Tsawwassen First Nation

Tsawwassen Culture, Community, and Governance

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We would like to thank the Tsawwassen Members who took their time to meet with us and speak candidly about their experiences and opinions. Some of them travelled in snowy or rainy conditions to meet with us, and others invited us into the comfort of their own homes. We are very grateful for the opportunity to work with the Tsawwassen First Nation on this important and worthy project and are especially grateful for the warm reception that we received on both Tsawwassen Lands and in meetings with Members throughout the northwest of Canada and the United States. In particular, we appreciated the willingness of Members who trusted us with their opinions and valuable insights into the present and future development of the Tsawwassen First Nation. In return, we will take great care in safeguarding the information they provided, and in providing analysis and Reports that we hope will be helpful to the Tsawwassen First Nation in the future.

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Introduction

A Tsawwassen legend tells us about the first man, Tsaatzen, to live on this vast land. He, "looking down from the mountains onto the river and beyond at the water of the ocean," was impressed by its beauty and resolved to stay here (Tsawwassen Legends). Like the landscape itself, the name for Tsawwassen is also poetic; in translation from *hən̓q̓əmiṅəm̓* it means "land facing the sea" (TFN: A Fact Book). The territory that the Tsawwassen Nation never surrendered stretches all the way from Pitt Lake in the east to Saltspring, Pender and Saturna islands in the west, following the Fraser River into the Strait of Georgia (TFN: a fact book).

We present the third report in the series, born as a result of joint effort between the Tsawwassen First Nation and the University of British Columbia. Following the Second Report on TFN Well-being, we focus here on the issues of preservation of the Tsawwassen culture, the development of its community, and the factors contributing to the outcomes in attitudes toward its governance.

In our consultation with the Tsawwassen Advisory Committee, we have agreed that the purposes of the third report are threefold:

1) Aiming for the preservation of the Tsawwassen culture, we want to describe how actively Members participate in various traditional activities and to identify factors enhancing cultural participation. Identifying them is important not only for reigniting interest in culture for the current Members but also for the future generations of Tsawwassen;

> "First of all, the Aboriginal kids themselves should learn about where they're from and who they are. First and foremost, that should be something that they're proud of."
>
> TFN521

2) Much of the future development of the Tsawwassen community will depend on the involvement of its Members and the quality of interactions between them. We employ measures of giving and receiving help as important reflections of how much Members are involved in the Tsawwassen community and of their trust in people and institutions of the community to assess the quality of interactions;
3) In order for the Tsawwassen government to choose the most appropriate way in which it can react and improve, we ought to start with the evaluation of its effectiveness in major tasks. We have interviewed Members on their perceptions of governance and on political participation to find out which of the individual and community level factors contribute to their attitudes toward governance.

The above goals helped us divide the report into three main parts accordingly. In the first part, we provide basic historical background for contextualizing cultural participation and governance. We also discuss patterns of participation in various cultural activities among Tsawwassen Members living both on and off lands.

> "It's important to me to be a Tsawwassen member because, I don't know, it's just who I am and where I'm from and I just want to learn more about my culture and bring the community along with me and learning about who we are and where we come from and our rights and stuff to our resources and all of that stuff."
>
> TFN112

In the second part, we analyze the factors contributing to community involvement as manifested in receiving and giving help to others. We also discuss trust, which is by far the most important cohesive of a community and its social capital. Thus, the second part is devoted to the questions of developing and maintaining a strong and resilient community. Even though Tsawwassen is a small

community, it has a potential to develop into a community with a safe and supportive environment, where Members care for each other. All the interviews we conducted with Members indicate that the Tsawwassen community is invested in the future of all its Members.

The third part engages in the discussion of Members' perceptions of the Tsawwassen governance and how they translate into levels of political involvement among Members. In particular, it discusses perceptions of the Tsawwassen government and self-governance, as well as the political participation of the Tsawwassen Members in terms of their voting practices.

For each part, the report includes summaries in boxes highlighting main findings and the most interesting aspects of the Tsawwassen culture, community, and governance.

Part One: Participation in Tsawwassen Culture

Background

> "I'd like to see all my people on the Tsawwassen First Nation happy, living a good life."
>
> TFN 405

Tsawwassen is a unique culture. The common term for languages and cultures of the region, Coast Salish, is at times confusing because the Coast Salish is not a single group. Even though many Coast Salish people used to live in proximity and frequently interacted with people of different Nations, they have a number of distinct cultures. The differences are obvious in traditional ceremonies, myths and legends, linguistic nuances, and in traditional tools and technology. As such, the uniqueness of the Tsawwassen culture cannot be overstated. We aim at discussing a few cultural activities and challenges in the opening part of this report.

The rich flora and fauna of the region allowed the Tsawwassen people to prosper into a densely populated and complex society, as well as to develop a unique culture. They adapted to fluctuating

conditions and consequently were traditionally very dynamic and adaptable (from the Tsawwassen First Nation and the Ministry of Forests report).

The uniqueness of the culture is a reflection of its historical trajectory. Without understanding history, it is easy to dismiss the urgency of the preservation of the Tsawwassen culture or the Coast Salish cultures in general. Yet, we have to always bear in mind the history of First Nations, such as their experiences in residential schools, which extinguished many local North American cultures: "[r]elocated in a foreign and harsh setting, these children were forced to surrender their cultural ways and comply to [sic.] the rituals and lifestyle of the dominant culture" (Patrick Morrissette 1994). The importance of acknowledging these experiences cannot be explained better than by a Tsawwassen Member (TFN310), quoted in the following interview:

> "kids don't know anything about it. They don't know about residential schools, they don't know about the fact that they were here first and everything was taken from them. Like, they don't know anything and they think it's ridiculous that people are still affected by it. But that's something that affects people for like generations… you have to recover from that."

Many Tsawwassen Members mention in the interviews that the Tsawwassen culture could be preserved through practicing a variety of traditional activities such as language, traditional drumming, singing, and crafts, among others. Indeed, cultural participation is another manifestation of our identity. Thus, this section explores cultural participation among Tsawwassen Members in order to reveal what makes Members to be more active in cultural activities.

Part One Summary Box

This section analyzes factors that drive cultural participation in general and describes briefly ten dimensions of cultural practices:

1) **Performing arts** such as dance and theater: Tsawwassen has developed its own tradition in singing, drumming, and dancing, which nowadays 34% of Members continue to practice;

2) For people who lived on the lands for centuries and millennia, knowledge of the environment and the nature around was transmitted from generation to generation. Thus, **identifying and harvesting plants or wild berries** is historically one of the traditional skills. Thirty two percent of Members are still practicing this activity nowadays;

3) **Preparing plants for medicinal purposes** is considered another traditional knowledge. The practice is fading away, with only 15% of Members practicing it nowadays, but its cultural significance remains;

4) Dietary habits are usually resilient to change and represent one of the main cultural practices for any culture (Cleveland et al. 2009). Thus, **cooking and preparing traditional foods** are still practiced by 63% of Members;

5) Moreover, **consuming traditional foods** remains common to the overwhelming majority of Members (81%);

6) Together with the performing arts, **visual arts** are essential for any cultural representation. Many Tsawwassen Members (33%) make traditional clothing, produce art items, or practice traditional crafts;

7) Because of the history of residential school system and the European colonization in general, the traditional North American languages are nowadays on the verge of extinction. Only 11% can **speak, read, or write in Halkomelem**, the language of the Tsawwassen First Nation. However, Tsawwassen community is taking all available measures to ensure the revitalization of the language through recordings of the fluent speech and community language lessons;

8) Seventy one percent of Members **attend cultural events organized by the Tsawwassen First Nation**. Tsawwassen completed building its new longhouse in 1997, which is now used for practising cultural activities such as "namings," memorials, winter dances, and feasts (TFN: A Fact Book). There are numerous events happening in the community annually;[1]

9) Tsawwassen is responsible under the Treaty to regulate its use of wildlife (TFN: A Fact Book). Twelve percent of Members **hunt wild game for oneself and their family**;

10) A slightly larger proportion (37%) practices **fishing or gathering shellfish for oneself or their family**. Fisheries are considered one of the main traditional industries in the Tsawwassen community. Under the Treaty, the Tsawwassen First Nation has "the right to harvest fish for domestic purposes" (TFN: A Fact Book).

The ten items above are, of course, not an exhaustive list of cultural practices specific to the Tsawwassen First Nation. However, we may gain some insight by analyzing these practices and their retention among Members. Interviewers asked Members to report whether or not they had participated in the cultural activities during the last calendar year. We find that practicing

[1] The information is easily accessible via TFN main web-site.

traditional activities is more common for older generations than younger people, especially among non-TL older Members. Moreover, TL-residents, on average, were more likely to be involved in the traditional activities compared to non-TL residents.

