nearby villages. In the past, the Squamish rarely came into contact with the Nootka and Kwakiutl; interaction with the northern and central groups was almost as rare. Yet, today the Squamish view some of these groups as their traditional enemies. I suspect that the tales that have been handed down have in part been responsible for this development. Perhaps, just as important is the influence of the communications media. Television and motion pictures have depicted the wars between the different Indian groups in the American South-West and undoubtedly have influenced many of the Squamish to view their history in such terms. Also, the media's emphasis on the three best-known groups--the Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Haida--has led to resentment on the part of some of the Squamish. A frequent response to this situation is: "Who are they?"; "What do

they know?"; and, "We are Squamish--a separate people!" This individualism is often of a fierce nature. The major problem here has to do with the use of the term "Indian." So many different cultural groups are included within this category. In a very real sense, they see themselves as Squamish first, and Indian second. In the past, there was little reason to identify oneself beyond the local villages, because one's whole life experience was generally limited to the local area. Today, although the different groups are faced by a set of common interests (generally vis à vis the Department of Indian Affairs), the individual's face-to-face associations are still very much limited to the local area.

Contact between these groups, when it occurs, is often of a competitive nature. Whenever gatherings such as the "potlatch" (discussed in the following chapter) are held, many groups from Washington State, the Interior, and Vancouver Island assemble to compete against each other in canoe races, tug-of-war competitions, etc. Suttles in his article, "The Persistence of Inter-village Ties Among the Coast Salish", suggests that these gatherings are partially responsible for the maintenance of inter-village ties. I suspect that he is quite correct here. However, the few occasions that exist, occur only during the Summer months, and not too many can attend them because of the distance and expenses involved; however, the important point here is the identification involved in competition.

Ties to other bands also exist by way of inter-marriage; however, today these ties generally relate only one family to

another family. Also, the number of such marriages is rapidly decreasing. Out of the 108 new family formations that occurred among the Squamish during 1958 to 1967, only 29.6% involved marriages with Non-Squamish Indians, whereas 54.6% percent involved Non-Indians.

The common problems and interests have not been sufficient to draw the different groups together as yet. The local scene takes precedence, as suggested by The Indians of British Columbia:

We may forecast that this lack of unity will continue for a number of years, maybe decades. Perhaps the patterns of ethnic relations in Canada may ultimately stimulate a Pan-Indian or at least a province-wide Indian sense of identity based on common interest. But if so, such a sense of identity will probably come second to the narrower local and cultural loyalties.

The old loyalties and the transmission of local cultures limit present action. Any move towards united organization of the Indians of British Columbia, or any policy requiring joint action or expression of need, must reckon with the fact that the Indians have felt they belonged to a group with a local culture, and with some modification still feel this way; that the language of family and childhood is ordinarily the only vehicle for clear and easy communication, thus confining perfect communication to relatively few others; that only the shared memory of common past events gives similar viewpoints, and a willingness to undertake common action, and that these past events are generally local. Again, the cultural inheritance of manual and social skills, of knowledge and beliefs, is also local. (p. 31)

The ties that do exist are weakly developed, due principally to the relatively low rate of interaction. What is considered more important by the Indians, it would appear, is their individual conceptions of themselves.

The Squamish identity is further bolstered by a feeling of political superiority in relation to other Indian bands. They

point to their many various accomplishments with great pride; however, the feeling is actually one of superiority.. The councillors received great satisfaction out of their belief that they had presented the best brief to the Chilláwack Indian Act Consultation Meeting (1968). One Councillor stated that other bands were looking to the Squamish Tribe for leadership and that the Tribe should provide it. However, the councillors appear to be indifferent with respect to the problems of other Indian bands. They view themselves as a separate people and generally operate as such.

Consequently, the Squamish have entered into discussions with the Federal Government by themselves a number of times. In Chapter Six it is reported that the special problems of the Council had forced it to take a practical approach to the new Indian Act consultations, in opposition to many of the bands in the Province. The Squamish delegates were also instructed to see the Department officials in Ottawa to discuss some of the land questions that concerned the Tribe. The Minister had indicated that a Land Claims Commission would be set up; however, he also indicated that he would be willing to discuss the claims of any band that wanted to settle the issue before such a Commission was instituted. The Council has already set up a Committee to deal with the claims, and it intends to present its case before such a Commission meets. There are many other examples of the Squamish working towards the solution of their own problems without the help of or without reference to other Indian groups. They would appear to feel and act as one group.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RESIDENCE SITE TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES

The rights that an Indian possesses are those that are permitted by the Tribe and the Crown. Although the Council takes the view that all of the Tribe's members, whether they live on the reserves or not, should be treated equally, the Department has generally taken the view that reserve residents should be given preferential attention. The Department's approach is based upon the belief that those Squamish who live off the reserves are better able, generally, to deal with any problems that might arise and available resources are better employed in the case of reserve residents. Consequently, a number of Squamish, living off the reserves, have received notices from the Department indicating that they are no longer eligible for medical and dental coverage. One of the informants found the notice very amusing. She pointed out that she had not applied for assistance in over twenty years and that it was ridiculous for the Department to send her such a notice now. The Department has also taken the approach that those Indians living on the reserves, who have a relatively high level of income, should be prepared to undertake more of the financial burdens involved in, for example, education. The Department has a paternalistic attitude intent upon assisting those least likely to help themselves in the context of the modern world. It would not deny assistance to any Legal-Indian who actually required help. However, its approach is quite different from the one taken by the Council.

/The councillors see the Squamish world as one of individuals in

a relation of equality to each other in so far as communal services are their collective right. The successful and unsuccessful man cannot be differentiated in respect of equal access to the public resource and help to people in dire need is an act of humanity and brotherhood. The public resource for which it is responsible remains allocatable in terms of priorities and members of the Tribe are expected to await their turn in terms of such priorities. / The Department, by contrast, sees its mission as one of assisting a class of people to a self-sustaining take-off point--to a point of equality with Non-Indians in a competitive world. The Indian right to non-taxation is as much a recognition of his reserve or "outside the stream of the cash economy" status as it is of the alienation of Non-Indians of much of his natural resource. The Council, on the other hand, is anxious to procure for its Tribal members those aspects of Non-Indian culture that it identifies as beneficial. Thus, it expects that free medical and dental services are a right to Indians as pensions, for this is the most advantageous position for the Indian to obtain. As far as the Department is concerned, the only rights that a Squamish has are the ones that have been defined within the Indian Act, and medical-dental coverage has not been defined as such. It is to them a means of protecting a threatened ethnic minority and of meeting the needs of competitively unequal people. The situation is further complicated by the Council's recognition of "social" rights as opposed to their definition and recognition of legal rights. The Hawthorn study (1966) points out that "The Squamish Bard...

appears to have been fairly liberal in giving relief to indigent Indian mothers who had lost their band membership by leaving the reserve to marry or live with White men and subsequently returned to the reserve" (p. 114). The councillors realize that they are not required to provide such assistance by their definition of legal rights or by the one held by the Department. Although they frown upon giving financial help to those people that are not "legally" entitled to it, assistance is often given because they are Squamish irrespective of the Non-Indian's legal definition. The Council argues that a woman who weds an outsider does not become any less a Squamish because of her marriage. Thus, if her "new people" do not give her support, the councillors feel that they should recognize their social responsibility to her--as far as they are permitted. The Department realizes that the Council is assisting such people illegally, but it generally turns a blind eye. However, the Department will not permit such assistance beyond the provisions of welfare and a place to reside on the reserves.

With respect to the legally-defined Squamish, when it comes to the question of housing, the Council is forced to take a somewhat different approach. Although the right to a house is universally recognized, the councillors must take into account the amount of money available for such an undertaking, which has resulted in a priority list; that is, the first people to get a new house are the one's who require it the most.¹⁴ This approach

¹⁴ The right to a house does not mean that the house is free of charge, in comparison to the case of medical-dental coverage. Although it might be better stated as the right to a loan for

has been of considerable importance to those people who live off the reserves, because their applications are generally the last to appear on the priority list. The Council holds the view that the reserve residents have a first priority for housing. In fact, the different reserves are also ranked. The Mission Re-

Table II --- Number of People Per House (1968)^x

Age of House	Reserve			
	Mission		Capilano	
	No. of People	Average Per House	No. of People	Average Per House
Built Before 1939	70	3.5 (20)	162	6.8 (24)
Built Between 1939 and 1948	240	5.5 (44)	3	3.0 (1)
Less Than 20 Yrs. Old	74	4.4 (17)	90	4.7 (19)
Total	384	4.7 (81)	255	5.8 (44)

x The figures in brackets indicate the number of houses.

serve has been given top priority because, as Table II indicates, there is a much larger number of people affected by over-crowded and dilapidated homes (most of the homes that were built before 1948 are considered to be in such a state), even though the average number of people per house on the Capilano Reserve is higher. The people that occupy those houses built between 1939 and

the purpose of building a house (no interest is charged on such a loan), the actual attitude involves the possession of a house as a right. To a certain extent, the loan is of a secondary importance. Often a loan will be granted to a person who cannot possibly repay it, because of old age or physical disability.

1948 have been given special attention because their houses are not as easy to maintain as the older ones. The older homes, generally known as War-time houses, are easier to maintain because they were all built according to the specifications of one plan, except for a few minor details. Thus, if repairs were to be made, the total cost involved (materials and labour) would be much lower than the cost involved in the same number of houses that were constructed according to different plans. Most of the houses that were built between 1939 and 1948 have deteriorated badly. These homes contain an average of 5.5 people on the Mission Reserve, which approaches the overall average of 5.8 on the Capilano Reserve. Thus, when attention is focused on these homes, it should become clearer why the Council has emphasized the housing needs of the Mission Reserve residents. Not only are their homes just as over-crowded in comparison to those of the Capilano residents, but they are also in a much greater need of repair.¹⁵

Thus, one's place of residence, whether it be on the reserves, on a particular reserve, or off the reserves, can be of considerable importance with respect to the opportunities that are generally available to a Squamish. Residence has certain other influences on the facilities one may enjoy. Even though

¹⁵ Actually, what is "in need of repair" and what is "over-crowded" involves questions of degree. Because of financial necessity, the Council must set up its definitions as to what these terms mean. Most of the homes built before 1948 are over-crowded and dilapidated, but the Council must pay attention to those residents who are in greatest need. One Councillor stated that the Council should hire a bull-dozer and just mow some of the houses down.

these two Reserves are only a few miles apart from each other, the distance has resulted in a number of important consequences for each Reserve. For one thing, the Tribe's place of worship, St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church, is situated on the Mission Reserve. Only a small percentage of the Capilano residents attend this Church in comparison to the Mission Reserve residents, even though 97% of the Tribe is recognized as being Roman Catholic.¹⁶ Another example is found in Table X. The Table indicates that there is only one resident on the Capilano Reserve who is a wood and concrete worker, while there are thirteen on the Mission Reserve. The opportunity for employment in such an occupation is higher for the Mission residents because a mill is situated on the Reserve and a concrete producing company is located adjacent to it. Still another example is found in the particular schools that are attended. The Tribe's school, St. Paul's Day School (Grades 1 to 8), is also situated on the Mission Reserve. In 1968, there were 135 students in the school, most of whom were residents of the Mission Reserve. Most of the Capilano students attend Norgate Elementary which is only a few blocks from the Reserve. The overwhelming majority of the Mission high school students attend St. Thomas Aquinas Junior High, a parochial school, located two blocks from the Reserve. The fact that this school does not offer grades eleven and twelve has had a significant effect upon the attitudes of students with respect to entering these grades at another school. Enrollment

¹⁶ The nearest Roman Catholic Church to the Capilano Reserve is about the same distance away.

in these two grades has decreased sharply, since the school changed its status from a highschool to a junior high a few years ago. The Capilano highschool students, on the other hand, either attend the nearby Provincial schools or St. Thomas Aquinas. As of June, 1969, St. Paul's Day School has been closed. The Department closed the school, much to the dismay of the Tribe, apparently to increase the opportunities of integration.¹⁷ The present projections indicate that most of the Mission students affected by the closure will attend the nearby Provincial schools, which are generally not the same Provincial schools attended by the Capilano students.

The social activity in which a Squamish individual will participate is also largely determined by his residence area.

Table III --- Executive of the Lacrosse Club (1969)^x

Position	Individual	Reserve	Relationship to Council
President	Sam Lewis	Capilano	Business Manager
General Manager	Dan Baker	Capilano	Councillor
Coach	W. Joseph	Capilano	Councillor
Co-Coach	David Jacobs	Capilano	Councillor
Captain	R. Jacobs	Capilano	-

x All the members of this Club reside on the Capilano Reserve.

Table III lists the executive of the Lacrosse Club, and it indicates that all of the members reside on the Capilano Reserve.

¹⁷ The Squamish did not object to integration, itself; they objected to the speed with which it was being applied.

Table IV --- Executive of the Canoe Club (1969)^x

Position	Individual	Reserve	Relationship to Council
Business Manager	L. Miranda Sr.	Mission	Retired Councillor
Coach	Fred Billy	Mission	-
Assistant Coach Captain Secretary Treas.	Jock James	Mission	-
<u>Finance Committee</u>	Glenn Newmann	Mission	Councillor
	Mrs. F. Billy	Mission	-
	Gordon Newmann	Mission	-
	Buster Joe	Mission	-

x The membership of this Club totals twelve in all. It is comprised of seven Mission and two Capilano Reserve residents and three outsiders (two from the Duncan and one for the Chehalis Bands). In order to have full canoe teams, the Club was forced to recruit members from outside the Tribe.

The executive of the Canoe Club, listed in Table IV, are all residents of the Mission Reserve, and only two persons of its general membership reside on the Capilano Reserve. And as the footnote further indicates, there are actually more outsiders in the Club than there are Capilano residents. The relationship of membership within a particular club and residence area can, in part, be explained by the fact that the Lacrosse Club has access to a suitable playing field on the Capilano Reserve, and the Canoe Club has access to the waterfront, which the Mission Reserve faces. However, the geographical factor is not sufficient an answer in itself, because the waterfront is only one-half a mile from the residence area of the Capilano Reserve and a playing

field (suitable for Lacrosse) is less than that distance from the Mission Reserve. A number of the residents of both reserves have played both games in the past.

The youth organizations have also followed the same pattern. Willie Nahanee, a resident of the Mission Reserve, has been hired by the Council for the new position of Sports and Recreation Coordinator. Although he is responsible for organizing athletic activities for both the Mission and Capilano Reserves, most of the participants are Mission Reserve residents. This situation is in part brought about by the presence of St. Paul's Day School in the area which provides a suitable building for indoor sports. However, the youth of the different Reserves appear to have been influenced by the activity available on their respective Reserves, with many of the Capilano boys playing lacrosse and many of the Mission boys interested in canoe-pulling. However, the Coordinator has helped to organize a soccer team on the Mission Reserve, which has attracted a larger number of Capilano residents to that area than before.

What influence the Coordinator will eventually have upon bringing the youth of the two Reserves together is difficult to predict at the present time. In the past, most of the organizations on the different reserves have been beset by financial and organizational problems. The Council has only recently been financially better able to provide grants for such items as team uniforms and transportation for the different athletic clubs. These grants have given the different clubs a stability that they usually did not possess in the past. As Table XI

indicates, the department of Recreation and Community Services has a relatively large budget of \$15,000, which is three times the amount that was available three years ago. Each club that wishes to receive a grant from the budget is required to itemize its proposed expenditures in the application, and it can expect a great deal of sympathetic attention from the Council, especially from the councillors that are also members of the respective organizations. There is only one member of the Council who appears to be against the provision of large grants to these clubs.

There is only one function held during the year that might be described as a Tribe-wide activity. The "potlatch", which is organized by the mission residents essentially, is somewhat similar to a small community fair. Attractions include canoe-pulling competitions among many different crews from southern British Columbia and Washington State, tug of war competitions, a salmon-bake, and the like. This is the only event held during the year in which most of the Squamish get together socially. Ten years ago, the "pow-wow", a very similar function, was sponsored by the Capilano Community Club, and it was organized entirely by the residents of the Capilano Reserve. Details of its Executive Committee are listed in Table V below. In 1952/3 the function was essentially designed for the participation of the residents of the Squamish Reserves; however, by 1959, what had originally been a gathering of Squamish people became a gathering of many different Indian groups (some as far away as Alberta) and of Non-Indians. The activity began to involve large sums of

Table V --- Executive of the Capilano Community Club (1959)^x

Position	Individual	Reserve	Relationship to Council
President	Simon Baker	Capilano	Chairman
Vice-President	Gordon Band	Capilano	Councillor
Secretary	Barb. Baker	Capilano	Daughter of Chairman
Treasurer	Samual Lewis	Capilano	Business Manager ^o
Program Chairman	Dan Baker	Capilano	Councillor
Arts and Crafts	Mrs. S. Baker	Capilano	Wife of Chairman
Welfare	Mrs. E. Rivers	Capilano	Aunt of Councillor

x The executives listed here were the ones of 1959, the last year that the Club functioned. The Club had eight other active members (including the wives of the Business Manager and two of the councillors listed above), and they were all residents of the Capilano Reserve.

o Samual Lewis at the time did not occupy the post of Business Manager.

money, due to the relatively large gate and sales receipts, and the executive made a number of larger expenditures, which brought the Club eventually into a state of debt and led to its dissolution in 1959. The year following, the "potlatch" was brought into being.

Although the geographic factor is important in isolating the reasons for this identity of activity with residence, it is not an adequate explanation. Certain factors have differentiated the different reserve populations and have led to the development of "sub-communities."

Tables VI and VII show the change in the labour force and in the age composition of household heads between 1958 and 1967

Table VI --- Labour Force Changes During 1958-1967

Year	Reserve				Total
	Mission		Capilano		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1958	90	66	36	32	224
1967	70	73	39	38	220
Change	-20	+7	+3	+6	-4

Table VII --- Changes in the Age Composition of Household Heads For 1958-1967

Age	Reserve					
	Mission			Capilano		
	1958	1967	Change	1958	1967	Change
Younger than 26 yrs.	26%	9%	-17%	31%	6%	-25%
Between 26 and 54 yrs.	45%	56%	+11%	49%	78%	+29%
Between 55 and 74 yrs.	23%	31%	+ 8%	15%	11%	- 4%
Older than 75 yrs.	6%	4%	- 2%	5%	5%	0%
Number	73	77	39	36

within the Capilano and Mission Reserves. In that period, the labour force of the Mission Reserve changed considerably, with the number of men working decreasing and the number of women working increasing. This change can be explained by the fact that the population of the Mission Reserve is essentially a much older population than that residing on the Capilano Reserve, as

Table VII would indicate. Many of the older workers retire well before the generally accepted age of sixty-five to seventy. A number of their wives go to work in the fish canneries (a number of Squamish wives worked in these canneries during the first few years of their marriage, often returning to them between child-birth periods) to supplement what income the family possesses after retirement, which is one of the reasons why so many more people from the Mission Reserve, in comparison to the Capilano Reserve, are listed as employed in the fishing and canneries occupations in Table X. However, there is another contributing factor. The Mission Reserve is virtually over-populated in relation to the mode of settlement the Indian prefers to live under; there are eighty-one houses situated on the 45 acre plot. The Capilano Reserve, on the other hand, contains 143 acres that have not been developed commercially or been used for habitation sites. Consequently, when money is available for the purchase of or the building of a house, a young family from the Mission Reserve will generally ask that the house be placed or built on the Capilano Reserve.¹⁸ Thus, the Capilano Reserve drains a

¹⁸ Although the policy of the Council is to build or place houses on the Capilano Reserve, if a proposed resident of the house desires it to be situated in any other particular area, the Council will do so, whenever the request is feasible. In fact, many of the new families have lots listed in their names years before the house is ever built. Further, a Squamish may have title to a number of sites through inheritance and still have a right to another site for his own home. This situation has caused some concern within the Council, since the commission of the land-use study (discussed in Chapter Six). . . Some of the councillors have charged that a number of the members of the Tribe are speculating in land. If a person possesses title to a site, he can lease this site to the Tribe, when the site is involved in a larger commercial venture of the Council. The land-use study, it has been charged, has been instrumental in

large percentage of the newly-formed families from the Mission Reserve, thereby increasing the proportion of older people there. These are the major reasons why one population is older than the other. Consequently, the problems that arise from old-age have a greater effect upon the residents of the Mission Reserve. Similarly, the problems that arise among a relatively youthful population have a greater effect upon the residents of the Capilano Reserve. The Council, for example, is at a loss as how to effectively deal with the high rate of juvenile delinquency existing on the Capilano Reserve. (see the Chapter on Social Control). A number of other problems have also had greater effects on one reserve population than the others. As was pointed out earlier, the Mission Reserve has a larger housing problem. Further, even though the unemployment rate is the same on both the Reserves in North Vancouver, there are twice as many unemployed on the Mission Reserve, which serves to dramatize the situation to its residents. The situation is also dramatized by the fact that more than twice the number of welfare payments are received by the Mission Reserve residents.

This awareness of common problems can be seen in the action of councillors within and without the Council chambers. Each councillor has become in a very real sense a representative of his own reserve. He and his fellows act as a pressure group at Council meetings to obtain services and the like for the resi-

influencing certain people to apply for further titles, thus hoping that the newly acquired site will become involved in such a venture. The amount of money that can be gained from such a transaction can involve as much as \$20,000.

dents of their reserve. The application for a playing field by the School Committee of the residents of the District of Squamish provides an example. Because of the distant location of the reserves in the District of Squamish, the residents were permitted to set up their own School Committee. This body presents its own yearly budget to the Council for approval and financial support of their recommendations. The last budget contained a request for money to build and maintain a playing field for the children of the area. The councillors of the Mission and Capilano Reserves were going to send the application into a committee to study it further; however, the councillors from the Squamish area would not hear of it, because the committee procedure, they pointed out, would take too long. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to send the application into committee, the councillors from Squamish finally won out. The Council directed its Business Manager and Sports and Recreation Coordinator to visit the area the very next day to study the particular recreational needs of its residents. Similarly pressure has been applied by other councillors in support of their own reserve areas. Whenever there is a problem of some sort on one of the reserves, the Council generally appoints a committee composed of the reserve's councillors and the particular functionary it involves (Business Manager, Social Worker, or Sports and Recreation Coordinator) to investigate the situation. This procedure further strengthens the development of an individual identity, because the councillors of each reserve are directed to work together towards the solution of their own particular problems. Not only

do they study the problem together, but they also present their recommendations to the Council as "interested" individuals. This identity has been further strengthened by the manner in which the Welfare Committee was set up a few years ago. Each reserve had its own councillor to handle the welfare applications. Thus, instead of making an application to a body that represented the whole Tribe, as is now the procedure, an applicant would go directly to his own "representative." To a certain extent, interaction between the residents of each reserve and other members of the Council was reduced because of this situation. Although the set-up of the Welfare Committee and the procedure involved in making a welfare application have changed considerably, the residents of each reserve have generally continued to go to one of the councillors in their respective areas with the purpose of requesting him to present their applications (or provide verbal support) to the Welfare Committee. Therefore, interaction, to a certain extent, has generally not increased because of these administrative changes.

In the following chapter the discussion will explore the pattern of social relationships. It will, in part, provide further support to demonstrate that one's frequent face-to-face associations within the Tribe are generally determined by locality (and kinship). Although the geographic factor has been instrumental towards the development of a group identity, other factors have been at work to develop that identity. Through the passage of time and events, regular on-going patterns of interaction, which define the general limits of an individual's ac-

tivity, have developed. Thus, residents of a particular reserve will participate in the activities that their reserve area will offer, because of the common ties that exist; whereas, they generally do not avail themselves of the opportunities on other reserve areas because the necessary social ties are weakly developed.

Before turning to a discussion of the patterns of social relationships, one more point requires exploration: the significance of residence area to voting trends. Table VIII listed below indicates the number of elected positions held by the major kinship groups. It also indicates that there is a close relationship between the number of electors within each kinship group and the number of elected positions held by the respective kinship groups. Kinship affiliation and support is still the most significant factor involved in the determination of election results and trends.¹⁹ Table IX indicates the residence area of the councillors and the changes that have occurred between 1966 and 1969. The Business Manager (elected), who is a resident of the Capilano Reserve, is not included in this Table. Further, the "Off-

¹⁹ Later in the paper it is suggested that a Baker individual would have a much better chance of being elected to the Council than any other individual. The question might be asked: "Then why are there only three such persons sitting in the Council?" A number of reasons exist for this situation; however, the most important of which involves the "opposition of like groups" (discussed in the following chapter). Other members of the Tribe have often charged that this family is attempting to take control of the Council by having its own members elected to that body. It would appear that these charges have been effective in containing the Baker representation in the Council. The discussion concerning the David Norman Alliance (in a following chapter) is a major case in point. In other words, the electorate will accept three councillors from this family, perhaps four, but not five.

