The Shubenacadie Band Council and the Indian Brook Band Case Study on Self-Governance

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Executive Summary

For five months the RCAP governance project studied and drafted a closed-response questionnaire on self-government for the Shubenacadie Band Council and the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' Governance Case Study Project. The study's main emphasis was determining the views and thoughts about self-government of Indian Brook residents. The questionnaire probed the community's knowledge of self-government, determined where the people got their information about self-government, and questioned whether they thought the community was ready for a transition to self-government.

Findings

The results showed that Indian Brook residents do not support or fully understand the concept of self-government. Nor do they feel that they are ready for self-government. They also indicated that they have received their knowledge of self-government from other Mi'kmaqs, media, television and newspaper, and the Assembly of First Nations. They also felt that the band council did not have the financial resources to run a government. To finance self-government, the respondents felt that the band should tax non-Mi'kmaq interests and individuals; settle land claims; create band-owned and -operated businesses; sell tax-free tobacco; apply for department of Indian affairs funding and provincial funding. They believe that land claims must be settled before self-government and that land is more important than money; that land ownership must be settled before questions of power and jurisdiction can be resolved; and that shared ownership is more important than private ownership. They identified problems with the existing election process, accountability and service delivery. The respondents wanted to be trained in literacy, legal issues and management.

Conclusion

The principal researcher presented a review draft of the study to the Shubenacadie Band Council on 28 September 28 1993. A motion was passed agreeing to release the review study to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the Indian Brook community.

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Introduction

In Canada, the term self-government has become associated with First Nations people. The general public is still, to some extent, wondering what the term would mean for Canada. Recurring questions include "What is First Nations self-government?", "What form will it take?", "How will it affect the rest of Canada?", and "Where will First Nations self-government actually begin?". All these questions are worrisome to the general population, as well as to First Nations people, and efforts must be made to explore and define the answers.

The Mi'kmaqs of Indian Brook have raised these questions (and many more) in their living rooms and kitchens. Small private debates have occurred among most people, with many arguing for various degrees of self-governance. In some cases, people are afraid for their community's future.

The general struggle among the Mi'kmaq revolves around such questions as how self-government will be financed. Will there be a restructuring of traditional governance? Will taxation be a practice adopted by band governments? What power and jurisdiction will federal/provincial governments have in land management and control, education, culture, health care, law enforcement and justice? Will First Nations band councils need to become accountable to their band members, and how will this be done?

For five months, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Governance Project studied these questions. On 11 May 1993, Christa Williams, project co-ordinator with the Commission, and Jean A. Knockwood, Indian Brook band member, met with the Shubenacadie Band Council to discuss a research project on self-government. A motion was passed by the council, agreeing to participate and support a case study in their community on this issue. The band council hoped that this study would show band members' views on self-government. The research focus was to be the community's vision of governance and other pertinent issues. The study would provide insight into how band members define self-government and whether they

support the concept. It was also hoped that the study would identify training requirements to meet the challenges of governance.

Community Profile

The Indian Brook Reserve is located approximately 80 kilometres north of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The 3,000-acre reserve is located 8 kilometres from the nearest municipality, Shubenacadie, home of the Shubenacadie Wildlife Park. According to a community study, *Community Needs Assessment: Education, Employment and Training Profile, Income and Expenditure Profile, Regional and Global Economic Factors and Community Input*, prepared for the Shubenacadie Band Council, (Nevin et al. 1992) the Indian Brook Reserve was established on 8 May 1820 and was allotted to the "Shubenacadie Band of Indians" along with other lands at New Ross, Pennall and Grand Lake. The Indian Brook lands totalled 3050 acres before 1820. The Shubenacadie Band used and occupied most of the lands in mainland Nova Scotia. There were extensive settlements from Pictou to western portions of the province.

In 1752, an important historical event took place at Indian Brook. A very significant treaty, one that has been referred to as the *Magna Carta* of Indian Aboriginal rights associated with land, hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and trading, was signed in Indian Brook. This treaty is the very foundation of Aboriginal rights settlement in Canada.

According to the Indian Register of Band Population Statistics for the Atlantic Region, produced by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND, 30 June 1993), the Shubenacadie Band has a total registered population of 1,755, consisting of

On-Reserve/Crown	1,100 members
Off-Reserve/Crown	655 members
Bill C-31 Registered	209 members

According to the Indian Brook Membership Clerk, the population of Indian Brook and New Ross is as follows (June 1993):

Age	On-Reserve	Off-Reserve
Under 1	49	7
1-4 years	160	33
5-19	511	151
20-64	978	428
65+	73	43
Total	1771	662

Governing Institution

In the mid-1970s, the Shubenacadie community discovered that the community's original name had been changed by a priest named Father Bourdeau upon his arrival. The band then reverted to its original name — Indian Brook. However, the Shubenacadie Band Council remains the legal name of the organization representing the five communities of Indian Brook, New Ross, Pennal, Dodd's Lot and Grand Lake. The people of the community refer to it as Indian Brook or Shubenacadie, depending upon the age of the speaker. In this study, the community is referred to as Indian Brook and the band council as the Shubenacadie Band Council.

The Shubenacadie Band Council, the local government of Indian Brook, consists of twelve councillors and a chief. Before 1895, the band's custom was that a chief held office for life, and captains (councillors) were elected every three years. At present, the chief and council are elected every two years under the *Indian Act*.

Band elections are regulated by the sections 74-80 of the *Indian Act*. Each band councillor is given a portfolio and receives a quarterly stipend (portfolios include housing, welfare, policing, education, employment, etc.). When encountering problems with program delivery or services, community members are encouraged to meet with the councillor responsible for the relevant portfolio. Band council meetings are open to members of the community. It is not uncommon for community members to participate in debates on housing, welfare, education, and other issues. However, this method may delay discussions of band business and prolong the decision-making process, causing some backlog in band affairs.

Government Services

The Shubenacadie Band Council employs 25 staff members. Some senior staff members have been with the band for more than twenty years, operating under a number of different administrations. Their jobs range from clerks to managers. They provide service and program delivery to community members. The annual operating budget is approximately $6 million, with welfare, housing, and education the most costly budgetary items. This allocation is released annually under a master contribution agreement with the federal government. The agreement covers economic development, lands, revenues and trust, education, social development, community infrastructure, operation and maintenance services, band government, housing and other capital.