The most common activities practiced by the Tsawwassen Members were attending cultural events and the preparation and consumption of traditional foods such as salmon dishes or bannock. However, language is one of the traditional practices that is unfortunately fading away and may be in a dire need of revival. Only a small percentage of Members (11%) speaks, reads, or writes in Halkomelem. Other traditional activities that exhibited a noticeable level of exhaustion in participation levels include harvesting berries, preparing plants for medicinal purposes, traditional singing, drumming, and dancing, and making traditional crafts or clothing.[2]

In general, people living on Tsawwassen lands, older generations, and people with higher levels of education are more likely to participate in cultural activities. College or higher education is an important factor that contributes to Members' participation in cultural activities. Additionally, we find that Members who trust people in general and trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to be active in terms of cultural participation.

On the other hand, personal income appears to be a negative contributor to cultural participation, since Members with higher income are less likely to participate in cultural activities, notably in cooking traditional foods and attending cultural events.

Among TL-residents, additionally to the factors stated above, trust in institutions of the outside Tsawwassen community, such a police, school boards, and medical workers, is inversely related to

[2] This issue may be particularly important for practices that are hard to revive due to transmission (i.e. language and arts) or by exercise of rights (hunting and fishing).

cultural participation. While, among non-TL residents, only older people and people trusting the Tsawwassen community are more likely to participate.

Cultural Participation in Detail

How do we preserve culture? One way that some Tsawwassen Members (TFN108) feel that their culture could be retained is to:

> "*create involvement*. They could make it more of a well-received gift versus a chore. They could use the culture and use the language, have the language and use it versus learning words in a language, but not learning phrases and the language isn't used enough. I know that it's barely there, but I think that it would be perpetual once it gets used more."

Because we believe that participation, or active usage of a cultural skill, is one of the key strategies to keep the culture alive, this section aims at assessing various factors affecting the cultural participation among Tsawwassen Members.

We asked Members to report whether or not they had participated in certain cultural activities during the last calendar year. Table 1 provides a summary of the activities, along with the number and proportion of Members participating, the average number of times per year they engaged in the activities, and the number of Members who learned the activity at some point in the past.

Table 1. Cultural Participation of TFN Members

Activity	Members participating	Average number of times per year	Members that learned at some point in the past[3]
Cook and prepare traditional foods	99 (63%)	55	14 (9%)
Consume traditional foods	127 (81%)	27	4 (3%)
Attend cultural events organized by the Tsawwassen First Nation	111 (71%)	9	12 (8%)
Make traditional clothing, arts, or crafts	52 (33%)	24	28 (18%)
Traditional singing, drumming, or dancing	53 (34%)	21	27 (17%)
Prepare plants for medicinal purposes	23 (15%)	7	26 (17%)
Identify and harvest traditional plants or wild berries	50 (32%)	7	27 (17%)
Hunt wild game for myself or my family	19 (12%)	12	22 (14%)
Fish or gather shellfish for myself or my family	58 (37%)	11	38 (24%)
Speak, read, or write in traditional language	17 (11%)	62	23 (15%)

Table 1 shows that the most common activities were attending cultural events and preparing and consuming traditional foods. These three are frequently practiced activities but even they have room for improvement. Thus, one of the Members (TFN 521), recalling past cultural events, proposes the interviewer a way to increase attendance:

> "they could make it [events] fun… like a bannock making event [we had few years ago] where they had T-shirts at the end who can make the best bannock."

On the other hand, there are a few practices that are fading away. For instance, only a small proportion of Members (11%) speak, read, or write in traditional language. Other traditional

[3] Percentage represents proportion of all Members that have not participated or practiced activity in the past year but have learned to do so at some point in the past.

activities that exhibited lower levels of participation (less than a half of Members) included harvesting berries (32%), preparing plants for medicinal purposes (15%), traditional signing, drumming, and dancing (34%), making traditional crafts or clothing (33%), and fishing or gathering shellfish (37%).

Members who had not participated in the identified activities in the past year were asked if they had learned to do the activity at some point in the past (the last column of Table 1). A noticeable finding in this part of the survey was that 24% of Members that have not fished or gathered shellfish in the past year, had learned to do so in the past. This represents an important cultural activity that nearly one quarter of Members have practiced in the past but have not practiced in the past year. This may be linked to environmental change, as one Member (TFN606) recalls how fishing and gathering used to be easier in the past:

> "when I was younger, we'd go out and do our clam digging or, you know, getting the shellfish. We just have to walk out and depending on the tide, pick up a few crabs and take… clams, cockle shells and things like that, so that was, I guess, in those days the traditional food."

The discontinuation of fishing and shellfish gathering may also be due to a number of other reasons. Thus, one potential explanation in the change of practices mentioned by many Members is that fisheries is a point of disagreement with neighbouring communities, a fact that could also have contributed to the decrease in participation of the Tsawwassen people in fishing. For example, a Member (TFN320) mentions that neighbours "criticize the Tsawwassen First Nation for having their Aboriginal fishing rights" or another (TFN 302) asserts that there are still instances of racism around "especially [toward] us with the fishing."

Nevertheless, it is also worth noting that the lower levels of fishing and gathering shellfish are not limited to older Members, and that they cannot be explained away by physical agility. Thus, approximately 23% of Members aged 18 to 55 had not harvested seafood in the past year after having learned how to do it in the past and almost similar 31% of Members aged 56 or older had not harvested in the past year, after having learned to do so in the past.

Composite Measure of Cultural Participation

We combine all questions relating to traditional activities and use a composite measure of cultural participation,[4] which has an adequate level of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.71).

To determine what makes Tsawwassen Members to participate more frequently in cultural activities, we have designed multiple linear [5] models for all Members (the results are presented in Table 2), and then for TL and non-TL residents independently to assess if the factors influencing cultural participation for the groups differ compared to the overall sample and to one another. We find a few similarities and differences in the sources of cultural participation between TL-residents and non-TL residents, which are summarized in Table 3.

[4] "[S]ingle item measures… tend to be less valid, less accurate, and less reliable than their multi-item equivalents" (McIver and Carmines 1981: 15). Moreover, we want to measure the whole spectre of cultural activities so we decide to include all questions together. The individual item analyses findings, however, are summarized when activities are discussed separately at the end of Part One.
[5] With ordinary least squares estimation method.

Table 2. Explaining Participation in Cultural Activities among Tsawwassen Members[6]

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.
Control Variables						
Age	0.24	(0.10)	0.24	(0.01)	0.14	(0.09)
Gender	0.16	(0.10)	0.16	(0.09)	0.12	(0.16)
Married	0.05	(0.60)	0.00	(0.96)	-0.00	(0.97)
Having children	0.08	(0.46)	0.10	(0.36)	0.12	(0.23)
Employment	0.03	(0.71)	-0.02	(0.81)	-0.04	(0.70)
Personal income	-0.05	(0.31)	-0.06	(0.18)	-0.09	(0.04)
Education Variables[7]						
High School			0.07	(0.48)	0.05	(0.64)
Some College			0.08	(0.51)	0.04	(0.72)
College			0.19	(0.10)	0.18	(0.08)
Trust Variables						
In-Group Trust[8]			0.23	(0.02)	0.27	(0.00)
Out-Group Trust			-0.13	(0.13)	-0.12	(0.14)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					0.37	(0.00)
R squared		0.10***		0.16***		0.29***
Adj R squared		0.06***		0.09***		0.22***
F statistic		3.03		2.89		4.67
p-value		0.008		0.002		0.000
N of observations		140		139		139

We tested three models (three columns in Table 2) introducing sequentially factor blocks such as education, trust, and residency variables in order to evaluate if these changes increase or decrease significance of the other factors.[9] We find that cultural participation for the Tsawwassen Members is driven by five main factors: personal income, residency on the Tsawwassen lands, age, college level or higher education, and trust placed with Members and institutions of the Tsawwassen

[6] The models are using robust standard errors to adjust for heteroskedasticity. Note: p-values in parentheses
[7] The reference group for educational block is less than high school.
[8] For the Tsawwassen community, generalized trust appears to measure the same concept as trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen, termed herein as In-Group Trust. On the other hand, another distinct trust factor, referred herein as Out-Trust, is trust with people and institutions of outside the Tsawwassen community such as schools and teachers, hospitals and health workers, the police, or people living in the area surrounding Tsawwassen.
[9] This is also done to improve the model fit by the introduction of additional blocks of explanatory variables.

community.[10] In other words, the final Model III above shows that Members who trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to participate in cultural activities. The individual analysis of cultural questions reveals[11] that *in-group trust* is an particularly significant predictor of identifying and harvesting plants and berries for consumption and medicinal purposes, of attending cultural events, and most importantly of producing traditional arts and crafts. This has an implication that developing trusting relations among Members is important for encouraging cultural activities and hence, cultural preservation. More educated people, especially those with a college degree or higher, are more likely to be active in cultural participation. Education is especially important for speaking, reading, and writing Halkomelem, the traditional language of Tsawwassen First Nation. This finding implies that it is important for Members to have higher education for preserving Tsawwassen culture. Moreover, older people are more likely to participate in cultural activities when compared to younger Members. This generational difference is, however, not extended to cultural activities that demand high levels of physical strength such as hunting and fishing. Additionally, as expected, Members residing on Tsawwassen lands are more likely to participate in cultural activities. However, we also find that people with higher personal income are less likely to participate in cultural activities than those with lower levels of personal income.