Table VIII --- Possession of Elected Positions by the Major Kinship Groups

Family Name	Percentage of Voters	Percent of Elected Positions ^x
Baker	14.8	17.6 (3)
Williams	7.5	5.9 (1)
Lewis	6.9	5.9 (1)
Norman	4.6	5.9 (1)
McCready	4.6	0.0 (0) ^o
Joseph	4.6	11.8 (2) ⁿ
Total	43.0%	47.1%

x There are presently seventeen such positions, which include sixteen councillors and the Business Manager.

o Mr. A. McCready was forced to resign his Council seat because of having committed a criminal offence, which left his kinship group without a representative.

n Over-representation may be explained in this case by the fact that one of the individuals received his seat because of hereditary chieftainship--after a kinsman had already been elected to the Council.

Table IX --- Residence Area of the Councillors

Area	Population	Councillors		Younger Councillors
		1966	1969	
Capilano	255 (25.9%)	6 (37.5%)	7 (43.7%)	3
Mission	384 (39.1%)	8 (50.0%)	6 (37.5%)	3
Squamish (s)	247 (25.1%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	0
Off-Reserve	97 (9.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.3%)	1
Number	983	16	16	7

Reserve" councillor is a former resident of the Capilano Reserve, and is still, in effect, very much a part of that sub-community.^x Thus, the Capilano representation has increased from six to nine, at the expense of the Mission Reserve residents, whose representation decreased from nine to six (the former Business Manager was a resident of that area). In the last two elections, which involved four posts (three councillors and the Business Manager), three of the successful candidates were residents of the Capilano Reserve and the fourth was a Mission Reserve resident. This "trend" can be explained by the fact that the Capilano residents are a younger and a better educated population for one thing. With more families moving to this Reserve, again at the expense of the Mission Reserve, one can expect that it will gain further representation in the near future.

Because of certain circumstances, the councillors have been forced to extend their representation from individual kinship groups to include residence areas as well. This development has been recognized and accepted. However, the evidence does not suggest that one's residence area is a significant factor involved in election results.²⁰ However, the disproportionate share of representation may become significant in the minds of the lesser-represented residents. The right to elect area representatives has been permitted by the Council in the case of

²⁰ He is presently living off the Capilano Reserve in order to be closer to the College that he and his wife are attending.

The data before 1966 would also suggest this conclusion. Changes in area representation were due to the movement of elected individuals--from the Mission Reserve to the Capilano Reserve.

the District of Squamish residents, basically because of their geographical isolation. The Mission Reserve residents may demand the same privilege in the near future, which would in effect lead to the development of "constituency" representation.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS(A) Status

Writers have often analyzed status within contemporary Indian communities in terms of social class, elitism, and the like. Rohner, for example, in The People of Gilford makes the following statement:

Within each of the Island villages, however, one family or household tends to emerge as conspicuously more acculturated than the others and to be future-oriented. These families may be designated as the elite. Of necessity, to reach this position, they restrict important social relations with other families in the community....Frequently these families are in a position of authority, such as chief councillor. (p. 67)

In the Hawthorn study, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada (1966), it is suggested:

...in some cases, a minority of well-paid steady employees in the band appear to have become a separate clique -- perhaps the beginning of a new economic elite that will establish new patterns of kinship and social relations in the community, as a by-product of and step towards further economic advancement. (p. 122)

In the same study (1967), it is reported that only two bands of the total sample of thirty-five demonstrate divisions based upon social class. It states:

...in two of our sample communities, both in agricultural regions, there is a clear-cut social class division, with a few relatively wealthy farming families at the top and many casual labour families at the bottom. The poor class is politically unorganized, indeed suspicious of organization. The wealthy class dominates the few community organizations and the band council and presents to the non-Indian world a front of efficient local government. The lower class is alienated from positions of influence and power, except that a few are usually recruited as minor councillors. Our field workers' discussions with the lower class people in these communities reveals that they view the wealthy ones as "not really Indians", in a

sense denying the wealthy ones legitimacy as full community members. (pp. 181-182)

Later on the study suggests:

It is only where a group of such economically successful people have had a chance to consolidate their advantages over a generation or so and to build up networks of inter-marriage and interaction with one another, that something like socio-economic stratification occurs. (p. 226)

In The Indians of British Columbia, it is reported:

Some of the bases for different interests and factions in the contemporary schismatic community have already been touched upon and in some cases described in detail. One of these has been social class, particularly in a number of relatively well-off and urbanized groups, with its basis in a feeling of social superiority on the one hand and of resentment and inferiority on the other.

In most Indian groups, however, social class differentiation is only now emerging or has not yet emerged in this form. Here the number of people of middle-class ambitions and levels of living is very small; in fact there may be only two or three such households in a community, and many who have the income to establish themselves on a higher level of living deliberately do not do so. (p. 422)

These few statements would suggest that where socio-economic divisions have developed, those divisions have been very much alienated from each other. Usually, it is the small, wealthier group that is removed from the mainstream of community activity, either by their own choice or by the attitudes of the less-wealthy group. The latter situation is often the price that the wealthier group must pay for not conforming to the community's over-all expectations. Colson in The Makah Indians refers to the ridicule that is directed at any individual who appears to be showing a greater prosperity (p. 219). The Hawthorn study (1967) refers to this demand for conformity when it suggests:

In some communities there is tremendous pressure on people to conform to norms and not to differentiate themselves. When individuals begin to pass the level deemed acceptable one of two things happens: the individual is persuaded to revert to the normative level or he leaves the group. (p. 118)

It was reported above that "many who have the income to establish themselves on a higher level of living deliberately do not do so." The Indians of British Columbia goes further when it suggests:

The problem here is the standard one of the jealousy others feel for the conspicuously dynamic individual. Resentment at conspicuous consumption is part of the situation, but it carries with it additional overtones not present in the Veblenian analysis. The other individuals, for instance, do not wish to emulate the conspicuous consumer, but rather they regard him as bad or wrong. One of the reasons for this is that a successfully dynamic individual usually, at some stage, has to offend the interests of others. He places his own interests paramount to such an extent that he is no longer as sensitive in his behavior towards others as they would expect. Indeed it is probably wrong to call the attitude of the less successful "jealous." It is more the feeling that they or someone else is going to be hurt, not in the pocket, but in the emotions. (p. 422)

There are other important factors that have retarded the development of socio-economic divisions. In the analysis of social classes, especially as demonstrated by the American "statistical" school, education, religion, occupation, and income have generally served as the major factors suggested as responsible for social differentiation. The influence of such factors within any Indian community has generally been of little note because of the relatively homogenous background of the overwhelming majority of the community's membership.

With respect to the Squamish community, the Hawthorn study (1966) points out that only 3.9% of the population has been

educated past the ninth grade (p. 103). Most of these individuals are either students who are presently studying or students who have recently left the schools. The same study reports that ninety-seven percent of the population is of the Roman Catholic faith (p. 113). With respect to occupation, Table X indicates that the overwhelming majority of the employed are occupied in relatively unskilled occupations. Income levels, however, present a somewhat different situation. The Hawthorn study (1966) reports that an annual income of less than \$4,000 is made by 76.5% of the wage earners (p. 51). The remaining percentage essentially consists of the longshoremen who generally earn six to twelve thousand dollars per year. Now, as is suggested by the later discussion (Chapter Seven) on the high rate of unemployment, income from wage-earning does not represent the total annual income, since other major sources are available, including welfare payments made by the Tribe. When these sources are taken into account, the total annual income of the lower level group is still only about half the total of the higher level group. This situation has resulted, in part, in the demonstration of that greater wealth by the acquisition of newer cars, homes, clothing, and household appliances. However, the possession of such commodities is not limited to any particular income group for their possession is made possible by Tribal loans, credit accounts with different stores, and the like, which many of the families of the lower income group have taken advantage of. In fact, some higher income families do not possess some of the commodities themselves. Why some families take

advantage of available opportunities as consumers more than other families is a question that I do not have a conclusive answer for at the present time. It does appear, however, that income level alone is not the only factor; the degree to which the different groups are tied to the social activities of the community generally appear to be another. As was pointed out earlier, the more dynamic individual is open to ridicule because he has not conformed to the self-imposed standard expected by the community. If his activities are for the most part directed towards functions carried on outside the boundaries of the community, then the community's attempts to control his non-conformist behavior will generally not be too effective. He can view ridicule and the like as nothing more than jealousy. Many, if not most, of the individuals who possess a greater share of wealth than others do seek social activities outside the community in a much greater proportion. Therefore, my suggestion may be correct; however, it can only be taken as a possible solution for the evidence to support it is far from conclusive.

Members of the community are very much aware of the differences that exist among themselves with respect to the possession of wealth goods. The physical arrangement of the houses on one particular reserve has clearly demonstrated these differences to the residents. On each side of one of the streets there is a row of houses; on one side, most of the houses are run-down and over-crowded; and on the other side, most of the houses are in next to perfect shape and are not over-crowded. The residents of the well-kept houses have also planted grass,

flowers, shrubs, and the like, and are often seen, on their days-off from work, working in their gardens. To an extent there is a "keeping up with the Joneses" approach taken by many of these residents. I remember seeing a fellow painting one of these houses one day, and two days later, six houses were being painted. In any case, the contrast between these two rows of houses is marked and has undoubtedly dramatized the differences between their respective residents.

The attitude of many of these residents is certainly antagonistic towards each other. A number of councillors from this area--residents of some of the well-kept homes--have stated that the residents of the ill-kept houses "just don't give a damn" about their houses and property. They point out that the Council has provided paint, lumber and other materials for these residents in order that improvements might be undertaken; however, the councillors also point out that the materials are rarely made use of. The councillors, therefore, feel justified in viewing these individuals as "lazy" and "good-for-nothings." In 1966, two other students of anthropology and sociology and myself centered in the University of British Columbia conducted a comparative study that dealt with the attitudes of the residents of two different reserves with respect to living standards. We wanted to know, in part, who they thought was responsible for the living standards on their respective reserves. I worked on one of the Squamish reserves and came up with a few interesting notes: first of all, most of the residents of the well-kept houses believed that the living standard of their reserve was

due primarily to their own efforts, whereas most of the residents of the ill-kept houses felt that most of the credit should be given to the Council's efforts; and secondly, most of the latter group expected the Council to keep their houses in an adequate condition, whereas most of the former group felt that the standard should be maintained and improved by the residents themselves.

Now it might be suggested that we have two value systems in evidence here. A somewhat popular view taken by many students of Indian communities is the one which suggests that many Indians do not improve the condition of their property by painting, planting grass, and the like because they (the Indians) see no point in such an under-taking for it does not add to the utility of the property. This view is probably with some foundation; however, it appears to me that much more is involved. For one thing, when a person receives a new house, it is generally maintained. For another, if a fence is erected around his house, he will generally landscape the lot to some extent. Putting up a fence is considered by many Squamish to be an affront to one's neighbours; yet, the same individuals will often tell you that if you do not put up a fence, you might as well not plant flowers because the children will only destroy them. It is worth noting that most of the well-kept lots are the ones that are fenced in. Thus the attitude of the residents of the ill-kept lots is not merely based upon the aspect of utility.

In any case, a division based upon the possession of wealth goods, and similarly held beliefs, does exist. The suggestion

that these divisions may represent the emergence of differentiation based upon social class might be correct. However, the influence of wealth as a grounds for establishing social classes is compromised by certain factors, the most important of which is the dominance of kinship ties in the social and political arena. The concept of social class, as Max Weber has shown, involves much more than differentiation based upon wealth goods and similarly held beliefs. Whether one's analysis of class is Marxian in which a person's position is very much based upon the rights that he has to the means of production, or Weberian in which class refers to:

...any group of people...who have the same typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences, insofar as this chance is determined by the...power...to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order...."Class situation is, in this sense, ultimately "market situation." (Bendix/1962, pp. 85-86)

the concept involves the factor of unequal access to available socio-economic opportunities. Often situations develop in which the socio-economic background of a person and his family is used as a tool to ridicule through face-to-face situations their position in the community. This particular tool is but one of the many that is used by the parties involved in a struggle for social prestige. However, although this tool is often made use of, the evidence does not appear to suggest that it is effective in limiting one's access to available opportunities.

When socio-economic background is used as a means to attack an individual, his kin generally come to his defence, for the attack is often recognized as an attack on all the members of an

extended family. Kinship solidarity demands mutual assistance and defence in such situations. Generally, a balance is maintained between the feuding extended families because of the existence of a relatively large segment of the population that is not directly involved in the conflict. Also, the conflict is maintained at a certain "acceptable" level because of two major reasons: first, the parties involved do not want to escalate the struggle to the point of incurring open hostilities, because they recognize that the community is of such a relatively small size that open hostilities might even destroy it, besides they point out, they have to work together, either on the reserves or outside of them; and secondly, the non-involved segment will not permit open hostilities to form for the same reason. Any segment involved in the conflict is also very much afraid of incurring the displeasure of the non-involved segment by carrying the struggle too far, for to do so, will most likely weaken its position. This non-involved segment often acts as an impartial body, providing at times temporary measures to reduce the friction between the feuding kinship groups. In order that it does not become directly involved, it attempts to control the situation through the ethic of "fair play"--that is, "all must be treated in an equal manner", which appears to be the primary basis for all such decision-making. What is meant here may, perhaps, be grasped by the following example.

The Council has a tendency to send particular questions into committee, instead of dealing with them on the spot. Thus, when the Office Staff applied in person for a raise, certain

members of the Council attempted to send the applications into the Wages and Salaries Committee for further study. Since the Committee had not met since its formation, and since applications for a raise in salaries had been filed months before, the staff would not let the issue be "committeed to death." Two councillors were initially opposed to the increases because they felt that the staff were receiving fair salaries. However, all of the councillors have been or are presently union members of some kind. One of the councillors pointed out that they themselves all receive increases every year and, since the staff had not received an increase in over three years, it would be unfair to deny the applications. This point quickly removed all objections, and the applications were approved; in fact, one of the principal objectors seconded the motion (which does not necessarily mean that he was completely satisfied, for an initial objector will often second the motion to indicate to the others that he is not angry because of their position). However, as soon as this issue was settled, another employee requested a salary increase. The number of objections that were raised by certain councillors increased considerably. In this instance, the main objectors were two of the younger councillors, one of whom was directly related to one of the employees that had just received a raise. They suggested that the Council should instruct the Wages and Salaries Committee to review all wages and their relationship to the job descriptions. Many of the councillors are very much aware of the hostility that has existed between these three persons and others in the Council, so when

these objections were raised, the two councillors that were initially opposed to the increases in the first applications, charged that "personalities" were being brought into the discussion. They pointed out that to turn down this application would be unfair because the employee had the same right to an increase as the other employees. This discussion carried on for a considerable length of time, until the two older councillors became impatient with the two objectors and quickly gavelled a motion through, approving the application, thereby silencing the objectors and removing the cause for open conflict. After the meeting, the employee stated to one of the councillors: "They're always out to get you! You sure know who your friends are!"

An outsider would probably not be aware of the tension that exists in such a situation, because it is very rarely demonstrated in the open. Often the related kin will not participate in the discussion, because they recognize that they might be charged with attempting to support their own relatives over the interests of others. Thus, in the two cases mentioned above, the closely related relatives did not participate in the discussion. In another case, three people applied for a job as a night watchman at the Marina. The three applications were processed at the Council Meeting, and the position was awarded to one of the men. Only one of the applicants was closely related to any of the councillors, and his closest relative on the Council moved, after a short discussion, that the job be given to one of the other applicants. However, kinsmen will become directly involved if they believe that their relative (s) is not receiving

fair treatment, although such direct participation usually is not necessary, for their physical presence is ordinarily enough to influence antagonists not to attempt to discuss issues in a manner that might be deemed to be a personal attack upon the character of a kinsman. The intensity of a particular conflict is often not realized completely until after the Council meeting. After the Meeting, one of the councillors pointed out that the charges that were being laid against the employee were unfair. He also suggested that this particular employee was not being given the help that he should be given on the job and that the relations between him and the other employees were of a hostile and uncooperative nature, which did not permit him to perform his tasks as efficiently as they could be. The councillor also stated: "He is [a relative of mine]. I know that these things should not enter into my consideration, but..."

The main parties involved in a conflict are usually supported by other extended families, which I have termed "friendship alliances." These alliances are based upon three different major ties: first, kinship ties derived through marriage; secondly, historical ties derived through association based upon the common sharing of food-gathering and habitation sites; and thirdly, friendship ties derived, in part, from past conflicts in which they have found each other confronting the same foe. Now, these alliances will change in number and in composition with respect to the particular issue at hand; thus, one's allegiance may shift from issue to issue. However, one can generally predict the membership of each division, depending upon the particular issue and the particular situation at hand. This suggestion

will, perhaps, become clearer if reference is made to Verma's The Squamish: A Study of Changing political Organization. Verma has, I believe, very much mis-understood the importance of friendship alliances, or "cliques" as he terms them, within the decision-making process. I realize that his thesis was completed over thirteen years ago and that the situation has changed considerably since then; however, the friendship alliances were an important factor in the decision-making process at the time of Verma's fieldwork. Verma states:

From a list of the band electors compiled in December, 1955, it appears that out of 305 electors, forty-five bear the surname Baker; twenty three, William; twenty one, Lewis; and Fourteen, Paul, Nahanee and Joseph each. It is obvious from the above that each of these groups, as a unilateral kinship group, does not constitute a majority of the electors and therefore does not have the power to elect anyone at will. (p. 130)

The Hawthorn study (1967) points out that an average of forty-eight percent of the eligible electors voted in the last three elections. It also noted that an average of two to three candidates stood for each post (p. 205). Thus, if a Baker, for example, should run for one of the positions, he generally should have an excellent chance of winning. When an election is held, his supporters muster as many votes as possible; most of his kinsmen will vote, because, in part, if they do not, conflict might develop. Because of the relatively small number of voters, it is possible to deduce who has not participated in an important election. In any case, Verma's suggestion with respect to the Baker family and, to a certain extent the other families, mentioned, is not as correct as it would at first glance appear to be. He continues:

However, I have already stated that the Squamish attach equal importance to kinship on both father and mother's side. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to enquire whether any of the groups stated above; especially Baker, Paul, and Nahanee constitute a distinct bilateral kinship group. If not, the statement that cliques are formed on the basis of kinship alone becomes untenable, and this is in fact the case. The ...geneologies indicated that Baker, Paull, Nahanee, Joseph and Lewis do constitute a single bilateral kinship group and that councillors who are supposed to belong to different cliques are in fact closely related. This dismisses the suggestion that Bakers constitute the majority of the electors of the Band and that cliques in the Council are based on kinship.

Verma is quite correct when he points out that these families are related to each other; however, most of the Squamish are related to each other. In fact, most refer to each other as cousins, aunts, and uncles even though they may not be closely related at all. This situation appears to be a general trait of most Indian people, as Rohner suggests:

Indians often label others as cousin or distant cousin without being able to trace kin linkages in such a way as to demonstrate the relationship. Anyone who is in approximately the same generation as oneself and who is thought to be related in some way is designated as a cousin, and anyone at approximately the parent generation who is thought to be related in some way is called an aunt or uncle. (pp. 76-77)

Now, what kin linkages are made use of, depends upon a number of factors, such as degree, congeniality, the situation, and so forth. One must remember that the number of positions are relatively scarce in comparison to the number of individuals who might wish to occupy those positions; thus, closely related kinsmen may be found on opposite sides of a struggle; however, in another contest, these kinsmen will most likely be on the same side. Granted, cliques are not solely based upon the kinship factor; however, it is generally the most important factor in-

involved in the mobilization of support. Verma further states:

...I am convinced that there is no such thing as Baker, [Norman], and [McCready] cliques in the Band Council. For one thing, there is only one [Norman] and one [McCready] in the Council. So far as my knowledge goes Councillor [McCready] is a group to himself, and he does not usually receive much support from any other councillor. It is, therefore, meaningless to talk of a [McCready] clique. Councillor [Norman] commands respect from other councillors including those who are very much opposed to his brother, [David Norman]. I doubt very much if he has a clique of his own. (p. 130)

Verma has really missed the whole point here. The fact that there was only one Norman and one McCready in the Council does not necessarily negate the possibility of "cliques" being in existence. Verma is quite correct when he refers to Councillor McCready as "a group to himself" within the Council, but not in the manner that he suggests. His contention that "he does not usually receive much support from any other councillor" is, basically, incorrect. Although most of the councillors are generally suspicious of his activities, the formal minutes of meetings held during the period of Verma's field work would suggest that his proposals received just as much support as any other councillor's proposals. Both the McCready and the Norman families have stood out, perhaps, more than any other family and have been subjected to intense ridicule by most of the members of the Tribe. As was pointed out earlier, any individual or family that stands out, for some reason, is open to attack. The McCready family is definitely one of the most progressive families in the Tribe; consequently, its members have been charged with all sorts of incorrect behavior. These charges have been substantiated to a certain extent, which has only led to a greater

intensification of hostilities. A short time after Verma's work was completed, Councillor McCready was removed from office because of an illegal offence, which is one of the very few means by which an official may be removed (in this case, a requirement of the Indian Act). The McCready family and the few allies that it occasionally is able to muster have often acted as a pressure group within the Council and within certain community organizations. One member of the Council can be quite effective in representing the interests of his group, for he has access to a number of tools. For one thing, he can plead with the other councillors to act on the basis of "fair play." For another, if he is skillful enough, he can push an issue to the point where the Council will accept his proposal, even though most of its members may be opposed to it. Thus, the factor of numerical strength does not necessarily determine the influence of any particular group. Although the McCready family does not have a representative on the Council at the present time, an individual member may be just as effective by presenting his particular case at a Council meeting.

During the period of Verma's field research, a somewhat similar situation existed with respect to the Norman family. The undisputed head of this kinship group, David Norman, was very much involved in the political struggles of the Tribe for a considerable period; a period that started well before amalgamation, ending a short time after 1955. Patterson refers to this man when he states:

Within the Squamish community his leadership was questioned. We have seen enough of his relationships at

home to appreciate how this might be so. Nevertheless, he did have his supporters among the Squamish. Undoubtedly in some cases he aroused the jealousy of others. His willingness to speak in the name of all Indians was sometimes offensive. Some of his detractors saw him only as a self-seeker and an opportunist. (p. 247)

The activity of this man and his allies is demonstrated by the Hawthorn study, The Indians of British Columbia. It states:

We must also record that, except for those bands which choose only a chief by custom and not a whole council, the phrase "by custom" has a broad interpretation and does not truly refer to a traditional pre-White pattern of procedures. This was dramatically pointed up in the Squamish Band in 1954 and 1955. One political group, based on an extended family, took up the issue that the band should come under section 73. This group was only slightly represented in the "customary" council and saw the move as a means of increasing their representation. But the two other remaining large groups opposed the change, mainly, it seems, simply to express their opposition to the instigators. After some bitter wrangling the move was defeated. Then the council approached the superintendent with the request that he conduct elections to fill a number of vacancies that had been caused by death or resignation. There was no known precedent for this election, and the Indians could not suggest any. In the end, the election took place by procedures which were more or less those of the Indian Act. (p. 448)

Based upon the information that I have, the report is incorrect to a certain extent. First of all, the instigators consisted of an alliance of the McCready and Norman families, with David Norman leading the group. Secondly, the alliance won the first round in their struggle. At a General Meeting, they pushed through a motion that favoured the implementation of Section 73. This development would have led to a number of important consequences: (1) the Council would have been dissolved; (2) the number of councillors would have been reduced from a total of sixteen to a new total of ten; and, (3) elections would have been

held every two years, instead of the practice of being elected for life. The rationale behind this move appears to have been the belief that their chances for succession to office would be considerably increased. It has also been suggested that they wanted to remove the old chiefs that had occupied their positions for such a long time. The alliance did not have too much difficulty in controlling the General Meeting, because not too many members of the Tribe ever attend them. In fact, a quorum is frequently not present. In any case, when the development became widely known and fully understood, a petition was signed by a majority of the Tribe, which indicated their displeasure with the motion that had been passed and their request that the motion be over-ruled by the Indian Affairs Branch. A new General Meeting was called, and the motion was put before the members again. The alliance was heavily out-numbered, and after an extremely heated debate, its members walked out of the Council Hall. The motion was, of course, defeated. And thirdly, the question was not so much a matter of election procedure as the above discussion would suggest. The procedure involved in an election was accepted in accordance with the one laid down in the Indian Act--twenty years before this particular situation developed: The large number of vacant seats was instrumental in the action of the instigators to change the composition of the Council. Not too long after this Meeting was held, an election was called to fill the vacant seats. The alliance was badly routed at the polls. Patterson reports that a reconciliation occurred between Norman and his enemies not too long after this defeat

(p. 105). Verma also supports this suggestion (p. 81). I have not been able to ascertain upon what basis this reconciliation occurred; however, I doubt that such a development did in fact result. For one thing, the hostilities were so intense, I doubt that they could be forgotten very easily.²¹ They may have been over-looked because of newly developed situations, but they were always there to enter into the struggle, if the situation brought them out into the open again. I have been informed that Norman's relatives have often been verbally assaulted at parties, because of him, even after his death. In any case, David Norman died a few years after this defeat, and it would appear that the concerted activity of his supporters died with him. This statement should be amended somewhat. First, the alliance between the two extended families fell apart, permitting the two segments to realign with other groups. And secondly, although Norman's son was also defeated in the major election, he was finally elected to the Council a few years ago. Even though the hostility exists, it would appear, therefore, that its intensity has decreased due to the fact that the major reason for the conflict is no longer involved in the political arena.

