

Tsawwassen First Nation

Tsawwassen Government, Trust and Development

Fourth Report in the Tsawwassen Quality of Life Study Series



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Summary

Following the signing of the Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement (Treaty), the Tsawwassen took on new responsibilities for creating laws and policies, and directing the growth of the Tsawwassen community. The performance of these duties affects the interests of Tsawwassen Members on and off Tsawwassen Lands. Regardless of where they live, Tsawwassen Members express a strong sense of cultural identity, and they sharply distinguish between the trust they have in other Tsawwassen Members and the trust they have in non-Tsawwassen people and agencies. Among Tsawwassen Members, trust is strongly rooted in their relationship with the new government and the features of Tsawwassen culture that define the differences between themselves and the rest of society. There is a strong relationship between the level of generalized trust that an individual has and that person's assessment of the Tsawwassen Government. Trust is also strongly related to the extent to which an individual is involved in their community. This analysis explores important foundations of what holds Tsawwassen Members together as a community and as a distinct group of people, and the role of trust in these social processes.

In this report, we examine the ways that Members view the Tsawwassen Government and examine the factors that have the strongest influence on their opinions regarding the effectiveness of their government. In Part I, we examine the structure of trust among Tsawwassen Members, and the attitudes and relationships that characterize the bond between Tsawwassen Members and each other, and between Members and the rest of society. In Part II, we examine the complex relationship between trust and approval of the Tsawwassen Government, and examine the key issues that intersect with government approval. Key insights in this report include the following findings:

- Approval of the Tsawwassen Government is strongly linked to trust in other Tsawwassen Members and the people that immediately surround them. Those that feel socially isolated from and less trustful of other Members, are also less supportive of the new government.

- Members that are more highly knowledgeable of Tsawwassen institutions and Tsawwassen Government agencies tend to have stronger feelings of trust in Tsawwassen Members and the people that immediately surround them. This finding demonstrates that the growth and development of the Tsawwassen Government is a process that is affecting the very social fabric that holds their community and their Membership together.
- Tsawwassen Members have a range of attitudes about the new direction the Band has taken with the signing of Treaty, and the implications that this transition holds for their well-being. These attitudes influence their evaluations of their Tsawwassen Government. Some Members see their new government as a work in progress, and the Tsawwassen Government faces a dual challenge that includes the performance of their duties and management of their Members' interests, as well as building and maintaining support among Members to allow the government to help transform their long-term visions into reality.
- The issues that have the strongest relationship with approval of Tsawwassen Government and which have the greatest potential for affecting the way that Members view their government are different than the issues that Members openly identify as the most important issues in their community. Tsawwassen Government decisions should be informed by both the issues that are most important to the Members, and the issues that affect their approval of the government.

Issues with the strongest relationship with Tsawwassen Government approval	
1	Encouraging a strong Tsawwassen economy
2	Ensuring land development occurs sustainably
3	Facilitating land development
4	Creating jobs for the Tsawwassen Members
5	Providing outside school activities for youth
6	Providing services and support for the elderly
- Issues related to the use of land and economic development lay at the heart of the relationship between Members and their government. These findings suggest that more open dialogue of issues related to economy, land, and sustainability may be helpful in strengthening the relationship of trust between Members and their government.
- Issues related to education, including providing early childhood and education for Tsawwassen youth are seen as vitally important issues in the community, but do not play a key role in shaping Tsawwassen Government approval. It is important that the government remain attentive to education, and work with the outside agencies that shape educational opportunities, so that Members' interests are protected. The education of Tsawwassen youth is an issue that holds equal importance to both Members living on Tsawwassen Lands and Members living off Tsawwassen Lands.
- Knowledge of Tsawwassen institutions and Tsawwassen Government agencies plays an influential role in shaping approval of the Tsawwassen Government when economic issues are considered. Increasing Members' knowledge of their new government and its many agencies may help strengthen their trust in the government when it comes to dealing with economic issues.

- When considering matters of the economy and jobs, many Members are pulled between their support for the new Tsawwassen Government, and the sense of stability they felt during past arrangements under the Indian Act. Members' trust in their new government is still developing, and the Tsawwassen Government still has work to do in securing the faith of their Members in their ability to manage certain important issues, with the growth of the economy and expectations related to the creation of jobs being among the most important issues.
- Ensuring sustainability of land development has a strong relationship with Tsawwassen Government approval, and is a particularly influential issue among Members that live on Tsawwassen Lands. Both residents of Tsawwassen Lands, and Members living elsewhere value the environment and care about the sustainability of development. However, residents of Tsawwassen Lands report a greater stake in the development of the lands, and view the issue of sustainability differently than Members that live elsewhere.
- Members with higher levels of education are more critical of the Tsawwassen Government when programs for youth are considered. The government may want to consult Members with college and university education to determine if there is more that they can do to assist Tsawwassen youth. Programs for youth are important to both Tsawwassen Lands residents and Members living elsewhere, and Members express interest in programs that help keep youth close to their community and their culture.
- Care for Elders remains an important issue to Members, both in relation to its importance to the community and in relation to Tsawwassen Government approval. Younger Members and older Members both view the provision of services and support for the elderly as an important issue. The relationship between Elders programs and Tsawwassen Government approval is primarily based among residents of Tsawwassen Lands. Programs that help support Elders within the community may help support continuity of relationships between generations, and support stronger relations of trust among Members.

Introduction

On April 3rd 2009, the Tsawwassen First Nation signed the Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement (Treaty), signalling a new era in the governance and future of their Members and their lands. With the signing of Treaty, the Indian Act no longer applies to Tsawwassen Members with the exception of determining status, and tax-exemptions that are to be phased out over the coming years. Treaty resulted in Tsawwassen regaining exclusive control over 724 hectares of land, with additional harvesting and hunting rights extended over wider areas that form their traditional territories. Perhaps the most important part of Treaty is the formation of a new Tsawwassen Government, and the empowerment of the Tsawwassen First Nation to pass laws and set policies, build their community and develop their lands, and shape the future for their Members.

Following the signing of Treaty, the Tsawwassen Legislature passed 23 new laws and their Constitution Act to outline the structure of their government. The move to self-governance has been accompanied by new responsibilities and obligations for the elected Chief and Legislature. Their expanded jurisdiction allows the Tsawwassen Government to create laws related to land and resource management, education, health care, and social services. Along with the lands and assets obtained in Treaty, the ability to collect property tax and engage in taxation sharing relationships with the federal and provincial governments provides the Tsawwassen Government with substantial revenues and resources that they manage on behalf of their Members. The responsibility to manage these assets in the interests of the Members is also accompanied by the obligation to deliver services and programs to both their Members living on and off their lands and to non-Members living on their lands. In this respect, the choices made by Tsawwassen increasingly affect both their own Members and the society that surrounds them.