[10] Trust indicators are explained in *Community Perceptions.*
[11] see the last section of Part One

Cultural Participation Enhancers for TL-Residents and Non-TL Residents

Since the place of residence is an important predictor of cultural participation, this subsection addresses cultural participation of TL and non-TL residents (see Table 3).

Table 3. Cultural Participation for TL and non-TL residents[12]

	For TL residents		For non-TL residents	
	Beta	**SIG.**	**Beta**	**SIG.**
Control Variables				
Age	0.18	(0.09)	0.21	(0.06)
Gender	0.09	(0.41)	0.14	(0.25)
Married	-0.03	(0.81)	0.16	(0.20)
Personal income	-0.11	(0.02)	0.02	(0.91)
Education Variables[13]				
College or higher	0.30	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.83)
Trust Variables				
In-Group Trust	0.35	(0.01)	0.27	(0.08)
Out-Group Trust	-0.16	(0.09)	-0.13	(0.40)
R squared	0.20***		0.16	
Adj R squared	0.11***		0.06	
F statistic	5.07		1.73	
p-value	0.000		0.12	

Table 3 shows that for TL-residents, *In-Group Trust*, *College or Higher Education*, and *Age* are positively associated with the frequency of cultural participation. Thus, Members who trust people of the Tsawwassen community and the internal institutions are more likely to participate in traditional activities. Members with college or higher education living on TFN lands are more likely to participate in cultural activities. *In-Group Trust* and *Education* have the highest effects on cultural participation (beta = 0.35 and 0.30 respectively). Moreover, older people are more likely to participate in cultural activities, even though the effect of age is not as strong as that of education

[12] Models are robust. The number of independent variables was adjusted using f-test for justifying elimination of variables which do not improve the model. Note: p-values in parentheses
[13] The reference group is people with less than college education or equivalent.

and trust. On the other hand, Members who trust people and institutions of the communities outside Tsawwassen are less likely to participate in traditional cultural activities. This finding is especially relevant to such practices as producing arts and crafts and speaking, reading, and writing Halkomelem (see following sections for details). This is likely to reflect Members who are more assimilated into the mainstream culture, who might practice other cultural activities not covered by the questionnaire. Additionally, people with higher income are less likely to be involved in cultural participation.

We identify similarities and differences between people living on the Tsawwassen lands and those who do not. For non-TL residents, income and education do not play a crucial role in defining whether or not a Member participates in traditional cultural activities. Additionally, trusting people and institutions of the outside community seems to be more relevant in explaining lower levels of cultural participation for TL-residents than for non-TL residents.

In general, the model for cultural participation explains more variance for TL residents (20% versus 16%). This means that our model is more appropriate in predicting cultural participation for people who live on Tsawwassen lands than for those who do not. We also want to note that the intricacies that come into play when we try to explain cultural participation of non-TL residents are not fully captured by our model.[14] There might be many other factors that we need to add into the model to explain the participation levels of non-TL residents such as their geographic distance from the Tsawwassen lands.

[14] The adjusted R square for the model for non-TL residents is not on significant level (p-value for the F-statistic = 0.12).

Cultural Practices in Focus

In this section, we describe each of the activities covered by the questionnaire individually in order to cast light upon factors specific for each activity. We start this section with the most common practices such as consuming and cooking traditional food and attending cultural events, followed by visual and performing arts, gathering, hunting and fishing activities, and then conclude with the discussion of speaking, reading, and writing in the traditional language.

Cooking and preparing traditional foods

Approximately 63% of all respondents cook and prepare traditional foods. There is no great difference between men and women in cooking and preparing traditional foods but there are notable differences between TL- and non-TL residents. Seventy seven percent of TL-residents cook and prepare traditional food. In comparison, only 52% of non-TL residents do the same (Cramer's V[15] = 0.31, p = 0.01). This difference remains significant in the multivariate analysis as well (beta = 0.31, p = 0.00). This means that Members living on the land are more likely to retain this traditional practice. Another factor that is positively associated with the frequency of cooking and preparing traditional foods is having children (beta =0.22, p= 0.03): Members with children are more likely to cook and prepare traditional food. It suggests that Members invest their time in teaching their children of their traditional culinary practices early in life. On the other hand, Members with higher

[15] Cramer's V is a symmetric measure of association appropriate for variables with differing numbers of categories, in this case 2 for TL-residency and 5 for "Most Tsawwassen people can be trusted." It is most commonly used when one variable is nominal and another – ordinal, as in the cases above. Cramer's V interpretation: (0) – no relationship, (0, 0.15) – very weak, (0.15, 0.20) – weak, (0.20, 0.25) – moderate, (0.25, 0.30) – moderately strong, (0.30, 0.35) – strong, (0.35, 0.40) –very strong, (0.40, 0.50) – worrisomely strong, meaning that the two variables are probably measuring the same concept, (1) – perfect relationship.

levels of income are on average less likely to cook traditional foods (beta = -0.11, p = 0.00). It is also worth noting that having children and higher income are only relevant for TL-residents but not for non-TL residents.

Consuming traditional foods

Almost 81% of all Members who we have interviewed consume traditional foods. We find that the proportion of Members who eat traditional food is actually higher than for any other cultural practice covered by the questionnaire. This is one of the cultural practices that are retained by the majority of the Tsawwassen community. Most of the respondents consume traditional food at least 1-3 times every month. There are more women and TL-residents among the modal group of consumers, i.e., among those who eat traditional food 1-3 times per month. Multivariate analysis reveals that TL-residents are more likely to consume traditional food than non-TL residents (beta =0.20, p = 0.03). Additionally, when we analyze the age differences, we find that older generations are more likely to eat traditional food than younger Members (Gamma =0.24, p = 0.001). This association, however, does not persist if we control for other variables.

Attending cultural events organized by the Tsawwassen First Nation

> "I want to be more involved at the longhouse and things like that, so yes, there should be like a-- just more little things [events] here and there just add up to start."
>
> TFN112

Cultural events at the community are one of the ways Tsawwassen people promote and preserve their culture. Traditionally, gatherings provided "the means for our ancestors to standardize critical

information about marriages, deaths, and the ownership of names, songs, dances, and other ceremonial and economic privileges" (TFN: a fact book). Nowadays as well, these events remain the primary sources of information and cultural reproduction.

Attending cultural events organized by the administration is one of the most common traditional practices in the Tsawwassen First Nation. Seventy one percent of all respondents attend these cultural events. Men are more likely than women to attend the events frequently, 1-3 times per month, but the gender difference in general is not significant ($p > 0.05$). On the other hand, the difference between TL- and non-TL residents in attending cultural events is significant (Cramer's V =0.36, p-value = 0.001). The association between TL-residency and attending cultural events recurs when we control for other variables (beta = 0.33, p = 0.00). This could have implications in terms of creating wider networks with Members outside by the means of increasing interest among Members living off lands in attending cultural events happening at Tsawwassen. The vast majority of people attends events couple of times in a year, while older generations seem to be more active in attending cultural events. The age difference in the cultural practice is, though, not on a statistically significant level (p-value for Gamma > 0.05). Additionally, in the multivariate analysis, we find that people with higher levels of *trust* in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to attend cultural events (beta = 0.22, p = 0.01), while people with children (beta = -0.18, p=0.09) and people with higher levels of income (beta= -0.06, p = 0.06) are less likely to partake.