However, David Norman certainly added a new dimension that changed the character of his particular friendship alliance.

²¹ Although I was only about ten years of age at the time, I well remember the open conflict that existed then. This situation provides evidence of one of the rare occasions when most of the Tribe will mobilize in the face of a common foe. From what I have been led to understand, it was this conflict and the pressure exerted by members of the family that persuaded my Father to run as a candidate in the election. Apparently, the same factors were involved in the fielding of other "opposition" candidates.

Through his leadership and control the alliance generally remained intact from issue to issue, which considerably differed from the other alliances, in which one's allegiance was often shifting. His alliance forced other segments to unite in opposition, which eventually led to its destruction. After this development, all the segments re-aligned as they had before.

In any case, it would appear that friendship alliances are very much involved in the political system.²² In all fairness to Verma, he does state:

...personal rivalries and differences of opinion on some subject of current interest sometimes lead to formation of shifting alliances and cliques. In addition, by virtue of personal congeniality, mutual respect, and close kinship, some members are more close to one another than others; for example, Tim Moody and Gordon Band. (p. 130)

However, he has relegated these alliances to a position of little importance, when the evidence would suggest that the opposite is the case. As this paper progresses, additional support for this position will be provided.

The preceding discussion brings us back to the general subject of status within the community. As was pointed out, the Norman and McCready families have been singled out more than any other family for social and political attack. At the present time, the Norman family is enjoying a relatively normal level of relations with other families in the community. This situation is mainly the result of the present belief held that this family

²² Actually, Verma also questions the importance of kinship considerations by the Council members in the allocation of funds (pp. 131-132). Since I have already dealt with this aspect in detail, I will not go any further here.

no longer represents a threat to the existing state of social and political relations. The McCready family, however, is faced by a different situation. The fact, that so many of the charges against this family have been proven to be true or substantiated to a certain extent by a relatively large number of its members being found guilty of those charges, has led to a rather unique development within the Squamish community.²³ Although the actions of a member of any family are often related by other people to all the members of the family, it would appear that this attitude is emphasized to a much greater degree with respect to the McCready family. The family is often referred to in such terms as: "You can never trust that bunch"; "They're only low-class people"; "He's a [McCready]. They're all alike."; and, "What are they good for?" It would be incorrect to view the members of this family in terms of being pariahs, if our definition is similar to the one that Bohannan makes use of:

Pariah's are people who are neither part of the accepted rank system nor occupants of servile positions. They are "outsiders" in the true sense. (p. 183)

The members of this family have often been politically and socially involved in the affairs of the community. Some of them have been elected by popular vote to positions within the Council, and as councillors, they have held positions within the more important committees. As was pointed out earlier, one of them was elected to the position of Business Manager of the Tribe.

²³ I am not attempting to suggest, here, that this development is unique in the sense that it does not exist in other communities.

More recently, the Council appointed a younger member of that family to a new, important position that was created a few months ago. Thus, to view members of this family as pariah's would be incorrect.

It is extremely difficult to obtain information, especially reliable information, that would support any conclusions that the present writer has with respect to the status of this family. When one raises the question, "In what way is this family any different from any other family with respect to access to available social, political, and economic opportunities?", the answer may initially be: "They have relatively the same access to such opportunities." One is faced by the following facts: first, some of their members have been elected or appointed to positions within the community; secondly, the members appear to enjoy a similar degree of social interaction within the community; and thirdly, they enjoy relatively the same access to the funds administered by the Council. Yet, we are also faced by the fact that an intense hostility is directed at the members of this family by most of the kinship groups in the Tribe. In order to see what effect this hostility actually has, a closer look at the interaction patterns within the community must be taken.

Now, it has been stated that the members of this family appear to enjoy a similar degree of social interaction within the community. The next section of this chapter, "Face-to-Face Associations", points out that the number of individuals involved in relatively frequent social contacts with any one person is

generally quite small, ranging from three to twelve and averaging about six contacts. It also points out that such association is usually based upon kinship and/or locality. The members of the McCready family do not appear to be dissimilar in this respect. However, their social contacts have been restricted by the hostility of most of the Tribe's members. Although the individual members of the other families are generally involved in relatively small social "groups," such does not mean that they cannot move from social group to social group; in fact, they often do. The point is that they are welcome to participate in most social gatherings, whereas the members of the McCready family generally are not. Now, the individual members of the other families do not have access to all the different social groups; however, their possible range of access is much broader than the range enjoyed by the members of the McCready family.

The McCready family has produced a few individuals, one in particular, that have overcome to an extent the general hostility that is directed at the members of this family. The former Business Manager, a member of this family, has, perhaps, been the only individual to receive support from a large number of kinship groups. He was well-liked, recognized as a more than capable administrator, and, above all, perhaps, trusted by most of the Tribe's members. Although he was somewhat forced to resign because of certain actions, councillors often refer to his capability as an efficient administrator. Many of them have made statements to the effect that they were sad to see him leave the post that he had occupied for such a short time. Now, many fac-

tors are involved in election to office. The Hawthorn study (1967) suggests that the following attributes appear to be "most auspicious" for those seeking office:

- (1) being in a proper line of descent or have approved kinship connections;
- (2) being assured of support of kinsfolk and their allies;
- (3) being between 36 and 45 years of age;
- (4) having gone to school beyond grade 6;
- (5) being fluent in either English or French;
- (6) having had military, work, or educational experience outside the reserve;
- (7) having above average (for one's band) occupational and income standing;
- (8) expressing middle-of-the-road views, rather than overt identification with views of either extremes of the factions or parties (hostile-friendly, conservative-progressive, traditional-modernist, and so on).
- (9) being able to give the impression that office has been thrust upon one rather than being deliberately sought. (pp. 228-229)

Now, the significance of each of these factors varies from band to band. Reference will be made to them later on in this paper. For the present, I would like to indicate other factors that have been over-looked in the present list:

- (10) being well-liked by a large segment of the electors--beyond one's kinship affiliation;
- (11) being recognized as a capable administrator;
- (12) being trusted by a large segment of the electors--beyond one's kinship affiliations;

and, most important of all:

- (13) the different candidates and the particular issues involved in an election or an appointment to office.

The former Business Manager, it would appear, possessed all of these attributes, except for the first one. He and a few other members of his family were able to draw support from a large segment of the Tribe's population, even though they did not possess the approved kinship connections. However, this situation is one of the rare cases in which the first factor was not significant with respect to election or appointment to office. The fact that a member of the McCready family does not presently sit on the Council and the fact that a member of this family has not run for office recently might suggest that the members of this family are well aware of the present situation that they are in.

Now, most of the Tribe refers to the members of this family in terms of "low-class" and the like. This situation places the McCready family in a somewhat unique position with respect to the other kinship groups. Other groups are often similarly termed; however, the range of application depends upon the particular situation at hand. For example: an individual may be referred to as "low-class" because of the shabby house that he possesses; many people may agree with this description, but many do not, especially the person involved, his kinship group, and friends. What is considered to be "low-class" by one person is not necessarily considered as such by another person. In other words, no one standard definition is employed. However, with respect to the McCready family, a common consensus of opinion does exist to set this group apart, even though the definition varies to an extent. No other family is referred to in terms of "social-class" to the degree that this family is.

The situational approach involved in the definition of individuals and groups in terms of social class has been stated exceedingly well by Elizabeth Colson in The Makah Indians. She suggests:

The result is that in Neah Bay today a class system theoretically exists, but it is impossible for the observer to place any single person in his proper class because there are no generally accepted standards as to what constitutes a valid claim to class status. Nor is there any generally accepted placing of individuals in various classes recognized by all Makah themselves. Yet, they are conscious of class and it enters into their thinking with reference to other Makah to an extent that is incomprehensible to the newcomer. Each individual claims high-class status for himself and his immediate ancestors; each usually derides the claims of other Makah unless they happen to be close relatives--and even a close relative is not safe since his claims to status can always be derided on the ground that through some line not shared with you he descends from low-class people, or it may be claimed that he has not achieved enough to justify his equal position with your own. (pp. 204-205)

Later on, she also states:

At the present time, therefore, amidst the conflicting claims, each one is free to present what pretensions he can to upper-class status, and while probably few will acknowledge the justness of the claim, there are none in a position to disavow it effectively. (p. 215)

To a certain extent, Colson's description of the Makah is amazingly similar to the situation among the Squamish. However, I would disagree with her use of the term "social class" with respect to the Squamish and with respect to the Makah. Although the Indians make use of the term themselves, the theoretical import of the term does not generally exist. Her discussion does not indicate that the Makah "divisions" have reached the stage whereby inequality has been the result of a limited access to the available social, political, and economic opportunities.

Such does appear to exist with respect to the McCready family to a certain extent; however, this family should be viewed as an exception to the prevailing approach involved in the networks of social relationships. It appears to me that to view any status system in terms of social class, when that system is primarily based upon kinship affiliation, is a very risky approach, mainly because of the situational approach involved so often in definition. I have also come to the conclusion that the major problem involved here is not so much a matter of employing the term "social class", but rather the utility of and the applicability of the general concept of "status" itself.

Stratification has been defined by Bernard Barber as the "consequence of the interaction of differentiation and evaluation in society...a structure of regularized inequality in which men are ranked higher and lower according to the value accorded their various social roles and activities" (p. 7). This definition is based upon a number of major assumptions, the most important of which are:

- (1) A predominant value system exists; and,
- (2) A regularized structure of inequality exists.

The following discussion will attempt to indicate that these two assumptions do not fit well in the case of the Squamish.

Now, Colson has suggested that within the Makah, there are no generally accepted standards as to what constitutes a valid claim to a particular (class) status position. Within the Squamish, even a valid claim is open and subjected to derision. However, I think that she has missed an important point here. Col-

son refers to the conflict that has occurred as a consequence of the fact that "the Makah today...do not possess a common coherent picture of their former social organization" (p. 204). She points out that criss-crossing claims to hereditary chieftainship have resulted in conflict, with each individual or group deriding the claims of the other. The following example will suggest that the Squamish are quite similar. However, the "existence of a predominant value system" that is implied in Barber's definition and the lack of any "generally accepted standards as to what constitutes a valid claim to a particular status position" that Colson refers to must be taken into view in order to present a few significant points.

First of all, it has often been suggested that many Indian communities do not possess a predominant value system because of the juxtaposition of two value systems: one being based upon "traditional" influences, and the other being based upon modern (generally meant to be Non-Indian in origin) influences. This approach is, I believe, much too simple and, perhaps, incorrect to a certain extent, especially with respect to the values involved in political relationships. Now Colson's suggestion, that there is a lack of generally accepted standards as to what constitutes a valid claim to a particular status position, is true in particular cases, but it misses the major point. The Squamish in general value prestige; they also value the different factors that they believe will confer that prestige on the possessor of these factors, such as wealth goods, public office, and the like. Formerly, I was of the opinion that wealth, for

example, did not secure a higher status because it was not recognized as a legitimate basis for a claim to such a status. An argument for this position might be made on the grounds that wealth as a securer of higher status is negated by a conflict between traditional and modern values--a point often raised by the Squamish themselves. However, it appears to me that, since wealth goods are valued, in part, for their prestige by all, wealth as a securer of higher status is negated by some other factor. That factor is seen in the opposition of like groups. Colson states:

Social relationships within the Makah group can be understood in terms of two theories of expected behavior which regulate, almost every situation within which one Makah deals with another. One theory calls for the solidarity of all kin, of even remote degree, for mutual assistance and defence. The other theory encourages cut-throat competition for social position with other members of the group. This competition, in conflict with the theory of kinship solidarity, may enter even within family lines when brother competes against brother, or it may be reduced by close friendship existing between two individuals who would normally compete. (pp. 190-191)

Later on, she further suggests:

Both theories, that of rivalry and that of solidarity, play their rôle in the present life of the Makah. To some extent they offset each other, and allow the Makah to continue to exist as a group. Kinship solidarity which might completely cripple the individual's initiative is kept in check by the existence of rivalry for social preeminence. (p. 235)

On the other hand, rivalry within the group is held somewhat in check by kinship solidarity. It leaves the man who attempts an ambitious project which arouses the envy of others still in a position where he can expect assistance from sufficient people to carry out his undertaking. Rivalry acts as a spur to goad the individual to greater effort; the solidarity of the kinship group ensures that at least a portion of the tribe can be expected to suppress envy in effective collaboration. (p. 235)

This description generally fits the Squamish. I have often been aware of close kinsmen competing against each other in this "cut-throat" fashion in one situation and competing together against another kinship group in another situation. In one case, two brothers threatened to expose the illegal activities of each other but resolved their differences temporarily in the face of a common foe. In another case, two closely-related families were on opposite sides of a religious issue, but joined forces when the issue changed to a struggle between different kinship groups. In any case, competition between individuals or groups is generally believed to result in a structure of inequality by many writers. However, in the Squamish example, one must take into account the demand for equality of individuals and groups. This demand is based upon the composition of the Squamish Tribe, in which different groups recognize themselves as equal-founding members--an equality that must be maintained. The competition between these groups has resulted in a horizontal status structure; that is, each group is of the same status as any other group (except for the McCready family). The struggle for prestige is intense, yet, gains are not made, except by a large majority over a small minority in a few rare cases, such as the McCready example. Although the struggle does not result in gains for any particular group, the intense struggle maintains a balance among the different groups. The struggles involving claims to higher status in the following examples may be instructive in this regard. Take the case of hereditary chieftainship as the first example.

Today, only four individuals are formally recognized by the Council as hereditary chiefs; two of them are retired councillors, and the other two were given their seats on the Council recently. The Council asked the Tribe membership at a General Meeting if they wanted to continue to recognize the principle of hereditary chieftainship and if they wanted to continue to give the hereditary chiefs the right of possessing a seat on the Council. Generally, very few problems were raised with respect to two of the chiefs, because one of them obtained his seat at the time of amalgamation and the other obtained his seat not too long after union, when his father died, although one of the present councillors derided the claims of the former. The only problem that existed, it would appear, with respect to the succession of one of the late chiefs concerned which one of his sons would replace him. The Council consulted with the close relatives of the deceased chief, and it was decided that one of his younger sons would succeed him. However, when the discussion turned towards the claims of the fourth individual, the debate became extremely heated. Many of the members of the Tribe objected to the seating of this individual because, it was charged, that his father was appointed a chief by Bishop Durieu and that his father did not have a hereditary right to the title.²⁴ His kinsmen strongly objected to these charges and stated that it was his father who brought his band into amalgamation and that his son should have

²⁴ A discussion of the influence of Bishop Durieu may be found in E. Palmer Paterson (II)'s Andrew Paull and Canadian Indian Resurgence.

the same rights as a son of any other late chief. After a lengthy and somewhat explosive discussion, his claims were formally recognized by a majority of the voters present at the Meeting; however, a large segment of the population still does not recognize his rights to the title.

When the different Squamish-speaking bands amalgamated to form the Squamish Tribe, the sixteen chiefs of the bands were seated in the Council to represent the interests of their respective bands. Since each band was essentially composed of one large extended family, each chief was actually representing the interests of his own family. Because of the tremendous shift of the population to the two North Vancouver reserves, the band as a territorial and social unit has ceased to exist. As a result of this development, the general membership decided that when a chief died or retired from the Council, he would be replaced by a member that was elected by the entire Tribe membership.²⁵ Although the band has ceased to exist as a territorial unit, the representative character of the present chiefs and councillors has carried over to the present day. Thus, when Chief Norman Joseph, for example, is defined as a "chief", he is

²⁵ I have not been able to find a satisfactory answer to the question of why hereditary chieftainship was raised again with respect to the possession of office.

The special situation of the reserves in the District of Squamish is reflected in the development that occurred when Chief Alvie Andrews, a resident of one of those reserves, retired from the Council. David Williams was nominated by the Squamish residents as their candidate to succeed the former Councillor. Since the Squamish residents were represented by only one other Councillor, Sam Baker, the members at the General Meeting accepted the nomination and put him in by acclamation.

"correctly" defined as such only in relation to those individuals that trace their descent to his family. He cannot claim to be chief of all the Mission Reserve (the family's "traditional" territory) residents, because most of them originated from other areas and trace their descent to other families. Thus, although he does not represent the common interests of the residents of the Mission Reserve, he can claim to represent the common interests of all his kinsmen--no matter what residence area they reside on. Similarly, the rest of the councillors claim to represent, and do in fact represent, their respective kinship groups.²⁶ However, when a claim is made beyond these limits, the claimant is generally severely ridiculed by the offended kinship groups. These groups see the claim as an attempt to deride their own independence as a member "people" within the Squamish "nation." When the news media refer to an individual as the Chief of the Squamish Tribe, as they often do, the non-related kinship groups become angry. Some of the individuals so described deliberately give reporters the impression that they have a right to such a title. One Councillor stated that "if my people want to call me a chief, that is their right." It is true that he has a just claim, but only with respect to his own kinship group, and at that, other members of his family have an equally valid claim to the title. Another Councillor stated that he could claim the title of chief, but he did not think that the position was of any importance today. The title and position of chief are not

²⁶ As was indicated earlier, the councillors also represent the common interests of their respective areas.

important in the sense that they possess any special prerogatives, except for the right to be addressed as a chief and the right to a seat on the Council; however, the possession of the title itself, whether formally recognized or not, is often deemed by the individual as a source of prestige.

The status of an individual and his family has often been attacked on the grounds of mixed-descent. Verma reports:

There are a few Squamish, who claim to be "full-blooded" Indians--apparently with a great deal of pride, and a feeling of superiority over "those half-breeds." Yet at least one person's claim to be "full-blooded" status (sic) was denied by another who claimed to have private knowledge to the contrary, and the claims of some others may be open to challenge also. (p. 2)

Similar statements are made by Patterson (p. 104). When the Norman alliance attempted to bring the Tribe under Section 73 of the Indian Act, one of the major charges at the time was to the effect that he was attempting to obtain control of the Council in order to remove the names of the "half-breeds" from the List. Although the charge appears to have been baseless, it was held very strongly by many individuals at the time. The person who is under attack may not, and probably does not, recognize this factor as a legitimate means of undermining his status. Although most of the members of the Tribe are far from being "full-blooded" Indians, if an antagonist feels that an advantage may be gained by the use of such a factor, it will be used. How one uses this factor can also be significant, as was demonstrated by the Section 73 example, in which it was employed to frighten the individuals of mixed-descent into withdrawing their support of the Norman alliance.

It has often been suggested that a position within the administrative organ of the Tribe gives an element of status to the holder of such a position. Toron, for example, states that "being a member of the [Squamish] council is one of the few things that gives status, however small, to a member of the band" (p. 18). With respect to the Makah, Colson further suggests:

Men are...led to take responsibility in the affairs of the tribe; for any position that places them before the public theoretically brings prestige and is an advance over rivals. Thus, though within a few years men in public positions may become weary of the insults hurled at them by others in the group, there is never any lack of candidates for the council, and someone can always be found to shoulder responsibility for tribal celebrations. The insults again are made the easier to bear by the explicit recognition that such expressions are the result of envy rather than of real reason for dissatisfaction. (p. 235)

With respect to the Squamish, there is also never any lack of candidates for the positions offered by the administrative organ of the Tribe. There is no doubt that many individuals seek such positions for the prestige that they believe these positions will avail; however, a change in status is effectively checked by the other members of the administration and their respective kinship groups. Now, it will be indicated in a following chapter that certain councillors do in fact exercise a greater amount of influence within the decision-making process; however, such influence has not led to a higher status for those individuals because to give such recognition would decrease the status of the other members of the Council, which would be unacceptable. In fact, most of the administrators are not aware of the weight that these individuals carry in the decision-making

process anyway. In any case, I am not aware of any situation in which inequality is the result of possessing an administrative position. It is true that a person is in an unequal position when he is in need of the Council's help; however, such does not necessarily involve a situation of superiority/inferiority. One must remember that his equality before the Council is generally guaranteed by the physical presence of his kinsmen on the Council. In any case, if deference is involved, it disappears outside of the Council chambers.

Thus, when one considers the following points:

1. The different kinship groups generally have the same access to the available social, political, and economic opportunities; and,
2. The struggle for prestige among the different kinship groups has resulted in a horizontal status structure--a structure in which the groups (except for the McCready family) are ranked as equals through competition, even though each group may view the other groups as of an inferior status

--it would appear that as an existing social reality, the concept of status is applicable only to a limited extent (that is, in the case of the McCready family). Status claims are used by the Squamish as tools in an attempt to manipulate the particular situation at hand toward one's own advantage.

(B) Face-to-Face Associations

In The politics of kinship, J. van Velson stated with respect to the Tonga:

There are two main factors which influence the establishment and maintenance of personal relationships between Tonga: locality and kinship. Preference for a particular locality may influence a man's choice of the kinship bonds which he wants to utilize and manip-

ulate; or, to put it differently, preference for a particular locality and, for instance, its economic advantages...can be expressed in terms of kinship. These two principles of association are therefore not necessarily opposed. (p. 64)

To a certain extent, a similar situation exists within the Squamish community. It was suggested earlier that access to social opportunities within the Tribe is generally limited to one's residence area. Although the memberships of the few existing Tribal organizations are of an inter-kinship nature, frequent social interaction is also further limited, generally, to kinsmen within one's residence area--especially the families of an individual's brothers and sisters and those of his wife.²⁷ The data that Verma supplies would appear to support this observation (pp. 127-128).²⁸

Although social intercourse with other relatives is generally not of the same frequency, such does not necessarily mean that these ties have become weaker. As the above discussion would suggest, these ties have been partially maintained by the kinship group's common interests involved within inter-group competition. A number of different occasions occur throughout the year, such as weddings, funerals, and religious celebrations (Christmas and Easter), which bring most of the members of the kinship group together; in general contributing to the maintenance of these ties, although conflict often results because of

²⁷ One must remember that the memberships of the Tribal organizations are small and that most of the activities occur during certain periods of the year.

²⁸ I find his general statements somewhat confusing; however, the examples of social relationship networks through which he illustrates his conclusions do support my own observations.

incidents that have not been forgotten by some of the kinsmen.

The Hawthorn study (1966) notes that the Squamish community is highly urbanized in comparison to most of the other groups in its sample. It also notes that the development of internal organization is low, which might be a consequence, in part, of the high involvement of the members in outside activities:

In general, the highly urbanized bands appear to have a relatively low degree of internal organization, whether specialized or diversified in their economic roles, perhaps because band members tend to participate more in outside, non-reserve activities and organizations. (p. 137)

At the beginning of this year's school term, all the Squamish students will be attending many different schools outside of the reserves. Although a certain element of discrimination exists (on the part of both Indians and Non-Indians), many have participated frequently in all areas of youthful activity, from sports to parties, with their fellow Non-Indian students. One's Squamish ancestry does not appear to have been a serious bar at the school-going ages to the development of social relationships with Non-Indians. At an older age the high rate of intermarriage (54.6% of all Squamish marriages) is remarkable in comparison to other Indian groups. Whether a Squamish youth is oriented towards outsiders, to Squamish, or to both, he is generally forced to seek social activities outside of the reserves. Very few activities are available on the reserves, except in the area of sports, although in this area only the more youthful (under fifteen years of age) actively participate.

The older members of the community frequently seek social activities outside of the reserves. As little as ten years ago

most of the activities involved in marriage and funeral ceremonies were held on Tribal territory; today, however, there is a tendency not only to make use of the professional services provided by outside commercial organizations but also to hold receptions and the like beyond the reserve areas. The Squamish orchestra, composed essentially of councillors and former councillors, presently plays only at the funerals of deceased members of the Council (out of respect for them and the services that they have rendered to the Tribe); in the past, it performed at many different functions and celebrations. Formerly, almost anyone could attend these functions, but they are increasingly becoming restricted to kinsmen. These occasions were important with respect to the maintenance of intra-community ties because they involved many different kinship groups, but today they are becoming less frequent and more narrowly involved. As inter-ethnic and inter-band marriages increase, ties with families outside the reserves will increase. Of the 108 new family formations that occurred between 1958 and 1967, over eighty-four percent involved such inter-ethnic and inter-band marriages. These new ties have decreased the amount of social interaction within the Tribe considerably. Although distance is an important factor involved in what ties an individual emphasizes, many Squamish overlook this factor or find it to be less than prohibitive in order to socialize with their affines.

With regard to extra-kin contact, the overwhelming majority of the labour force is employed outside the reserves. Most of these jobs, especially longshoring, foster the development of

stable relationships among work crews--work crews that are generally composed of Squamish and Non-Indians. After work the crews generally stop at particular beer parlours near the waterfront. Afterwards some often go to each others homes, although the Squamish do not go to a Non-Indian's home as often as Non-Indians. This observation is similar to the one that Verma reports (p. 132). Although most of the Squamish claim that very little discrimination exists today, I suspect that many of them are afraid to go to Non-Indian homes even when invited because they feel that they are not wanted there by the Non-Indian's family. The individuals that I have talked to about this situation were not able to give a satisfactory answer as to why they did not go to Non-Indian homes as often. Most stated that they just did not know why.