The return to self-determination also signals a period of institutional growth, during which the Tsawwassen Government faces the challenge of mastering their new roles and responsibilities, and

Tsawwassen Members must come to terms with a new set of governing relationships. Prior to the recent return to self-government, Tsawwassen First Nation neither ceded authority over its lands nor gave up its traditional structures of authority and social organization in the face of settler control. Indeed, the relationships that defined authority within Tsawwassen and which shaped social interaction among the Members persisted throughout their period under the Indian Act. Traditional forms of authority and interaction are far more than a backdrop or

"I'm very, very excited about my culture and I'm proud of who I am and what I'm about." (TFN105)

"I feel very empowered when I vote. I feel empowered when I get sent these letters." (TFN501)

"It's not the only part of my identity, of course, you simply can't carve that part of yourself away...It's reinforced by the fact that I have an opportunity to work here as well and to kind of contribute to the positive change that's happening in the community". (TFN102)

part of Tsawwassen history. The relationships among individuals and families and the broader Tsawwassen Membership are an integral part of the new structure of governance that determines their futures.

Tsawwassen identity and Membership does not end at the border of Tsawwassen Lands; it extends to wherever Members may live. Unlike residents of other communities in Canada, Tsawwassen Members that leave or live outside their home community take with them attachments that are defined by specific membership rights and entitlements. Of course, Membership in the Tsawwassen First Nation is not merely defined by rules and regulations related to lands, benefits, and status. It is clearly and powerfully defined by the strong sense of cultural identity that Members possess, and the pride that they hold in relation to being a Tsawwassen person. The vast majority of interviewed Tsawwassen Members identify strongly with Tsawwassen culture, and see relationships with the land as an integral part of both their personal and cultural identity (see Table 1 on following page).

Table 1: Tsawwassen Culture and Identity

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
As a Tsawwassen Member I am culturally proud.	49%	37%	9%	3%	2%
I feel a strong sense of belonging to the Tsawwassen First Nation	38%	44%	9%	5%	4%
The natural environment is important to my culture.	56%	41%	3%	0%	0%
The natural environment is important to who I am.	54%	39%	7%	0%	0%

Tsawwassen Members, both on and off their lands, see themselves as a distinct group defined by a shared cultural identity. In this report, we show how the social and geographic borders that distinguish Tsawwassen Members from the rest of society play a key role in shaping the relations of governance between Members and their new government. In Part I of this report, we examine the way that Members view the Tsawwassen Government and their opinions regarding the effectiveness of that government. In Part II, we examine the structure of trust among Tsawwassen Members, and the feelings and relationships that characterize the bond between Tsawwassen Members and each other, and between Members and the rest of society. In Part III, we examine both trust and perceptions of government, and provide a series of models that reveal some of the patterns of understanding and social organization that shape the relationship between Tsawwassen Members and their government. Together, these analyses provide a window into the patterns of trust and social interaction that bind Tsawwassen Members to their culture and shape their attitudes toward their new government.

Part One: Government Approval

This report is derived from data collected in a 2012 study of social well-being among Tsawwassen Members. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 156 Members, representing 60% of all Members 18 years of age or older. The survey included sets of questions on various topics, including issues related to the Tsawwassen Government, trust in others, the signing of Treaty, and the issues that are most important to Tsawwassen Members. A key target in this report is the degree of approval that Members have in regard to the Tsawwassen Government and the tasks it performs. The survey data collected in 2011/2012 included a set of questions related to Members' assessment of the Tsawwassen Government (see Table 2).

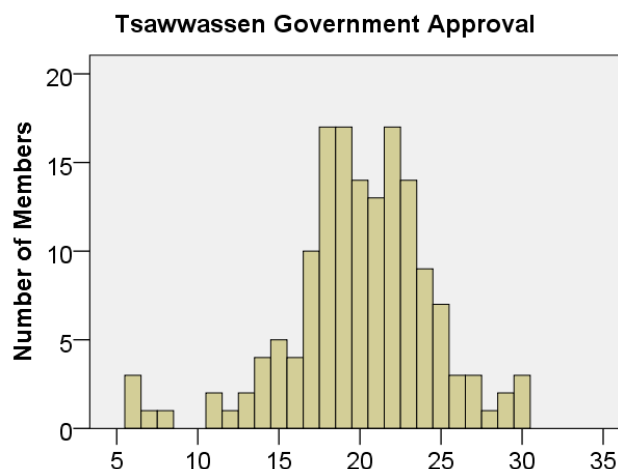
Table 2: Tsawwassen Government Approval

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am better off under self-government than the Indian Act	16%	29%	40%	7%	8%
I think that the elected Tsawwassen Government is working in the community's best interest	11%	50%	28%	7%	5%
The Tsawwassen government is acting in a fair way	9%	42%	31%	11%	7%
Members like me can have an influence on Tsawwassen government decisions	14%	40%	28%	7%	12%
The decisions of the current Tsawwassen government have made me better off.	4%	30%	51%	9%	6%
The Tsawwassen government is able to combine new ways to govern with Tsawwassen traditions.	5%	31%	50%	9%	6%
My community is changing for the better. ¹	17%	44%	30%	6%	3%

¹ The term "My community" was changed to "the Tsawwassen community" when interviewing non-Tsawwassen residents. Hence all answers to this question are in relation to the Tsawwassen First Nation and its Lands, no matter where the respondent resided.

These questions have a high degree of shared variance. This indicates that Members that strongly agreed with any single statement were also more likely to agree with most of the other statements. Statistical analysis (using scale reliability analysis) indicates that these seven questions can be combined into a single

Figure 1



measurement that represents the degree to which Members approve of the Tsawwassen Government (see Figure 1). A Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.868 indicates that the seven questions provide a cohesive and statistically valid measurement of Tsawwassen Government approval.² This combined measurement is more meaningful and accurate than using just one of the questions, and provides a measurement of Tsawwassen Government approval, that can then be examined using various forms of advanced statistical analysis. This variable (Tsawwassen Government approval) forms the focus of this report, and it is examined in detail in the final chapter.

Another important dimension of Member's relationship with the Tsawwassen Government is their assessment of the degree to which the government is effective in performing certain tasks. Members were asked to rate the Tsawwassen Government's effectiveness in relation to 10 tasks that are tied to the commitments that the Government took on in the period following Treaty. Their responses are shown below in Table 3 on the following page. Members also were asked to rank each issue in terms of its importance to the community of Tsawwassen. As our analysis demonstrates, these

² Cronbach's Alpha values above 0.6 indicate that the items share sufficient variance to be used as a single measure. In some cases, higher values are required. At the same time, the Cronbach's Alpha should not be so high as to indicate absolute correlation among the items, as such a pattern would indicate that all questions measure the exact same thing, instead of slightly different dimensions of the same thing. Thus, values sufficiently over 0.9 may indicate questions that are too similar to represent different dimensions. In this case, a value of 0.868 provides an optimal measurement of Tsawwassen Government approval; high enough to indicate strong cohesion among the different items, but low enough to indicate that the questions cover various different dimensions of approval.

efficacy ratings are statistically related to Tsawwassen Government approval, and the more effective Members believe the Tsawwassen Government is in managing these issues, the more they tend to approve of the government. However, it is important to note that the efficacy ratings for specific issues are distinct from general Government approval, and although they hold a statistical relationship to approval, the efficacy ratings are distinct variables that are tied to a different set of factors.³ Our statistical analysis demonstrates that the different way in which each of these efficacy ratings is related to general approval of the Tsawwassen Government, and the distinct set of factors that affect each relationship.