Making traditional clothing, arts, or crafts

Even though Tsawwassen people did not construct large totem poles, their visual art is unique in decorative house posts, spindle whorls, masks, decorated tools, and many others. The technology of arts is unique and uses locally available materials. For example, cedar bark and goat hair was used to weave clothing (TFN: a fact book); the limbs of red cedar were twisted to make rope, its trunk to carve canoes, and its roots for making baskets; the bark of Douglas fir was used for various medicinal uses, birch wood was used for carving spoons, maple leaves were used for cooking and storing fish, red Adler for making dye and smoking fish (Reconstructing Culture 25).

Nowadays, approximately 33% of all Tsawwassen Members are involved in making traditional clothing, arts, or crafts. Even though there is little gender difference in the practice of traditional visual arts, it is more likely to involve people living on Tsawwassen lands. TL-residents have more resources to learn more about traditional clothing, arts, or crafts. In fact, the difference between TL-residents and non-TL residents is significant (Cramer's V = 0.35, p-value = 0.002). The association between TL-residency and this cultural practice remains significant when we control for other variables as well (beta = 0.22, p=0.01). However, the age difference is not on a statistically significant level (p-value for Gamma > 0.05), suggesting that young people are as likely to create art as older people are. Moreover, another factor contributing to higher likelihood of participating in making clothing, arts, and crafts is *in-group trust* (beta = 0.25, p = 0.02), significant both for TL- and non-TL residents. On the other hand, for non-TL residents, other contributing factors are trust in people and institutions outside the Tsawwassen community (beta = -0.32, p = 0.09) and employment (beta = -0.26, p = 0.05), both of which are negatively associated with the frequency of practicing visual arts. That is, people who trust people and institutions outside of the Tsawwassen

community are less likely to produce traditional arts and crafts. Similarly, Members who have a job are less likely to be involved in this practice.

Practicing traditional singing/ drumming or dancing

Approximately 34% of all respondents practice traditional singing, drumming, or dancing. There are more men and Tsawwassen residents who do it on a more regular basis. There are higher proportions of older people involved in this cultural practice than young people (Gamma[16] = 0.22, p-value = 0.02). This association, though, loses significance in a multivariate analysis. Moreover, none of the demographic, trust, education, or residence variables can predict the cultural practice of traditional signing, drumming, or dancing, if it is assessed separately and not in the composite measure. This suggests that there might be other underlying factors that contribute to the explanation of the participation in performing arts such as learning the skill from your parent or a relative.

Identifying and harvesting traditional plants or wild berries

These days, almost 32% of Tsawwassen Members identify and harvest traditional plants and wild berries. More women are involved in the practice regularly, even though the gender difference is not statistically significant. The rarity of harvesting plants or wild berries throughout a year is, however, not surprising because of the nature of the activity. For example, berries are gathered only during a certain period, August to September, and it is usually done only a few times to be

[16] Gamma is a symmetric PRE (proportional reduction in error) measure for ordinal variables. It shows the strength of association between two ordinal measures.

preserved for the coming year. As expected, there are more proportions of Members living on Tsawwassen lands (approximately 41%) who are involved in the cultural practice rather than Members who live off lands (approximately 25%). The association between this cultural practice and the place of residency holds in the multivariate analysis as well (beta = 0.20, p = 0.02). There are also no differences by age categories among people involved in this practice (Gamma is not on significant level). Additionally*, in-group trust* is by far the most significant factor in identifying and harvesting traditional plants and berries (beta = 0.32, p = 0.01) both for TL- and non-TL residents.

Preparing plants for medicinal purposes

Only 15% of all respondents prepare plants for medicinal purposes. There are higher proportions of women involved in the practice than men. Not surprisingly, TL-residents are more active in practicing preparation of plants for medical purposes than non-TL residents. These differences are however not on a statistically significant level. Age demographics of the practice reveal that there are higher proportions of older people involved in the practice especially frequently (Gamma = 0.32, p-value = 0.04). The TL-residency remains significant in the multivariate analysis as well (beta = 0.20, p =0.01), while age loses its significance. On the other hand, trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community is the highest contributing factor in preparing plants for medicinal purposes (beta = 0.22, p= 0.17), however, it is only significant for non-TL residents.

Hunting wild game for oneself or family

Tsawwassen Nation is traditionally very skilled in hunting. Duck hunting around Westham Island and Boundary Bay provided meat for food and trade. Other waterfowl such as mallards and loons and sea mammals such as porpoises, seals and sea lions were hunted by the Tsawwassen people

for as long as these lands remember. Moreover, “elk, deer, black bear and beaver were hunted in season, supplementing the regular diet of fish” (TFN: a fact book).

Hunting nowadays involves fewer Members. Approximately 12% of all respondents hunt game for themselves or their family. Most of them are men. This is one of the few cultural practices where the gender difference is significant (Cramer’s V =0.30, p = 0.01). It remains significant when we control for other variables as well (beta = 0.30, p = 0.02). Even though we see more proportions of TL-residents involved in this practice, the numbers are so low between both TL- and non-TL residents to be able to find the difference statistically significant.

Similarly, the age difference in the cultural practice is not on a statistically significant level (p-value for Gamma >0.05), even though this is a very physically demanding activity. This association, though, is significant when we control for other variables (beta = -0.15, p = 0.06), especially among TL-residents, thus allowing us to conclude that younger people living on lands are significantly more likely to hunt wild game. Moreover, in the multivariate analysis, TL-residents are significantly more likely to hunt than non-TL residents (beta = 0.19, p = 0.01).

Fishing or gathering shellfish for oneself or family

Fishing is another important traditional activity. Among all fish species, salmon is by far the most important for Tsawwassen people (Reconstructing Culture). There is a special ceremony devoted to salmon, “the First Salmon ceremony, when the salmon returned every year. The salmon, it was believed, were supernatural beings, who came every year to give their flesh to the people who were obliged to treat them properly. The salmon were cooked in a special way and their bones

carefully returned to water in a sacred ritual. The ceremony is still carried out today" (TFN: a fact book).

Yet fisheries have always been one of the most coveted industries by Tsawwassen neighbours, leading sometimes to open and covert confrontations. One Member (TFN424) describes the situation as follows:

> "We have a bad relationship with … local fishermen. We have a seriously bad problem with them and that's due to mismanagement, right, in regards to fishing. I spend a lot of time… fighting rumours and getting rid of stereotypes on a regular basis just to keep, you know, my relationship with my buddy that owns the store. It doesn't take long for rumours to spread and fishing has always been tense whether it be here or there," but because "any piece of water that's got a healthy resource of fish, you're going to have people fighting over it," it makes sense not to be surprised by intense competition from neighbouring communities.

Approximately 37% of Members fish or gather shellfish for themselves or their family. There are more men who are involved in this cultural practice because this is traditionally a gendered profession (Cramer's V = 0.29, p = 0.01). Additionally, more TL-residents are involved in fishing and gathering shellfish compared to non-TL residents (Cramer's V = 0.26, p = 0.03). The association between gender, TL-residency and fishing recurs when we control for other variables (beta = 0.26 and 0.20 with p =0.00 and 0.01 respectively). Moreover, we find that Members with children are more likely to fish or gather shellfish than those without children (beta = 0.26, p = 0.01). It is worth noting that gender is more relevant for TL-residents, while for non-TL residents, having children is a more significant factor in predicting the likelihood of fishing and gathering shellfish.

Speaking, reading or writing in traditional language

> "Yes, I think the Nation already does a pretty good job of providing some of those opportunities. It's difficult because most aspects of culture are-- their foundation is in language and there are-- there's a real lack of fluent speakers and people who

> immerse themselves in culture day to day. So I think Tsawwassen government does a good job in terms of providing access to what limited resources it has. Like, limited human resources, people who can actually provide some of this information whatnot. But the pool of available resources from which all First Nation communities draw from is very, very limited. So it's not a question of providing more money, I think it's actually finding people who have that traditional knowledge in the first place, especially language. And it's a really, really difficult thing."
>
> TFN102

One of the main components of any culture is its language. Hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓, native to Tsawwassen, is a Coast Salish language, often referred to by English speakers as Halkomelem. It has three distinct dialects: "Hul'q'umi'num' or 'Cowichan' (Vancouver Island, the territory includes the cities of Duncan and Nanaimo); Hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ also called 'Musqueam' (around the mouth of the Fraser River); and Halq'eméylem or 'Stó:lō' (along the Fraser river from Matsqui to Yale)."[17] Programs aiming at revitalizing the Halkomelem language are undertaken by the communities speaking the languages and by UBC.