The significance of beer parlours was mentioned earlier. These places of association are, perhaps, the major avenues of social interaction for most of the Squamish, mainly because of the fact that they are the most frequently attended. They have, however, been partially responsible for a reduction in face-to-face association of people from different reserves. Most of the residents of one reserve go to a particular beverage room and most of the residents of another reserve go to a different room. Also any gathering that involves the consumption of alcoholic beverages generally leads to conflict, which may result in the severance of existing social ties between certain individuals or even between groups. The next chapter will explore this situation further. Although social interaction within beer parlours

generally contributes to the maintenance of community ties, the interaction has tended to be intensified among each reserve group, and diminished between reserve groups. Such diminished frequency, however, has not necessarily weakened intensity because other factors are at work to encourage this. I refer here particularly to those that have led to the development of an identification of the Squamish collectively as an independent group.

The number of people involved in frequent social contact within an individual's social group generally ranges from three to twelve, although the average is approximately six. These figures are generally consistent with the examples of social relationship networks that Verma illustrates (pp. 127-128). All of his examples include individuals who are generally oriented towards kinsmen of their own residence area for frequent social activity. There are, however, four major different approaches taken by different individuals to the selection of social contacts:

1. many individuals deliberately seek contacts outside the reserves;
2. many individuals seek contacts within the reserves, especially within their own residence area;
3. many individuals seek contacts within the without the reserves; and,
4. a few individuals do not appear to seek particular contacts at all, and are inclined to little contact.

The average number of individuals in a person's active social group is small and as these include extra-reserve contacts, those within the community are fewer still. Interaction at a

regular face-to-face level within the community generally involves very few individuals, and in that form is at a minimum.

This situation raises the question: Do frequency and range of face-to-face associations necessarily have anything to do with the strength of intra-kinship and intra-community ties? The lack of frequent and widespread face-to-face interaction has not been influential because the opposition of groups--a factor so very much involved in the maintenance and subjective importance of these ties as well as their consequences for social control within the community--has tended to be of counter significance.

CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIAL CONTROL

The Squamish community represents an "incomplete" community in the sense that it does not perform certain political functions. The Hawthorn study (1967) suggests that the set of functions that are performed by most societies can be described as follows:

...to maintain peace and order within the group by settling of disputes, the enforcement of rules; to coordinate activities whose significance is community-wide rather than confined to individuals or families; to provide representation for the group vis-a-vis other groups; to direct activities such as warfare against other groups. (p. 175)

The last function is, of course, entirely prohibited by the wider society; however, a small measure of control does exist with respect to the first function, although, as Verma observes:

...the power to decide what behaviour is legal, and the power to punish for transgression of law, has now shifted outside of the Squamish Community. This together with the reduced dependence of the individual on the community for employment, recreation, friendship, and prestige has resulted in a self-perpetuating (sic) trend towards progressive weakening of social control in the community, and increasing reliance on police and other outside authorities for maintenance of law and order. For example, now when a dance is held in the community hall, the Council Secretary requests the police to patrol around in case there is a fight among the boys. The police once or twice pass in front of the community hall to make known their presence. Often this alone proves sufficient to keep the boys in check. (p. 142)

The Indian Act provides a number of formal measures for the Tribe's use in order to regulate deviant behavior. Through a vote of the membership, a deviant may be denied his Squamish status. By-laws may be passed by the Council in an attempt to force individuals into complying with certain norms.

However, these measures have never been employed among the Squamish. Reference is made in Chapter Seven to the attempt of the Council to pass a traffic by-law, which was unsuccessful; this particular by-law was not aimed at reserve residents for the issue involved the use of Tribal roads by truckers, who were driving too fast. The Council is in an impossible situation with respect to the regulation of deviant behavior. It cannot as a body make use of formal or informal mechanisms, because whenever it attempts to deal with particular individuals, it is faced with the possibility of conflict erupting within its own ranks, since the fellow probably is related to a number of the councillors. Through its acquisition of a qualified Social Worker and a Sports and Recreation Coordinator, the Squamish Council hopes that it will be able to prevent or at least reduce the Tribe's high rate of illegal behavior. One of the councillors, who is presently involved as a liaison officer, informs the Council of the persons who have been charged by the police and attempts to provide whatever help that he can to the offenders. At one Council Meeting, he was in the process of delivering a report concerning the number of young offenders that were presently before the Courts, when a Councillor demanded to know their names. This Councillor, who actually did not know who they were, wanted to publicly disgrace their parents, for he believed that they were the individuals who should bear most of the responsibility. Many, if not most of the councillors, shared his belief and sympathized with his approach, but they refused to permit the names to become public. They realized that some of the councillors

were in a rather difficult situation, since some of the offenders were the children of those councillors.²⁹ In another situation, the issue involved a commercial organization that had leased property from the Tribe. The special privileges that the organization had given to the councillors had been abused by a relative of one of them. It pleaded with the Council to control the actions of its members; if their actions could not be controlled, the organization threatened to take away the privileges. Most of the councillors were visibly embarrassed by this situation, because they were, essentially, powerless to do anything about it. In fact, one Councillor stated to the rest: "This is simply out of our hands, because there is nothing that we can do about it. Anyway, if I want to [use their facilities] , I will pay like anyone else." Actually, the Council was well aware of the situation even before it had received the letter of complaint. The involved Councillor was present at the meeting and was, perhaps, even more embarrassed by the situation than the others. Although formal mechanisms were not applied here (and in reality, neither were informal mechanisms directly applied), the Councillor was made aware of the Council's displeasure with the deviant behavior of his relative. What effect the process had upon the relative, I do not know, although I suspect that it did not end with the Councillor's embarrassment. In any case, the norm was challenged and eventually re-affirmed, without the direct implementation of social control mechanisms.

²⁹ The fact that it is against the law to publish the names of minors, charged before the Courts, did not enter into the discussion.

The Squamish rarely seek assistance from the police in civil matters. A person who calls the police generally leaves himself open to abuse for interfering within the affairs of other people. Hawthorn's The Indians of British Columbia points out:

If Indians do refer quarrels or deviant behaviour to police authorities the reason is usually specific: either (a) their own system of social control has broken down to such an extent that the deviant behaviour or quarrel constitutes an unchallenged threat to their own community or to the prestige or advantage of the persons reporting; or (b) the procedures of the alien authority in civil cases are believed to be contrary to the principles of Indian social control in such a way that those reporting them think they will obtain a special advantage from dealing with the courts. (p. 413)

However, as stated above, the Squamish rarely seek assistance from the police. Rohner makes the observation that individuals will often threaten to call the police, but they generally do not do so (p. 91). In some cases the threatened individual will make a counter-threat. One brother charged another with illegal activity and threatened to expose him to the police. Based upon the evidence that I have, his charges were true, but he was similarly threatened by his brother, whose charges were, again, similarly as valid. In the end, the threats were not implemented. The use of threats to call the police as a mechanism of social control is demonstrated in a case reported by Verma:

...one day a White came to Tim Moody and complained that a Squamish has (sic) stolen a radio, a battery, and a few other things from his car parked near the Mission Reserve. After mentioning the name of the thief, he said, "I don't want to drag him to the police. I would be satisfied, if he returns my things." Tim Moody did not try to settle the case himself, but referred it to Moses Joseph who is the hereditary Chief of the Mission Reserve. Chief Moses Joseph, and Councillor Edward Charlie then went to the culprit's house and told him to return the stolen goods. At first he denied the charge, but when Chief Moses Jos-

eph threatened that the matter would be reported to the police if he did not return the goods and pay the cost of the damage done to the car, he admitted his guilt, and said by way of an apology, "I was too drunk. I did not know what I was doing." Of course, nobody accepted this as a valid explanation. The goods were finally returned and the matter was dropped without reference to the police. (p. 139)

The threat can, however, be an empty one, because if the fellow had refused to return the commodities the councillors probably would not have called the police. It is generally expected that such a conflict should be resolved by the individuals directly concerned--it tends to be seen as a personal, civil issue rather than a public, criminal one.

It was noted above that interference within the affairs of another is not easily tolerated. With respect to the Lynx Point Band (Athapaskan), June Helm observes:

In regard to adults, non-interference is the rule. Each person is his "own-boss" and, outside of spouse or parents, other individuals do not offer suggestions or reprimands to him. (p. 87)

Later on, she further states:

The behavioral mode by which the autonomous rights of others is observed can best be summed up as non-interference. Giving orders, demanding, telling another person what to do--in other words, bossiness--these are relatively extreme forms of interference. Such behavior is apt to be strongly resented, and, in fact, is not often seen. (p. 176)

When councillors, or anyone else for that matter, take it upon themselves to admonish the behavior of others, even closely related kinsmen, they are quite often told in no uncertain terms to mind their own business. This is in turn a challenge to the personal, civil emphasis the community at-large subscribes to. The compromise in emphasis is further exaggerated by a fre-

quently observed form of behavior when one listens politely and then ridicules the councillor behind his back. Children are not as passive as the adults. On many occasions, I have observed them using language that would even "make a longshoreman blush" when an adult has attempted to scold them for their actions. One six-year old girl, after making a few choice introductory remarks, stated flatly to one Councillor: "you think that you're such a big-shot! you're just a...nothing!" This sort of statement is often made by even younger children. There is nothing much that a person can do in such a situation, except complain to the parents. This is rarely attempted, however, since the child probably picked up the expressions and the orientations towards the person of the Councillor from his parents. Such a complaint generally proves to be ineffective.

Related to this principle of non-interference is the principle of non-expressiveness or passive evasion. Helm observes:

To "thrash matters out" or "stand up for one's rights" or "meet the challenge" in the face of undue or unwelcome actions is not the Slavey way. Rather, one ignores or retreats from the source of friction, irritation, or unpleasantness. Bold or peremptory behavior is met by passive evasion; often embarrassment or "shyness" is manifested.

Faced with an infringement or wrong, great or small, the injured person does not meet the situation with a direct and immediate defence of what he conceives to be his rights or with an attack (verbal or physical) upon the offender. Here again the qualification must be added--as long as he is sober. (p. 88)

Similar observations are made by Slobodin (p. 61), Shimpo and Williamson (p. 117), and Rohner (p. 65). Except in the cases of children and heavy drinking, I have rarely observed individuals directly involving themselves in a conflict when they have been

attacked; usually their kinsmen come to assist them. Failing this facility, non-involved individuals in general intervene if the solidarity of the group is in danger. An individual will attempt to protect himself by attacking the person "behind closed doors" rather than in public.

Shimpo and Williamson suggest that certain self-defence mechanisms exist within the individual, which enable him to sustain ridicule to a culturally determined extent. They define this concept as:

A culturally - conditioned readiness and reaction to internal or external stimuli, designed to lessen or solve the insecurity or strain caused by such stimuli in order to maintain the established socio - cultural integrity of an individual or individuals and/or the group to which he or they belong, and make the integrity survive. (p. 110)

Later they add:

The self - defence mechanism took various forms of action or non - action such as "non - expressiveness", "protective indifference", "compromise", "cultural - institutional replacement", or "aggressiveness." Any one of these aspects does not show the total process of the self-defence mechanism, as each aspect is related functionally to each other aspect. (p. 115)

Gluckman has indicated the role of gossip and scandal as a mechanism of social control, but among the Squamish, teasing is one of the strongest and most important forms of social control; it is somewhat of a "national" pastime among the Squamish. Anything, including clothing, mannerisms, speech, and physical appearance, is open to ridicule and especially by the young.

Helm has argued:

The child's behaviour among his peers stands in contrast to the non-committal restraint of adults. The children frequently run as gangs, and they often,

through interstimulation, engage in boisterous, excited behavior--running and shouting, swearing, teasing, and "ganging up" on one another. Displays of anger, sometimes culminating in fights or tears, are not uncommon. (p. 90)

Either a child conforms, if possible, and appears to accept ridicule good-naturedly, or he is beaten and/or excluded until he meets the expectations of his peers. Later, when physical answers to conflict become culturally unacceptable, the adult forms of its expression appear.

The Hawthorn study. (1967), when referring to the state of crisis through which the Canadian reserve Indians are passing suggests:

Certain reserves which are almost self-sufficient, also are aware of White pressure, but can relieve it by relying on the positive elements of the community. Other reserves have become almost entirely dependent on the State and have lost almost all initiative. The generation gap between parents and children arises out of a difference of attitudes towards life and fundamental values; between traditional elites and the young acculturated elites; between older and younger married couples; between the illiterate and those who have received some education; between those who cling desperately to old traditions and those who wish to play the changing world by ear; this is the result of opposing and competing ideologies. (p. 165)

A similar observation is made in The Indians of British Columbia:

As the Indian family has altered towards a structure reflecting the values and conditions of White society so too its operation as an instrument of social control has changed towards that characteristic of White society. The family no longer functions solely within a congruent kinship system or small community structure. The family or household is no longer a social unit existing parallel to and having reciprocal bonds with other families or households, to make up a more or less self-contained community....White school teachers, policemen, superintendents, friends and movies. Each individual comes into contact with values that differ more or less from those experienced by other members of his family, and this means that individual goals differ within the family and are sometimes felt to be

inconsistent, and disharmonious, just as they are in many White families. (pp. 411-412)

It was noted earlier, that Colson suggested that there were two theories of expected behavior that regulated almost every situation within which one Makah dealt with another: the theory of kinship solidarity and the theory of rivalry. She also suggested that these two regulatory principles influenced each other in such a way as to permit a degree of individualism without destroying the unity of the kinship group. When the common interests of the group, whether it be an extended family or the community itself, are deemed to be in danger a heightened solidarity of the group tends to result. Most, if not all of the members of the group recognize that their individual status and interests might be endangered if concerted action is not taken to meet the common threat. This behaviour does not appear to have been diminished by the existence of "opposing and competing ideologies", or by the existence of new demands facing the Squamish today. As has been noted several times already, under certain conditions kinsmen will compete fiercely against each other, but when the common interests of the group are endangered their differences usually disappear in the face of the changed situation. However, in situations that do not reflect on the group, the control of individuals, either by the community at large or by close kinsmen is much more difficult to exert.

At the community level, it is difficult to control the actions of individuals because, in part, obligations can be evaded by "escaping" to the wider society. The Indians of British Columbia notes:

In traditional society the deviant had no alternative except migration to an alien community or isolation in the wilderness, if he could not stand public opinion. Today...his outlet for social escape is so ready to hand that he does not have to migrate or conform. He can escape in the nearby town, in the beer parlour, or in a short visit to the berry fields. He can return to face the music for a short while, and if it is still too strong for him, he can remove himself again, nightly if need be. (p. 422)

Rohner, when referring to the Gilford Island Band, suggests:

No individual who remains in the web of interaction within the community can sink too low or rise too high, either economically or socially, because of the patterns of borrowing and sharing. Borrowing and sharing have sharp levelling effects and occur from both personal choice and social obligation. (p. 67)

The norm involved in the obligation of kinsmen to share their wealth has been considerably weakened, if not virtually destroyed, within the Squamish community. For one thing, individuals are expected to seek assistance from the Tribal treasury rather than from relatives. One individual stated: "Why should I lend him any money? He never pays it back. Besides, when he does have some, he never lends me any! Anyway, he can apply to the Council for relief." The economic independence of individuals, whether as producers or consumers, whether they possess wealth or not, and whether they are young or old, challenges the maintenance of reciprocal obligation. Such conduct is no longer deviant.

Dunning suggested in his Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa that, when a society has lost some of its traditional mechanisms of social control, it must necessarily rely more heavily upon those that remain (p. 198). I suspect that he is quite correct here. Although the Squamish might at

first glance appear to be in a state of disorganization because of the loss of certain mechanisms, either by Government fiat or by changing social conditions, such may not be the case at all. The Squamish can be considered a relatively stable community. The statements that Helm makes are just as applicable to the Squamish:

All social sanctions employed at Lynx Point are diffuse and informal. The chastisement of Arnie in "The Case of Emily's Nose" is the closest suggestion we have of explicitness of court or punitive agency. The diffuse sanctions that operate to discipline the behavior of the individual...have force because the socialization process succeeds in its primary aim. The individual seeks the approval and fears the disapproval of the group, and this sensitizes him to the diffuse sanctions. It is difficult to say to what extent and in what areas the approval-disapproval "tropisms" are related to a sense of intrinsic right and wrong, or are superseded by it. The "shame" versus "guilt" dichotomy seems an often treacherous one. When drunk, Karl was apt to condemn himself as "bad," or ask us if we thought he was "bad," but the nature of this anxiety was never clear. (p. 110)³⁰

The conflict involved in the struggle for social position or the frequency of personal drunkenness might suggest disorganization, but such need not be the case either. J. van Velson points out that almost every occasion he attended produced at least one conflict among the Tonga, and he suggests that these conflicts actually involve a re-affirmation and a re-analysis of the relationships within the group (p. 315). Somewhat similarly, Colson suggests:

It would be too simple to characterize the bickering and sniping as 'in-group aggression' and let it go at that. The Makah criticize others in terms of a set of

³⁰ In "The Case of Emily's Nose", a delegation of councillors was sent to chastize Arnie for breaking Emily's nose, when he was drunk.

values which operate within the group to govern the behavior of members of the group. The constant criticism, gossip, and back-biting is a reassertion of these values, which today can be expressed in no other way. If they repressed the gossip and back-biting, the values themselves would disappear, and with them much of the feeling that the Makah are a distinct people. (p. 229)

With respect to the Squamish, it is the continued struggle that has maintained the identities--perhaps, the most important value--of the individuals and groups involved.

It has often been charged that Indian communities are in a state of moral disorganization. Such charges are usually based upon the high rate of adultery, excessive drinking, pre-marital pregnancy, illicit sexual behavior, and so forth. I believe that Helm's approach is a valid one:

On the whole, behavior problems at Lynx Point are not great. Now, it could be argued that this is because there is not a rigid or harsh moral code--a sexual transgression is a peccadillo, not a mortal sin; so also is a drunken fight with one's kinsmen. Be that as it may, we see in fact that individual physical well-being, family values, and social fabric in general are not seriously harmed by them. In no way can this society be considered to be in a state of moral disorganization. (p. 110)

The Squamish are encouraged by their parents and peer groups to drink at a relatively early age, and consequently no social stigma is attached to any individual because of his drinking; even if he becomes drunk regularly, he is not held in low-esteem, because such can be the "normal" thing to do. Abusive behavior is generally forgotten, because blame is usually attached to the liquor rather than to the individual. The Squamish do not appear to be very much concerned with such activity as illicit sexual behavior either. By this statement, I do not mean to suggest that such activity is approved of; the Squamish do dis-

approve, but not very vehemently. One informant stated: "Look, every family has produced illegitimate children. No one can afford to criticise anyone else because of this. It doesn't matter; it happens so often." Such values as these have not materialized into social norms, because they have not been publicly sanctioned. Perhaps, if they were held strongly enough, they would be supported by effective sanctions, but such is hardly the nature of Squamish society.

The control of the family and of the community over the individual has been weakened. However, although the individual is influenced by a number of different sources from those affecting him in former years, if he remains or desires to remain within the web of interaction, he must conform at several points to the expectations of the group. If not, sanctions will be brought to bear.

PART TWO: THE COUNCILCHAPTER SIX: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

A number of important developments have occurred within the past three years. These developments have had and are continuing to have a significant effect in almost every area of the Council's activity.

The composition of the Council has changed considerably. Two years ago, five young and relatively well-educated members of the Tribe obtained seats in the sixteen-member Council. Three of them were elected by a public vote, and the other two were given their seats because of their status as hereditary chiefs. The new Council then had seven members, who ranged in ages from twenty-five to forty-five years, and who possessed a higher level of education in comparison to the rest of the Council. Even though their number does not indicate a numerical majority, they have demonstrated a disproportionate effect upon the activity of the Council. In actual Council meetings they are often numerically equal to the older members. Absenteeism tends to decrease the ranks of the latter by two. However, the younger represent a majority, often a large majority, within all of the committees of the Council.

The important thing to consider here, however, is not the concept of majority rule. Decision-making within the Council and the committees is conducted through consensus. Voting, which is always unanimous, is but a legal formality. In this type of decision-making process, the opinion of a majority usually does

not become known or "felt" until most of the councillors have been heard from. It is also possible that the "majority" may disintegrate in the face of further arguments and/or "personalities" being felt. Fifteen councillors may favor a particular decision; however, that decision may not be formally made in the face of one councillor who is vehemently opposed to it. An example will illustrate the point. Earlier this year when the Council was discussing what changes might be made in the Indian Act, it appeared that the whole Council was in favor of the suggestion that two-thirds of the Tribe's population should have the right to declare the dissolution of the Squamish as a legal entity. However, at the end of the discussion an older Councillor angrily pointed out that this approach was tantamount to treason and that the proportion would have to be one hundred percent. Thus, a majority of councillors does not necessarily mean that they will be able to govern any situation. The Council is most often obliged to accept the recommendations presented by the different committees because it is the committee members who have studied the situation in detail, and as a consequence, it is they who possess the necessary knowledge to argue to a decision. Thus I say "obliged" because the Council, most often, has no other choice. This knowledge that the younger councillors possess gives them a most influential role to play in the Tribe's activity. As this knowledge increases, so should their influence.

The volume of business that faced the Council in the past demanded very little of the councillor's time. Thus conflict

between one's job and Council activities was kept to a minimum. However, as the volume of business increased such conflict also increased. Many of the older councillors were unable to attend meetings because their jobs required them, at times, to work at night. In an attempt to remedy this situation the Council passed a resolution that provided a twenty dollar payment to every councillor each time he attended a meeting. Committee meetings were excluded from this provision. Although attendance at Council meetings improved, the payment has not appeared to have had any effect on attendance at committee meetings. The larger sized-families of the older councillors and their social commitments generally also demand more of their attention. The younger councillors are in a much better position to devote the time required by the greater volume of business. Their own knowledge of legal-technical procedure has been added to by their activity in the field. Their relative advantage is likely to have a multiple effect on their political advantage. The Tribe's Legal-Advisor has pointed out that the volume of business will probably increase from two to three hundred percent in three years time. He also pointed out that the Council will have to be considerably reorganized in order to deal with such a volume. There is considerable justification for his opinion. Within a very few years the Tribe's business will require a large number of "full-time" functionaries. Whether or not these younger councillors are given such a role is another matter, because the Council will sooner or later be obliged to consider whether it is to adopt a policy of employing qualified civil servant type

personnel or to pay its elected councillors an honorarium for acting in a ministerial type position. In any case, the special knowledge that the younger councillors possess has given them a sense of confidence in their activities. They possess greater assurance in their ability to enter into new areas of activity. The addition of these younger members into the Council, and the processes that led to the development of such confidence, have played an important part in the attitudes of the Council toward innovation.

A second major development affecting these attitudes was the acquisition of the Tribe's Legal-Advisor, J. Paul Reecke, in 1968. Mr. Reecke has become, in a very short time, the most knowledgeable person with respect to the machinery involved within the Squamish political system. The amount of time and effort that he has spent on the Tribe's behalf goes far beyond the point that his remuneration might indicate. He not only attends all Council meetings and a number of committee meetings but he also travels with the councillors on special purpose trips to Ottawa and elsewhere. The whole Council and its employees feel that Mr. Reecke and his services are "worth a hell of a lot more", as one Councillor put it. He further added: "We got him real cheap." In any case, his association with the Council has provided a measure of confidence to all the members. This confidence stems from two sources. As an outsider, that is, a Non-Squamish person, they do not see him as a threat to the existing influence structure; therefore, they see in him an element of impartiality, which they would not necessarily expect to

see in a member of the Tribe. The Council's view of the Legal-Advisor as an impartial person is further supported by the fact that he is not attached to the legal branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Because of the skills that he possesses, the councillors have obtained a measure of independence from the influence that has been exerted by the Superintendent in the past.

The Superintendent's influence is still important, however. A considerable amount of information relevant to the Squamish comes into his hands before the Council ever sees or hears of it. The set-up of the Department at times demands from the Council as soon as possible an answer to a question, such as the acceptance or rejection of a lease proposal. The requirement usually means that the decision has to be made at the very next Council meeting. Since the councillors are not aware of the agenda until the commencement of the meeting itself, then the information and the orientation provided by the Superintendent can be most influential with respect to the outcome. However, the councillors have become increasingly reluctant to hand down such important decisions without having a reasonable amount of time to consider them. A wide-spread belief held by the councillors was expressed by one of them when he said: "They [the Department] sure shoved those leases down our throats!" He further pointed out that the Council was in a better position to deal with the Department now that it had its own Legal-Advisor. The councillors have learned to send a question, that they do not wish to consider immediately, into the appropriate committee

for consideration at a later time. Confidence also stems from the legal-technical skill and the knowledge that Mr. Reecke possesses. His presence in the Council and the committees gives the councillors a sense of security in their decision-making. He can act as a counter force to the Superintendent. They feel that their chances of making an unfavourable decision have been reduced considerably. Their attitude is increasingly becoming one of readiness to innovate.

There is one socially significant difference, however, between the confidence held by most of the younger councillors and the confidence held by the elders. The older councillors' increased confidence to act in new areas is to a great extent based upon the presence of confidence in the Legal-Advisor. The younger councillors, however base their confidence both upon the Legal-Advisor and upon their own experience and the knowledge that they have acquired in the field. This double-dimension provides the younger councillors with a greater measure of independence with respect to the influence that might be exerted by either the Legal-Advisor or the Superintendent. Their confidence tends to be sui generis.