Table 3: Important Issues for Tsawwassen

Ranking in importance to the community		Highly Effective	Effective	Neither effective nor ineffective	Somewhat ineffective	Not effective at all
1	Ensuring Tsawwassen youth get a good education	19%	33%	36%	9%	4%
2	Creating jobs for the Tsawwassen Members	10%	27%	36%	17%	10%
3	Providing early childhood education	26%	40%	23%	7%	4%
4	Providing services and support for the elderly	23%	24%	27%	20%	6%
5	Providing addictions treatment support	6%	7%	16%	35%	37%
6	Ensuring community safety	13%	17%	37%	20%	13%
7	Encouraging a strong Tsawwassen economy	16%	32%	40%	8%	4%
8	Providing outside school activities for youth	15%	26%	32%	14%	14%
9	Ensuring land development occurs sustainably	14%	34%	37%	10%	6%
10	Facilitating land development	19%	41%	27%	8%	5%
	Average for all questions	16%	28%	31%	15%	10%

³ Statistical analysis) indicated that the effectiveness ratings formed a distinct factor from Tsawwassen Government approval (dimension reduction using factor analysis with Varimax rotation). The government approval questions shared high degrees of variance with each other, but not with the effectiveness-ratings, indicating that the two sets of measures (approval and effectiveness) function as distinct variables or factors.

Furthermore, different issues affect each Members' attitudes toward the Tsawwassen Government differently. Thus, each individual's effectiveness ratings for these issues intersects with other variables in different ways. The overall consequence of this is, as our statistical analysis demonstrates, is that the issues that Members say are most important are not necessarily the same issues that shape their views of the Tsawwassen Government. In the final section of this report, we look at these issues in detail to examine their respective relationships with Tsawwassen Government approval.

Part Two: Trust and Community Relations

A key element of community relationships and community governance is trust. Trust in a community is important because it is the main form of social cohesion that ties people together (Putnam, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001; Hardin, 2002). Trust makes communal relations become less burdensome and costly (Sacks 2002). It fosters the way of life and well-being within a community, which is conducive to development and innovation (Putnam, 2000; Florida, 2002). For every community the components that form social trust are unique. This is true for Tsawwassen as well and so we sought to identify what the basis of trust was for the Tsawwassen members. Members were asked a series of questions related to specific trust relationships, including their level of trust in other Members, non-Tsawwassen agencies, non-Tsawwassen people, and the people that immediately surrounded them. Analysis of the various trust questions revealed that there are two fundamental elements or forms of trust that define the way Members view their bond with others.⁴

We refer to the first form of trust as *In-Group Trust* (see Table 4). This form of trust is based on Tsawwassen Members view of trusting relationships with other Members, elected Members, children, and people in general. In-Group Trust plays a key role in defining bonds between Members, and between Members and their community and its various organizations, most notably the Tsawwassen Government. Central to this is that Tsawwassen Members perceive clear social boundaries between themselves and the rest of society,

Q: You say that the youth workers were from here.

A: *"Yeah, it was easier to trust them... They're really nice and everything, they do well. But when it comes to things with the teens...They don't want to talk to some stranger about that."*
(TFN101)

Q: What does being a healthy community mean to you?

A: *"Trust is a big one. Working as a community that believes in unity."* (TFN 136)

⁴ The trust questions were examined through dimension reduction (factor analysis using Varimax and Direct Oblimin rotation methods). This analysis indicated which items shared variance, or essentially "stuck together". The four In-Group Trust items shared a high degree of variance with each other, and not with the four items defined as Out-Group Trust.

and (as we will show) the bonds of trust that tie them together within the broader Tsawwassen Membership are different from the bonds that tie them to the rest of society.

We refer to the second form of trust as *Out-Group Trust* (see Table 4). This refers to the bonds of trust that Members have with outside agencies and institutions, and the people that live in the communities surrounding Tsawwassen. *Out-Group Trust* and *In-Group Trust* are closely related, and (as we will also show) Members with higher levels of one type of trust tend to have higher levels of the other. However, as we will also show in the analysis that is provided in the final section of this report, these two forms of trust play very different roles in defining Members' relationships with the Tsawwassen Government.

Table 4: In-Group Trust and Out-Group Trust

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In-Group Trust					
Most people can be trusted	8%	35%	29%	20%	8%
Most Tsawwassen people can be trusted	6%	42%	27%	17%	6%
Young people in this community can be trusted	8%	31%	40%	15%	4%
I trust the elected Members of the Tsawwassen government	12%	43%	24%	15%	6%
Out-Group Trust					
I trust people in the communities surrounding Tsawwassen	5%	28%	51%	12%	3%
I trust local hospitals and health workers	16%	49%	21%	11%	3%
I trust the schools and teachers in this area	10%	41%	34%	10%	3%
I trust Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (formerly INAC)	5%	22%	47%	15%	10%

To foster trust in a community, it is usually believed that we ought to increase civic participation and cultivate norms of reciprocity (Tocqueville, 2004; Putnam, 2000).⁵ Yet each community is unique and we are bound to find that what works for one community would not apply to another (Clark 2014). In our third report in this series on Tsawwassen Social Well-being, we revealed that trust is closely related to Members cultural participation. Specifically, we found that Members with higher levels of In-Group Trust tend to participate in higher levels of Tsawwassen cultural activities such as singing, drumming, using traditional foods, and using traditional Halkomelem language. While trust clearly plays an important role in certain activities, the origins or foundations of trust are more challenging to pinpoint.

Trust is often considered a quintessential indicator of social capital in a community. Social capital can be defined as the resources such as economic capital, knowledge, and skills available from other people because of “norms of reciprocity and *trustworthiness*” established in a community (Putnam, 2000). Matthews (2004) explains, “...if communities and regions are to develop social networks that lead to effective economic development strategies, relationships of cooperation and trust are essential.”

“A healthy community is a happy community. Yeah, being able to trust the people.”
(TFN307)

We also contend that a key process in the creation and maintenance of social capital is trust. However, the relationship between interpersonal relationship and trust is anything but simple. *Not every relation with other people should fall into the definition of social capital, but only trusting relations of significant importance.* Among the Tsawwassen people, we will demonstrate that trust is based on the bonds between Members combined with the institutions of culture and governance that define them as a distinct group of people.

⁵ Reciprocity includes the exchange of favours, information, regard, and goods. It implies a two-way relationship in which givers are also receivers.

The Basis of Trust

To better understand the foundations of *In-Group Trust* (that is, trust among Members), we constructed a linear regression model that assesses the relationship between multiple variables and *In-Group Trust* (see Table 5).