Thus, language is a very important tool of transferring tradition and culture from generation to generation. However, because of the history of colonization and residential schools system, only 11% of all interviewed Members today speak, read, or write in the traditional language. There are more men and people living on the lands who know Halkomelem. Moreover, there are more people in the middle age that speak the traditional language. The age difference in language practice is though not on a statistically significant level (p-value for Gamma > 0.05). When we control for other variables, however, we find that Members with higher levels of education, such as some college (beta = 0.14, p = 0.09) and college or higher education (beta = 0.35, p=0.01), are more likely to speak, read, or write in Halkomelem. On the other hand, people with higher levels of *trust*

[17] Retrieved from: http://www.languagegeek.com/salishan/halkomelem.html

placed with people and institutions outside of Tsawwassen community are less likely to practice the traditional language (beta = -0.11, p =0.10).

Part Two: Tsawwassen Community

"I think community involvement, community taking charge, giving direction to staff. And not just specific community members, all community members, participating in what they think needs to be done and that stuff, working with the community on help making that happen."

TFN320

This section examines the factors contributing to community involvement in terms of giving and receiving help from others.

Members were asked to report how frequently they provided assistance to other Tsawwassen Members, and how frequently other Members assisted them. A list of eight helping activities included housework, childcare, financial assistance, and social support. On average, Members assisted other Members with four (4.2) of the listed activities, and received support from other Members with four (3.6) of the activities. The most common types of assistance provided by the respondents included social support or advice (78%), financial support or material goods (62%), and food preparation (62%). The most common types of assistance received by the respondents were identical, including (71%), financial support or material goods (53%), and food preparation (53%).

Both giving help to others and receiving help from others was more common among TL residents than non-TL residents. However, this finding is to be expected with Tsawwassen Members living in proximity to other Members. Older Members are more likely to provide help to others than younger people are. Employed Members are more likely to help others than those who do not have a job. Education is also a very important factor in predicting the willingness to help others, with Members with college education or higher being more likely to provide help to others.

Additionally, we find that people who have children are more likely to receive help from other people. TL-residents also are more likely to receive help from others. Moreover, Members with higher levels of education are more likely to receive help from others.

Community Involvement

Giving Help

In a series of questions, we asked Members to report how frequently they provided assistance to other Tsawwassen Members. Eight helping activities were included into our questionnaire such as housework, childcare, financial assistance, and social support (see Table 4).

The most common types of assistance provided by the respondents included social support or advice (78%), financial support or material goods (62%), and food preparation (62%).

Table 4. Community Involvement through Giving Help

Types of support provided to other Members	Percent
House repairs or yard work	48%
Looking after an elderly person or someone that is ill	47%
Food preparation	62%
Child care[18]	51%
Social support such as giving advice	78%
Financial support or material goods	62%
Finding or getting work	44%
Teaching a skill such as artistry, weaving, building, hunting, or fishing	32%

In the following block models (see Table 5), we analyze the factors driving community involvement in terms of providing help for others among TFN Members. One of our most important findings regarding community involvement is that the largest contributor to giving help is reciprocity: people who receive help are more likely to give help to others. Therefore, we insist that norms of reciprocity are by far the most important for ensuring community involvement.

[18] Type of support provided for other Members does not include support provided for kin.

Table 5. Explaining Community Involvement through Giving Help [19]

	Model Ia	Model Ib	Model IIa	Model IIb	Model IIIa	Model IIIb
Control Variables						
Age	0.13	0.30	0.20	0.31	0.06	0.23
	(0.13)	(0.00)	(0.03)	(0.00)	(0.51)	(0.00)
Gender	0.14	-0.00	0.15	0.02	0.08	0.01
	(0.10)	(0.99)	(0.08)	(0.74)	(0.28)	(0.86)
Married	0.12	0.09	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.10
	(0.22)	(0.17)	(0.39)	(0.16)	(0.29)	(0.15)
Having children	0.02	-0.11	0.00	-0.12	0.04	-0.09
	(0.87)	(0.14)	(0.99)	(0.14)	(0.72)	(0.28)
Employment	0.13	0.14	0.06	0.12	0.06	0.11
	(0.14)	(0.02)	(0.49)	(0.07)	(0.48)	(0.09)
Personal income	0.03	0.07	-0.01	0.04	-0.05	0.02
	(0.71)	(0.44)	(0.89)	(0.69)	(0.64)	(0.85)
Community Variables						
Receiving help		0.71		0.70		0.59
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Education Variables[20]						
High School			0.17	0.06	0.14	0.06
			(0.08)	(0.42)	(0.07)	(0.30)
Some College			0.29	0.05	0.27	0.08
			(0.02)	(0.54)	(0.01)	(0.33)
College			0.28	0.13	0.28	0.15
			(0.02)	(0.12)	(0.00)	(0.04)
Trust Variables						
In-Group Trust			0.00	-0.00	0.05	0.01
			(0.98)	(0.96)	(0.50)	(0.82)
Out-Group Trust			0.12	0.05	0.16	0.08
			(0.19)	(0.51)	(0.03)	(0.29)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					0.50	0.20
					(0.00)	(0.01)
R squared	0.07*	0.53***	0.12***	0.54***	0.35***	0.57***
Adj R squared	0.03*	0.51***	0.05***	0.50***	0.29***	0.53***
F statistic	1.84	32.34	2.06	19	9.96	23.49
p-value	0.095	0.000	0.027	0.000	0.000	0.000
N of observations	156	156	151	151	151	151

There are two main sets of models in Table 5 above. The first set is the set excluding reciprocity (in this case through receiving help), and the second set includes the variable for receiving help. We did this to find out who are more likely to provide help when we control for other types of community involvement, in this case through receiving help from others.

[19] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[20] The reference group for educational block is less than high school.

If we do not control for other community involvement in terms of receiving help, we find that one of the main factors of providing help is the place of residence—TL-residents are more likely to provide help than non-TL residents. Moreover, the higher the education level the more likely Members are to provide help. The highest educational contributor to providing help is college or higher education. Trusting people and institutions outside of the Tsawwassen community becomes an important factor in explaining helping others, with people who trust the out-group being more likely to help others. It is worth noting that age loses its marginal significance when we introduce the third model with the residency variable. Thus, when we do not control for place of residency, we find that older people are more likely to give help than younger people if we do not take into account where Members reside. Age matters very little when we control for residence and find that TL-residents are much more likely to provide help for others.

The next set of models controls for other involvement in the community in terms of receiving help, so that we could find out who is more likely to help others, if we exclude those who are otherwise active in the community involvement particularly through receiving help. We find that in such a case, employment becomes an important explaining factor. People who have a job are more likely to help others than those who are not employed. Moreover, TL-residents are also more likely to provide help than non-TL residents. Older people are more likely to provide help compared to younger people. Members with college education or higher are more likely to provide help than those with less than high school education.

Since TFN residency is found to be a quite important predictor for community involvement, we run the linear models for TL and non-TL residents separately to find out whether there are differences in the factors for two groups (see Table 6).

Table 6. Explaining Giving Help Models among TL and non-TL residents[21]

	For TL residents[22]		For non-TL residents	
	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.
Control Variables				
Age	0.25	(0.02)	0.19	(0.02)
Gender	-0.01	(0.95)	0.00	(0.94)
Married	0.10	(0.31)	0.07	(0.30)
Having children			-0.19	(0.02)
Employment	0.31	(0.00)		
Personal income			0.12	(0.17)
Community Variables				
Receiving help	0.41	(0.00)	0.87	(0.00)
Education Variables[23]				
College	0.13	(0.17)	0.06	(0.37)
R squared	0.34***		0.72***	
p-value	0.000		0.000	

[21] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[22] Variables were eliminated using f-test. This was done to have enough degrees of freedom given our sample size.
[23] The reference group is less than college education or equivalent.

Table 6 shows that among TL-residents, if we control for those involved in the community otherwise, i.e., through receiving help, older people are more likely to provide help than younger people are. Moreover, employed people are more likely to provide help than those who do not have a job.

Among non-TL residents, older people are as well more likely to provide help than younger people. However, Members with children are less likely to provide help than those without children.

We have to add a caveat that even though giving help is considered to be morally laudable, we found that it can also feel like a burden. A Member (TFN401) explains the feeling in the following way:

> "A: … I've just gotten busier with my extended family. I have two family members who are both ill.
> Q: Oh, okay. So you've been giving them care?
> A: Yes.
> Q: So has that been a positive or negative change?
> A: Negative."

The Tsawwassen community could take measures in providing an environment where community involvement such as helping others would not feel like a burden but rather a "well-received gift" (TFN108).