Community Facilities, Businesses and Organizations

The Shubenacadie Band Council is the major employer of people within Indian Brook. It also provides office space for other programs or ventures. At present, the band operates a community centre that houses a research centre, a diversion and Aboriginal justice program, a volunteer fire department, an RCMP office, a recreational facility, a senior citizen centre, a youth centre, a daycare facility, and a security training program. In addition, the band has recently constructed an apartment building that houses 19 families. The apartment building complex opened officially in September 1992, providing some relief from housing shortages.[i]

The Indian Brook community is very vibrant and active and has a strong community foundation.

Methodology

The research project began in May 1993 and continued until September of the same year. During that period, the principal investigator and the assistant researchers developed a questionnaire to be used to gather data. The Shubenacadie Band Council and several community members also had input into this process.

The questionnaire consisted of 14 questions and took approximately 20 minutes to complete. The questions were intended to consider

1. whether the community was satisfied with the existing governing system of Indian Brook;

2. community views regarding issues of accountability, jurisdiction, and the sharing of powers;

3. existing financing arrangements, and questions of how the community should support itself under a self-government arrangement;

4. the need for training programs, and what training is required to allow the community to meet the challenges of self-government; and

5. community attitudes toward personnel and service delivery.

A four-person team was involved in the research process.[ii] The team approach proved useful for this study, as each individual brought different expertise and understanding to the

group. Each person brought skills that assisted the effective administration of the project.

To encourage community participation, a letter of support from the band manager was distributed to potential participants and was also placed in the community newsletter.

During a two-week period, the questionnaire was administered to 229 households. Of those, 178 people participated, 29 refused to take part, 12 were harvesting blueberries in the United States, 8 were unavailable, and 2 interviews were terminated before being completed.

The interviews were conducted with randomly selected individuals in each household. To select participants, the community list was divided into blocks with 25 per cent of the population. Each morning and evening the interview team met to discuss the day's work and to create a list of households[iii] to approach. This list was photocopied and distributed to be used as the interview list for the next day.

The interviews were also conducted with randomly selected individuals from within each household. The selection method was based on the number of people in the household over the age of 18. The person whose birth date was closest to the date of the interview was selected. If that individual was unavailable, the next closest birth date was chosen. This process was intended to ensure a cross-section of opinion from the community.

Following the interviews, a focus group meeting was held, which included ten people from various backgrounds, such as business people, technical staff, homemakers, past politicians, and elders. The group included three women and seven men. Each person brought their personal experiences to the group, which permitted a detailed examination of the issues. To ensure an equal voice to all, each person was given an initial chance to speak, and each participant gave his or her opinion of the data collected. The principal researcher then gave her analysis, and the group was asked to respond. This process gave the researchers important insights into the results. The principal researcher also interviewed a few staff members, who were asked to respond to the data analysis.

The study produced a great deal of statistical information that will be of interest to the Royal Commission. However, what is most important to the community of Indian Brook is to have this information broken down and interpreted as a practical list of recommendations designed to move the community toward self-government. Therefore, the principal researcher studied the data and produced such a list, which is set out at the end of this report.

Analysis

To lay out the analysis of the data clearly, it was decided that the items would be classified into six categories: knowledge of self-government; accountability; personnel and service delivery; finances and land claims; membership; and education and training. Some of the findings may overlap into other categories. Given the complexity of the issues, the interpretations are presented in as clear and concise a manner as possible.

In the first part of the questionnaire ─ knowledge of self-government ─ participants were asked to respond to questions regarding their understanding of and support for the concept of self-government and the preparedness of the community for such a goal.

When asked if they understand the concept of self-government, 66% of the people responded no or don't know, and when asked if they support self-government, only 37% of the people interviewed such yes/maybe, while 53% said no/don't know. These findings indicate that the people of Indian Brook are reluctant to get involved with any process leading to self-government. When asked about the community's lack of knowledge of self-government, one elderly focus group participant responded that no one on the reserve has sufficient knowledge of self-government, and that the community must be careful in its deliberations.

When asked how they found out about self-government, a large number of people indicated that they got their impression of self-government from discussions with other Mi'kmaqs, as well as from newspapers, television, and other media, and the Assembly of First Nations (discussions with other Mi'kmaqs, 77.4%; newspapers, television and other media, 72.9%; the Assembly of First Nations, 46.9%). Other possibilities, such as the federal MP, provincial MLA, universities, school, discussions with non-Mi'kmaqs, DIAND, First Nations conferences, and the band council, were not generally indicated as a source of information. This finding raised an interesting problem, for if the community does not understand self-government, what kind of information is being exchanged among the residents? The possibility is that people are faced with a hodgepodge or jumble of concepts, based in part on fear and uncertainty. As a result, a community feeling of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the self-government process would be reinforced. One focus group participant said: "if you don't understand something, how are you expected to tackle the situation?"

A disquieting aspect of this study was that residents of Indian Brook indicated that they feel ill-prepared for self-government. In response to the question about whether the residents of

Indian Brook are ready for self-government, 88% of people responded no or not sure. Yet when asked whether they feel sure that self-government will come, 50% of the participants responded yes. The residents feel that self-government will be imposed upon them. The anxiety expressed by the community focus group reinforced this finding. As one participant put it, "Either way it is going to be forced on us. That's the way everybody feels. Everything is forced on us." It is difficult to prepare for most events, but it is harder when the event is unclear and vague. The notion of an irresistible force descending upon the community may give the impression that there is no one out there looking after their needs. Also there is no one preparing for the emergence of self-government.

In some people's minds, self-government means that a few people will benefit and the rest of the community will fall by the wayside. Community focus group participants brought up the difficulty single mothers with children will have under self-government, since they seem to have the most difficulty now. One said, "It's rough enough as it is, and there are more single mothers getting the same slack as we [elders] are getting and they are coming up with the same conclusions." Communities exercising self-government may have ways to generate revenues; however, limited data exist on whether individual households have become rich with this process.

To correct the current poor understanding and misleading impression of self-government, much work needs to be done to educate the community. This educational process can be made more effective by this study's findings. The study shows that people learn about self-government through discussions, television, and newspapers, so an education program that goes directly into the home should be developed. A team of four people could be trained about self-government, as well as in visual and auditory learning techniques. The team could go into homes and talk about the self-government process. Video tapes could be available, to be watched while a team member is present or at a later time. The video tape could stimulate discussion with team members, or the family could choose to talk about the subject among themselves. It would be reasonable to conduct a second study, to determine whether the information was being absorbed and processed. Another education method could involve open community meetings, where community members could come together to discuss or debate the issues.