Three major developments that have had an important affect upon the orientations of the Council towards innovation occurred within a few short months of each other (the first half of 1969). These developments were: the appointment of a new Superintendent; the commencement of the New Indian Act consultations; and, the commission of a land-use study by the Council.

The former Superintendent, J.C. Letcher, who had occupied

the office for twelve years, was replaced by Robin Ford. The role that the Superintendent as an individual plays within the decision-making process cannot be over-emphasized. His personal orientation towards certain questions and the demands of his bureau--federally and locally (including, for example, such goals as the maintenance of efficiency levels)--can and do have a significant effect. The Superintendent cannot possibly give the necessary amount of attention demanded by the Squamish Tribe's volume of business, because the Tribe is but one of the groups that he must supervise in his rather large district, the Fraser Agency. As Letcher and his predecessor, Mr. Anfield, have said of the situation themselves: "The Squamish require an Assistant-Superintendent for their business operations alone!" This problem can be approached in either of two ways: first, the Superintendent can attempt to meet the responsibilities of his office by supervising the affairs of the Tribe directly, which often leads to unnecessary delays and inefficiency; and secondly, he can delegate some of his decision-making authority to the Tribe. The latter approach, although it can also lead to some delays and inefficiency, tends to provide time that the Superintendent requires for a thorough study of the important questions. The Squamish Tribe has been recognized for a long time as one of the best-equipped of all Indian groups to govern itself. Consequently, conflict has often erupted over the decision-making authority that the Superintendent's Office possessed. Some of the councillors suggest that it is inconceivable that one man should have so much authority today. It would appear that the

former Superintendent followed the first approach, although he generally did not become involved in matters that were of a strictly internal nature. There is no doubt that Mr. Letcher had a commanding personality. The attitudes of most of the councillors with respect to this man involved mixed emotions of fear and admiration. My own orientation was the same as the one held by the councillors whenever I met this former Army officer. Twelve years of supervision by this one man has had an important effect upon the attitudes of the Squamish. The councillors have had to depend upon his direction to a great extent. Consequently, the development of initiative and confidence have been obstructed somewhat. Although it is too early to predict what influence Mr. Robin Ford, the new Superintendent, will eventually have upon such orientations, it would appear that he will allow a greater measure of decision-making authority to the Council. He has already pointed out to the Council that the Department was preparing to transfer greater authority to the Superintendents and that when such a transfer took place he would in turn transfer some authority to the Squamish Council. He further pointed out that he was amazed at the extent of his authority and that it "scared" him. However, he may face certain difficulties in the implementation of his attitudes. For one thing, he has inherited a staff that has been under the control of one man for twelve years. In the past, if a councillor wanted something done by the Department, or if a member of the Tribe wanted to by-pass the Council, he would in many cases go straight to Mr. Letcher, for the Superintendent was "the man to

see if you wanted anything done." The councillors were suspicious, generally, of the ability of his subordinates to get anything accomplished in a hurry. My own contacts with his office would tend to support this view. Mr. Robin Ford does not appear to possess the commanding personality that his predecessor certainly had, but this may be the very condition necessary for the development of further initiative to innovate.

Consultations over proposals for a new Indian Act have also added an important factor to the process of Squamish political development. Discussions within the Council and at the Consultation Meetings have brought into view the special administrative problems of the Council. Most of the councillors, especially the younger ones, see in the new Prime Minister, Mr. Trudeau, and the new Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Mr. Cretien, the strong possibility that greater decision-making authority will be transferred to them. Their view was supported by a recent policy statement of the Minister in which he suggested that the Department could be phased out within five years. He proposed the repeal of the Indian Act, which would, in effect, subject all Legal-Indians to the same Federal laws applied to the ordinary citizenry. Now where the Squamish are going to find the money to pay the taxes on their approximately 4,500 acres of land is just one of the "few" problems that will have to be worked out before that time!

Although the councillors are not, in general, too happy with his statement, they are in a sense looking forward to the day when some of the decision-making authority is handed down.

At the present time, the councillors feel that they can for the most part go it alone administratively, but they sense that they still require the financial backing of Ottawa. What is desired is to have things both ways--the right to make decisions with respect to supporting funds. In the past the Council would not have taken such an approach.

In addition there is the matter of what might be called "historical priorities", that is, in the past, the Squamish and other Indian groups in British Columbia were to a great extent concerned with Non-Indian recognition of their aboriginal rights and the settlement of the Land-Claims Question. Their quest in these areas has been described by Philip Drucker in The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast. They have considered these issues to be of primary importance in so far as they represent the grounds of injustice in the state of dependency the Indian has hitherto been in. In fact, many of the delegates to the different new Indian Act consultation meetings held throughout the Province registered the view that they did not wish to enter into discussion of the Minister's proposals until the Land and Aboriginal Questions had been settled.³¹ A few of the older Squamish councillors, who have been very much involved in these activities in the past, would have gone along with this view. However, the rest of the councillors recognized the necessity of their taking a more practical approach. Although they appreciate the importance of

³¹ See the Reports of the Indian Act Consultation Meeting, printed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, covering British Columbia, 1968.

the "historical priorities," they feel that the possible outcome of the consultations could have greater significance and relevance for their problems in the Council. A Committee was set-up, however, to study the "historical priorities", which was instrumental in the achievement of unanimity (further reference is made to this Committee in another section of this paper).

The Squamish Council commissioned Acres Western Limited to undertake a land-use study of their three reserves in the North Vancouver area. In the past, land has been leased without much attention to the trends in development surrounding the territory of the Tribe. Consequently, leases have been granted to business concerns without taking into account the possible value of the land in the future. An example can be found in the Capilano Reserve. The Tribe receives \$200,000 per year in lease rentals from the 157 acres leased on an average per acre of just over \$1,274 per annum. On the other hand the Municipality of West Vancouver receives approximately \$375,000 per year in taxes (based upon site value and improvements). The ratio of lease rental to taxable evaluation indicates the extent to which the Council misjudged appreciation in land values.† Eighty percent of this land will not return to the Council's control until well after the year 2000 A.D. Recently, the 431.5 acres that make up the Capilano, Mission, and Seymour Reserves were valued at \$15,680,000 or somewhat over \$36,300 an acre (based upon site value and improvements). The President of Park Royal Shopping Center in West Vancouver (the major lessee) has recently indicated that his Organization would be willing to review the pre-

sent contract in order to arrive at an arrangement that is more satisfactory to the Squamish (on an "implied" condition that the Council consider further lease applications by Park Royal Shopping Center). The councillors in the past knew that they were possibly not getting the best return for the Tribal land, but they had to try as best they could. The lease money that they received appeared to be a considerable amount at the time. Many Tribal members were incensed by what they felt was a take off on the part of Non-Indian businesses with the support of the Superintendent (further reference is made to this situation in another section of this paper). The councillors were often viewed as "yes-men." The Council relied on its own knowledge of the situation and upon the advice of the Superintendent. It was only more recently that the Council realized that it would be advantageous to obtain expert advice in the administration of the Tribe's affairs and in the evaluation of its property. The Tribe had always hoped that its own younger members would obtain sufficient education or experience to provide the necessary expert services, but only two Squamish have ever graduated from university, and since their graduation, two years ago, only two others have entered.

Recent developments largely caught the Council unprepared and contributed to conflict. This resulted in the commission of the services of outside experts. A lawyer, a social worker, and then a firm of development consultants were finally added to the Tribe's administrative facilities. As a stand-by measure during the course of the firm's study, the Council has rejected

all long-term lease applications. Some of the councillors have taken a longer look at these applications, having in mind the possibility of the Tribe developing the projects themselves. Recently, the President of Park Royal Shopping Center in West Vancouver has pointed out that his Organization is very much interested in the development of the adjacent Reserve land and that the Organization would be further interested in developing the said land in a joint business venture with the Squamish Tribe. The councillors are looking very seriously into this proposal. A joint committee has already been formed to review the possibilities. The atmosphere within the Council has become one of "solid" optimism. The Council has instructed its Legal-Advisor to look into the leases that have been granted in the Squamish Valley.³² The next land-use study will be directed towards this area. The appreciation of the value of the Tribe's property has had tremendous impact upon the members' former attitudes. When one considers that the population of the Tribe is approximately a thousand, then the following question brings the picture into a fuller perspective: If 431.5 acres have been valued at \$15,680,000, what is the value of the total land holdings of the Squamish Tribe?

³² The Council's former lack of foresight with respect to leasing of land is dramatically demonstrated by their holdings in the Squamish Valley. The councillors (before July, 1969) were not aware of the extent to which leases had been granted--total acreage leased and duration period of the leases (including options):

CHAPTER SEVEN: AUTHORITY AND ACTIVITY

The Hawthorn study has defined band councils as:

...local government bodies involving residents on band-controlled land, where they have to do with such commonplace local government matters as sewage, culverts, school buses, relief allocation, and the like. But they are also the legally constituted units vested with responsibility for treaty matters, trust funds, band capital and revenues. In this respect they are like financial companies whose scope extends beyond residents of band-controlled land to those who are members of the band but do not live on its land. (p. 191)

In a sense, they are also like municipal governments, but then, as The Indians of British Columbia points out:

Land and resources within the reserve, and money accumulated from their sale or lease, are not individually owned for the most part--at least, not in the full sense of the term. Ownership comprises essentially the individual's share in communal property--his share in the band fund, and his claim to land assigned to him by the band council and authorized by the Minister. Land and real property cannot be purchased or otherwise alienated from individual Indians on the reserve, though it can be leased from them. As individuals, therefore, they are not able to raise capital for investment purposes, by sale of such assets, nor can they raise mortgage loans with land or other real property as collateral. (p. 203)

Sections 80-85 of the Indian Act indicate that a wide range of decision-making authority is vested in band councils. A band council may exercise jurisdiction over:

1. Admission or expulsion from Band membership;
2. Health;
3. Prevention of trespass;
4. The maintenance and construction of ditches, roads, houses, community buildings, playgrounds, and the like;
5. Allotment of land and housing to members;
6. Leasing of land and the authorization of permits

involving right-of-ways, sale of natural resources such as timber, etc.;

7. Expenditure of band funds;

8. By-laws involving the raising of further revenue through taxation and the regulation of internal concerns such as traffic; and,

9. Operation of band-owned business concerns.

However, band councils generally do not make use of or are not able to make use of all the authority with which they are vested. The Hawthorn study (1967) reports that a number of bands in its sample possess councils that represent "bureaucratic appendages" of the Department of Indian Affairs rather than relatively autonomous decision-making bodies (p. 181). In these cases, the council is generally dependent upon the Department for much of its revenue. The study further reports:

Where statutory limitations are not so strict, for instance, where bands control their own revenue monies, and where there is a substantial band-owned resource to exploit - as was the case in several of the bands in our sample - the council assumes the look of a municipal government rather than that of a bureaucratic appendage. (p. 194)

It would appear that the Squamish Council is of the latter type, although it is far from being as autonomous as it might be under the Indian Act. It is difficult to determine the practical extent of the Council's authority to make decisions. The Department's "legal-technical" requirements, for example, often lead to confusion within the Council with respect to legitimate decision-making. Witness the following examples.

The Grants-to-Bands program³³ has proved to be of consider-

33 Involves Federal contributions to specific projects such as housing, based upon a percentage basis and economic standing of the particular band.

able disappointment and frustration for the functionaries of the Tribe. In the area of housing, the councillors expected that they would receive a grant for \$80,000; instead, they received a total of \$22,000. As one Councillor put it: "We followed every stipulation set down in the program's circular. A Housing Authority was set up, and we completed an extensive housing survey. But our Resolutions to Ottawa kept coming back for re-drafting. Everytime they found something wrong with it!"

Another case involved by-law resolutions. On September 17, 1968, the Council passed a by-law (No. 3) to provide for the establishment of a speed limit for motor vehicle traffic on the Capilano and Mission Reserves. The last paragraph of the resolution states: "This by-law shall come into force and take effect on and after the date of the passing thereof." A memorandum was received from the Superintendent following his review of the Council minutes, wherein he pointed out that the paragraph was incorrectly worded because the Indian Act stipulates that any by-law involves a 40 day waiting period before it can become legally enforceable. He suggested that the by-law should be amended by correcting the minutes. The response of the Council was not to pursue the point any further. They felt exhausted. This attempt at using the provisions of the Act in their own interest, that is by a by-law, was the last of three failures.

A band council has considerable financial power under the Indian Act, as suggested above. Section 82 permits the Council to make money by-laws "where the Governor in Council declares that a band has reached an advanced stage of development" and

the Minister has approved of the band council doing so. This Section of the Act permits such a band to raise money by (i) the assessment and taxation of interests in land in the reserve of persons lawfully in possession thereof; and, (ii) the licensing of businesses, callings, trades, and occupations. The Squamish Council has not exercised any of the authority provided it under Section 82 despite the Tribe having "reached an advanced stage of development" by most criteria.

There are a number of reasons for this situation, mainly of a social nature (discussed in another section of this paper), but the legal-technical requirements of the Department are especially significant. A few councillors have expressed the feeling that the Department is not willing to hand over such authority. They suggest that you could send in a certain resolution until you are "blue-in-the-face" without it ever being approved. The Council has avoided making use of by-laws in the administration of the Tribe's affairs.

I do not know if there are any reasons--beyond the legal-technical requirements--why the Department has rejected certain resolutions. If there are reasons, they have not been stated and remain highly speculative. The Squamish people are suspicious that some reason must exist especially as they point out that the Superintendent who issued the memorandum with respect to the traffic by-law and the Tribe's Legal-Advisor were both present at the Council Meeting when the said by-law was drafted and passed. This situation forces me to ask the question: If the Squamish Council can fail in meeting some of the legal-

technical requirements of the Department, even when assisted by experts in such matters, what is the fate of the lesser-endowed band councils?

The legal-technical knowledge that the Department possesses and its knowledge of events unknown to the Council gives the Department a most influential role in the decision-making process. Although the influence of the Superintendent is decreasing rapidly, due to the presence of the Tribe's Legal-Advisor and of a number of young, relatively well-educated councillors, it is still in the background of events and in the minds of councillors. This influence has caused a considerable degree of dissatisfaction among the members of the Tribe and the councillors alike. Behari L. Verma, in his The Squamish: A Study of Changing Political Organization, refers to this situation when he points out:

Commenting on a proposal to sell land one man revealed a difficulty that prevented more effective negotiation. He said to a prominent council member while they were drinking together, "I don't have the proper vocabulary to speak. If I had to speak, I might tell the Agent [Superintendent] that he is a crook, giving us a dirty deal, and I might say that these councillors are a bunch of 'yes men'. I don't want to say it in this way.

Shortly thereafter Verma states:

The real problem lies in the Council's lack of knowledge about real estate values, and legal and other matters connected with land. Since they know little about it themselves, and decisions have to be made, they therefore depend on the information and the opinions presented to them by the Superintendent for decision. This makes the councillors appear as "yes-men." In turn the motives of the Superintendent too become suspected as they may have no way of knowing whether he is being sincere or insincere. (pp. 62-64)

On this point I agree with Verma though the situation is changing rapidly.

In a large number of cases when the Council has attempted to enter into different areas of activity that it has never entered into or participated in before, it has been faced with the procedural difficulties mentioned above. Consequently, the councillors have become somewhat reluctant to make such attempts. This reluctance is made much more acute by their conceptions of the personnel and the organization of the Department. This development has led to the general policy of decision-making through precedent. The term "general" is used because the policy is not of a hard, steadfast or deliberately arrived at nature. In the past, the Council, for example, has disregarded all applications for loans from Tribal members except those for houses, repairs to houses, and emergency loans. A member of the Tribe applied for a special purpose loan, which the Council hesitatingly approved. The councillors pointed out that they had never come across this situation before and that they thought that the probability of it being approved by "Ottawa" would be quite low. However, because of the merits of the loan application, the application was sent to "Ottawa" to see what would happen. After a considerable delay, it was approved. However, the process did not end there. The problem then became: How was the loan to be distributed? A precedent did not exist for handing out the actual money to a successful loan applicant. The procedure in the past involved the applicant in sending the bills for his house repairs, say, to the Council for payment.

He never personally handled the money. This approach is a carry-over from the Department's paternalistic attitude which suspected that a number of Indians might only use the money for alcohol and the like, rather than for the purpose for which it was intended. After a long delay a procedure was worked out between the Department and the Tribe's Business Manager but only after a considerable amount of pressure had been exerted by the applicant. The final step involved a search for the money itself. The money had been allocated from the Revenue Account through a resolution, but neither the Department nor the Band Manager knew whether it had been deposited in the Department's account in Vancouver, or whether it had been transferred from the latter account to the Tribe's account in North Vancouver, or whether the money was still in the account in Ottawa. The applicant pressed further, and finally, the actual money passed hands. This example took almost a full year to run the procedural gauntlet. A somewhat unfortunate development occurred at the end of this period. Because of the large number of special purpose personal loan applications that started to come in, the Council decided that it would no longer consider such applications. This example should sufficiently illustrate some of the reasons why the councillors are reluctant to innovate. This example, and others, also indicates to what extent the Council's authority to make decisions might be frustrated. The limit of decision-making authority tends to elude definition beyond the level of decision-making through precedent.

All major decisions must be submitted to the Department for

consideration and final approval. Generally, the Department rarely interferes in matters that are strictly of an internal nature; however, the Council's activity with outside organizations is usually given close attention by the Department. All lease applications, for example, must first be presented to the Department; they are then presented to the Council for consideration.

Actually, the Department, as far as I am aware, has not flatly vetoed any of the Council's decisions in the past five years. It would appear that the role of the Department, especially with respect to the Squamish Tribe, has become mainly advisory. Recently, the Council has often considered and accepted alternatives to the Department's suggestions. The Council's recent independence is essentially based upon three factors: first, the increased skills of its members; secondly, the availability of independent advice from outsiders; and thirdly, the relative economic independence of the Tribe as a whole and of many of its individual members. The Department has recognized, to a certain extent, the ability of the Council to make "sound" decisions. Although the Superintendent attends most of its meetings, he does not attend the committee meetings--the meetings where most of the major decisions are actually made. In the Council meetings themselves, the Superintendent generally offers advice only in two areas: first, lease applications; and secondly, policy-making. In the latter case, he usually offers advice only when the Council appears to be ignoring the consideration of previously accepted policy or the formulation of new policy. In one Meeting,

the Superintendent suggested to the Council that definite terms should be laid out with respect to the amount of financial assistance that would be provided towards the expenses of funerals. The Council eventually side-stepped the issue by sending it into committee. Some of the councillors believed that a discussion of the issue at that particular time would be improper, since a few close relatives of other members had just passed away.

I agree with the Hawthorn study (1967) when it suggests that autonomy is a matter of degree:

We repeat the point here to put the question of autonomy in perspective. Autonomy is a matter of degree. Furthermore, as we have seen, many bands do not take advantage of the degree of autonomy that they already have, for instance, in passing by-laws which permit them to raise taxes for certain local purposes, creating zoning, curfew and other regulations. (pp. 194-195)

Although the Department has final decision-making authority, the authority of the Council to make certain decisions may be viewed as of a "de facto" nature, in that such decisions have not been challenged by the Department. The Council bases most of its decisions upon precedents. In other words, if the Department has not objected to certain decisions in the past, the Council will, generally, feel free to act within this area. When the first special purpose loan was approved by Ottawa, the Council accepted further applications, for example. As was reported earlier, the councillors will avoid subjects in which it has been frustrated by legal-technical requirements. In these cases, if certain decisions are consistently blocked by such requirements, the councillors will recognize, rightly or wrongly, that the Department is not in favor of such decisions and will, as a consequence,

avoid them. The Council is often reluctant to make decisions about subjects in which precedents do not exist. There is in practice, therefore, a routine nature to the Council's area of "autonomy."

From a large number of council meetings of different bands, The Indians of British Columbia suggests that business falls into the following categories:

1. The superintendent initiates a discussion to obtain a formal resolution which he requires to implement his policy;
2. The superintendent requires facts to enable him to arrive at an administrative decision;
3. The superintendent wishes to obtain the council's views on policy matters;
4. The band council initiates a discussion in order to obtain action or facilities from the superintendent;
5. The passage of disciplinary by-laws; and,
6. Exhortation on moral or welfare matters; and,
7. To settle disputes. (pp. 454-456)

With respect to the Squamish Council, the last three categories do not apply, and the first four do not receive very much attention, in the sense of total amount of time spent by the Council on this business. From the Council meetings that I have attended in the past year and a half, and from the recorded minutes of Council meetings during the past three years, it would appear that the Council's major concerns involve the following subjects (in rank order of the amount of time spent on each area):

1. Reports of Committees
 - A. Health and Welfare (Social Work)
 - B. Housing
 - C. Parks and Marina

- D. Legal-Advisor
 - E. Sports and Recreation
 - F. Special Purpose Committees
2. Correspondence
- A. Loan Applications
 - B. Permit Applications
3. Lease Applications
4. Other Business³⁴

The volume and the nature of the business that the Council is involved in are quite different from most of the other bands in the province. It employs a full-time staff and a number of other employees to carry out its directives. During most of the year, it meets at least twice a month. Often the four to six hour meeting is not sufficient to cover all the business before it; in which case, the Council will meet again sometime during the following week. A number of its committees meet every week. Other councils usually complete their business during one session held every month.

The Hawthorn study (1967) makes the statement that the Squamish Council is rather bureaucratized:

...in that there is a clear division of labour, several committees, a band manager and other employees, and the approach to its tasks is as universalistic as that of any small municipality. (p. 222)

Somewhat similarly, The Indians of British Columbia reports:

In the Squamish Band (North Vancouver) the council is a highly capable organization, although it has not come under section 73. It has an efficient secretary, and a number of sub-committees which deal with specific problems. One sub-committee considers housing relief

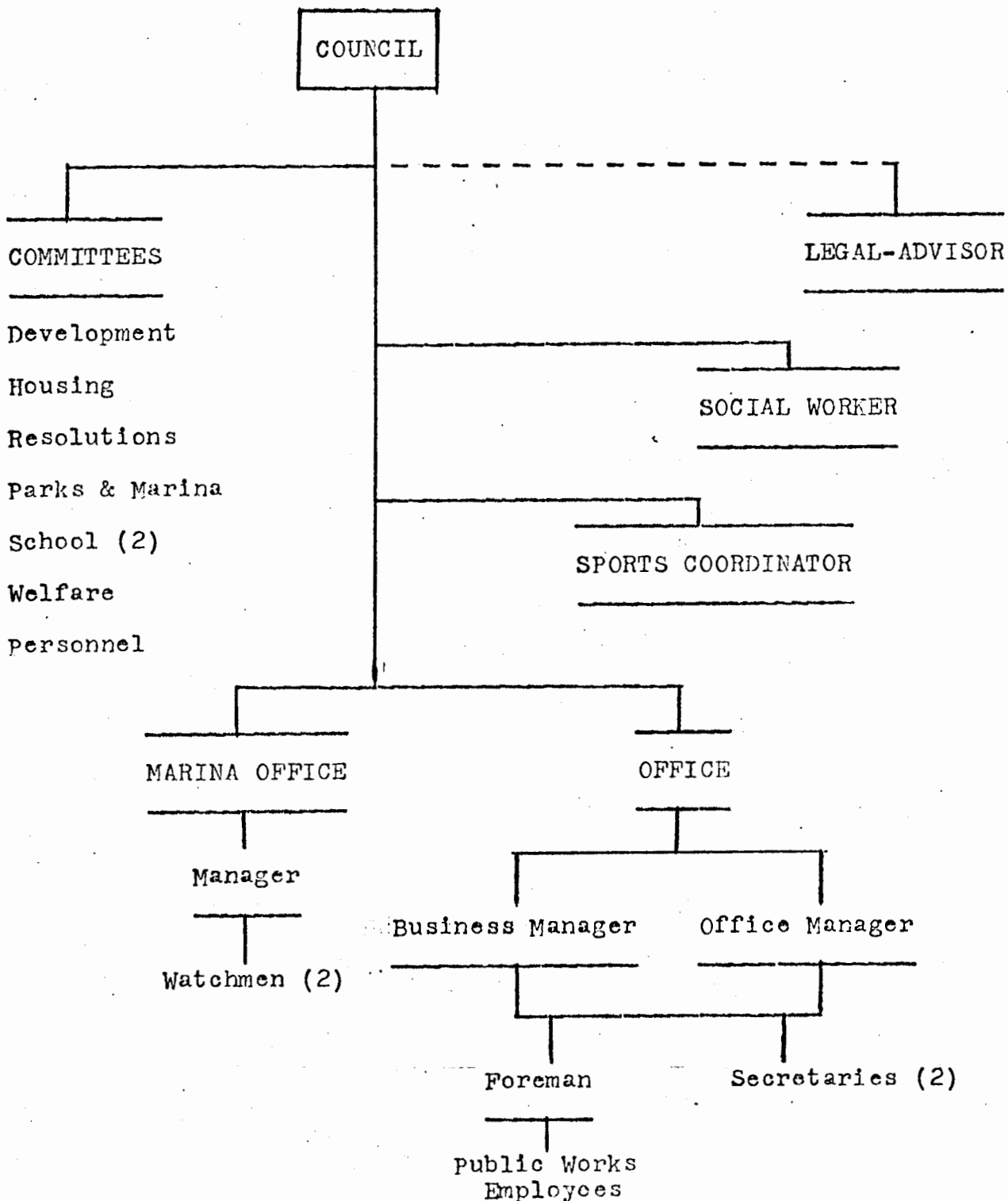
³⁴ Includes such subjects as Tribe census, policy-making (involving questions that have not been covered by the above, such as salaries, office management, and the like), etc.

and has made a housing survey. Another has taken over the whole question of personal relief, meets without supervision to hear cases, and makes recommendations directly to the superintendent for the issue of funds out of the agreed-upon budget. (p. 464)

The diagram below, indicating the organization of the Squamish Council and its administrative branches would at first appear to suggest such a situation. The Squamish Council and its branches possess a degree of bureaucratization and efficiency not possessed by many other bands. The following chapters "Organization" and "Decision-Making" discuss certain aspects of bureaucratic relationships and the ritual of decision-making. At this point, the study will focus attention on the recent changes within the Administrative Organization and its activity-- in response to an increasing volume of business and the demands of the Tribal population.