Table 5: Regression Model for In-Group Trust

Dependent Variable: In-Group Trust	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<i>Demographic Variables</i>					
Age	.005	-.036	.022	-.043	.003
Gender (1=male)	.033	.007	-.016	-.075	-.051
Married	.065	.043	.109	.129	.114
Having children	-.068	-.048	-.107	-.073	-.083
Personal income	.084	-.020	.018	.019	-.006
<i>Education⁶</i>					
High School	.231*	.191	.146	.161	.157*
Some College	.073	-.013	.028	.050	.029
College or Higher	.047	-.080	-.050	.049	-.002
<i>Engagement</i>					
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions		.352**	.286**	.181*	.269**
Participation in Cultural Activities		.069	.114	.115	.170*
<i>Out-Group Trust</i>					
Self-Government Approval				.451**	.398**
Tsawwassen Resident					-.204*
R-squared	.054	.168	.302	.478	.503
R-squared (adjusted)	.000	.107	.246	.432	.455
F-change (significance)		.004**	.000**	.000**	.000**
p-value (model significance)	.442	.000**	.000**	.000**	.010*
N of observations	147	147	147	147	147

The data shown in Table 5, provide a powerful model that explains half of the variance in *In-Group Trust* (50.3%).⁷ The model indicated that *In-Group Trust* is higher among Members that have completed high school than it is among Members that have not. However, the most powerful factors explaining *In-*

⁶ The reference group for educational block is less than high school.

⁷ The overall explanatory power of the model is indicated by the R-squared (adjusted) statistic, which indicates how much of the variance in the dependent variable (in this case, *In-Group Trust*), is explained by the variance in the various independent variables listed on the left side of the table.

Group Trust consisted of their relationship with the Tsawwassen community and its new government. Tsawwassen Government Approval is by far the most powerful predictor of In-group Trust, followed by *Out-Group Trust*. This means that Members that approve of the Tsawwassen Government and have high levels of trust in general, also tend to have higher levels of trust in other Members and the people that immediately surround them. The analysis also revealed that Members with a higher level of knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions express greater levels of *In-Group Trust*.⁸ This finding further supported the assessment that trust among Members and within the Tsawwassen community is based on Members' bonds with the institutions and practices that define them. An additional source of support for this claim is provide in the finding that Members that participate in a higher level of Tsawwassen cultural activities, tend to have higher levels of *In-Group Trust*.

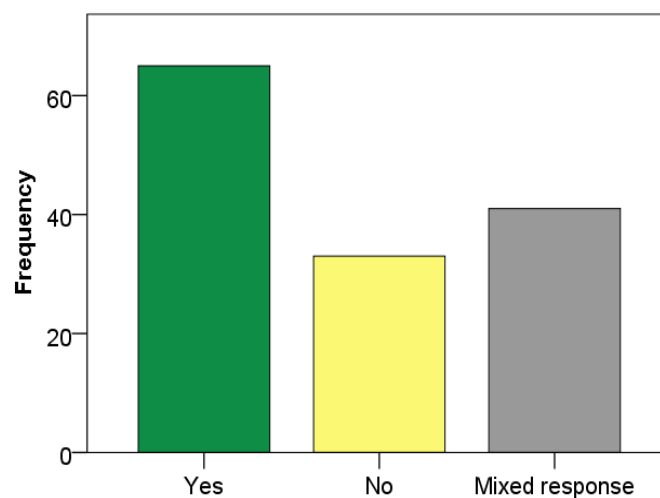
However, at the same time, the data indicate that residents of Tsawwassen Lands express lower levels of *In-Group Trust* than Members living outside of Tsawwassen Lands. That is, those who are geographically closest to the main activities of the Tsawwassen Government are less likely to trust the Tsawwassen Government than do Members who live off of the Tsawwassen Lands. As this report will show in the subsequent chapters, there is a set of important issues that are closely tied to both the way that Members view their relationships with other Members and the way that they view the Tsawwassen Government, and the importance of these issues vary depending upon where a Member lives.

⁸ Member were asked to indicate if they were familiar with various Tsawwassen Institutions. These included the Tsawwassen Legislation, the Tsawwassen Executive Council, the TFN Economic Development Corporation, the Tsawwassen Advisory Council, the Traditional Territorial Boundary Commission, the Tsawwassen First Nation Prosecutor, the Tsawwassen Government Administration, and the Tsawwassen Standing Committee on Language and Culture.

With the creation of their new government, Tsawwassen is entering a new era of governance and community growth. The close relationship between Tsawwassen Government approval, knowledge of Tsawwassen institutions, and *In-Group Trust* indicates that the fabric of the community is tied to the way that these new governance processes build knowledge and involvement in both traditional and modern community activities while also retaining the trust of the Membership. The transition of the Tsawwassen First Nation into self-government as a Treaty First Nation comes as a profound phase of empowerment in their ability to exert control over their lands and resources. However, Members have a mixture of feelings about this transition, as shown in their appraisals of the way that Treaty has affected their control over their lives. When asked if they believed that Members have gained more control over their lives since the signing of treat, 46.8% agreed that Members have more control, while 23.7% disagreed. The remaining 29.5% expressed mixed opinions about the way that treaty has affected Members control over their lives.

Figure 2

Do you think Tsawwassen people have more control over their lives since the signing of Treaty?



Q: Do you think that the Tsawwassen people have more control over their lives since the treaty has been signed?

A: *“Yes, and I don’t think we’re finished. As far as I’m concerned we’re just in the midst of getting it all together.”* (TFN101)

A: *“That I don’t know. I don’t know if it went from one government body to another, I don’t know.”* (TFN304)

A: *“Not really. They might think they do, but I don’t think so. Not much has changed, really. It’s like a corporation. You don’t have to deal directly with the Department of Indian Affairs, but now the buck has been passed.”* (TFN424)

A: *“We’re going to have to wait a few years to find that out. It’s so early, it’s, like, a newborn still. You have to find out in time.”* (TFN207)

Many Members see their new government as a work in progress. The development of trust between government and Members is a relationship that has far-reaching impacts. The Tsawwassen Government faces a dual challenge that includes the performance of their duties and management of their Members' interests, as well as building and maintaining support among Members to allow the government to help transform their long-term visions into reality. The remainder of this report examines the relationship between the Tsawwassen Government and the Members, with a focus on the issues and variables that shape approval of the Tsawwassen Government.

Part Three: Understanding Government Approval

In this section, we examine the variables that predict approval of the Tsawwassen Government by the Tsawwassen membership. We begin this analysis with a regression model (see Table 6) that identifies the statistically significant variables associated with approval. In each successive model, the variables that have a statistically significant relationship with Tsawwassen Government approval are shaded in grey.

Table 6: Regression Model for Tsawwassen Government Approval

Dependent Variable: Tsawwassen Government Approval	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<i>Demographic Variables</i>					
Age	.155	.133	.146	.133	.166
Gender (1=male)	.147	.136	.131	.140	.153*
Married	-.046	-.059	-.045	-.106	-.110
Having children	-.078	-.063	-.076	-.016	-.026
Personal income	.053	-.011	-.002	-.013	-.032
<i>Education⁹</i>					
High School	.007	-.024	-.034	-.116	-.110
Some College	.003	-.057	-.048	-.064	-.077
College or Higher	-.142	-.227	-.221	-.193	-.228*
<i>Engagement</i>					
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions		.248**	.234*	.074	.151
Participation in Cultural Activities		-.013	-.004	-.067	-.016
<i>Out-Group Trust</i>					
			.084	-.134	-.140
<i>In-Group Trust</i>					
				.560**	.506**
Tsawwassen Resident					-.166
R-squared	.078	.126	.132	.351	.368
R-squared (adjusted)	.025	.062	.062	.294	.304
F-change (significance)		.026*	.323	.000**	.065
p-value (model significance)	.171	.040*	.046*	.000**	.000**
N of observations	147	147	147	147	147

The final model provides a moderately powerful explanation for understanding Tsawwassen Government Approval, and the variables included in the fifth and final model explain 30.4% of the

⁹ The reference group for educational block is less than high school.

variance in approval. As expected, *In-Group Trust* has a very strong relationship with Tsawwassen approval of the Government. The degree of trust that Members have of each other and the people immediately around them is a powerful predictor of whether they approve of the performance of their Tsawwassen Government. Also, Members that have a college degree or higher level of education, tend to express a lower level of Tsawwassen Government approval.¹⁰ This finding is significant in that the Members that have ostensibly achieved the highest levels of education tend to be more critical of the Tsawwassen Government.