Another learning process would be a study of existing models of self-governments, such as the Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec, the Sechelt Band in British Columbia, and First

Nations in the Yukon. Focus group participants suggested that the band study these models in order to get a better understanding of self-government. They also proposed that the band look at the Cherokee in North Carolina, for they are financially stable through ownership of hotels and motels. Another participant presented a copy of a protocol for co-operation and development between Ovide Mercredi, National Chief, Assembly of First Nations, and Chin-Sheng Chuang and Kao Tien Lai, Legislators, Legislative Yuan, Republic of China, as a demonstration of a possible model for the future. It is clear that Indian Brook needs to study the many facets of self-government, and community education is an important one.

The data indicate that people are concerned about preparation for and operation of self-government. The high number of negative replies to questions about community preparedness and whether the community has the human resources for self-government shows how deeply concerned people are with the band council acquiring control of governance. Education, preparation and development of the community seem essential in ensuring a smooth transition to self-government.

Accountability

Questions about accountability were designed to determine whether residents viewed the existing government and organizations as accountable to the community. To clarify accountability, a definition was developed: accountability means that the band council operates for the good of the community and is responsive to community members. The responses to questions on the band council's accountability indicate that the community generally feels that the council is currently not accountable. When asked whether they believe the band council is accountable, 53 per cent of respondents answered no or don't know.

However, the study also indicates that the band council can become more accountable through open council meetings, newsletters and public meetings. When presented with a variety of ways to make council accountable, 89.8% of participants agreed or agreed strongly with open meetings, 88% agreed or agreed strongly with newsletters, and 85% agreed or agreed strongly with other public meetings. Sixty-five per cent disagreed or disagreed strongly with private meetings.

When the principal researcher asked further questions about these findings during the community focus group, a number of issues were brought forward. It was agreed that open

council meetings are a good way to make council accountable, but they also agreed that meetings must be more structured than they are now. A more structured format was said to be necessary to enhance council's image, and council should be expected to follow the ways set out for things to be done. They also suggested that the band council have public meetings once a month or once every two months to allow information to be distributed throughout the community. At present, there is a growing fear that community members are not receiving adequate information on most issues, especially on self-government.

As another way to expand on the open council meeting concept, the focus group recommended that all minutes be posted for community members to read. At present, minutes are posted; however, it is not uncommon for them to be two or three months old. If minutes were available through the community newsletter, it is believed that the band council would be seen as being more answerable to the people. Weekly articles and updates published in newsletters would also be a good way to explain to the community many of the issues that council has been working on.

Focus group participants suggested that common sense needs to play a role in the distribution of services. Council was warned, however, against stretching policies, as that could lead to abuses. Home visits were suggested as a way to check on written and verbal requests presented to council; focus group participants reminded council about the sad stories and tearful presentations that now occur, and it was suggested that council must take time, over a one-week period, to check carefully on situations. Although door-to-door meetings were acceptable to focus group members, replying to requests through written correspondence was thought to be more effective and efficient in the long run. Council may need to develop with the band manager and senior staff members methods to ensure accountability.

It was further suggested that a number of committees be established to ensure community participation and involvement. These committees could include administration and membership, social development, operation and maintenance, education and health, economic development and outreach, smoke shop, policing and capital projects. The committees should have access to the same information as is provided to the relevant portfolio councillor. If this is not the case, community members may continue to use the open council meetings as a way to vent their anger, not necessarily in the most constructive manner.

Access to information may satisfy the community members' need to have council

responsive to them. Also, a grievance committee, or something similar, may not be far off, especially if community members continue to feel frustrated and dissatisfied with the existing arrangement.

Another accountability method proposed by the focus group was a commitment by council members to community services. It was suggested that a councillor should develop a project for the community as a part of his or her commitment to community service. Once the project is approved by the community, the council member could receive an honorarium for carrying out the project. Another suggestion was that councillors should present themselves as candidates for a particular portfolio. For example, councillors interested in housing, welfare or infrastructure should include that information in their campaign, rather than the current selection of a person for each portfolio after the election.

This project demonstrated that respondents want council to make informed decisions, based on sound facts and figures, and to create policies that will allow them to proceed effectively. The band council needs to tighten up its meetings so that time is spent efficiently on band operations. The band council needs to explain its decisions in writing so that information flows from council to households. Complaints need to be handled as delicately as possible, allowing community members to give their side and allowing time for council to check into the situation. Instant replies have portrayed the council as indecisive and unsure of their responsibilities to their electors. Strong government means tough decisions, yet decisions based on official policies, good information and limited outside influences. This process must begin to emerge before self-government is imposed on a community that feels it has no say in matters.

Election of Chief and Council

The study shows that the community wants the existing system to be changed to allow for a more organized election process. Along with extended terms of office for elected members, the major change people indicated is a requirement that each elected officer receive 51 per cent of the ballots cast in order to win. The chief and council need to take some time to study the present electoral system to determine whether they can adapt the current election process to accommodate the needs of the community. If not, the council should study and develop a new election process that will include the proposed changes. Much time and study needs to go into this work. (For full study results, see Appendix 1.)

Personnel and Service Delivery

The research project also examined the existing system to determine whether respondents feel that the community could handle self-government if it were imposed tomorrow. The statements on staffing and personnel gave some insight into how the community felt about existing service delivery and possible ways to improve the situation.

The study found that the respondents do not think that Indian Brook has the necessary human resources to run its government (43.5% of participants said no when asked whether Indian Brook has the necessary human resources). However, the community does not want the band to hire non-Aboriginal people to pick up the slack. Instead it wants the band to create strong employment policies that give first consideration to Indian Brook band members and second consideration to other First Nations people (92.1% responded that they want Mi'kmaq people on the reserve to get preference for jobs; if no one on the reserve is able to fill the job, 76.8% said the band should hire other qualified First Nations people before non-Aboriginal people). When asked about hiring non-Aboriginal people, respondents felt that Mi'kmaq band members could do the work. This became evident when the survey asked about hiring non-Aboriginal experts in a number of identified areas.[iv]

Further, when the focus group was asked about hiring procedures, they felt that the community needs to get its educated people off welfare; their greatest fear was a community of highly educated welfare recipients who cannot get into the right positions. They stated further that in previous years, the band has had to hire people with limited education, since training was difficult to obtain, but now people applying for jobs do not get equal chances since jobs seem to be given to a select few. Another fear was that many jobs are filled by non-Aboriginal people who have either married into the community or came to work for the band to fulfil certain job responsibilities.