Receiving Help

Additionally, we asked Members to report how frequently other Members provided assistance to them. The same eight activities were included into our questionnaire such as housework, childcare, financial assistance, and social support. The proportions of Members receiving help in one domain or the other is summarized in Table 7.

Table 7. Community Involvement through Receiving Help

Types of support provided to other Members	Percent
House repairs or yard work	45%
Looking after an elderly person or someone that is ill	40%
Food preparation	53%
Child care	29%
Social support such as giving advice	71%
Financial support or material goods	53%
Finding or getting work	31%
Teaching a skill such as artistry, weaving, building, hunting, or fishing	34%

The most common types of assistance received by the respondents were identical to providing help items, including social (71%) and financial support or material goods (53%). The majority (53%) of Members were also assisted in food preparation, usually by family members: "my son does all the cooking. He's a good cook" (TFN420).

In this section, we will further describe factors predicting community involvement through receiving help among Tsawwassen Members. Here, we also find that reciprocity is by far the most important factor in predicting community involvement through receiving help: those who give help are more likely to receive help than those who do not. Two sets of models were tested same as in the case of providing help models.

One set is represented by models that control for reciprocity, such as those who provide help to others, and the other set of models does not control for other indicators of community involvement (see Table 8).

Table 8. Explaining Community Involvement through Receiving Help[24]

	Model Ia	Model Ib	Model IIa	Model IIb	Model IIIa	Model IIIb
Control Variables						
Age	-0.24	-0.33	-0.16	-0.29	-0.30	-0.33
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.07)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Gender	0.19	0.10	0.18	0.08	0.11	0.07
	(0.03)	(0.10)	(0.03)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.24)
Married	0.03	-0.05	-0.02	-0.08	-0.01	-0.06
	(0.70)	(0.42)	(0.84)	(0.21)	(0.87)	(0.28)
Having children	0.18	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.21	0.19
	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Employment	-0.02	-0.11	-0.08	-0.12	-0.08	-0.12
	(0.82)	(0.07)	(0.37)	(0.05)	(0.28)	(0.04)
Personal income	-0.05	-0.07	-0.08	-0.07	-0.12	-0.09
	(0.16)	(0.29)	(0.02)	(0.35)	(0.00)	(0.19)
Community Variables						
Giving help		0.70		0.69		0.58
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Education Variables[25]						
High School			0.15	0.04	0.13	0.05
			(0.18)	(0.63)	(0.22)	(0.58)
Some College			0.34	0.14	0.32	0.16
			(0.01)	(0.13)	(0.00)	(0.07)
College or Higher			0.22	0.03	0.22	0.05
			(0.06)	(0.75)	(0.02)	(0.58)
Trust Variables						
In-Group Trust			0.01	0.01	0.05	0.03
			(0.92)	(0.91)	(0.44)	(0.68)
Out-Group Trust			0.10	0.02	0.14	0.05
			(0.24)	(0.82)	(0.06)	(0.54)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					0.51	0.22
					(0.00)	(0.00)
R squared	0.08**	0.54***	0.13***	0.55***	0.36***	0.58***
Adj R squared	0.05**	0.52***	0.07***	0.51***	0.31***	0.54***
F statistic	3.71	41.42	6.10	22.56	11.26	22.16
p-value	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
N of observations	156	156	151	151	151	151

[24] The models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[25] The reference group for educational block is less than high school.

In the first set of models that does not control for otherwise active Members in the community in terms of providing help for others, we find that people with children are more likely to receive help, while older people are less likely to receive help compared to younger people. Moreover, men are more likely to receive help than women. Upon introduction of the blocks with education and trust variables (Model IIa), we find that education is an important predictor of community involvement in terms of receiving help. Thus, people with higher levels of education, specifically those with some college or higher education, are significantly more likely to receive help than those with less than high school education. Moreover, personal income becomes a significant factor, suggesting that people with higher income are less likely to receive help. On the introduction of residency variables (Model IIIa), we also find that Members trusting people and institutions from the outside of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to receive help than those who do not. Additionally, TL-residency becomes by far the most important predictor of community involvement through receiving help. The final model of this set explains 31% of the variance in receiving help, compared to 7% for Model IIa and 5% for Model Ia.

In a similar set of models but where we control for active involvement in the community through giving help to others (Models Ib, IIb, and IIIb), we find that people who have children are still more likely to receive help from others. TL-residents are more likely to receive help than non-TL residents. Members with some college education or equivalent are more likely to receive help than people with less than high school education. On the other hand, older people are less likely to receive help than younger people. The influence of age on the outcome in terms of not receiving help is the strongest. Older people are much more unlikely to receive help than people who are employed, who are in their own turn also less likely to receive help than those without a job.

In the interviews, Members (TFN107 and 329) remind us about help the Tsawwassen community and government could provide for elders: "I would like to see them get a nice elder centre. They promised us years ago and they never did get it for us" and "I'd like to see an elder place built." Helping elders could be beneficial for the community as a whole, as one Member tells an interviewer: "I think if you have someone, if you have an elder that's a weaver, that if you could support that elder in a way so that she could make herself available to the younger people where-- let's say she even had-- there was some place where arts and crafts were done" (TFN504).

Furthermore, since TL-residency is found to be a significant factor in predicting levels of received help, the next two models examine the influential factors for TL and non-TL residents (see Table 9).

Table 9. Explaining Receiving Help among TL and non-TL residents[26]

	For TL residents		For non-TL residents	
	Beta	**SIG.**	**Beta**	**SIG.**
Control Variables				
Age	-0.38	(0.00)	-0.26	(0.00)
Gender	0.08	(0.39)	0.04	(0.53)
Married or with partner	-0.10	(0.35)	-0.02	(0.72)
Having children	0.21	(0.09)	0.21	(0.00)
Employment	-0.09	(0.42)		
Personal income	-0.14	(0.08)	-0.13	(0.07)
Education Variables[27]				
Some College	0.17	(0.12)	0.02	(0.71)
Community Variables				
Giving help	0.42	(0.00)	0.80	(0.00)
R squared	0.35***		0.74***	
Adj R squared	0.28***		0.71***	
F statistic	7.93		44.70	
p-value	0.000		0.000	

Table 9 shows that both among TL and non-TL residents, older people are less likely to receive help. People with higher levels of income are less likely to receive help, while people with children are more likely to receive help.

Predictors of receiving help for TL-residents seem to be similar to those predicting received help for non-TL residents. The Model for non-TL residents, however, explains a larger proportion of variance in the frequency of receiving help among non-TL residents compared to the Model for TL-residents, (adjusted r square of 0.71 and 0.28 respectively). Most of the variance of receiving help for non-TL residents is explained by overall community involvement, specifically through giving help. Therefore, we conclude that, in general, people giving help are more likely to receive help back. “Scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours” type of reciprocity becomes vital especially for non-TL residents.

[26] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[27] The reference group is less than college education or equivalent.

Community Perceptions: Trust

Background

This section discusses trust Tsawwassen Members place with people and institutions of their own community and with others.

> "[G]etting to know each other and trust each other's huge 'cause it-- just to heal within and without, with the other-- with our surroundings."
>
> (TFN101)

> "Q: [W]hat does being a healthy community mean to you?
>
> A: Trust is a big one. Working as a community that believes in unity and not being, so to say, scandals around each other or working behind people's backs, pulling tricks to get ahead."
>
> (TFN136)

Trust is a quintessential indicator of social capital in a community. Social capital can be defined as the resources available from other people because of "norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" (Putnam 2000), established in a community. We contend that the key process in the creation and maintenance of social capital is trust. The relationship between these two concepts is anything but facile. Matthews (2004) provides one of the potent accounts of this relationship: "…if communities and regions are to develop social networks that lead to effective economic development strategies, relationships of cooperation and trust are essential." Thus, not every relation with other people should fall into the definition of social capital but only covenantal relationships, as opposed to contractual (Sacks 2002). The former provide the basis for social capital because they are based on trust and thus save on transaction costs, which are inherent to contractual relationships. Trust as "encapsulated interest" (Hardin 2002) develops a result of repeated interactions, yet, there should already be some level of trust even at an initial interaction for developing any types of social capital and cooperation with people of different origin such as business and other social relations. Therefore, trust may be considered an indicator and precondition of social capital.