An additional finding is that male Members tend to have higher degrees of approval of the Tsawwassen Government. In the initial stages of the regression (Model 2 and Model 3), knowledge of Tsawwassen institutions is associated with higher levels of Tsawwassen Government approval. However, knowledge does not have a statistically significant relationship when *In-Group Trust* and place of residence are also considered indicating that these are the more powerful factors in determining approval. This model forms the essential basis of our analysis, and we use this as a platform for analyzing the way that Members view various issues in relation to the Tsawwassen Government.

To sum again, the basic model, without consideration of any additional issues, indicates that male Members, Members with less than a college degree level of education, and Members with high levels of trust in other Members and the people around them, tend to have a higher levels of approval of the Tsawwassen Government Approval. The next step is to insert individual issues into this model to determine how these may change the relationships, and to determine how specific issues affect the degree to which Members approve of the Tsawwassen Government.

To do this, we completed ten additional calculations of the basic Tsawwassen Government approval regression model (Table 7), each time adding the rating that Members gave the Tsawwassen Government for its ability to manage specific issues. We then ranked these issues according to the

¹⁰ Compared to Members with less than a high school education.

degree to which each individual issue affected the model and increased the ability of the model to predict approval of the Tsawwassen Government. In Table 7, we compare these regression model rankings, with the original rankings that Members gave each issue based on how important they believe they are for Tsawwassen.

The findings revealed a remarkable contrast between the issues that were identified as most important, and the issues that had the greatest influence on Tsawwassen Government approval. Issues related to land development and the local economy were found to hold a very powerful relationship with Tsawwassen Government approval.

Table 7: Influence of Issues on Tsawwassen Government Approval

Issue Ranking by Members versus Influence of Issue on Model for Tsawwassen Government Approval	Issue ranking based on level of importance attached to issue.	Issue ranking based on influence of issue on Tsawwassen Government approval ¹¹
Encouraging a strong Tsawwassen economy	7	.215**
Ensuring land development occurs sustainably	9	.163**
Facilitating land development	10	.140**
Creating jobs for the Tsawwassen Members	2	.088**
Providing outside school activities for youth	8	.037**
Providing services and support for the elderly	4	.036**
Ensuring community safety	6	.034**
Ensuring Tsawwassen youth get a good education	1	.008
Providing treatment support for drug and alcohol addictions	5	-.003
Providing early childhood education	3	-.006

¹¹ Ranking is based on R-square adjusted change, or the degree to which the issue increased the strength of the regression model in predicting overall level of Tsawwassen Government approval. The bigger the R-change statistic, the more influence that the issue had on overall government approval. For example, adding the issue of ensuring land development occurs sustainably to the model increased the strength of the model by explaining an additional 28% (.280**) of the variance in Tsawwassen Government approval.

The single most important issue in predicting Members' approval of the Tsawwassen Government is how effective Members believe the Tsawwassen Government has been in ensuring land development occurs in a sustainable manner. When ranked against other issues in the list, Members placed it as the 9th most important issue for their community. This finding indicates that, although Members may not openly identify sustainable use of the land as a key issue, their actual relationship with their government is strongly affected by how effective is their government in managing the Nation's economic activities.

Encouraging a strong Tsawwassen economy and facilitating land development also emerged as powerful influences on Tsawwassen Government approval, while neither issue was previously identified among the most important issues for the community. These findings reveal important insights to the forces driving assessment and acceptance of governance of the Tsawwassen First Nation. Beneath the open discussion of which issues are important to the community, matters of land and economy lay at the heart of the relationship between Members and their government. These findings suggest that more open dialogue of issues related to economy, land, and sustainability may be helpful in strengthening the relationship of trust between Members and their government.

In turn, some of the issues that were previously ranked among the most important issues for the community were found to have a more limited role in explaining Members' approval of the Tsawwassen Government. This is most noticeable with issues related to education, including providing early childhood education (ranked third by Members, but ranked only tenth in the regression model), and ensuring Tsawwassen youth get a good education (ranked first by Members, but ranked only eighth in the regression model). Simply put, Members place a strong emphasis on the value of education when asked to rank its importance to Tsawwassen, but their approval of the Tsawwassen Government is not actually influenced by how effective the government is in managing education-related imperatives. The ranking of issues according to their influence on Members' approval of the Tsawwassen Government shows that matters of economy and land management are top priorities for the

government, and matters of social programming are farther down the list. It is critical to acknowledge that this does not mean that issues such as education and treatment support for addictions are not important to Members, as the emphasis that Members placed on social issues clearly demonstrated their concern for these matters. This may well be because they do not see the development of educational activities and opportunities as a primary strategic activity for their Government, when compared to its economic role in the development of their community and its lands.

However, each issue affects approval in a slightly different manner, and in some cases the issues affect approval more among some groups of Members than others. In the following tables, we examine the issues individually in order to obtain a more detailed understanding of their relationships with Members' approval by of the Tsawwassen Government. Tables are provided only for the issues that have a statistically significant relationship with Tsawwassen Government approval.¹²

¹² Analysis of issues lacking statistically significant relationships cannot provide any meaningful data. Preliminary review of tables for the non-significant issues indicates that no significant changes accompanied their inclusion in the model.

Encouraging a strong Tsawwassen Economy

Encouraging a strong Tsawwassen economy increased the strength of the model from explaining 36.9 % to explaining 58.4% of the variance in Tsawwassen Government approval. This model provides a very powerful explanation for approval, and yields several important insights about the way that Members view their government. First, it is noted that men tend to express more positive opinions of the Tsawwassen Government than women,

Table 8: Economy and Approval

Dependent Variable: Tsawwassen Government Approval	Base Model	With Issue
Issue		
<u>Encouraging a strong Tsawwassen Economy</u>	--	.487**
Original Independent Variables		
Age	.141	.115
Gender	.163*	.120
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions	.155	.177*
Out-Group Trust	-.143	-.170*
In-Group Trust	.536**	.462**
Tsawwassen Resident	-.189*	-.161*
Model Statistics		
R-Squared (adjusted)	.369	.584
F-change (significance)	--	.000
P-statistic (model significance)	.000	.000
N of observations	129	129

but that this difference disappears when their ratings of the government's effectiveness in ensuring a strong economy are considered. That is the Tsawwassen economy is an issue that is of similar significance to both men and women.