A number of suggestions were brought forward by the focus group to address this situation, including a policy on selection committees, on-the-job apprenticeship training, a policy on temporary employment, and preference for people with Mi'kmaq ancestry, meaning the blood line. Focus group discussion suggested that people should get proper training before employment or on-the-job training while the person is in the position. This would allow people with sound educational background to get experience working with the band. This work experience could occur in a number of ways, such as summer employment or internship positions developed

specifically to ensure substantial work experience.

Further, a policy on selection committees could lay out exactly the structure and duties of committee members. The focus group brought forward the concern that "to get a job it is who you know rather than what you know." They said sometimes jobs are designated for certain applicants before interviews are held, and interviews are just a formality. Equal chances for everyone were emphasized throughout the discussion.

Third, apprenticeship training was suggested as a way to improve the community's outlook on employment and staffing. Educated people should be trained to prepare for self-government. As stated earlier, the fear that the human resources needed for self-government are not available was expressed over and over by the focus group.

The people interviewed also emphasized the importance of training, and they included as necessary basic literacy training (90.4% of participants), legal issue training (90.4%), human development initiatives (85.3%), business management skills (85.3%), financial administration (79.7%), entrepreneurship (79.1%), social policy development (74%), and awareness of government and Canadian politics (73.4%).

When the focus group members were asked about non-Aboriginal experts and whether they should be hired, the focus group gave a very practical suggestion. They suggested that non-Aboriginal people be hired on a temporary basis, until an Indian Brook band member was available to do the job. All non-Aboriginal people would be expected to sign an agreement before employment clearly laying out this understanding. In some cases, non-Aboriginal people may work short-term, for a year or longer, but as educated and qualified Indian Brook band members become available, their positions would eventually become available for competition. This policy would include non-Aboriginal people who have no blood line to be recognized as Mi'kmaqs. It is evident that the community members want their children to become highly educated and apply for jobs that they, as parents, never had access to before, and that self-government may give their children opportunities that they were denied.

Staff Members and Service Delivery

Staff members, when asked about the study findings, indicated that structure was the key element in correcting the community's outlook on job accessibility and availability. They felt that structure needs to be imposed so that staff will fully understand the band's mandate. They felt

that it can be confusing at times for them, when government policies state that they are unable to provide certain services but they are expected by the community to do so. It places them in a moral dilemma: whether to give services that will not be reimbursed and eventually cause a deficit, or release the funds and hope that it will be overlooked by the auditors.

The results showed that the community felt powerless in relation to staff members. However, staff members have a similar sense of powerlessness in their role within the present structure. They explained that policy implementation was their main responsibility as administrators. In troubled times, that means they simply must try to get their heads above water, to ensure that next year's funding will meet the budgetary requirements.

Some staff explained that they had job descriptions, while others felt that job descriptions were not clearly laid out. Sometimes, they were saddled with work that was not specified in their original job competition. Other staff wanted a clearer job description so that they would know exactly what they are required to do. A substantial amount of time should be spent with each staff member to determine exactly what they would like to do in their job. Job descriptions should be designed to meet the community needs and job expectations. A small committee should be established with the mandate to review and organize service delivery so that workers and community members feel that their expectations and needs are met. A committee of staff and community members should be selected by council to begin work on this committee within the next three months.

When asked about responses to questions about professionalism and courtesy, one staff member pointed out a number of difficulties and said that some community members can be abusive to staff ─ threatening physical abuse and emotional attacks. The incredible amount of stress associated with these jobs is reflected in the limited community involvement outside of work by band staff. Staff tend to keep their privacy very carefully guarded and pick and choose whether to get involved with activities outside their home. One staff member, while doing volunteer work at the community centre, was approached by a small group of community members who wanted to ask about certain services. Other staff have talked about being in public areas, like grocery stores, and being approached by community members to fix something or get services from the band. One staff member said that staff feel they are no longer considered community members and that the community had made this clear to them.

Regarding the accessibility of staff members, one staff person suggested that an

appointment schedule should be devised: a person wanting an appointment could fill out a form specifying what they would like the staff to respond to; once the staff received the form, they would locate the necessary information or file, so that when the person was present, they could deal with the issue together. As it stands now, the system is open; community members walk into the band office and visit the required personnel. Usually the community member asks the receptionist if a certain person is in the office. If the reply is yes, the community member walks to that person's office. In some cases, this may interrupt a meeting or disrupt work activities. One staff member suggested that community access to staff members needs to be restrained, so that staff can do the necessary paper work and prepare for scheduled appointments. This process may allow the staff to become much more accessible, since it would allow community members to meet privately with staff to with no or limited interruptions.

Complaints regarding service delivery, accessibility, job description and professionalism can be resolved if the staff, chief and council, and community members agree that structuring the operation is a major priority. Time can be used more effectively and efficiently if all three groups agree that organization, structure and a framework are the way to proceed. A staff member stated that many people refer to structure as being bureaucratic or, more commonly, "the white man's way", but he felt that rules and procedures are needed to allow people to get the job done.

Conflict of Interest

Results concerning conflict of interest for band staff who also hold a political position as chief or council member suggest that community members want a stop to this practice. One staff member also believed that this should be expanded beyond the staff, to prevent contractors from holding a political position, since they are recognized as a big employer and a major influence in the distribution of contracts. It was suggested that this group may include people who provide essential services to the band council or community and have a financial/contractual arrangement with the band council. It would seem fair that if staff are being refused the right to participate in band politics because of their employment, then other means of service delivery must be called into question. Again, conflict of interest guidelines need to be studied to ensure that all people are treated fairly. The band council must develop such guidelines before self-government is enacted.

Membership

The question of membership and Mi'kmaq ancestry has been discussed among Mi'kmaqs since the implementation of Bill C-31. When questioned about how Indian Brook should decide who is a Mi'kmaq, most respondents (46.9%) stated that the criterion should be that one or both parents must be Mi'kmaq. When asked who should decide who is a band member, half the respondents replied thought this should be by referendum, and half supported a decision by a membership committee selected by the community. One person who preferred a referendum commented that he/she would rather have 564 people decide whether he/she should be a band member of Indian Brook than a group of twelve.

When asked whether people who live off of the reserve should receive money or services, the respondents overwhelmingly said yes. In terms of access to specific services, the positive responses included health care, 74.6%; post-secondary education, 74.6%; elementary and high school education, 71.2%; other social services, 65.5%; social assistance, 58.2%; and housing, 50.3%.

When the focus group was asked to respond to the results on membership, they appeared to be split. Some felt that the blood line going back to your grandmother and mother is a determining factor. Others believe that a blood line of either parent is fine, as long as one of the parents has a 100% blood line. The blood line was seen as a means to protect Mi'kmaq ancestry. There was a fear that government (or another agency) would say that the blood line of the band has been so diluted that many of the residents should not be considered Mi'kmaq. Preliminary studies by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples of Bill C-31 may indicate that bands should be wary of such occurrences.