Tsawwassen Trust Summary

For the Tsawwassen community, generalized trust measures the same concept as trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen, termed herein as *In-Group Trust*.[28] On the other hand, another distinct trust factor, referred herein as *Out-Group Trust*, is trust with people and institutions of outside the Tsawwassen community such as schools and teachers, hospitals and health workers, the police, or people living in the area surrounding Tsawwassen. These questions mostly refer to institutional trust. The big difference in trust for the Tsawwassen community lies, therefore, not between institutions and people but also in terms whether the institutions and others belong to the Tsawwassen community. Trust is higher for people and institutions that belong to the community. The radius of trust extended to people of the Tsawwassen community and not extended to outsiders is evident in the following quote from the interviews (TFN 310):

> "Q: you say that the youth workers were from here.
>
> A: Yeah**, it was easier to trust them**.
>
> Q: Okay, and so by that, do you mean they're not from here now? Is that--
>
> A: Yeah. Yeah, and they're nice. They're really nice and everything, they do well. But when it comes to things like with the teens, right, with the like drugs and like smoking pot and drinking and everything. They don't want to talk to some stranger about that."

Members were asked to rate the level of trust they have in various groups of people based on their level of agreement with a number of statements. Forty three per cent strongly agreed or agreed with the statement "most people can be trusted," 29% remained neutral, and 27% disagreed or strongly disagreed. This is higher than the national average – only 40% of all Canadian respondents chose the response "Most people can be trusted" over "you can't be careful with people" (Breton et al. A Fragile Social Fabric?).

Additionally, a larger proportion of Members agrees or strongly agrees with the statement "most Tsawwassen people can be trusted" (49%), followed by those who stay neutral (27%), and then by those who disagreed or strongly disagreed (24%). The proportion of Tsawwassen Members trusting other Tsawwassen people is larger than those trusting people in general, even though the difference in not very big, 49% compared to 43%. Moreover, there are more non-TL residents (50% agree or strongly agree and

[28] This indicates that people are more likely to answer questions of generalized trust depending on the demographics of their neighbourhood. Because "most people can be trusted" for TL-residents may indicate mostly other Members living in the proximity, the answers received for generalized trust and trust with Members of Tsawwassen were similar.

36% remain neutral) who evaluate trustworthiness of other Tsawwassen Members are favourably than among TL-residents (48% agree or strongly agree and 19% remain neutral) (Cramer's V = 0.26, p = 0.03 suggesting a moderately strong association).

Fifty five percent of the Members trust the elected Members of Tsawwassen government, while 24% remain neutral and 21% disagree or strongly disagree. This fact indicates that Members in general express confidence in the elected government of the Tsawwassen community. We also find, however, that most of the confidence is among non-TL residents (67% agree or strongly agree) than among TL-residents (45% agree or strongly agree) (Cramer's V = 0.24, p-value = 0.06 suggesting a moderate association).

As to *In-Group Trust*, we find that people with higher levels of personal income especially among TL-residents are less likely to trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. On the other hand, people with high school education and non-TL residents are more likely to trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. Education is more prominent in explaining *In-Group Trust* for non-TL residents. Additionally, community involvement is significantly associated with trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community.

Analyzing *Out-Group Trust*, we find that people with higher income, married people especially among Members living on Tsawwassen lands are less likely to trust people and institutions outside of the Tsawwassen community. On the other hand, Members who are highly involved in the community have higher levels of trust in people and institutions outside of the Tsawwassen community. Moreover, among Members living off lands, those with children tend to trust people and institutions of outside Tsawwassen community more than those who do not.

Trust Factors in Detail

One of the key measurements related to Members perceptions of their community is their trust in other Members and people and institutions in general. Members were asked to rate the level of trust they have in various groups of people and institutions based on their level of agreement with a number of statements summarized in Table 10. Table 10 provides a list of the trust statements along with the percentage of Members agreeing or disagreeing with each statement.

Among questions that reflected trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community, trust in the elected Members of the Tsawwassen government had the highest proportion of agreement, with 55% of Members agreeing or strongly agreeing to the trust statement.

Table 10. Community Perceptions as Reflected in 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 who live 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 the police	19%	37%	22%	14%	7%
I trust Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (formerly INAC)	5%	22%	47%	15%	10%
Mistrust					
There are groups among the Tsawwassen people I do not trust	19%	44%	24%	9%	5%
You can't be too careful in dealing with people	12%	52%	21%	11%	4%

We find that there are two distinct trust factors.[29] The first is *In-Group Trust*, i.e., trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. The other factor is *Out-Group Trust*, or trust in people and institutions from outside, or people with authority from outside (like federal government).

Models Explaining **In-Group Trust**

In summation, trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community can be mostly attributed to having high school diploma or equivalent, to being a non-TL resident, having lower personal income, and community involvement (see Table 11).

[29] The details for factor analysis are attached in Appendix A. We use principal component analysis with Oblimin rotation. First, we have examined our trust questionnaire items for their factorability. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .77, well above the recommended value of .6. The Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (□2 = 354.61 on 55 degrees of freedom with p < .001). Given these overall indicators, factor analysis was conducted with all 11 items.

Table 11. Explaining In-Group Trust among Tsawwassen Members[30]

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.
Control Variables						
Age	-0.03	(0.75)	0.03	(0.73)	0.09	(0.36)
Gender	0.06	(0.52)	0.06	(0.55)	0.06	(0.47)
Married or with partner	0.08	(0.38)	0.05	(0.59)	0.04	(0.65)
Having children	-0.06	(0.52)	-0.06	(0.51)	-0.09	(0.39)
Employment	0.04	(0.67)	0.03	(0.71)	0.03	(0.71)
Personal income	-0.07	(0.40)	-0.13	(0.00)	-0.10	(0.02)
Education level[31]						
High school or equivalent			0.26	(0.00)	0.24	(0.01)
Some college or equivalent			0.14	(0.30)	0.11	(0.41)
College or higher			0.12	(0.35)	0.08	(0.49)
Community Variables						
Community Involvement			0.05	0.54	0.15	(0.08)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					-0.12	(0.16)
R squared	0.02		0.08***		0.11***	
Adj R squared	-0.02		0.02***		0.04***	
F statistic	0.68		4.83		4.26	
p-value	0.662		0.000		0.000	
N of observations	155		153		153	

Table 11 shows that the model before introduction of the first two blocks relating to education and community involvement (Model I) does not have any significant factors explaining trust with Members and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. However, upon introduction of the education and community involvement variables (Model II), we find that people with higher levels of personal income are less likely to trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. On the other hand, people with high school education or equivalent are more likely to trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community than those who have less than high school education. Community involvement is significantly associated with trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. Moreover, after introduction of the last block relating to residency (Model III), we do not find that residency is significantly associated with In-group trust.

[30] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[31] The reference group is less than high school.

Even though the TL residency did not appear as a strong predictor of In-group trust, there can be differences between TL- and non-TL residents explaining trust, which we test in Table 12.

Table 12. Explaining In-Group Trust for TL and non-TL residents[32]

	TL-Residents		Non-TL Residents	
	Beta	**SIG.**	**Beta**	**SIG.**
Control Variables				
Age	0.06	(0.62)	0.05	(0.65)
Gender	0.02	(0.88)	0.17	(0.15)
Married or with partner	-0.15	(0.19)	0.22	(0.08)
Having children				
Employment				
Personal income	-0.12	(0.02)	-0.04	(0.73)
Education level[33]				
High school or equivalent	0.31	(0.01)	0.36	(0.02)
Some college or equivalent	0.02	(0.88)	0.41	(0.07)
College or higher	-0.16	(0.29)	0.50	(0.01)
Community Variables				
Community Involvement	0.20	(0.06)		
R squared	0.18***		0.18*	
Adj R squared				
F statistic	5.66		2.05	
p-value	0.000		0.06	

Table 12 shows that the effect of education on trust with people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community is significant. People with higher education levels especially among non-TL residents tend to have higher levels of trust in people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. For non-TL residents, college or higher levels of education have the largest effect on In-Group Trust compared to people with less than high school education. Summarizing, the more educated people are more likely to trust people from the Tsawwassen community. Among TL-residents, Members who are involved in the community more frequently are significantly more likely to trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. TL-residents with higher levels of personal income, however, are less likely to trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community.

[32] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[33] The reference group is less than high school.

Among non-TL residents, higher levels of education are very important for trusting other Members and institutions of the Tsawwassen community. Moreover, married people or people with partners are also more likely to trust people and institutions of the Tsawwassen community.

Models Explaining Out-Group Trust

To summarize, Out-Group Trust or trust in people and institutions from outside of the Tsawwassen community is formed by higher community involvement, lower levels of personal income, being married, and is more common among non-TL residents (see Table 13).