Second, knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions has a statistically significant relationship with approval when ratings of the government's effectiveness with the economy are considered. This findings indicates that Members that know more about Tsawwassen agencies and institutions base their approval of the government more heavily upon the way it managers economic matters.

Third, Members with higher levels of *Out-Group Trust* have lower levels of Tsawwassen Government approval when the effectiveness of the Tsawwassen Government in managing economic matters is considered. This relationship indicates the complex forces Members confront as they navigate between their own culture and community, and that of the rest of society. The negative relationship of *Out-Group Trust* on Tsawwassen Government approval is equally evident among both TL and non-TL

residents.¹³ Higher levels of *Out-Group Trust* are associated with higher levels of In-Group Trust.

However, *Out-Group Trust* works in reverse to Tsawwassen Government approval, particularly when the effectiveness of the government in managing certain issues is considered.

This finding has two opposing dimensions, or two different ways of viewing the relationship. First, the data indicate that Members that put higher levels of trust in outside (non-Tsawwassen) society and institutions tend to have lower levels of trust in the Tsawwassen Government when the issue of the economy is considered. As the comments in the box on this page demonstrate, for some Members there is hesitation to embrace the new government, and some see it as new way for some Members to affect the lives of others. There are concerns about the transparency of economic matters, and a sense that some level of protection may have been lost with the

Q: Do you think that the Tsawwassen people have more control over their lives since the treaty's been signed?

A: *"No. The Tsawwassen government has more control over the Tsawwassen people's lives."* (TFN311)

A: *"They [the Tsawwassen Government] have the power at the end of the day to do what the heck they want. There's a question there about the Indian Act. Sure, we don't like the Indian Act, but there was some accountability with the Department of Indian Affairs, whereas now we have our own laws."* (TFN606)

rise of the Tsawwassen Government to its new position of influence. In this sense, Members' trust in their new government is still developing, and the Tsawwassen Government still has work to do in securing the respect of some Members in their ability to manage certain important issues, with the growth of the economy being the most important issues.

The second way of viewing the relationship between Out-Group Trust and Tsawwassen Government approval is that Members with lower levels of trust in outside society tend express higher levels of trust in the Tsawwassen Government when the issue of the economy is considered. This is consistent with the view that some Members are eager to embrace the empowerment of the new

¹³ Initial analysis of regression and correlation data indicates that Out-Group Trust has a relationship with Tsawwassen Government approval that is similar among both TL and non-TL residents.

government as a vehicle for the management of economic affairs for Tsawwassen, while others are hesitant about these new arrangements and felt more secure under the past arrangements. Many of those that view the transition to self-government as a positive influence in relation to economic conditions see clear benefits, including benefits to both the community and to their personal interests. It is therefore important for the Tsawwassen Government to take steps to ensure that all Members have access to opportunities to improve their economic circumstances as they continue their role in managing Tsawwassen interests.

"I have an opportunity to be a part of a decision-making, you know, at the community level and under The Indian Act there was just no ability whatsoever." (TFN102)

"There's going to be parks, potential for our own school, a lot more jobs. More funds for TFN. Land profits for my family." (TFN511)

A fourth finding revealed in the regression table is that non-TL residents, when compared to TL-residents, express higher levels of approval of the Tsawwassen Government when the government's effectiveness in ensuring a strong economy is considered. It is important to note that TL residents and non-TL residents generally express similar levels of Tsawwassen Government approval. It is only when the additional variables (in the regression table) are considered that the differences in their approval becomes clear. Therefore, the government might wish to consider such issues that are associated with significant differences between TL and non-TL residents, as they indicate sensitive topics among the Membership. It should also be noted that this is consistent with the findings from research by the senior author in other First Nation communities in British Columbia. In those studies, the more Members were involved in their community organizations, the less general trust they had in community members. The somewhat negative relationship between trust in their Government and residence on Tsawwassen Lands is one that should be of concern to community leaders though again we would emphasize that it centres primarily on their engagement in the issues of education, health and social well-being.

Ensuring land development occurs sustainably

Ensuring sustainability of land development increased the strength of the model from explaining 34.9% to explaining 51.2% of the variance in Tsawwassen Government approval. This inclusion of the sustainability of land development had the second strongest impact on the regression model, next to ensuring a strong economy. Statistically this is considered a very powerful model, and it indicates that the sustainability of land development is extremely closely tied to Tsawwassen Government approval.

Table 9: Sustainability and Approval

Dependent Variable: Tsawwassen Government Approval	Base Model	With Issue
Issue		
<u>Ensuring land development occurs sustainably</u>	--	.433**
Original Independent Variables		
Age	.196	.199*
Gender	.098	.092
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions	.118	.112
Out-Group Trust	-.145	-.136
In-Group Trust	.532**	.390**
Tsawwassen Resident	-.179	-.173*
Model Statistics		
R-Squared (adjusted)	.349	.512
F-change (significance)	--	.000
P-statistic (model significance)	.000	.000
N of observations	110	110

Older Members discussing land development in Tsawwassen.

"I'm always worried about the environment, because progress is coming. I think we're encroaching on some of the wildlife around here...we're going to lose that, it's part of our culture." (TFN116)

"I guess it's kind of sad we're losing our dikes and everything, our beaches. It's going to be all locked up." (TFN507)

The model indicates that older Members express higher levels of Tsawwassen Government approval when the sustainability of land development is considered. For some Members with a longer view of change in the community, the development of the lands is seen as a symptom of progress, but also as having a potential negative impact on some of the features of Tsawwassen that they associate with their culture and their ability to enjoy the lands.

The model also indicates that *when the sustainability of land development is considered, Tsawwassen Lands (TL) residents express significantly lower levels of Tsawwassen Government Approval than non-Tsawwassen Lands (non-TL) residents*. TL and non-TL residents placed a similar level of emphasis on ensuring the sustainability of land development when asked to rank it as a priority for the Tsawwassen Government.¹⁴ However, the regression model indicates that the sustainability of land development has different implications for TL-residents than it does for non-TL residents when it comes to Tsawwassen Government approval.

Members discussing the sustainability of land development in Tsawwassen.

“Because when the land’s gone, it’s gone. There’s no going back.” (TFN504, Non-TL resident)

“I don’t know if the financial payout for that will be enough of a benefit to outweigh the hassle and the traffic and the environmental impact.” (TFN507, Non-TL resident)

“They’re going to put a bunch of containers behind the road...a big mound of containers. It’s disgusting, nobody wants to see that.” (TFN116, TL-resident)

Members discussing land development in Tsawwassen.