Referendum and community committee

The findings show clearly that the community would be in support of either a referendum or a membership committee to decide membership. However, the focus group suggested that the whole community needs to become aware of the increasing population problem, which has reached such an extent that life-long residents are unable to receive basic services such as land, housing and water. Much debate centred around the issue of new members receiving housing before people born and raised in Indian Brook. Other topics of discussion included the idea of opening membership to people without the formal consent of the community. Also, many young

people unable to get houses with their own home bands are coming to Indian Brook and acquiring homes. One focus group member said, "Look at our people first before outsiders, because many people are coming here and taking services, when they should be on their own reserves."

Many fears for the children were expressed by the group. All agreed that issues involving a child's membership should be dealt with sensitively and delicately, unlike previous acts and bills that allowed assumptions to direct how children were treated. One group member stated, "If you were in favour of the Band, your child wouldn't have their name posted on the board for people to protest their membership. But if you were not in favour, your child's name was placed." Children born to band members should automatically be registered as band members.

The survey and focus group participants all agreed that the current membership process needs to change so that band members can be consulted about band membership. Again, all felt that the referendum or community committee was the way to go; however, the focus group felt that a structure should be established for this process. For example, referendums could occur every two years, and people granted membership could have a waiting period before receiving new housing. There was a suggestion of a five-year period, similar to the policy of the Millbrook Reserve in Truro, Nova Scotia.

Identified problems associated with membership

Other issues that have an effect on membership were identified for debate. These include Bill C-31, adoption, and marriage to American First Nations individuals. The federal government's policy on reinstatement has caused some major problems for Mi'kmaq women. Some women were reinstated under Bill C-31 and regained their status, while other women, married after Bill C-31, were not affected by the bill. Both groups view themselves as Mi'kmaq or Aboriginal and not as `Bill C-31' Indians. This situation is very confusing, and time needs to be set aside for its study.

Adoption also presents special problems for the membership. For example, Mi'kmaq people adopting non-Aboriginal children may need some clarification as to whether the child they raise will be considered a registered Mi'kmaq. Again, this needs to be studied with great delicacy and sensitivity.

The final issue that needs some attention when dealing with membership is the marriage

of Mi'kmaq people to members of American First Nations. One focus group member gave information about a relative who had married a non-Mi'kmaq, a First Nations person from the United States, and how Bill C-31 had affected the family. Their children were unable to pass their status on to the grandchildren. Again, time needs to be spent on studying the overall effects of Bill C-31 and membership.

to resolve the issues surrounding membership, the chief and council should organize a number of discussion sessions. These problems require much discussion and dialogue to resolve them. Therefore, chief and council should organize a meeting to deal with membership, and public notices should be posted and published in newsletters, post office, stores, etc. To ensure that women have access to these meetings, the band should arrange for child care services for parents with young children, so that the parents may participate in the discussions without worrying about their children.

Finances

To operate as a government, the Indian Brook Band has to have an understanding of its possible revenue base. When developing the survey, the principal researcher wanted to find out whether respondents understood the principles of finance ─ that money must be generated to pay for services. When asked whether Indian Brook would have the financial resources necessary to support self-government, 58.8% said no. When respondents were asked about Indian Brook operating with no outside funding resources, respondents said that most programs could not be supported. The respondents indicated that Indian Brook couldn't support itself in regard to economy and finance (74.6% of participants), education (61%), health care (73%), social welfare (72%), law enforcement (65%), or justice (67%). The findings showed that community members had some knowledge about service delivery and cost, and responses to a question about how Indian Brook should finance itself suggested that community members understood the need for external and internal sources of revenue.

External revenue

For purposes of this report, external revenue sources is taken to mean funds found outside Indian Brook. This would include sources such as DIAND and the government of Nova Scotia.

When asked how Indian Brook should support itself financially, respondents replied that

the community should tax non-Mi'kmaq interests and individuals (supported by 78.5% of participants); settle land claims (74.6%); initiate band-owned and -operated businesses (67.8%); sell tax-free tobacco (66.7%); use DIAND funding (62.7%); and use provincial funding (50.8%). The respondents did not support the taxing of Mi'kmaq lands, Mi'kmaq individuals or Mi'kmaq businesses, or the establishment of gambling casinos.

At present, federal and provincial budget allocations to Indian Brook are based on a specific financial management system, whereby funding levels are established according to a number of determining factors, based primarily on the number of on-reserve residents. The formula for funding is the average of regional allocations times the number of on-reserve residents. The band operates under a master contribution agreement, with a current budget of $6 million to cover economic development, land revenues and trust, education, social development (welfare), community infrastructure and service (operations and maintenance), band government, housing and other capital.

The view that Indian Brook should establish a financial relationship with the provincial government is a very progressive train of thought. Band governments throughout Canada have been generally unresponsive to the federal government's concept of transferring its fiduciary responsibilities to the provinces. The Penner report on self-government discussed the concept of equalization being granted to band governments as a means of intergovernmental financing, instead of formula funding or grants. Band government would be recognized as being similar to provincial governments and receive an annual grant from Parliament to operate and deliver services. What was being proposed was a constitutionally entrenched First Nations government or a third order of government. Although this has been proposed by First Nations people, however, the community focus group seemed less concerned with these details. Their real understanding may be that money is money, and that the band needs all the resources it can find to support itself financially.

Internal revenue

Internal revenue is taken to mean funds that can be generated within the community itself. The respondents identified a number of such possibilities. The participants suggested taxing non-Mi'kmaq interests and individuals, settling land claims, establishing band-owned and -operated businesses, and selling tax-free tobacco as possibilities.

Taxing non-Mi'kmaq interests

The process of taxing non-Mi'kmaq interests and individuals may be similar to what non-Aboriginal governments practise. Indian Brook would be expected to tax non-Aboriginal spouses, personnel and service deliveries. This would include non-Aboriginal people who have been able to make money or take money from the band, such as repair people, delivery people, suppliers, etc. ─ people who have made their living from Indian Brook's money. This view of taxing non-Mi'kmaq interests and individuals is a concept that Indian Brook should study. For example, under Revenue Canada Taxation guidelines a First Nations person with reported employment income on-reserve is exempt from income tax; applicants using this income tax guideline are required to justify wages earned on-reserve. The findings would suggest that income tax regulations should be devised that require any wages earned by non-Aboriginal people on reserves or Indian settlements be diverted back to bands as income tax. Suppliers, architects and repair personnel receive payment from Indian Brook for services rendered. However, the income taxes deducted from these wages are given to Revenue Canada. It would seem logical that income earned by non-Aboriginal people on Indian lands or settlements should be given to the band governments as a source of revenue. This revenue-generating process should be studied so that bands can take advantage of dollars taken away from the communities. When discussing this analysis with the focus group, members seemed to feel that taxing non-Aboriginal people was acceptable.