Fifteen years ago, when Behari L. Verma was conducting his field work among the Squamish, there was not one full-time job on the reserve being held by a member of the Tribe. The Council had an unpaid, part-time Secretary, Tim Moody (a councillor), and it provided a Winter Works program on the reserve for a few of the members of the Tribe. Today, the situation is very different. The Tribe-operated Marina (acquired from the National Harbour's Board when its lease expired) employs Councillors Frank Rivers as Manager and Percy Paull as Maintenance Man, plus two night watchmen. Frank Rivers is further assisted by the Council's Parks and Marina Committee, which is composed of eight other councillors (who do not receive payment for these services). The Council's administrative staff has grown to include the fol-

Figure 1 --- Organization of the Squamish Council



lowing positions: a Business Manager, an Office Manager, and two secretaries. A Sports and Recreation Coordinator, a Social Worker (a Non-Indian), and part-time janitorial staff have also been appointed. As was indicated earlier, a Legal-Advisor and a team of development consultants have also been commissioned. There has also been some discussion about adding Councillor Phillip Joe as a "Social Work Coordinator." He has been doing a considerable amount of work (unpaid) on behalf of the Welfare Committee with respect to juvenile problems with the police and the courts. The Winter Works Program has also dramatically changed. The 1967-1968 program, for example, consisted of an appropriation of \$20,000 for the installation of certain permanent improvements, which included: the construction of a playground; the installation of drainage pipes; and the construction of two service roads, a cul-de-sac, a four inch water main for fire protection, a canoe storage boathouse, and a fence for the protection of the Marina. The Council has required outside organizations to give preferential treatment to Tribe members who have the necessary qualifications for the jobs that the businesses offer. This requirement has become a standard part of any new lease by the Council. The Squamish members who have obtained permits to cut timber have been specifically warned that they might lose their permits if they hire anyone other than a Squamish, whether he be Indian or Non-Indian. Thus a number of important changes have occurred in the past fifteen years.

The tremendous increase in Tribal business is among the most significant with respect to the addition of members to the

administrative staff. In the past three years, the Council's budget has tripled from \$110,000 to \$341,400 and it would appear that the trend will continue.³⁵ The Legal-Advisor estimated that the Tribe's business will increase two hundred to three hundred percent in the next three years. Thus, it would appear that the administrative staff will also increase in the near future.

The numerical growth of the administrative staff has, however, been retarded by the reluctance of the Council to employ more staff members and to transfer greater decision-making authority to the administrative branches. As the Council is presently set up, it represents the executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative branches of the Squamish Tribe--at least as concerns decision-making authority. The Hawthorn study (1967) reports:

A trend which is visible in several bands in our sample is towards the separation of the policy-making from executive and administrative functions, by employing people who are defined as servants of the band to carry out administrative tasks. (p. 199)

The Council, however, is extremely reluctant to delegate decision-

³⁵ Lease rentals alone accounted for \$235,000 of the 1969-1970 Budget of \$341,400. This Budget is also based upon what the Council expects to receive from the Grants-to-Bands program and the unspent portion of the preceding year's budget. The Tribe has two administrative accounts. The Revenue Account (approximately \$100,000), containing proceeds from the sale of land and reserve resources, remains relatively constant because of two reasons. First, the Tribe no longer sells land. Secondly, the Department discourages the use of these funds, except for certain situations, such as a "worthy" (?) project. The Capital Account is based upon other sources, such as land rentals, the interest which the Government of Canada pays annually on the total funds standing to the credit of the Tribe, easements and the like.

making beyond routine matters to any body or person. Job appointments, for example, must be confirmed by the Council, whether the appointment is to the Office Staff or to the Marina staff. Should a number of people have applied for the same job every application is processed by the councillors. Although the Business Manager was elected by popular vote, he is directly responsible to the Council. The Council fears losing control of the situation. Many councillors have held their seats for over a dozen years, and most of these men, in particular, react angrily when the Council's authority is challenged. The staff that has been hired has not been able to develop into an administrative executive of policy decisions. The result of this situation has been the addition of staff to do work that is essentially of a routine nature, with the councillors, in the Council and in the committees, administering the important directives contained within the policies that they, themselves, have formulated. Fewer responsible administrative jobs are available than there could be because of the approach taken by the Council. The volume of business within the next few years will not only demand a larger administrative staff, but it will also demand a number of changes in the organizational structure of the Council. The Council will not be able to approach its business as a part-time job. In any case, the speed with which these changes come about will, most likely, be further retarded by the lack of technical training of Squamish members. The Table below indicates that there are only sixteen members of the labour force of the Capilano and Mission Reserves occupied in the sales, profes-

sional, clerical, and technical fields. Six of these individuals

Table X --- Employment by Occupation, 1968.

Occupation	Reserve		Total
	Mission	Capilano	
Longshoring	21	20	41
Wood & Concrete Products	13	1	14
Canneries & Fishing ^x	14	5	19
Casual Labourers ^x	6	5	11
Other ^o	12	4	16
Total ⁿ	66	35	101

x Part-time or seasonal only.

o Sales, professional, clerical, and technical.

n Includes Males and Females.

are already employed by the Tribe and two others are members of the Council. Thus, the resources that exist are limited. How far the Council will go in the direction of employing Non-Indian assistance is unpredictable, although the barriers to such a step are breaking down.

The Tribe's overall rate of unemployment and the occupational characteristics of its members (plus the availability of funds in comparison to earlier years) have forced the Council to re-examine its policy with respect to financial assistance to its jobless members. Formerly, the Council's intention was to supply jobs and/or assistance to "needy" members of the Tribe as a short-term program. However, as the Tribe's treasury grew, the community

projects became more ambitious. As a consequence, in part, a small full-time labour force developed to meet the needs of the Council's Capital Works program. The Winter Works program adds to this force a number of other men who are, quite often, employed in seasonal occupations. This development of a labour force is not only due to the need for such a force, but it is also, in part, due to the existence of a large number of unemployed members of the Tribe. The Table above indicates that thirty percent of the employed residents of the Capilano and Mission Reserves are only working part-time or seasonally. Of the total labour force of these two Reserves, only fifty percent is actually employed. Adding the unemployed to the part-time employed, we find that over sixty percent of the total labour force is without a job at one time or other during the year. The time of year that the rate of unemployment is highest occurs in Winter. Although a number of these residents collect unemployment insurance (those individuals that have worked part-time and are eligible for such insurance), the majority must look to the Council for some sort of financial support. This situation usually involves an application for work or for welfare assistance. With respect to welfare, the Budget for 1969-1970, which is compiled in the Table below, anticipates an expenditure of \$65,000. Approximately thirty percent of all the families in the Tribe received some welfare assistance during last year (1967-1968). Thus, a large number of the unemployed have sought financial support from the Council. The full-time labour force, employed by the Tribe, has grown in the last few years to a total of ten

Table XI --- The Squamish Council Budget For 1969-1970

Departments	Anticipated Expenditures				Total
	Salaries And Wages ^x	Material And Supplies	Purchased Services ^o	Misc.	
Recreation & Community Service	7000	7000	1000		15000
Social Work	1500	750	8500	750	11500
Funerals			3000		3000
Housing		60000		10000	70000
Roads & Ditches	2500	2500			5000
Water Systems	2000	1000	1000		4000
Sanitation	2000	1000	2000		5000
Electrical Systems			500		500
Band-Owned Buildings	2000	1000	2000		5000
Surveys & Appraisals			1000		1000
Education			1500		1500
School Lunches	750	750			1500
School Transportation			2000		2000
Chief & Council	8000		4000		12000
Staff	28000		2000		30000
Administration Facilities	10000	2500	2500		15000
Dental & Glasses			4000		4000
Compensation & Insurance			400		400

Table X1 (continued)

Departments	Anticipated Expenditures				Total
	Salaries And Wages ^x	Material And Supplies	Purchased Services ^o	Misc.	
Hospital & Insurance			500		500
Other Health Insurance		500	2000		500 2000
Street Lighting Distribution			2000		2000 85000
Welfare		85000			65000
Total	63750	227000	39900	10750	341400

^x Salaries and Wages includes those of the Tribe's employees and the Legal-Advisor's commission.

^o Purchased Services includes those of the experts (electricians and the like) from outside the Tribe and the Social Worker's salary.

men. The Band Manager has estimated that at the peak of the Winter Works Program he has approximately fifty men working for the Tribe on various projects. The unemployment rate has impressed the Council, which now looks for jobs for its unemployed, and, in some cases, it "makes" some jobs available, such as grass-cutting for the older women. The cost of welfare payments each year has also impressed the Council. It was these two factors, plus others, that prodded the councillors to require outside organizations to give preferential treatment to Squamish workers applying for a job. A special committee was sent to one company

to investigate the charges that two Squamish members were laid off the job during a slack period of the year before other more junior workers. The committee was empowered to threaten the company with the cancellation of its lease at the next opportunity if the charges proved to be true and if the company refused to put the men back to work. Thus, the Council has in a number of different ways attempted to deal with unemployment.

The situation is caused, however, by the occupational characteristics of the Tribe's workers. Table X indicates that the overwhelming majority of the employed labour force of the Mission and Capilano Reserves is involved in semi- and unskilled occupations. It is precisely these jobs that are becoming so scarce today. In the past, when the Squamish were, in general, fishermen (prior to and during World War 11), it was not too difficult for a son to take up the same occupation as his father. The father supplied the technical knowledge and the connections required. Today, the situation is quite different. As was pointed out earlier, the principal occupation, longshoring, requires a man to undergo an "apprenticeship" for a few years before he can enter the union. Once accepted, however, he can expect financial security. The number of jobs available in this occupation vary from day to day and from season to season. The policy of the union, in general, is to regulate the size of its membership with respect to the average number of available jobs during the year. Thus, when there are more jobs available than the union membership can handle, a number of men will be "allowed" to work temporarily. Those individuals who want to get into the union,

therefore, must work for a few years on this temporary basis. In the past, most of the work was done manually, and the number of jobs available relatively many. Recent mechanization has considerably restricted the need for growth in the union's membership. Consequently, it is very difficult for a son to follow in his father's footsteps.

A similar situation exists with respect to the other occupational categories that the Squamish have traditionally entered.³⁶ Often a young man will not seek another job or he might even turn down another job offer if he wants to get into the union. However, the probability that he will remain among the ranks of the unemployed or the semi-employed is quite high.

The Council's activity with respect to the operation and development of public (Tribe-operated) and Private (individual member-operated) business concerns has yet to be discussed. The Hawthorn study (1966) refers to the almost total lack of interest in such concerns as business proprietorship among the Squamish. It points out:

...two of the highest income bands have virtually no business proprietorships -- notably, Squamish, with only 1.7 per cent of the labour force, and Sheshaht, with none at all....While the relatively high incomes and sizable band funds and revenues of the Squamish Band could, in isolation, support a large number and

³⁶ This hereditary aspect of Squamish occupational patterns is due, in part, to the stability and relatively high-paying characteristics of the jobs involved and also to the connections that a father, in particular, possesses. According to the information that I have, my father's former position (he was at the time and presently is a member of the foremen's union) within the union was responsible for my being accepted for a Summer job on the waterfront. That Summer a number of university students applied for Summer jobs; three union member's sons were employed.

variety of business and professional services, these have not, in fact, developed. The main reason appears to be the accessibility to (and therefore competition from) business and professional services easily available in the surrounding urban community. Consequently, Squamish Band-owned land for business and industrial enterprises has been leased to outside interests, rather than used by band members to develop business and professional services for themselves or the surrounding White community. (p. 86)

This view, which is applicable to Public and Private proprietorships, is factually correct, although whether the "main reason" given for it is sufficient an explanation is questionable.

Small business proprietorships, such as grocery stores and the like, which have been operated on the reserves essentially for their residents, have fallen by the way-side in short order.

One of the major reasons for this situation is the non-payment of debts by the business' customers. Even if the rule of "no-credit" was the policy of the business, it would be next to impossible to apply the rule to kinsmen and to people that one lives with; in other words, virtually to all one's customers.

If someone asks to borrow money, and a Squamish does not wish to lend it, he merely says that he does not have any. The excuse is sufficient. However, when a proprietor of a grocery store is asked for a loan of food, he obviously does not have the same option as it is visible to all. His own indebtedness to suppliers is no excuse. If he refused credit, tremendous hostility would be directed towards him. He is both insinuating the credit worthiness of his kin and being blatantly stingy. He would not only lose social acceptance, but he would also lose his customers. Consequently, this man is in an impossible situation: if he provides credit, he will certainly go out of

business and if he refuses credit, he will as certainly go the same way. About fifteen years ago the former Business Manager of the Tribe organized a local Credit Union on the Mission Reserve. One of the major services provided to its members was the easy acquisition of a loan at a low interest rate. The result was that it went out of business because the loans were not paid back.

At present, there is only one actual business proprietorship run by a Tribe member. Isolated cases of timber cutting for sale in the market exist, but these cases are essentially short-term and not too profitable. One other example of marginal relevance is the Findlay Boat Works, which is operated by a half-brother of one of the councillors, and whose operator is a Non-Indian and only remotely tied to the community socially. The business proprietorship is the Dan Baker Trailor Court, which is operated by Councillor Dan Baker and a Non-Indian, Mr. Roger Battryn. This partnership rests heavily on the former being the means of supplying the necessary land connections and the latter supplying the necessary technical experience. On June 20, 1966, the Council granted a ten-year lease to Mr. Dan Baker. This lease covers fifteen acres of prime land, which is situated between the Capilano River and the Lions' Gate Bridge-- just opposite the Park Royal Shopping complex. Rental was set at ten percent of the gross revenue. On that same date, a six thousand dollar loan to cover the costs of installing a water system and sewer was granted to Mr. Baker at a rate of five percent, which was to be repaid at \$100 per month and two shares of

all future cash distributions.³⁷ Ten months later, the Council gave him permission to connect the water system to the Water Board main, with the expenses involved in the connection being recovered from the ten percent gross rental mentioned earlier. As far as I know, the only thing that was refused the Trailor Court was a sign on Marine Drive to indicate where the enterprise was located. The Council's refusal was, perhaps, based upon the fact that the Court is plainly in view from the top of Lions' Gate Bridge, much to the dismay--if letters to the local press are any indication--of the residents of West Vancouver. The Municipality's zoning regulations do not apply in the case of a Squamish developing his own Reserve land, although they would apply if the enterprise was listed in the name of his partner. However, even the sign was eventually permitted.

The special advantages that his business concern has had demonstrates the fantastic position that an Indian, especially

37 Three times a year, twenty-five dollars is distributed from the Public Treasury to every man, woman, and child of the Tribe. The distributions are timed to coincide with the important events of the year: in September, when the children are going back to school; in December, when preparations are being made for the Christmas celebrations; and in June, when the children are being dismissed from the schools. Although the distribution periods have been essentially set for the welfare of the children, the distributions did not result from such a consideration. In the past, the policy was to take the proceeds from the sale of land and deposit half of it in the public Treasury with the other half being distributed equally to every member of the Tribe. What a bonanza a man could fall into if he had a wife and ten children! In any case, land sales were discontinued, and the present policy was developed. Through this policy, the average family's income is raised by four hundred and fifty dollars, which is still somewhat of a bonanza. With respect to loans, only the shares of the man and his wife are applied. A small loan can be repaid by the shares alone, if the couple lives long enough.

a Squamish Indian, can be in with respect to the development of a business proprietorship. Added to these advantages is the non-taxable nature of Indian incomes earned on the reserve. Mr. Baker's enterprise got off the ground during an especially fortunate period. His loan was granted during the year that special purpose personal loans (discussed earlier) were given consideration by the Council. However, since that time no other business proprietorships have developed. The individual Squamish needed personal financial backing to get underway. He could not use his land as security when attempting to get a loan from the commercial banks, because the Indian Act forbids such a measure. Legally, the only rights that he has with respect to the land are those rights that his Tribe and the Crown permit, as Hawthorn's The Indians of British Columbia points out:

...the title to the land is vested in the Crown, and the band holds the land by virtue of the Crown's dispensation....an individual may use the fishing, house, and other sites by virtue of the fact that the band permits it. He does not, as in older days, use solely because of his inheritance. In fact, if he transfers to another band, or becomes enfranchised and hence is no longer entitled to reside on the reserve, he can no longer own any property on the reserve. This conflicts with tradition, and yet it has no parallel in White society. (p. 418)

There are a number of other reasons why the Squamish have not developed such concerns. Most do not have a sufficient level of technical training. Those persons who have, relative to other Indians, a high income paying job may not be willing to give up that job in order to undertake a venture that might be risky. They are well aware of the many past failures. Longshoring is the highest paying job, with salaries ranging from six to twelve

thousand dollars per annum. It takes a few years to work one's way into the union and many more to build up seniority. Thus, giving up a stable, high-paying job and seniority is unattractive. Lower income groups do not earn enough money, in the first place, to enter into private business. Another point is the fact that all income groups have large families to support, which considerably reduces their ability to save enough money for future investment. Further, the Squamish, in general terms, have different concepts from Non-Indians with respect to such things as money. In a sense, money is defined in terms of what it will purchase at the present time in consumer commodities and not in terms of what it will purchase in the future if used for investment; money is rarely recognized as a tool that can be put to work for its holder. Very few Squamish people possess life insurance policies. Fire insurance was taken out by the Council, however, on the insurable homes and many of the insured homes are listed as security by the Council for loans granted to their residents. Most of the bank accounts that the Squamish individually have opened are based upon payday to payday withdrawals. I am not aware of any member of the Squamish Tribe who has ever invested in stocks and bonds. The spending spree that occurs after a cash distribution is somewhat instructive. The surrounding business proprietors sometimes know when such a distribution will be made before most of the Squamish members themselves. In one case, a large supermarket near a Reserve has to be supplied with a greater amount of cash for two or three days in order to deal with the many cheques presented. In another case, a small

Chinese grocery store which does not supply credit normally, will provide credit to the Squamish a week or so before the distribution is made. Having worked in the supermarket and having dealt with the grocery store, I would suggest that they are not the only such businesses that have become accustomed to the buying patterns of the Squamish. During such periods it would almost appear that the use of taxi-cabs was a Tribal monopoly.

There is also another approach that can be taken to this general lack of a savings orientation. The question might be raised: What need is there to save, when help is so close by if it is required? A Squamish can go to his kinsmen for support, and, if he fails there he can still go to the Tribal Council for assistance. The councillors may not think too highly of this man if he is able to work and has not worked for a long period, but they usually grant the welfare application if he has children. Often a mother accompanied by her children will present an application for welfare to the Council in her husband's name.

Thus, for many reasons, the profitable Trailor Court is a unique development. However, even this business concern may disappear. Its lease runs out in seven years, and the Council may be reluctant to renew it because of the extremely high value of the land. The success of the enterprise may influence the orientation of some of the Squamish towards the development of similar operations, but the Council may not permit another such undertaking on the North Shore in the light of alternative uses for the land.

The Council's direct participation in business concerns of

a public nature has been limited to the Marina. It was not until the development firm had been commissioned before the Council began to look into the prospects of further investment of this nature. The councillors' reluctance to innovate has already been discussed in the preceding chapter. As was indicated, this attitude is changing rapidly. Public proprietorship and/or joint proprietorship (such as might be the case with the Park Royal Shopping Organization's suggestion of a joint business venture with the Tribe) may become a major concern of the Tribe in the near future.

The Council's internal and external activities would indicate that it has been forced to undertake just about the full range of a municipal service. Circumstances have required it to sponsor economic activities on behalf of the Tribe as the individual members are not able or inclined, as well as build up a public employee service from meagre indigenous resources, and so forth. At the same time, as the first half of the chapter indicates, it has been forced to contend with Federal policy decisions about the Indian Act, which have often placed the Council in an ambiguous situation with respect to decision-making. It is apparent, however, that the Council is rapidly moving towards the full development of a municipal type government as opposed to the "bureaucratic appendage" status that it once formerly held.

CHAPTER EIGHT: ORGANIZATION

A coincidence of political and bureaucratic authority exists within the Council. Major administrative decisions, such as the hiring and firing of employees, salary increases, and the like, are made by the Council generally, rather than by the heads of the administrative branches--the Business, Office, and Marina Managers. Even minor decisions of an administrative nature are often made by the Council. For example: the Office Manager asked for the Council's approval in the matter of issuing two different colours of cheques--one colour for one particular purpose and one colour for another (this matter took fully a half-hour to discuss). Very little autonomy is possessed by the administrative wings. Most of the decisions that they make and the tasks that they handle are essentially of a routine nature. If guidelines do not exist, in the form of precedents or Council policy decisions, functionaries will rarely take the initiative in making decisions. In most cases the responsibilities of the functionaries are clearly laid out; however, such does not necessarily mean that the range of authority will be recognized by the functionary and/or other individuals. It would appear that this situation is the result of two major factors: first, the unwillingness of the Council, in general, to transfer such authority to officials or committees; and secondly, the fear of ridicule which might result from their making a wrong decision or from their appearing to be too independent. Similar situations exist within many other social groups. Charles Rowley, in The New Guinea Villager, states:

A village cannot really be controlled through the agency of a part-time official who is a full-time villager. It is true that he becomes occasionally accountable to the full-time officer; but he is accountable to his fellow-villagers every day, and as against the government, his interests will generally be theirs. (p. 83)

Wherever central government has controlled self-sufficient villages, the village headman, or the village council has had this kind of double rôle to play. The most pressing duty is to satisfy one's fellow-villagers. The government officer who must visit villages is equally anxious to satisfy headquarters. So there must always be tension at this point of contact. (p. 84)

Somewhat similarly, Lloyd Fallers makes the statement in Bantu Bureaucracy:

Where the range of effective kinship is wide, however, and particularly where extended kinship is the basis for membership in large corporate groups, such separation of contexts (non-family) is much less easily arranged. Situations are likely to arise in which both membership in corporate kinship groups and role assignment on non-kinship bases appear to be relevant and where the two tend to conflict. An individual who finds himself in such a situation cannot satisfy the requirements of both sets of norms. (p. 16)

...it is difficult, because of the highly diffuse and solidary character of kinship relationships, to treat an individual as a kinsman in one situation and as a non-kinsman in another. (p. 231)

Blau suggests that some social distance and independence from subordinates promotes effective leadership (1962, p. 153). The competition between different individuals and groups, within and without the Council, results in social distance between the parties involved. However, social distance here, with respect to the Squamish, retards the development of effective leadership, because competition forces the different individuals and groups to associate with and relate to each other, even though such association does not or may not normally involve frequent or

widespread contact. Competing individuals and groups are "constantly" aware of the activities of others, even when they do not interact frequently. The relatively small size of the community permits this situation, and, in a sense, competition "demands" such knowledge. A functionary must watch his actions very closely because he is often open to charges of bribery, favouritism, incompetence, and so forth. On the one hand he must satisfy the demands of his kinship group or lose the major support that he possesses; on the other hand, he must satisfy the demands of his office or be subject to intense ridicule. The functionary is, in general, in an impossible situation. As in the two statements quoted above, the interests of his kinship group take precedence over the interests of his office. In order to avoid criticism, the functionary will rarely take the initiative in decision-making. As a consequence, time is wasted and inefficiency is the result. The Council is forced to spend a tremendous amount of its time on relatively unimportant matters that could in other situations be dealt with by the administrative wings. Reciprocally, the Council appears to be reluctant to hand over such decision-making authority. This situation is, in addition to other factors, related to the councillors' fear that functionaries will take advantage of their offices. A few officials have been charged with and eventually proved guilty of favouritism. In one case an individual was receiving Council administered welfare payments while he was in jail. His kinsman, an employee of the Council, promptly resigned from his post when this situation was discovered. The fears of the Council are not

completely groundless, but the implications for a councillor are exaggerated due to the emphasis given to kinship.