“It’s (Treaty) allowed us to move forward to develop our land. Which is going to lift us up.” (TFN507, TL-resident)

“Well I could develop my property if I want now. A lot of people are developing their properties. It’s just economically better for everyone.” (TFN410, TL-resident)

“It’s increased the value of my property by probably double.” (TFN102, Non-TL resident)

That said, many TL-residents cited the opportunity to develop their lands as an important and positive change that has come about as a result of signing Treaty. Indeed, some non-TL residents also have benefited from the development opportunities brought about by Treaty. However, TL-residents were more likely than non-TL residents to cite land development opportunities as a positive outcome of Treaty. Indeed, among all Members that cited land development as an important impact that Treaty had on themselves or their

¹⁴ An identical number of Members ranked sustainability of land development as the first or second priority for the Tsawwassen Government, and seven non-TL residents ranked it third, compared to six TL-residents. This indicates a nearly identical level of emphasis placed on this priority outside of the regression model.

families, 81% were TL-residents. However, even given that, it is clear from our findings just noted, that they also retain concerns about the capacity of their Government to ensure that these developments are conducted in a sustainable manner. It is important to note that the issue of residency was not revealed as a significant factor in explaining Tsawwassen Government approval when considering the facilitation of land development in general, but only when the issue of sustainability is at the centre of the analysis.¹⁵

Both TL residents and non-TL residents are aware of the potential economic benefits associated with land development opportunities. However, TL residents report a greater investment in the land development process, and often voiced frustrations about problems they have encountered in advancing their development interests. In this respect, sustainability of land development may be viewed differently by different groups of Members, depending upon their respective stakes in the land development process.

TL-resident Members discussing challenges encountered in pursuing land development in Tsawwassen.

“I’ve been trying to [develop] this piece of property for three years, and it’s still not [cleared for development]” (TFN114)

“You have the land ownership, and then you’re still not allowed to [develop] it.” (TFN521)

“Land issues, giving permission to people to develop their lands and then the government changes their mind...It can wreck a person’s life.” (TFN315)

The Tsawwassen Government thus faces a complex challenge in balancing the interests of both TL-residents and non-TL residents in ensuring the sustainability of land development, while protecting the opportunities of their Members (primarily TL residents) in deriving economic benefits from land development. A key task for the Tsawwassen Government may be to directly discuss the issue of sustainability, and determine if TL-residents and non-TL residents share a common vision of what “sustainability” entails, and how best to achieve a desirable balance of economic development and preservation of the land qualities that Members see as most important.

¹⁵ In the next section, residency is shown to be a non-significant variable in the regression model.

Facilitating Land Development

The effectiveness of the Tsawwassen Government in facilitating land development has the third strongest influence on Tsawwassen Government approval among the issues that were examined. Inclusion of this issue increased the strength of the model from explaining 35% to explaining 49% of the variance in Tsawwassen Government approval.

The opportunity to develop

Tsawwassen lands is viewed as a positive opportunity. Indeed, only 2.6% of interviewed Members disagreed with the statement, “I think it is important to use Tsawwassen Lands for economic benefit.” Moreover, as indicated earlier, Members express a strong desire for development to occur in a sustainable manner. However, this does not necessarily mean that they have confidence in their Government’s ability to carry out these activities in a manner that is supported by the Members. Thus, the actual process and pattern of land development is itself a separate dimension in whether Members have confidence and trust in their Government..

Of note here is that higher levels of knowledge of Tsawwassen institutions and agencies is associated with higher levels of Tsawwassen Government approval when land development is considered. The questions about knowledge of Tsawwassen Government were focused particular on whether Members had heard of and understood the role of various Government bodies and agencies. The significant relationship between knowledge of how these government processes work and trust in government indicates that support for the Tsawwassen Government in developing lands increases when

Table 10: Land Development and Approval

Dependent Variable: Tsawwassen Government Approval	Base Model	With Issue
Issue		
<u>Facilitating Land Development</u>	--	.399**
Original Independent Variables		
Age	.178	.145
Gender	.126	.093
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions	.172	.188*
Out-Group Trust	-.112	-.138
In-Group Trust	.517**	.431**
Tsawwassen Resident	-.158	-.101
Model Statistics		
R-Squared (adjusted)	.350	.490
F-change (significance)	--	.000
P-statistic (model significance)	.000	.000
N of observations	117	117

Members are more well-informed about the way their government functions. Thus, in seeking to increase support for their development activities, it may be appropriate for the Government to encourage knowledge of and involvement in these administrative bodies as this would seem to be a prerequisite to having trust in the capacity of government to carry out appropriate land development.

Creating jobs for Tsawwassen Members

Inclusion of the creation of jobs for Tsawwassen Members in the model increased its power from explaining 34.7% to explaining 43.5% of the variance in Tsawwassen Government approval. This remains a moderately powerful explanation for approval, and indicates that the **perceived** effectiveness of the Tsawwassen Government in creating jobs for Members plays an important role in shaping government approval.

Table 11: Jobs and Approval

Dependent Variable: Tsawwassen Government Approval	Base Model	With Issue
Issue		
<u>Creating jobs for Tsawwassen Members</u>	--	.332**
Original Independent Variables		
Age	.180	.142
Gender	.183*	.170*
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions	.112	.140
Out-Group Trust	-.167	-.259**
In-Group Trust	.527**	.446**
Tsawwassen Resident	-.191*	-.167*
Model Statistics		
R-Squared (adjusted)	.347	.435
F-change (significance)	--	.000
P-statistic (model significance)	.000	.000
N of observations	128	128

Members with higher levels of *Out-Group Trust* express lower Tsawwassen Government approval when job-creation is considered. Meanwhile, *In-Group Trust* remains associated with higher approval. In this respect, for Members that have strong trust in other Members and the people around them, but remain wary of outsiders, their approval of the Tsawwassen Government is more strongly tied to the ability of the government to create jobs for Members.

The issue of job-creation is also a hot-button topic for TL-residents, who express significantly lower levels of Tsawwassen Government approval when their effectiveness in job-creation is considered. This suggests that the perceived failure of Tsawwassen Government to provide jobs for Members may well be one of the reasons for Members to not live on Tsawwassen Lands. This provides an important message for Government. In seeking to develop trust from Members who live off the lands, considerable effort is required aimed at demonstrating their ability to provide employment opportunities.

Quotes from members demonstrate, job-creation is a sensitive issue. Members are attentive to a range of employment related issues including the creation of jobs, who obtains the jobs, and the quality of the jobs that are created. As our interviews occurred relatively early in the first term of the elected Tsawwassen Legislature, the judgements with regard to job creation activities as just outlined, was based to a large extent on Members' perceptions of what the Legislature was expected to accomplish. Based on the importance attributed to these activities, the actual accomplishments of the Legislature with regard to job creation, job equality, and job quality are likely to considerably influence Members' evaluations of the Legislature's performance during the years that follow our initial interviews.

"Jobs would be so nice because right now, a lot of the kids have to go out to Vancouver or Surrey to work, and those are pretty scary places to go to in the middle of the night and try to make the last bus." (TFN508)

"[Land development] will create more jobs and more revenue for the band to run things better, and create more jobs. [There will] be more happier people down there." (TFN335)

"I pray that our nation will not let go of our own staff members out of the maintenance and out of the jobs here in the office." (TFN101)

"We have a construction company, joint, with us, with some development or something like that. I just think they should try more to hire more people on the reserve working here." (TFN322)

"They said that there's going to be lots of jobs available because of this mall, which is true. But, I mean, they're still just like minimum wage jobs. I mean, it's not like we can't go somewhere else and get that same thing." (TFN310)

Providing outside school activities for youth

Consideration of the Tsawwassen Government's effectiveness in providing outside school activities for youth increased the strength of the model from explaining 38.5% to explaining 42.3 % of the variance in Tsawwassen Government approval. Although this issue does not appear to affect approval as powerfully as economic issues, it nonetheless provides a moderately powerful model.