Land claims

All respondents interviewed suggested that Indian Brook should begin work on land claims. The survey results said that the band council should begin work on settling land ownership before work on power and jurisdiction; 65 per cent of respondents believe that land claims must be settled before self-government is achieved; 65 per cent agree that land is necessary for people to support themselves economically; and 58 per cent agree that the ownership money that would be received is necessary to finance self-government. Similar results were found for shared ownership and money. All data on money, land ownership and the need for land gave support to settling land claims. It is reassuring to find that respondents believe that land is more important than money, that shared land is more important than individual ownership, that land is needed for

the people to support themselves and, most important, that ownership must be settled before the band starts discussions on power and jurisdiction.

The respondents want Indian Brook to settle land claims as a means to support self-government. However, there will be a number of very important questions attached to this process, such as what to do with settlement monies. The focus group supported the survey findings by explaining that the band has no natural resources to develop, so generating revenue from reserve lands will be difficult. The band will need to concentrate time and dollars on researching land claims. Other outstanding issues that must be addressed in the settlement include such things as if the band settles land claims, does the band becomes the landlord of Nova Scotia, and what does that mean for the community members? In addition, the focus group expressed concern about what the band will do with the money. They suggested that the band may need to study the importance of investing the financial resources, so that future generations can live off of the interest.

There was a split in the focus group when it came to giving financial settlements directly to band members. One side felt that funds need to be invested and that the interest generated from the investment could subsidize self-government; others wanted the money in their hands so that the funds would not subsidize the band's deficit.

The major issue of this debate is to give or not to give. The band will require some method of financing, besides federal and provincial government funding, since services and financial resources will grow with the population. The band council needs to get substantial information from both sides, so that any decision it makes can appease all concerned. Land claims is a very important issue, and the band may need to arrange a number of sessions to get input from the entire community.

Much discussion in the focus group surrounded Aboriginal title and Aboriginal rights and whether the band would need to go to court to settle land ownership. They felt that the community should take more advantage of the Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Resource Centre (TARR) for information and material.

Band-owned and -operated businesses

The survey data on whether to use taxation as a means of generating revenue firmly said no. As a result of this negative response, the band will have to develop other strategies. For funding

self-government, the band should look seriously at operating band businesses. Nevertheless, the band may have to study the impact of Crown corporations and privatization on the provincial and federal governments.

Generally speaking, non-Aboriginal governments in previous years have used government businesses or crown Corporations as a means to generate revenues. Companies such as Air Canada and Petro Canada are prime examples of commercial Crown investments. In the past several years, the federal government has chosen to sell these investments into the private sector. The reasoning behind such actions is the concern over the level of debt and accountability for reducing the federal deficit. This process is known as privatization. Governments get out of business ventures by selling or transferring them to individuals or private business to manage. This activity does two things: it gets rid of costs related to the companies' operation, and it allows government to tax the individuals or private businesses that have taken over the company.

Although this is a brief description of the principles of privatization, it does relate to this discussion. The residents of Indian Brook do not want the band to tax land, individuals or businesses, yet they want the band to continue to provide the same level of operations and service delivery that they have come to expect. The problem is how the band council can meet its financial obligations to a growing community and at the same time control the growing deficit.

The survey findings indicate that the community wants the band council to create band-owned and -operated businesses instead of taxing individuals, property and businesses. The idea for band businesses is not new; the band did have a number of ventures such as the lumber mill, the bean sprout operation, and others. The interesting point is how does the band decide what businesses to create and in which to invest a substantial amount of band funds to make a profit? The only answer that the study can propose is to develop a strong economic plan. This means that a great deal of the band's time, energy and money will have to go into a good business plan. Otherwise, the band may have to look seriously into taxation.

it was suggested that the band could begin with a detailed needs assessment of the community. This process has occurred in the past, and such businesses as a gas bar, auto repairs and apartments were clearly identified as necessary. This information was released, community members or entrepreneurs went about setting up the operations, and the band missed out on some very favourable opportunities. In the future, early release of information on business ventures could be a disadvantage for the band, since there may be competition between the band and

entrepreneurs regarding use of the information. One safeguard against open competition would be to hold information until the band has developed an economic plan.

Community members demand information, yet they want the band to create innovative approaches to businesses and enterprises so that they won't be taxed. The problem begins with how much information should be distributed and how much should be kept for band use. When respondents were asked whether the band should keep information on a needs assessment private to create band-owned business plans that would eliminate personal and land taxation, they said that the band should withhold the information until they have developed their plans. The band must realize that there would be pockets of resistance from the community toward this activity, but if the information would create an economic base that would prevent taxation, then the band must have the community's trust to do so, even if it means withholding information.

Another important issue is that community members must remember that government-owned businesses don't always make a profit. When personnel were interviewed on the findings and analysis about creating band businesses, they stated that people working for band corporations do not always show individual drive; for them, it's like any other job.

This is a hard decision for any governing body, and the band council must spend a great deal of time deciding whether to create businesses to offset their budget or look at taxation as a means of subsidizing future budgetary needs. The band should consider developing a team of staff and council to study this issue in more detail.

Selling tax-free cigarettes

The study's findings on selling tax-free cigarettes indicated that the band should sell tax-free cigarettes to generate revenue. Recent newspaper articles about the First Nations in Akwesasne and organized crime shed negative light on this activity. Under the law, First Nations people do not pay taxes on tobacco, and there is a potential profit of $15.00 per carton. The band should study this revenue-generating option by allowing bands to place a tax on cigarettes. Although this idea was identified in the study, research and negotiations with the federal and provincial governments in this regard may be the band's best direction.

Services for Off-Reserve Population

In the past few years, debate about providing temporary assistance to off-reserve band members

has ended in dispute. Off-reserve residents wanting temporary assistance with welfare and other social services have caused problems because of existing administrative guidelines. A question regarding this issue was included in the survey to determine the community's views on the issue. The results show that the community wants off-reserve band members to get services. Focus group members agreed that off-reserve people should be eligible for services. One member stated that in past years, all band members received services whether they lived on- or off-reserve, and that this policy change has occurred in the past 20 years. For example, it was common for off-reserve residents to receive house renovations, welfare, and school supplies. The focus group members agreed that people living off-reserve should be eligible for services.