One must remember that the position of the councillors today with respect to the amount of authority that they possess is quite different from what it was, say, ten years ago. Today, decisions are generally made with a sense of legitimate "power" or authority. The ability to exercise such authority is a relatively new experience for most of the councillors. The councillors, especially some of the older ones, do not wish to delegate some of this authority because such delegation would reduce the control that they, themselves, presently possess.

One of the major characteristics of administrative organizations includes a system of ranking. Philip Selznick goes somewhat further than this when he suggests:

The usual administrative organization includes a system of ranking. This has many uses, including fixing authority, dividing the work effectively, and supplementing formal incentives. The effects of such a system go beyond these technical functions, however. The life experiences of men at different levels in the organization differ, and these variations affect (1) how individuals in similar social positions view the world and themselves, and (2) the stake they have in the enterprise. As the ranking system shapes the general social behavior of the men who hold the ranks, social stratification emerges. (p. 95)

It was pointed out earlier that social stratification does not generally exist in the sense of a system of inequality. The competitive quality of Squamish affairs, between individuals and groups, in part precludes the development of social inequality as a result of one's life experiences within the administrative ranking system.

Once a person is elected or appointed to a position, it is

next to impossible to remove him from office. Positions may be vacated through death, voluntary retirement, or conviction of a criminal offence (required by the Indian Act). With respect to election to the Council, the Squamish Tribe has not come under Sections 73-78. The principal features of these sections of The Act include:

- 1) chiefs and councillors hold office for a two-year term;
- 2) a band council shall consist of one councillor for every one hundred members of the band, but that no band shall have less than two nor more than twelve councillors;
- 3) a band is entitled to only one chief;
- 4) there are two alternative methods of electing chiefs and two alternative methods of electing councillors:
 - a) chiefs may be elected by a majority of the votes of electors of the band at large, or by the councillors from among themselves;
 - b) councillors may be elected by a majority of the votes of the electors of the band or, where a reserve is divided into electoral sections, by a majority of the votes of the electors of a section;
- 5) no person other than an elector ordinarily resident on the reserve may be nominated for the office of chief or councillor; and,
- 6) a member of a band who is twenty-one years of age or over and who is ordinarily resident on the reserve may vote in band elections.

The Act permits a band to follow customary procedures if it so desires. The Squamish Tribe elected the latter provision; however, the procedures utilized have little to do with what might be understood by the term "Band Custom." The features of Squamish election procedure include the following:

- 1) chiefs and councillors hold office for life (except for the provisions noted above);

- 2) the Council consists of sixteen councillors, which permits most of the kinship groups to be represented;
- 3) the Tribe can theoretically be represented by sixteen chiefs, who would then occupy all of the positions within the Council; however, at the present time, only two individuals sit on the Council through their claims to chieftainship;
- 4) chiefs and councillors are elected by a majority of the votes of electors of the Tribe at large. In order for a chief to take his seat on the Council, he must receive formal approval from a majority of the electors of the Tribe;
- 5) any legal-Squamish individual, resident or non-resident of the Tribal territory, can be nominated for the office of councillor;
- 6) any member of the Tribe, resident or non-resident, who is over twenty-one years of age or over can vote in Tribal elections.

The first feature, permanence of office-holding, does not permit the electorate to remove incompetent individuals from office. Even if attempts were made to dismiss an elected or appointed official, such attempts would probably not be successful, since they would be recognized by most as dangerous to the entire group's stability.³⁸

Elections and appointments do not necessarily result in the position being occupied by the best qualified individual. For a candidate to be successful he must be inoffensive and he must possess support from his kinsmen and their allies. The best qualified candidate may not possess these attributes. Often, the appointed positions become available to the first persons who apply for them. Once an appointed position is applied for

³⁸ As far as I am aware, no such attempts have ever been attempted, although a person may resign because of intense ridicule.

by an individual, other applications are rarely made. In fact, the Council in such an event might be faced with the possibility of conflict erupting, when it must decide which application to approve. Individuals generally withdraw when it appears that conflict might erupt into the open. Often a kinsman on the Council will nominate the non-related applicant in order to preserve harmony and to demonstrate the impartiality of office.

Conflict of "personalities," often the result of and supported by the existing hostility between kinship groups, has not only decreased the control over subordinates, but it has also decreased the amount of cooperation that might exist between subordinates and superiors, among subordinates, and among superiors. Often relationships on the job are of a formal nature, rather than an informal one. When hostility exists among functionaries, a formal approach to tasks within the organization necessarily becomes the only approach. However, in the Squamish case, administration through impersonal rules and relationships is not the most efficient method. Verba in his Small Groups And Political Behavior states:

The advantage of impersonal rules in a bureaucratic situation is not that these rules completely replace interpersonal influence, but that they make that influence less visible. In a society that stresses equalitarian norms, this reduction in the visibility of control increases legitimacy and reduces tensions. (p. 173)

In the Squamish case, a reversion to impersonal rules and relationships permits the continued functioning of the administrative unit, although tensions still exist; in this situation, the functionary will perform his tasks as he, himself, recog-

nizes that they should be performed and not necessarily as others may expect. A superior cannot threaten to fire a subordinate because he does not have the authority; nor can he threaten to place the case before the Council because he would only place himself in a difficult position with respect to the subordinate's kinsmen.

Many different but informal techniques are usually available to the heads of administrative units to compel and to influence their subordinates to follow instructions. Such techniques may include: moral suasion, indebtedness, coercion (physical, psychological, and social), reversion to administrative specialization of tasks, and so forth. In the Squamish case, where hostility often exists between the superior and his subordinate(s), the use of administrative specialization of tasks would appear to be the only employable technique, and at that, a reversion to such a method can only go so far as the situation will permit. Tension will increase if a subordinate can convince others, inside and outside the organization, that the superior is being too demanding or if it is deemed that he is "too big for his pants, the way he tries to order people around!" Cooperation is usually withdrawn if it appears that one is being too "bossy." The superior is in a difficult situation: he must give the impression that he is not a superior, and yet, he must satisfy the demands of his job.

The nature of the Squamish functionary is definitely quite different from the description provided by Mills:

The bureaucrat or civil servant, accordingly, is above all an expert whose knowledge and skill have been at-

tested to by qualifying examination, and later in his career, qualifying experience. As a specially qualified man, his access to his office and his advancement to higher offices are regulated by more or less formal tests of competence. By aspiration and by achievement, he is set for a career, regulated according to merit and seniority, within the prearranged hierarchy of the bureaucracy. He is, moreover, a disciplined man, whose conduct can be readily calculated, and who will carry out policies even if they go against his grain, for his merely personal opinions are strictly segregated from his official like, outlook, and duties. Socially, the bureaucrat is likely to be rather formal with his colleagues, as the smooth functioning of a bureaucratic hierarchy requires a proper balance between personal good will and adequate social distance according to rank. (p. 236)

The characteristics that Mills lists describe a particular type of bureaucracy. In all likelihood, such behavior would not be as efficient in the administration of Squamish affairs because an incumbent must recognize the special social situation that exists--a social situation that negates the utility of much of his training and denies the relevance of competence to authority. The Hawthorn study (1967) reports:

This kinship element in recruitment, support, and representation on band councils implies a strong emphasis on particularism, which social scientists usually associate with a traditionalistic, conservative ethic, ill-suited to meeting the adaptive problems of a changing society. (p. 220)

This suggestion is quite applicable to the Squamish. The councillors and the administrators have been able to perform their duties "adequately" because outside pressures and Tribal business have not, as yet, forced the Squamish drastically to change their present system of "government." However, the internal and external demands are likely to increase tremendously in the very near future, and as a consequence, changes in the organizational relations will necessarily have to take place.

One further problem involves the lack of communication that often exists between the administrators and the general membership. The Hawthorn study (1967) suggests:

Our data indicate that, the larger the band and the more varied the fields of action in which the band council has a role, the greater the separation between the ordinary member of the band public and the members of the council and the fewer the full band meetings. Of course, in some communities many band affairs which were formerly non-programmed and which were aired in full band meetings have since become routinized and programmed and are administered by specialists who are either paid civil servants of the band or who are on special committees responsible for handling the particular kind of problem. (p. 236)

Another matter to consider is the flow of information from council to its public. Few councils in our sample which hold a high ratio of private council meetings to full band meetings keep and publish exhaustive minutes. (p. 240)

The Squamish Council does not publish the minutes of its meetings beyond making copies available to its council members, nor does it hold general meetings beyond the usual one or two a year. Although any Squamish Tribe member can attend a council meeting, only two to five do so, and generally these individuals attend the meeting only to present a special request. After the request has been presented and decided upon they generally leave.

The absence of meaningful communication between the Council and the Tribe membership has caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among certain individuals. A few months ago a petition was presented to the Council which requested a general meeting. It indicated that the Council had not held such a meeting for a long time and that the general membership was "in the dark" with respect to recent developments. Although many councillors were reluctant to hold the meeting, it was decided that one would be

held. They were obliged to cede to organized public pressure. Some of the councillors pointed out, however, that very few individuals attend such meetings and that, often, sufficient numbers are not present to constitute a quorum. Others pointed out that "only troublemakers attend them anyway." The general meetings that I have attended would indicate that the councillors have some justification for this opinion. It appears to me that very little is accomplished, beyond the assurance given to a few individuals that their councillors are doing a "good job." Such meetings tend to become political platforms for individuals seeking political support. Most of the individuals who direct questions to the councillors and administrators belong to families that are not presently represented in the Council or any of its branches. The meetings tend to degenerate into a confrontation between a "united" opposition and a "united" government body.

Although the kinship groups that have representation within the Council and the administrative wings represent eighty to eighty-five percent of the electorate, their representatives are nonetheless in a rather difficult situation in general meetings. The majority of those attending are members of the unrepresented kinship groups. In order to deal effectively with the opposition, the government members coordinate their activities for purposes of defence. Whenever questions are directed towards any particular member of the government, the question is usually answered by the person who is best-qualified to do so, such as the head of an administrative wing or the chairman of the par-

ticular committee concerned. The government attempts to control such meetings to a certain extent by employing a prepared agenda. However, correct procedures usually go "out the window" in the face of attack by many individuals who are not skilled in the use of such techniques. The Chairman of the meeting usually finds it difficult to stick to the prepared agenda. Often the items on the agenda are of little interest to the opposition, for they have come to the meeting to raise particular questions of their own. Most of the councillors go into the meeting "hoping for the best."

Most of the councillors possess full-time jobs outside the reserve and are thereby limited in the amount of time they can devote to Tribal business. Some administrative changes could readily mitigate this difficulty. On the one hand, the agendas for Council meetings are not known until the meetings are held. Much time is wasted by making known relevant facts at the meeting when they could have been made available by prepared papers beforehand. Similarly, committee recommendations are not made available to the Council until the actual meeting. Almost as much time is spent rehashing the issues in the Council as was spent in the Committee. On the other hand, councillors often do not read the material that is made available to them by either the Department or the Council Office. Many needless questions are asked in the meeting. Answers to questions that could have been provided by regular attendance at meetings are often sought--a situation that leads to annoyance on the part of many councillors:

In most bureaucracies, administrators are in a very influential position because of the specialized knowledge that they possess. If they favor certain decisions it is not too difficult to over-look unfavorable factors. The Council recognizes such a possibility, and as a consequence the recommendations made by certain officials are studied in great detail. Such is often the case also with the recommendations made by the different committees. This approach explains, in part, why issues are often rehashed in the Council. However, the officials and the committee men are still in an influential position because most of the relevant and important facts are "at their finger-tips." They remain able to push through favoured policy in an air of confusion. The response of councillors is to rely on the reputation of particular people. The official referred to earlier, who later left his post, was extremely influential because most of the councillors, and the ordinary public, were confident of his ability to do his job well. They recognized that he possessed the necessary skills, that he was willing to learn, and that he was unusually impartial as an administrator.

Few Squamish members possess adequate skills of a highly technical nature to do an efficient job in certain areas. Secretaries are required to possess at least typing experience. Other skills are acquired on the job. Most employees acquire skills in a similar manner. The Marina Manager, for example, worked under the direction of the National Harbours Board for six months to acquire the necessary experience before full responsibility was transferred to him. However, the duties of

certain positions cannot be completely and/or efficiently performed because experience on the job alone is inadequate. The inadequately trained official must rely heavily upon the advice and support of other individuals both in the Council and outside of it. The popular or "common sense" decision tends to take precedence over the technically appropriate one. The official is often reluctant to take what initiative remains to him in this situation. However, when an individual possesses highly specialized skills and when these are recognized both by councillors and Tribe members, he is given greater latitude in decision-making. This situation places the Legal-Advisor, the Social Worker, and to a somewhat lesser extent the Sports and Recreation Coordinator, in a different position from other functionaries. The Sports and Recreation Coordinator, a member of the Tribe, plans his own programs, sets up his own budget, and usually refers to the Council only when financial support is required. Much of his independence is based upon: (1) the fact that he is well-liked by most people; (2) that he is recognized as possessing the necessary training; and, (3) that the present attitude of the Council is favourable towards youth programs. Most, if not all, of the councillors agree that not enough attention has been given to this area in the past, and it is often suggested that juvenile deviant behavior could be reduced if youth programs could be set up to involve individuals in socially approved activities. As one person put it: "My son isn't really a bad boy. I don't like what he does, but you must understand, he just doesn't have much to do around here. He

gets involved with those...boys, and he does crazy things. He likes basketball, football, and other things, but there aren't any teams down here [on the reserve]." The importance of youth programs and sports in general to the Squamish is further demonstrated by the relatively easy access to public funds afforded the Lacrosse and Canoe Clubs.

The Legal-Advisor and the Social Worker are, or can be, depending upon the situation, in a much more independent and influential position, mainly because of the specialized skills that they possess. Of the two the latter is in a less independent situation because she relies more heavily upon the support and cooperation of the Council and the ordinary public. However, reference to these two individuals will be limited here because this paper is primarily concerned with Squamish Tribe members and the individuals concerned are Non-Indian.

The organization of the Council and its branches is very much a product of Western concepts of administration and the Squamish principles of social organization. A rapidly changing situation has forced the Squamish Council to meet new organizational necessities. However, it would appear that the ritual of decision-making has not developed along with those organizational changes.

CHAPTER NINE: DECISION-MAKING

This paper, throughout, has very much been concerned with the roles of certain factors within the decision-making process. It has explored the roles of such factors as: kinship affiliation, place of residence, legal and social rights, attitudes, positions within the Council and its branches, the Superintendent and the Department of Indian Affairs, and so forth. However, the procedures involved in decision-making within the Council and its committees have not as yet been fully explored.

Anthropological observation has shown a variety of ways in which decisions can be arrived at. The concept of majority rule by formal vote and the implied acquiescence of the minority to it, is rarely a feature of smaller scale organization. Ralph W. Nicholas, for example, makes the statement:

One characteristic that has been noted repeatedly by anthropological observers of small-scale political arenas is the "consensus procedure" for making public decisions. Many societies, from American Indian Tribes to Indian peasant villages, either do not know about, or they reject, voting and majority rule. Debates and discussions are prolonged and issues are redefined until the decision-makers achieve unanimity. (p. 54)

With respect to the length of debate Holmes reports:

...the length of time involved in making decisions in the Samoan council meetings has been repeatedly commented upon by missionaries and government administrators who become bored with the many flowery speeches made in deciding the simplest and most unimportant of issues. They point out that the speakers often say exactly the same things as those preceding them and that entirely too much time is spent in deliberation.... These observations are quite correct but there are valid reasons for the repetition and the great consumption of time. (p. 236)

Lengthy debate is a feature of decision-making within the Squam-

ish Tribal Council and its committees. In an attempt to explain this feature, the Indians of British Columbia suggests:

part of this is due to the desire that many Indians have to by-pass formal decisions except where unavoidable, and where they are unavoidable, to arrive at a decision which will have the appearance of unanimity. This is achieved by lengthy discussion, and objectors one by one dropping out of the discussion as they realize their points have been met, or that their argument will not be supported. (p. 456)

In Keesing's Elite Communication in Samoa, Belshaw refers to the necessity of unanimity when he states:

When I was a District Officer in the Pacific Islands I used to get very annoyed because people would take a long time to decide anything. I then found that this was because they were not content with majority rule. They required unanimous consent to anything which concerned the village. So that if one person disagreed, that would mean the veto on the project. I still didn't fully understand until reading in anthropology made me realize that this was a consequence of the small size of the community. Everyone knew everyone else; furthermore nobody had anywhere else to go. An open quarrel would be a very serious thing, probably resulting in violence with all sorts of ramifications. So that it was highly important for the people to avoid any cause for quarrel, and any underlying hostility. (p. 116)

In the Squamish case, every decision, whether important or not, has been unanimous. However, unanimity does not imply that opposition to the decision does not exist, for opposition is often formally withdrawn in order to preserve harmony. Shortly after a meeting, private discussions often indicate to what extent disagreement exists.

The semblance of unanimity is often preserved by the employment of various techniques. If it appears that conflict is about to erupt and that a majority of councillors favor an opposing decision, an individual will either move that that deci-

sion be taken or he will second it to demonstrate that he has either been won over by the arguments or that he is not vehemently opposed to such a decision. This situation occurs in a great many cases. Often when the debate becomes extremely heated, an uncommitted councillor, in cooperation with the Chairman, will gavel through a motion, either approving one of the alternatives available or move the adjournment of the meeting. What alternative is accepted depends upon the particular situation at hand; if the uncommitted members feel that one of the parties is being unfairly attacked, they may support his position (even though they may be opposed to such a position); if the two opposing parties antagonize the rest of the Council by their manner and/or the content of their arguments, the uncommitted may approve a motion that, in effect, denies acceptance of either position; and so forth. In other situations, the issue is tabled for further discussion at a later date, when it is hoped that tempers will have cooled. At times, the issue is sent into a committee for consideration. The use of the latter technique involves a number of recognized assets: (1) by the time that the committee meets to discuss the issue the question may have lost much of its importance or it may have been dropped by the interested parties; (2) tempers may have cooled by this time; (3) the interested individuals may not be members of the particular committee concerned (the committees meet behind closed doors); and, (4) the interested individuals may avoid further hostility by not attending the meeting, even if they are members. I have never witnessed a formal negative vote at any of the many

meetings that I have attended, no matter how heated the debate has become.

Formal voting is generally followed through with, although it has been noted occasionally that the Chairman has "sensed the pleasure" of the group, and the decision has been recorded. Voting is a ritual act involving the formal registration of the group's decision--necessitated by accepted procedure. In the Samoan case, Holmes suggests that speeches represent votes. He states:

Speeches in the council meeting represent votes, since hand counts are not taken, and the presiding chief must assess the desire of the assembly solely from the oral pronouncements of its members. Therefore, speeches of the high chiefs are often very similar if they hold the same opinion. Lesser chiefs usually will not speak if the opinions correspond to their own, for silence is interpreted as approval of the general point of view which is dominating the discussion. (p. 236)

Although formal votes are taken, speeches may be viewed in the same light within the Squamish Council and committee meetings. Voting as a mere formality is further demonstrated by the manner in which it is accomplished. Often, only a few councillors actually "vote", for the Chairman requires at least one voice to record the decision when a formal vote is taken. As far as the councillors are concerned the issue has already been settled one way or another.

Through the course of discussion one's position may change several times, and each time that the position changes one generally makes another statement to indicate that change. A formal vote does not necessarily end the debate of the issue at the Meeting, for further points may be raised, which automatically

re-opens the matter for further discussion. A decision may be effectively negated by other measures. Theodore Stern in The Klamath Tribe reports:

In the words of Wade Crawford, uttered after a local defeat in 1947: "I can be outvoted, that doesn't mean one thing to me....There are 400 Congressmen and 96 Senators, and I'm going to talk to each man that will give me five minutes. People ought to understand who Congress is. Anybody can go. You don't have to be an official delegate, you can go as an individual." Since Washington had become the seat of decision, local consensus was rendered largely superfluous, and tribal affairs descended to a level of wrangling and petty maneuver. (p. 248)

Although it does not appear that the Squamish have attempted to seek the intervention of members of the Senate and the House of Commons, a number (public and private) have sought the assistance of the local office of the Department of Indian Affairs. Decisions made by the Council and certain committees have, until quite recently, been over-ruled, at times, in this manner. The major case reported by the councillors themselves involves the distribution of welfare funds. It has been reported that individuals, who have been at first rejected by the Welfare Committee, have received assistance through the intervention of the Department.³⁹ This situation, in the past, helped to create discord within the Council and outside of it. All sorts of charges were directed at certain individuals, public and private. Relationships with the local office of the Department were often tense. Certain members of the Welfare Committee pointed out that their decisions were generally fair, in that they (the decisions)

³⁹ The right of the Department to administer the Tribe's funds without the prior consent of the Tribe is provided for by the Indian Act. See Sections 64 and 66.

met the requirements laid down in the Council's policy. They point out that the policy required rejection of applications, when the applicant was already receiving assistance from some other source; and yet, such applications were being approved by the Department. To what extent this measure is effective today is a question that can only lead to speculation, although it does appear from the statements made by the councillors that the technique is of little concern to them. However, although decisions have not been formally rejected by the Department in the past five years, a few decisions have been "negated" by legal-technical requirements. The traffic by-law, discussed earlier, is a case in point.

In the article, "Leadership and Consensus in a New Guinea Society", Read states of the orator:

...it is necessary to engage in debate in order to demonstrate "strength" and to attract a following, and the conventions of oratory epitomize the qualities which are most admired in men. Standing alone, the orator harangues the seated gathering. He tosses his head so that the ornaments in his hair clash together; he indulges in sweeping gestures, draws attention to his accomplishments, belittles others and adopts aggressive attitudes. His words are not always to the point, for he launches into many florid digressions. But even when his remarks seem least relevant he may be rewarded with murmurs of approval. In fact, the more successful orators are men who take a great deal of time before committing themselves to a definite position. (p. 431)

He further reports:

The orator requires time in order to gauge the temper of the gatherings, and characteristically these proceedings are lengthy and somewhat desultory.

Such an individual would be severely ridiculed by the Squamish, for they, generally, become impatient with speakers who do not

stick to the issues at hand. If the Chairman fails to direct an individual to concern himself with the particular question, a councillor will often take it upon himself to do so. Such directives are usually made in a calm and respectful manner, except in those cases when the speaker harangues the gathering in the fashion described by Read. The situation is somewhat different in General Meetings, however. Many of the older members of the Tribe, who are, generally, not skilled in the procedures accepted and followed by the Council and its committees, often engage in debate in the "New Guinea" manner. The effective orator is one who states his position in a clear and concise manner. He neither harangues the gathering, nor does he ridicule the points made by other individuals. His effectiveness is demonstrated by the support that he is able to muster. I have often witnessed cases being won by an individual, even when an over-whelming majority of councillors were initially opposed to his position. By agreeing with points raised by other individuals, by congratulating them for raising such points, by invoking certain principles and the like, such as the case that involved the principle of annual wage increases, by not holding to a position adamantly, and by speaking to the others rather than "down" to them, are some of the techniques that are used effectively to gain support. If the individual is skillful enough he can push an unpopular point of view until the Council or Committee approves it. One person can effectively veto practically any decision or counter the position held by the rest of the members, if he demonstrates that he is adamantly

opposed to that decision or position. However, his influence in the meetings generally decreases proportionately in relation to the number of times that he makes use of this technique, especially if he approaches the issue in an emotional manner as opposed to "debate through reasoning." Read also reports, with respect to the New Guinea Villager, that "those who speak first at a gathering tend to be the younger adult men" (p. 431). In the Squamish case, the situation is the exact opposite. Generally, some of the older councillors speak first; after a number of them have entered the discussion, then the younger members raise their points. It is not that the younger councillors are waiting for the more "seasoned" councillors to set the trend in what decision might be taken, but rather, the fact that they and some of the older members realize the importance of "correct timing" in debate. Relevant points can often be overlooked or forgotten during the course of a lengthy debate. It appears to me that there is also an element of respect for one's elders involved here. The councillors are very much aware of the existence of a youthful and an older segment. During the last three years, the youthful segment has grown from two to seven in number--a change that is difficult to ignore. The younger councillors are, perhaps, much more aware than the elderly of the division that age represents; however, this suggestion is a debatable matter. They are often critical, although not openly, of "needless" questions, digressions, and so forth. But most of all, a number of the younger members dislike the attitude expressed by a few of the older councillors, who, the younger

councillors report, appear to ignore many of their points. The lengthy debate, in the Council, over some of the recommendations made by the different committees often leads to frustration and tension on the part of some of the younger councillors. It is they who spend so much of their free time and energy in the committees. As one of the younger councillors put it: "We do all the work! We could control this Council, if we wanted to, but we don't." However, the younger councillors have generally been patient during situations that have visibly disturbed them. They, like the rest of the Council, generally do not directly contradict another's statement. Nor do they interrupt an individual when he is speaking. It is also interesting to note that it is usually the older councillor who intervenes when an individual digresses from the subject at hand. The older councillors have occasionally referred to the existence of the youthful segment. One of them rebuked the younger councillors at a Council Meeting for not "permitting" a larger number of older members to sit on the committees. One of the rebuked stated that anyone could sit on any committee. He further stated that it was up to the member to take the initiative.⁴⁰

Today, the principle of majority rule as seen in formal voting is only applied, meaningfully, in the case of election to office. In the past, it was also applied to two major cases--cases that required the approval of the electorate: first, the

⁴⁰ To what extent these age-based divisions possess solidarity is a question that can only lead to speculation at the present time. One thing is certain: there are many more important factors that divide them than unite them.

sale of land; and secondly, the admission of new members into the Tribe. The large-scale political manoeuvres, that occurred in the past and at the present time in the case of elections, were and are much more noticeable than the manoeuvres that generally occur within the Council when support is sought. The major difference between a decision made in the Council and a decision made in a General Meeting is the fact that circumstances require unanimity within the Council, whereas such is not required within a General Meeting. The Hawthorn study (1967) suggests:

We know that each band has its own style of processing alternatives and of formalizing a decision, that is, making it public and official. Where the process is highly programmed, little discussion is needed, for sufficient people know what the decision will be. Where it is not highly programmed, in some bands where overt consensus and unanimity are strongly desired, the Indians are highly skilled in carrying out the backstage work to ensure unanimity before the onstage decision is formally made by the council. (p. 245)

When issues are relatively unimportant, councillors will often seek support for their points of view within the Council and at the time of its meeting. In these situations they are very much on their own to represent their own points of view as they see fit, except for those cases when an individual councillor is pressured to represent one of his various interests. However, when major decisions are to be made, a considerable degree of backstage manoeuvring may occur--within the Council membership and outside of it. Although the final decision may be "unanimous," opposition probably exists. When the decision is known in advance (generally based upon the strength of the opposition), the minority will rarely become involved in the discussion, for

they know that the conflict might break out into the open. All of the councillors dread the possibility of open conflict, for most of them have been witness to the incidents and the aftermaths that occurred during and after emotion-charged debates.