As indicated in our original

Table 12: Youth Programs and Approval

Dependent Variable: Tsawwassen Government Approval	Base Model	With Issue
Issue		
<u>Providing outside school activities for youth</u>	--	.216**
Original Independent Variables		
Age	.209*	.197
College Education	-.244	-.258*
Gender	.169	.152
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions	.144	.146
Out-Group Trust	-.244*	-.258**
In-Group Trust	.557**	.515**
Tsawwassen Resident	-.229*	-.190*
Model Statistics		
R-Squared (adjusted)	.385	.423
F-change (significance)	--	.009
P-statistic (model significance)	.000	.000
N of observations	105	105

discussion of Tsawwassen Government approval, Members with a college education (or higher), reported lower levels of overall approval of the Tsawwassen Government's capacity to lead. However, this pattern is only evident with respect to specific issues, and particularly with the issues involving the provision of outside school programs for youth.¹⁶ The data indicate that providing youth effective program outside school is of particular concern to those with higher levels of education and plays a significant role in their approval of the Tsawwassen Government. While it goes somewhat beyond the data, we would suggest that the Tsawwassen Government may gain helpful input by consulting Members with higher levels of education in order to inform the government about the role that outside school programs can play in youth development. In light of the finding that Members with higher levels of education express lower levels of approval in this model, it may be helpful to specifically seek out

¹⁶ College education did not emerge as a statistically significant variable in the regression models for any of the other issues examined in this report.

their critiques of existing programs to help guide the Tsawwassen Government in their program delivery.

As with job creation, Members with lower levels of *Out-Group Trust* and higher levels of *In-Group Trust* expressed higher levels of Tsawwassen Government approval when programs for youths are considered. This finding reflects a general pattern in Tsawwassen Government approval, in which Members that possess closer bonds of trust with other Members and those around them and lower levels of trust in outsiders, tend to report higher levels of Tsawwassen Government approval. The intersection of these various factors is complex,

and it reflects the complex task that the Tsawwassen Government faces in delivering programs that are favorable to the TL-resident Members that are most directly affected by program delivery, while confronting the push and pull between the bonds of trust that tie Members to their own peer groups versus those that tie them to the rest of society.

Members that live on TL lands are the most directly affected by social program delivery in areas such as youth programs, and are also the most critical of the Tsawwassen Government's effectiveness in this area. Among all Members that identified youth programs as an objective that the government should pursue more actively, 80% were TL residents. However, the lack of explicit demands for such programs does not mean that non-TL-residents do not base their assessment of the Tsawwassen Government on its provision of programs for youth. It rather should be

Q: Are there things that the government should be doing that you would like them to do?

A: *"It would be nice to have more things in the community for youth."*
(TFN438, TL resident)

A: *"Pay more attention to their elders and their youth."*
(TFN117, TL resident)

A: *"The youth are the most important thing, whether it is now or later...because they're going to be the ones running this place soon, and we have to teach them the right things, so they can do it properly and fair."* (TFN310, Non-TL resident).

interpreted that their distance from the Tsawwassen community makes such activities of little relevance to them.

The relation of *Out-Group Trust* to Tsawwassen Government approval is not contingent upon place of residence, when youth programs are considered.¹⁷ Both TL and non-TL residents with stronger trust attachments to people and institutions outside of Tsawwassen are more critical of the Tsawwassen Government within the model that includes consideration of programs for youth. The Tsawwassen Government should, therefore, consider consulting its Members to determine how youth program development can better serve Members needs as they build increasingly strong relationships with the rest of society. This may include further engagement with Members about ways of delivering programs that assist youth in engaging with their culture, and with the new processes of government in their community.

“Inform youth of changes and stuff, because they’re the ones that are going to have to live with it. They may not be able to vote, but they should at least be able to talk to their parents about it.” (TFN 513)

“I’d like to see more funding to youth programs like carving and singing and dancing, and more money towards the cultural aspect of our community.” (TFN 112)

¹⁷ Examination of the model in Table 12 found that *Out-Group Trust* persisted as a statistically significant negative predictor of Tsawwassen Government approval both before and after the inclusion of place of residence in the model.

Providing services and support for the elderly

The final issue examined in this report is the effectiveness of the Tsawwassen Government in providing services and support for the elderly. This issue increased the strength of the model to explaining 40% of the variance in Tsawwassen Government approval, showing that care for Elders remains an important issue to the Members.

Programs for Elders does not share

Table 13: Elders' Services and Approval

Dependent Variable: Tsawwassen Government Approval	Base Model	With Issue
Issue		
<u>Providing services and support for the elderly</u>	--	.214**
Original Independent Variables		
Age	.236*	.250**
Gender	.181*	.182*
Knowledge of Tsawwassen Institutions	.081	.079
Out-Group Trust	-.158	-.190*
In-Group Trust	.554**	.514**
Tsawwassen Resident	-.212*	-.193*
Model Statistics		
R-Squared (adjusted)	.366	.400
F-change (significance)	--	.006
P-statistic (model significance)	.000	.000
N of observations	122	122

the same strength in affecting Member approval of the Tsawwassen Government as do economic matters. As with education where there are other agencies that provide youth services, so with elder care, there are several other agencies that play a direct role in serving elderly Members, including local hospitals, visiting nurses and homemakers, and a wide range of other Government of British Columbia health care services. Though this may take some of the pressure off of the Tsawwassen Government to be involved directly in provision of those services, the fact remains that services and support for elderly, such as the maintenance of the Tsawwassen Elders Centre, remains an important issue to the Members and a statistically significant predictor of Tsawwassen Government approval.

Both male Members and older Members express higher levels of Tsawwassen Government approval in this model. However, closer examination of the data indicates that their respective differences from younger Members and female Members are not a product of differences in their ratings of the Tsawwassen Government in providing services and support for the elderly.¹⁸

Q: Are there things the Tsawwassen government should be doing that you can think of that maybe they're not doing yet?

A: *"Well, better care for the elderly people. When something's wrong with an elderly person and they go into the hospital, they shouldn't have to wait so long to get looked after."* (TFN312)

A: *"I'd like to see more work on the Elders centre."* (TFN407)

Members with higher levels of *Out-Group Trust* tend to express lower levels of Tsawwassen Government approval when services and support for the elderly are considered. The difference in the model is modest, but it differs from the pattern observed in relation to youth programs in an important way. When considering services for the elderly, the relationship of *Out-Group Trust* only applies when place of residency is included in the model. Further analysis of the data indicates that the relationship of *Out-Group Trust* is primarily based among TL-residents, and Members living on Tsawwassen Lands that have stronger trust relationships with outside groups and institutions. This linkage is complex but it has important implications for service delivery for Elders and families with Elders that live on Tsawwassen Lands. It suggests that provision of services to Elders in Tsawwassen can play an important role in keeping them in the community, and maintaining their familial and cultural bonds with other Members. It may also help strengthen the bonds of internal trust that tie Members together, both as family members and as a group of people served by the Tsawwassen Government.

¹⁸ This is because both age and gender are significant predictors of approval in the first model, before consideration of Elders programs is included.

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