Staff views on this finding ran counter to those of the focus group. Their main concern was with funding off-reserve needs. In the area of housing, Indian Brook has a huge backlog and major problems with on-reserve funding. The personnel felt that the band should consider how and where they will get the money to pay for such services.

Although the survey results suggested that off-reserve people should have access to band services, respondents did not want to give them the right to vote for chief and counsel. Surprisingly, a majority (53%) of the respondents agreed that only people who live on the reserve should be allowed to vote. One would have thought that the community would give off-reserve people the right to vote, just like they did with band services. But they did not agree to off-reserve people voting for elected positions. When the focus group was asked about this finding, they suggested that people on-reserve felt that off-reserve membership would not be familiar with candidates, and that could influence the outcome of elections.

Education and Training

The findings regarding training indicate that education of the community should be a priority. The respondents clearly want to be able to read and understand material related to business management, policy development, and financial administration. At least 90 per cent of respondents indicated clearly that they want literacy and legal issues to be top priority in training. All other areas fall close behind, with emphasis on human resources development, business management, financial administration and entrepreneurship. There was support for other aspects of training, such as social policy development and awareness of government and policy, among more than three-quarters of respondents.

The focus group members and the staff agreed that the statistical information is a clear picture of the need for training and education to meet the challenge of self-government. The band council's responsibility towards the community is very clear; they want education and training now.

Conclusion

This research is based on a closed-response questionnaire, answered by residents of Indian Brook, to determine their knowledge of self-government and to determine whether they feel ready for governance. It looked at accountability; personnel and service delivery; membership; finance and education, as well as issues surrounding land claims and ownership. It gave insight as to how the band council should approach all these issues. It gave the community the opportunity to voice their opinions in a written form that will be available for repeated consultation. The study made self-government a reality that the community of Indian Brook has to face. The study will make the transition easier for the people of Indian Brook, since they now have some tools to develop their future.

Recommendations

1. An education program on self-government should be developed that is directed at the household level. A team of people should be trained about self-government and the use of visual and auditory learning techniques. Video tapes should be developed that can be watched while the team member is present or viewed at a later date.

2. An open community meeting should be organized to discuss and debate the concept of self-government and what Indian Brook needs to do to meet the challenges associated with the goal.

3. The Shubenacadie Band Council should develop a study team consisting of community members and staff to review other models of self-government and report their findings back to the council for discussion.

4. A number of changes are needed to enhance council's image:

    (a)   The Shubenacadie Band Council meetings need to be better structured to allow community members access to the meetings.

    (b)   The Shubenacadie Band Council should develop a grievance committee for the

resolution of complaints. The complaints should be investigated and brought to council for resolution. All materials should be put in writing.

(c) The band council should take time to investigate requests for services, allowing themselves a seven-day working period to do so.

(d) Explanations of factors that influence the band council's decisions regarding community members should be put in writing within a seven-day working period.

5. A number of community committees should be established to ensure community participation and involvement. These committees should include administration and membership; social development; operations and maintenance; education and health; economic development and outreach; smokeshop; policing; and capital construction. Each committee should have access to all necessary materials and should be provided information similar to that given to councillors responsible for the relevant portfolio.

6. (a) The election process for chief and council needs to be studied to determine what changes are needed and whether they can be incorporated into the *Indian Act*. If these proposed changes cannot be implemented under the *Indian Act*, then the council should consider a new election process that will accommodate the necessary changes.

(b) Candidates campaigning for council should provide written statements on their areas of interest and portfolios.

(c) Once elected, each council member must develop a project for the community as a part of their commitment to community service. Once approved by the various committees, the councillor should receive an honorarium to carry out the project.

7. (a) Strategic hiring plans, with special emphasis on Indian Brook Band members, must be a priority of the chief and council.

(b) The band council must develop strong employment policies that give special consideration to Indian Brook Band members, then to other First Nations people.

(c) A policy for selection committees should be developed outlining the structure of the committee; the duties of committee members; and safety mechanisms to ensure there is no favouritism or nepotism. This should include an appeals process.

(d)   Non-Aboriginal people who have no bloodline to Mi'kmaqs should be given temporary employment status by the band, so that educated and qualified Indian Brook Band members can eventually compete for their positions.

(e)   First priority for employment positions with the band should be given to Indian Brook Band members. If positions remain vacant after all qualified Mi'kmaq members have been interviewed, then the band should consider First Nations people from elsewhere in Canada.

(f)   The band's outreach worker must initiate a search for Indian Brook Band members with academic credentials and previous work experience, and the list should be kept current for use by the band and other agencies.

8.   (a)   Time must be spent by council with staff members to determine exactly what should be included in staff job descriptions. Job descriptions should be designed to meet community needs and the staff's job expectations.

(b)   A small committee of staff and community members should be organized to begin to examine job descriptions and working conditions.

(c)   An appointment system should be developed such that community members can inform the receptionist (who can then fill out an appropriate form) as to what he or she wants to discuss with the staff. This approach provides for more structure.

9.   Conflict of interest guidelines should be studied to ensure that all people are treated fairly.

10.   A community meeting on membership should be organized by the chief and council within three months of the release of this report. Public notices should be posted in the post office, stores, etc. Notices should be published in the newsletter. Child care services should be provided for women with young children, so that they can participate in the discussion. The agenda topics should include

(a)   Should membership be decided by bloodline?

(b)   Should a referendum occur every two years?

(c)   How should the community deal with adoption and membership?

(d)   A discussion on Bill C-31 and how it affects membership.

(e)   What should the community do to prevent over-population?

11.   Land claims must be settled before the band starts a discussion about power and

jurisdiction.

(a)   A meeting should be called to discuss how the settlement should be handled.

(b)   The entire community should be invited to discuss the issues of land claims and settlement.

(c)   Much discussion should take place on Aboriginal rights and Aboriginal title. The Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Resource Centre should be asked to arrange training on Aboriginal rights, Aboriginal title and legal issues.

Notes

I wish to thank the Shubenacadie chief and council for their support and patience with the case study. Without their backing, this review would not have been possible. They knew that the study would bring out criticism of their operation and governance. The fact that they were open to the critical comments made by the respondents demonstrates their courage, leadership, openness and desire to serve the people. I would also like to thank all the residents of Indian Brook who completed the questionnaire and made the researchers feel at home.