Bailey reports:

As Srinivas once aptly remarked, Indian villagers are not face-to-face communities; the typical posture is back-to-back. In India 'different members of the same family' are often chronically 'in conflict'... without feeling that their situation is impossible. 'Your brother is your enemy', the Oriyas say, and the feud which has gone on for three or more generations between related families is commonplace both there and elsewhere in India. In short, at least for Indian villagers, the statement that 'in village conditions open and continuous breach is not possible' is untrue. (p. 7)

Conflict between individuals and groups within the Squamish Tribe is, generally, resolved or buried only temporarily for the sake of common interests. In this sense, conflict is continuous. Conflict is rarely expressed openly, because of necessity. The Tribe has almost been destroyed as an entity on a number of occasions when open and continuous hostility has occurred.⁴¹

Sidney Verba suggests that the important characteristics of group participation are: "(1) the members make a positive commitment by actively discussing the subject; (2) the force for the decision seems to come from the group; and (3) the members

⁴¹ Bailey's reference here is Ronald Frankenberg's Village on the Border (London: Cohen & West, 1957). It appears to me that Bailey is using the term, open conflict, in a different sense from the way it is being used by Frankenberg and myself. I take "open conflict" to mean a demonstration of hostilities in public. Bailey does not differentiate between private and public. His statements do not suggest that the conflict is of a public nature. "Back-to-back" association, an apt description of the Squamish case, does not necessarily imply the existence of open conflict.

perceive other members as changing" (p. 228). Somewhat similarly, Levy and Osten, suggest that the following requirements should be present if maximum efficiency and satisfaction are to be achieved by a decision-making body:

1) group decisions should be made by all members of a group working together so that all the ideas, feelings, and reactions of the individuals may be presented.

2) all decisions should represent as near a unanimous agreement as possible but when unanimity is not possible full opportunity for expression should be given to the minority.

3) the most effective decisions are made after a period of active discussion or dramatization in which group members share their feelings and reactions.

4) decisions should never be inexorable. The same process which made them should be allowed to modify them when the need arises.

5) group decision should be felt to be group products. This maintains a feeling of unity and identification with the group. (Holmes/p. 233)

The discussion thusfar would appear to indicate that the Squamish "consensus procedure" meets all of these requirements, but in varying degrees. This list should not be taken to be complete, in that there are other "requirements" that may be as relevant. For example; when the group represents the interests of others, there should be as much agreement between the representatives and the represented as the situation will allow. One must also appreciate the differences involved in the many various culture-influenced decision-making processes. In other words, what makes for efficiency and satisfaction in one culture may not be as relevant or relevant in another culture. Perhaps, more to the point is the approach taken by Blau in The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, in which he states: "A basic short-

coming of the ideal-type construct is that it contains both definitions of concepts and hypotheses about empirical relationships but fails to make a distinction between these two fundamentally different scientific tools" (p. 251). Maximum efficiency and satisfaction are, generally, achieved in the decision-making process in the light of the particular factors that influence that process. We have seen:

- 1) group decisions are, generally, made by all the members of the group working together. All the ideas, feelings, and reactions of the individuals are not usually presented, because to do so would lead to overt conflict, and as a consequence, efficiency and satisfaction would be reduced.

- 2) all decisions do represent as near a unanimous agreement as possible but when unanimity is not possible, full opportunity for expression is available to the minority, although it does not often make use of such an opportunity.

- 3) decisions are normally made after a period of active discussion or dramatization in which group members share their feelings and reactions (limited by the same point raised above).

- 4) group decisions are felt to be group products. A feeling of unity and identification is maintained on the whole with the group, but such is usually expressed only in the face of a common threat.

- 5) decisions are usually not inexorable, in that a number of techniques are available to modify or negate previous decisions made.

- 6) agreement usually exists between the representatives and the represented (except for those groups that do not possess elected or appointed representatives) with respect to the major issues. Minor issues are of little interest to the represented.

PART THREE: LEADERSHIPCHAPTER TEN: THE CONCEPT AND THE FACTS

What is meant by the term, leader? This question was raised more explicitly by Polsby when he was discussing the concept of power. He stated:

...one can analyze the process of decision-making by making use of the notion of power. It is possible to distinguish three kinds of data with respect to decision-making which often serve as indices of the power of actors; one may ask (1) who participates in decision-making, (2) who gains and who loses from alternative possible outcomes, and (3) who prevails in decision-making. (p. 4)

He goes on to define power as: "the capacity of one actor to do something affecting another actor, which changes the probable pattern of specified future events" (p. 5). However, when he defines the term, leader, he discusses it in terms of success in the decision-making process. Therefore, his definition clearly omits any individual who is not successful in the political arena. Polsby is attempting to discover the "top" decision-makers; thus, the reason for basing his definition on success. However, the "unsuccessful" decision-makers may enjoy a measure of success at lower levels. In the Squamish case the consensual approach to decision-making often involves, directly and indirectly, a large number of people.

The most often used synonym for the term, leader, is "influential." I agree with the usefulness of Robert Tannenbaum's definition of the concept when he states:

We define leadership as interpersonal influence, exercised in situation and directed, through the communi-

cation process, toward the attainment of a specified goal or goals. Leadership always involves attempts on the part of a leader (influencer) to affect (influence) the behavior of a follower (influencee) or followers in situation. (p. 24)

Davison agrees with Tannenbaum and goes on somewhat further when he says:

A leader is one who, in the course of interacting with others, influences their attitudes and behavior more than they influence his. He can be distinguished from a spokesman, who merely registers the opinions of a group, and from a prestigious follower, who lends authority to an existing pattern of attitudes and behavior. In practice a leader often serves as spokesman and may seek to appear as a prestigious follower, but if he actually is limited to one or the other of these roles he cannot be regarded as a leader. (p. 410)

Although these definitions do not specifically refer to the time dimension, it is very much a relevant factor. Leadership is exercised over a period of time. I find Tannenbaum's term, influencee, to be much more acceptable, in comparison to the other term that he employs, follower. Follower brings to mind the "superior-subordinate" relationship. For an individual to influence others over time, he need not be in a super-ordinate position in some structural arrangement, whether that arrangement be the result of face-to-face association or the result of bureaucratic relationships. Looked at from a different angle, influence does not necessarily lead to the superior-subordinate relationship. An individual can influence others over time without leading to the situation of inequality. Actually, it is his ideas, the techniques that he makes use of, and so forth that influence others. I refer specifically to those individuals who, through the course of their activities within the committees, especially, have acquired special knowledge--knowledge that is

necessary for decision-making. This knowledge has enabled them to exercise what might be termed "de facto" domination within the Council, but only in their special sphere of competence, although the skills that they have acquired tend to give them an advantage over less-endowed individuals in other areas as well. Tables XII and XIII indicate to what extent the various committees are numerically dominated by certain individuals. When one

Table XII --- The Number of Committee Positions Held by Age

Positions Held	Councillor	
	Older	Young
5	0	3
4	1	3
3	1	1
2	1	0
1	4	0
0	2	0
Number	9	7

takes into account absenteeism, the result is even more dramatic. Not only do the younger councillors dominate all of the committees, but they are also numerically equal to the older councillors at most Council meetings. The wide range of activities that these particular individuals, and one of the older councillors, are involved in and their hard-working, consistent attention to these activities indicate a subtle aggressiveness.

Table Xlll --- Committee Membership by Age

Committee	Number				Total
	Young	Older	Interested Individual	Staff ^x	
Development	4	1	0	2	7
Housing	5	1	0	0	6
Resolutions	4	1	0	2	7
Parks & Marina	7	3	0	(1) ^o	10
North Shore School	1	1	3	0	5
Welfare	4	4	2	3	13
Personnel	5	2	1	0	8

x Staff includes Legal-Advisor, Social Worker, Business and Office Managers, and Secretaries.

o Since the Marina Manager is also a Councillor, he has been included in another category.

Aggressiveness is a trait that is so often indicative of the leader; however, in the Squamish case, the extent to which aggressiveness can occur is limited. When it is less subtle, the individual's motives may become public. If they become public knowledge, then certain factors will come into force to reduce the effectiveness of his approach, and, as a consequence, the influence that he is able to exert will decrease. In any case, this type of leader does not possess personal influence. He does not influence the same individuals from situation to situation; that is, he does not possess a regular following. The people that he influences do not appear to suspend their judgement or their control over the situation in advance.⁴² The influence that he is

able to exert within the decision-making process depends upon the situation. But going back to Davison's statement: "A leader is one who, in the course of interacting with others, influences their attitudes and behavior more than they influence his", in this sense, particular councillors may be viewed as leaders. Of the eight individuals that would be defined as of this type of leadership, four are especially effective. In a sense, they represent the "major" leaders because they are able, over time, to exert much more influence over the minor leaders than is the case with other councillors.

Bureaucratic leadership involves something more than the exertion of influence over subordinates. To be defined a leader, a bureaucrat must exercise influence in areas that are not of a routine nature. The influence of this type of leader is not, usually, solely based upon the formal authority that he possesses as a consequence of his office. Bureaucratic leadership is poorly developed within the Squamish Tribe. It was pointed out earlier, that the Bureaucrat has to rely on the authority permitted him by the Council to discharge his duties. Because of his reluctance to exercise what formal authority his office possesses, because of his reluctance to extend his influence beyond that authority, and because of the reluctance of the Council to permit greater authority, the Squamish bureaucrat is relegated to a routine decision-making role. Now, the bureaucrat, like the committee-man, is in possession of information that is important

42 See: Peter M. Blau and Richard W. Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962, p. 29.

to decision-making. However, a major difference exists between these two. The point of view stated by a bureaucrat is generally recognized as the opinion of but one man; whereas the point of view stated by a committee-man is generally recognized as referring to a possible consensus of opinion of the whole committee. Because of the solidary nature of committees, as demonstrated in the unanimity expressed by their members and in the support that they give to their reports, they are able to exercise a much greater degree of influence. Looked at from a different angle, no one individual committee-man is recognized as solely responsible for a "poor" recommendation, since the recommendation was the consensus of opinion of the whole committee. The bureaucrat, however, can be singled out for ridicule. Actually, he is rarely called upon to make recommendations to the Council.⁴³ Major questions that concern his office are usually dealt with by one of the following bodies: (1) the Council; (2) the appropriate committee; or, (3) a special committee. He may sit at any of their meetings and voice and opinion; however, he is usually only called upon to provide relevant information. In a very real sense, the bureaucrat is a "servant" of the Tribal Council at the point of decision.

Reference has often been made throughout this study to a former bureaucrat. This particular individual exercised a considerable degree of influence within the Council, the committees, and his Office. When he was first elected to the position of

⁴³ Except in the case of the Marina Manager, who is also the Chairman of the Marina and Parks Committee.

Business Manager, the Office had just been created to deal with the Tribe's increasing volume of business. Prior to his appointment the position did not involve much more than was demanded of the Office of Secretary, which it had, in effect, superceded. The latter position then became subordinate to the former. In the past, the Secretary's duties essentially included the following: (1) the recording of Council minutes; (2) the writing of letters to various bodies; and, (3) the presentation of letters to the Council from various bodies. He acted as a liason between the Council and those various bodies but only to the very limited extent indicated above. As far as I am aware, the position did not involve any decision-making authority whatsoever. Before the administrative change, the Council acted as the liason between the Department and the Tribe, and the Superintendent (in the name of the Department) acted as the liason between the Council and other bodies. The Business Manager became an effective liason between: the Department and the Council, other organizations and the Council, and among individual Tribe members and the Council, the Department, and other organizations. Such does not mean that his Office could not be by-passed for it often has been; however, it has become a much more effective means to relate one body to another. During the former Business Manager's period of administration, it would appear that he was instrumental in bringing about the following: (1) improved communication and, as a consequence in part, improved relations between various bodies (individuals and groups); (2) increased sources of information and an improved filing system, which made impor-

tant data much more accessible; and, (3) direct communication between the Council and outside bodies by making use of his Office to become actively engaged in the field. He not only promoted important changes that directly concerned his own Bureau, but he also promoted changes, often successfully, in other areas as well. During his administration a measure of administrative autonomy developed. However, the role of the individual is significant with respect to the degree of autonomy that is permitted. The former Business Manager possessed all of the attributes (indicated on page 77) deemed to be "most auspicious" for those seeking office (it would appear), except for the "approved kinship connections." Most of the councillors were extremely confident of his ability to perform his duties. It would appear that his influence was often of a different nature in comparison to the influence exerted by certain committee-men. His influence was of a personal nature. His knowledge and skill, of course, played an important role; however, it would appear that individuals were often influenced by the fact that it was this particular person who was recommending a certain course of action. The confidence that most of the councillors had in this individual permitted him to exert a considerable degree of influence. At the time, no other individual enjoyed a similar degree of influence. When discussing the possibility of introducing a new insurance scheme, a Councillor stated a few months ago at a Council Meeting: "If anybody could have done it, he [the former Business Manager] could have." A number of other councillors demonstrated signs of approval at his statement. The Business

Manager was in an especially fortunate situation: (1) his Office enabled him to centralize information--information that was at his finger-tips and vital to decision-making; (2) the committee system was poorly developed (in comparison to the present state), which permitted him to exert influence without the interference of rival bodies (or rival informed-individuals); and, (3) his skills (acquired through education and experience in the field) appeared to be unrivaled in the Council at that time.⁴⁴ Today, it would be much more difficult for one individual to exert as much influence, because a relatively large number of people possess the same level of skills and have access to relevant information. Also, to a certain extent, the development of such a situation is retarded by the committee system. As was suggested earlier, no one individual committee-man is generally held responsible for a "poor" recommendation. In reverse, no one individual committee-man is generally held responsible for an excellent recommendation. In other words, the "brains" behind a report generally remains anonymous, because of the solidary nature of committees. In any case, it would appear that the councillors were very much aware of the extent of influence exerted by the former Business Manager. However, it would also appear that most of them were not very much concerned with the unparalleled imbalance. They were not only confident of his abilities, but they were also confident of his supposed impartiality. I find it rather difficult to refer to this individual

⁴⁴ It was this individual who was instrumental in forming the Credit Union mentioned earlier.

as a bureaucratic leader in the sense of him being a leader within his own Bureau, because at that time his Office possessed only one subordinate and at that, his Secretary was also under the direct control of the Council. He was certainly responsible for many administrative changes. If one recognizes the Council as a bureau in itself, a legitimate view I believe, then he certainly was a bureaucratic leader, even though he was not a member of that particular body. In any case, a leader he was. Not too long after he left his post, a number of individuals were elected to the Council. A different type of leadership developed--a type of leadership that was much less public in the sense that the new leaders were to a certain extent anonymous to other individuals--a type of leadership that was based upon an impersonal, subtle influence.

The paper thusfar has been concerned with the extent to which leadership is developed within the Council and its administrative branches. It might be suggested that I am looking in the wrong area for the existence of leadership. Witness the following statement from The Indians of British Columbia:

It is true that the observer who looks for leadership qualities in the wrong situations on reserves will not find them. This is especially true if he expects to find Indian leadership in the specific tasks which are given to them in present-day communities. These tasks are likely to be out of tune with their techniques and values, and to be defined by outsiders. Sometimes the tasks are not actually worthwhile, or are in conflict with other necessities, or their performance requires some specialized competence, like estate management, that ordinary persons do not possess. It is usually this disharmony and the external nature of the situation where outsiders call for leadership, rather than a lack of general leadership competence, that often gives an appearance of disorganization and inertia to

reserve life. In most bands, leadership is quickly forthcoming for particular tasks, defined by the Indians as within their own interest and competence. This is frequently in contrast with the operation of band councils. Commonly the band council and other leaders are beset by all the dilemmas of indirect rule and additionally by the complicated set of requirements that band enterprises must fulfil to satisfy several government agencies at the same time. (p. 11)

On the one hand, we have a community that is very much orientated towards activities occurring outside its territorial boundaries. Interaction is minimal and can be said, to use Srinivas' turn of phrase, to be of a "back-to-back" nature as opposed to "face-to-face." On the other hand, we have a community that does not directly control many aspects of its own existence, such as: law, education, jobs, health and welfare (to a certain extent), and so forth.⁴⁵ What control that does exist, exists generally within the Council. This situation is the result of government fiat and the result of an attitude that exists within the community. It would appear that most individuals are not, in ordinary matters, very much concerned with the community's affairs. Many of them have pointed out that the councillors were elected to do a particular job and that job, they suggest, is to "run the affairs of the community." I have often heard the statement: "Let the Council do it. That's what they were elected for!" As a consequence, in part, tribal organization outside of the Council is poorly developed. Many of the organizations that presently exist would probably collapse if the Council did not be-

⁴⁵ R.W. Dunning in Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) concerns himself with the problem of the control of external persons and its challenge to external authority and leadership patterns.

come directly involved in them, especially in the area of financial support. Tables III, IV, and V (pages 40, 41 and 44) would indicate that these organizations tend to be heavily influenced by councillors within their memberships (although much less so in the case of the Canoe Club). The special nature of an Indian community and the particular characteristics of the Squamish community have set the Tribal Council and its administrative branches as the center of political activity. It is here that leadership is generally found.

Where leadership exists outside of the Organization, it is often directed towards that center. David Norman, for example, led his alliance in the hope of gaining a measure of formal control within the Council. His leadership was entirely different from the types that have been discussed thusfar. He was far from being a mere spokesman for his group. By utilizing his kinship connections he was able to gather a solid following. Within his own group he was very much respected. His experience in National and Provincial Indian organizations, his experience with different levels of government, and his relatively high level of education (plus many other assets) gave him a status not rivaled by any other member of his group. Much of his control may have been based upon the fact that his group was in the political wilderness, so to speak, and that his followers were willing to subordinate themselves in order to gain office. However, his dominant personality and the esteem in which he was held appear to be the major factors. A number of Norman's followers supported him almost fanatically. They saw in him

something different. The prestige that he possessed outside of the community drew attention to him, and many of his followers believed that he was the "saviour"; they believed that he would lead Indians to a better life. It would appear that Norman was of the same belief himself. Patterson reports:

It is easy to believe that [Norman] did take a great deal unto himself. With his sense of mission as an Indian spokesman and his relatively wide knowledge and experience in Indian affairs growing out of his role in the larger land issues, it would not be surprising if his own personality tended to find gratification in assuming the role of the indispensable man. (p. 101-102)

I have often been witness to emotional debates in which he has been likened to a "saint", "saviour", or referred to as "thee leader", and so forth. To many of his followers, he certainly was an extra-ordinary individual. In a very real sense, he was a charismatic leader. However, when his group failed to obtain its immediate goal--control of the Council--Norman returned to private life. His alliance fell apart because of a lack of leadership.

When certain tasks arise--tasks which are not directly handled by the Council and its administrative branches--leadership will occasionally come into existence. Influence exerted here tends to be of the same nature as exercised by the committeemen. It is interesting to note that these particular individuals tend to be members of kinship groups that are not represented within the Council and its administrative branches. A number of them have been unsuccessful candidates for office. In any case, reference to this particular situation will be limited because of its rare occurrence and because of its relative insignificance

to the community as a whole. Projects such as the acquisition of cablevision tend to involve the interests of a few individuals, rather than the interests of the community in general.

CONCLUSION

Indian communities, especially Indian communities within suburban areas, have been forced to adapt to a rapidly changing situation. Such adaptations have resulted in a number of various, significant consequences for these communities. Dunning states:

In areas where the Indian population is completely exposed and has been for several generations to the rural and urban parts of the national society and thus having the opportunity for participation in the educational, economic and social life of the larger society; and where the Indian population does participate to a considerable extent in the latter, then the legal structure of the reserve system poses an obvious anomaly. The system requires common inheritance of land in perpetuity, and maintains the composition of the band through inheritance in the social and economic membership and participation in a band although to an extent a matter of his own choice, becomes at least in part a result of government fiat. The role of government therefore in maintaining the band as an entity or society is not to be minimised. (1964, pp. 31-32)

Somewhat similarly, the Hawthorn study (1966) suggested that, in some cases, the reserve may be more of a suburb than a true community, because of the lack of positive identification with the reserve:

In cases where many band members work in nearby non-Indian communities, commuting daily or weekly, the reserve may be more of a suburb than a true community. If in such cases there is a lack of positive identification with the reserve as such, the fostering of local government structures would seem to be artificial and unwanted. (p. 280)

The reserves today are increasingly losing their significance as centers of interaction. With respect to the Squamish, the present study has indicated:

1. Interaction with other community members is not of a wide range;

2. Most social activities occur outside of the reserve boundaries;
3. Many individuals are oriented not only to social activities outside of the reserves but also to outsiders themselves;
4. Very few community organizations exist and the memberships are small; and,
5. Very little corporate activity occurs outside of the Council and the formal organizations.

Frequency of and range of interaction are significant to the extent that they indicate the composition of certain social subgroups that exist within the community. However, they do not indicate the strength of community ties. They may contribute to the maintenance of those ties, but decreased social interaction, for example, does not necessarily weaken those ties. Networks of social relationships not only involve patterns of interaction, but also mental constructs and emotional dispositions. Because certain individuals do not socially interact with each other, such does not mean that they do not relate to each other in a meaningful way. This is particularly the case with large-scale organization, the members of which retain a sense of common identity nonetheless. The common interests and background of individuals forces them to react as a group in opposition to other groups, even though they, as individuals, do not normally interact socially. Both of these patterns-- interaction and "non-interaction"--must be taken into account when considering relationships. The Squamish identify themselves as members of particular networks, depending upon the particular situation at hand--perhaps negatively, in the sense that they are not members of opposing networks; however, intense

identification does exist at other levels and in other situations.

The extent of these networks and their shifting nature cannot be ascertained easily from interaction patterns because these patterns do not usually reveal their actual extent and nature. Such "non-interaction" networks generally do not become noticeable until conflict occurs, and it is within the Council that they are most readily demonstrated to the observer--and even at that, they are usually well-hidden.

Through competition for the economic, political, and social opportunities that the Tribe offered and the demand for equal access (as groups and as individuals) to such opportunities, kinship affiliation has remained as the major underlying factor involved in decision-making and leadership. Because of competition and because of the demand for equality, a status system (a regularized system of inequality based upon the unequal access to economic, political, and social opportunities) has not developed. The egalitarian make-up of the Squamish has, as a consequence, obstructed the development of leadership. Where leadership has developed, it tends to be of an intra-kinship nature rather than of an inter-kinship nature. Prestige is highly valued, but what a Squamish individual might consider to be a gain over his rivals is effectively checked and "neutralized" by his competitors. To give recognition to his accomplishments would, in effect, introduce an imbalance into the system. Such an imbalance would threaten the individual identity of the competing groups, which would be completely unacceptable to them.

This particularistic approach not only pervades the pattern-

ing of social relationships within the community at-large, but it also influences the organization of the Council and its administrative branches. / Functionaries are placed in a somewhat impossible situation; on the one hand they are expected to meet the demands of their office, and on the other the demands of their respective kinship groups. Generally, it is the latter set of demands that prevails. As a consequence, in part, the elected and appointed officials, as representatives of different groups as individuals, have been forced to keep a watchful eye on each other's activities to ensure "an equal access to available opportunities." / The councillors are reluctant to transfer decision-making authority beyond the routine level to its administrative branches for they are afraid of losing control of the situation. The Council as a body possesses authority; no one councillor can gain more personal influence than any other councillor. However, the hierarchical patterning of relationships generally required by most bureaucracies to function effectively and efficiently involves, by definition, an unequal distribution of authority. The Squamish are well aware of this aspect of organization, but they are, at present, unwilling to "introduce an imbalance into the system."

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