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Appendix 1
Attitudes Toward Indian Brook Government
Structure and Social Services

In the fifth section of the study, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a series of specific statements about the decision-making process, voting, support services, service delivery and personnel. In the final stages of the survey, it was decided that the existing system should be examined to determine whether community members felt that if self-government were imposed tomorrow, the community could handle it. To come to some conclusions, the strongly agree and agree, and the strongly disagree and disagree percentages are combined in the following list of results. The community was asked to respond to 27 statements dealing with governance. The results are as follows:

1. 41.3% strongly disagree/disagree that the band makes most of its decisions based on the official policies it must follow.

2. 71.2% strongly agree/agree that the band council sometimes makes decisions based on pressure exerted by individuals.

3. 62.7% strongly disagree/disagree that band council meetings are well run.

4. 60.5% strongly disagree/disagree that the band council explains the official policies it uses to make decisions.

5. 62.1% strongly disagree/disagree that the band council explains the decisions it makes.

6. 53.6% strongly disagree/disagree that the band council and staff work together well.

7. 54.8% strongly agree/agree that we should change how we select the chief and council.

8. 49.1% strongly agree/agree that the chief and council should have 3- or 4-year terms of office.

9. 74% strongly agree/agree that band employees should not hold office as chief or council member.

10. 50.2% strongly disagree/disagree that elections are well organized.

11. 53.1% strongly agree/agree that only people who live on the reserve should be allowed to vote.

12. 37.8% strongly agree/agree that the *Indian Act* lays out the best way to hold band elections; 28.2% responded `don't know' to this question.

13. 93.2% strongly agree/agree that the chief and council should give the community an annual accounting.

14. 74.6% strongly agree/agree that no one should be elected to chief or council with less than 51% of ballots cast.

15. 43.5% agree that the band staff mostly follow the policies that are supposed to control the way services are delivered; 17.5% responded `don't know'.

16. 91.5% strongly agree/agree that band staff should all have clear job descriptions.

17. 53.7% strongly disagree/disagree that band staff are courteous and professional in their jobs.

18. 54.3% strongly disagree/disagree that band staff are accessible.

19. 42.9% strongly disagree/disagree that band staff are qualified to do their jobs.

20. 49.2% strongly agree/disagree that complaints about the way services are delivered are handled well.

22. 65% strongly disagree/disagree that they are satisfied with the way services are delivered.

23. 66.7% strongly disagree/disagree that it is easy to find out about jobs.

24. 59.3% strongly disagree that people who get jobs on the reserve are hired because of their qualifications.

25. 75.1% strongly agree/agree that our welfare program should be changed into a guaranteed annual income.

26. 73.4% strongly agree/agree that land is more important than the money a land claim settlement would bring.

27. 50.9% strongly agree/agree that shared ownership of land is more important than a certificate of possession.

Attitudes Toward Government, Organization and Power
In the second part of the questionnaire, government, organization and power, participants were asked to respond to the change of the band council system to traditional governance, band council accountability and ways to make the band council accountable. When asked whether they were in favour of Indian Brook moving away from the band council system to traditional governance based on Mi'kmaq values and structure, 55 per cent of participants responded no or don't know.

The final question on self-government concerned who should have power in various areas; respondents were given several choices, including Indian Brook, band grouping, federal government and provincial government or a combination of categories. Respondents answered in the following ways:

1. Land management and control should be regulated by band grouping (more than one band organizing together) only ─ 31.6%, by Indian Brook only ─ 9.9%.

2. Education should be controlled by band grouping only, 33.9%, by Indian Brook only, 28.2%.

3. Culture should be controlled by Indian Brook only, 44.6%, by band grouping only, 31.6%.

4. Health care should be controlled by Indian Brook only, 25.4%, by band grouping only, 22%.

5. Social welfare should be regulated by Indian Brook only, 35.6%, by band grouping only, 22%.

6. Law enforcement should be controlled by Indian Brook only, 27.1%, by federal government only, 19.4%, by band grouping only, 16.4%.

7. Justice should be controlled in a more involved way, including Indian Brook only 20.9%, by band grouping only, 18.1%, by federal government only, 15.8%, by Indian Brook, band grouping and province, 11.9%.

8. Band membership should be regulated by Indian Brook only, 56%.

9. Housing should be regulated by Indian Brook only, 48%.

10. Infrastructure (water, sewage, roads) should be controlled by Indian Brook only, 45.2%.

11. Control of natural resources should be regulated by Indian Brook only, 35.6%.

12. Taxation should be regulated by Indian Brook only, 28.2%, by band grouping only, 21.5%.

¡The facilities within the community are a band administration building; alcohol/drug treatment centre (Eagle's Nest Recovery House); St. Catherine's Parish; Sister Elizabeth Cody Kindergarten School & Playground; Indian Brook Volunteer Fire Department; Medical Services Building; Education Department; Mi'kmaq Family & Children Services; Diversion & Native Justice Program; Treaty & Aboriginal Rights Research Centre; child care worker; Glebe House; water/sewage facilities; water tower; three fastball fields; Mi'kmaq Post Office; Maloney's Gas Station; RCMP office (Native constables).

The businesses and services available in the community are three convenience stores; three craft outlets; Bernard Siding Installation; Jim McKenzie's Landscaping; Maloney's Fuels; Micmac Building Supplies; Sack Construction; Sack's Taxi Service; Syliboy's Security; Gary's Auto Repair; school buses; medical drivers.

The organizations operating in Indian Brook are Indian Brook Seniors Club; Indian Brook Youth Club; Indian Brook Drama Club; Volunteer Fire Department; RCMP youth programs; St. Catherine's Parish Council; Indian Brook Men's Senior Fastball; Indian Brook Women's Tri-Star Team; two Indian Brook boys' ball teams; Native alcohol and drug AA program.

[ii]The team consisted of Jean Knockwood, principal researcher; Leslie Googoo, assistant researcher; Debbie Thiebaux, assistant researcher; and Julie Martin, data processor. They were assisted by Michael O'Sullivan, who developed the statistical software system that was used to compile and analyze the data gathered and who provided very important guidance throughout.

[iii]A household is defined as a family or a single person living in his or her own house in the community. There are 235 households in Indian Brook.

[iv]Another question asked about whether the band should hire non-Aboriginal experts to work in several areas. Responses: economy and finance ─ 49.7% said no; education ─ 62.7% said no; culture ─ 91% said no; health care ─ 52.5% said no; social welfare ─ 67.2% said no; law enforcement (police) ─ 55.4% said no; justice (court system) ─ 55.4% said no.