Table 13. Explaining Out-Group Trust of Tsawwassen Members[34]

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.
Control Variables						
Age	-0.14	(0.12)	-0.11	(0.22)	-0.05	(0.65)
Gender	0.02	(0.79)	-0.00	(0.97)	0.00	(0.95)
Married or with partner	-0.11	(0.20)	-0.13	(0.12)	-0.14	(0.10)
Have children	0.10	(0.27)	0.10	(0.27)	0.07	(0.45)
Employment	-0.02	(0.77)	0.01	(0.88)	0.01	(0.87)
Personal income	-0.16	(0.07)	-0.18	(0.00)	-0.15	(0.02)
Education level[35]						
High school or equivalent			0.09	(0.34)	0.06	(0.51)
Some college or equivalent			-0.10	(0.43)	-0.13	(0.28)
College or higher			-0.08	(0.45)	-0.12	(0.25)
Community Variables						
Community Involvement			0.13	(0.09)	0.26	(0.01)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					-0.25	(0.02)
R squared	0.05		0.10**		0.14***	
Adj R squared	0.01		0.04**		0.07***	
F statistic	1.29		2.99		3.71	
p-value	0.263		0.002		0.000	
N of observations	152		151		151	

Table 13 in its final Model III shows that people with higher income are significantly less likely to trust people and institutions outside of the Tsawwassen community. Community involvement is on a highly significant level, with higher levels of community involvement through giving and receiving help being associated with

[34] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[35] The reference group is less than high school.

higher levels of trust in people and institutions outside of Tsawwassen community. Married people are less likely to trust outsiders than those who are not married. Additionally, non-TL residents who live among non-Tsawwassen Members are more likely to trust people and institutions from outside the Tsawwassen community.

The following Table 14 summarizes the differences in factors explaining Out-Group Trust among TL-residents compared to non-TL residents.

Table 14. Explaining Out-Group Trust of Tl and non-TL residents[36]

	TL-Residents		Non-TL Residents	
	Beta	**SIG.**	**Beta**	**SIG.**
Control Variables				
Age	-0.10	(0.43)	0.05	(0.74)
Gender	0.02	(0.82)	0.11	(0.43)
Married or with partner	-0.38	(0.00)	0.17	(0.17)
Have children	0.12	(0.35)	0.25	(0.09)
Employment			0.11	(0.39)
Personal income)	-0.18	(0.03)	-0.27	(0.12)
Education level[37]				
High school or equivalent	0.17	(0.15)	0.17	(0.26)
Some college or equivalent	-0.22	(0.14)	0.26	(0.18)
College or higher	-0.19	(0.17)	0.16	(0.34)
Community Variables				
Community Involvement	0.23	(0.02)	0.22	(0.09)
R squared	0.27***		0.21**	
Adj R squared				
F statistic	3.60		2.34	
p-value	0.001		0.021	

Table 14 reveals that for both TL and non-TL residents, community involvement is a highly significant factor underlying trust.

Married TL-residents are less likely to trust people and institutions of the outside communities. On average, the level of trust in outside communities for a married person is 0.38 standard deviations less than for a single person. On the other hand, being married has no effect for non-TL residents' levels of trust in people

[36] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[37] The reference group is less than high school.

and institutions of outside the Tsawwassen community. Among TL residents, people with higher income are less likely to trust people from outside the Tsawwassen community, and the effect is 0.18 standard deviations less per each increase in income category. Income is also not significant for non-TL residents.

Among non-TL residents, people with children are more likely to trust people and institutions from outside the Tsawwassen community, while this factor is not significant for TL-residents.

Part Three: Tsawwassen Governance and Its Perceptions

Perceptions of Government: Background

This final part of the report casts spotlight on governance. The Tsawwassen governance historically depended on the main political unit of the time – family. These families would adapt to the environmental conditions and move in the territory following the natural sources of food. This made the families quite independent of any authority, free in making their own decisions and in making their own fate. Moreover, in such conditions, "formal political institutions had insufficient opportunity to materialize" (Reconstructing Culture). This freedom was stolen when the land was colonized by new settlers from Europe. These days, however, the Tsawwassen First Nation regained its independence and is a self-governing community. Tsawwassen's progress in governance so far are the focus in the last part of the report.

This section discusses the perceptions of the Tsawwassen government. Traditionally, families used to be main political units in the Tsawwassen community. They were large, adaptable to environmental conditions and moved from place to place following sources of sustenance. These families, as political units, were very independent in making choices about their own fate.

In 1993, the Tsawwassen First Nation entered treaty-making process, which was concluded by the signing of the Agreement in Principle (AIP) in March 2004 (TFN: A Fact Book). The results of the Treaty are yet to be decided by the course of the history and the reactions among Members and others are mixed, summarized by a Tsawwassen Member (TFN112) in the following way: "[s]ome people think maybe that we like sold out

for the treaty or something like that a little bit or some people are really proud of us and what we're doing. There's a lot of mixed reaction out there."

Summary: Government Perceptions

Most Members (78%) indicated that their opinion of the treaty had not changed since it came into effect. A lesser percentage of Members (44%) feel that the treaty has had an effect on their own lives or the lives of their family. Forty-one percent of Members believe that Tsawwassen Members have more control over their lives since the treaty was signed. In contrast, 21% do not believe that Members have more control. A further 25% gave mixed responses, and feel that the treaty has had more complex effects on the amount of control that Members have over their own lives.

Non-TL residents were more likely (60%) than TL-residents (37%) to believe that Members have more control over their lives since the treaty was signed ($p<0.01$). However, non-TL and TL-residents had similar views regarding the impact of the treaty on their lives and whether or not their views of the treaty had changed.

Furthermore, we have measured political participation in terms of voting in TFN elections. We find that older people, married people, people with higher levels of education, TL-residents, and people trusting in other Members and institutions of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to vote.

To analyze the perceptions and evaluations of the TFN governance, in a set of questions, we asked the participants to indicate, on a scale of '1' to '5', how effective they thought the Tsawwassen First Nation government was at performing certain tasks. Respondents were asked to choose '1' if they thought the government is not effective at all, and '5' of you think it is 'highly effective', or somewhere in between based on respondents' opinion of their activities.

"I think that the legislature, again, has been a really good success."

Both of the issues that were ranked as top priorities for the TFN government such as providing early childhood education (17.3% as #1 priority and 3.8% as #2) and ensuring that Tsawwassen youth gets a good education (20.5% of all respondents as #1 priority, 25.6% as #2) were also evaluated favourably in terms of the Tsawwassen government being effective in addressing these issues. Sixty seven percent evaluates the Tsawwassen government as effective or highly effective in providing early childhood education and 52% thinks that it is also effective or highly effective in ensuring that the Tsawwassen youth gets a good education.

Other positive evaluations were for providing services and support for the elderly, where 48% evaluate the Tsawwassen government as effective or highly effective, while only 25% evaluate the government as somewhat or completely ineffective. Moreover, 41% thinks that the Tsawwassen government is effective or highly effective in providing outside school activities for youth, while only 27% evaluate as somewhat or completely ineffective. Sixty percent thinks the government is effective in facilitating land development, and 48% -- in ensuring land development occurs in a sustainable manner, while only 16% think that the government is somewhat or completely ineffective.

Members remained, however, predominantly neutral in evaluating the Tsawwassen government in terms of creating jobs, encouraging a strong economy, and ensuring community safety.

For all of those above tasks, there are Members that think there is a room for improvement. On one thing that the majority of the Tsawwassen Members agree that their government could have done better is in providing treatment support for alcohol and drug addictions, with 72% evaluating the government as somewhat or completely ineffective.

The six questions combine into a cohesive measure of approval of the Tsawwassen Government, which we call hereafter Evaluations of Effectiveness. We find that people who trust people and institutions inside and outside of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to evaluate the Tsawwassen government as more effective. On the other hand, married people are less likely to evaluate the Tsawwassen government favourably.

Political Participation: Voting in TFN elections among Tsawwassen Members

In the interviews, Members were asked whether they participated in voting in the last federal (or national), provincial (or state), Tsawwassen, and school board elections. The summary of responses is presented in Table 15.

Table 15. Voting Proportions

	% of Members
Voted in the last federal (national) elections	42%
Voted in the last provincial (state) elections	39%
Voted in the last Tsawwassen elections	74%
Voted in the last school board elections	12%

The majority of Members (74%) voted in the last Tsawwassen elections. However, less than a half (42% and 39% respectively) voted in the last federal and provincial elections among Members living in Canada, and in the last national and state elections among Members residing in the US. One Member (TFN101) remarks about voting in provincial elections: "I always feel like we should—all First Nations should be voting more than they did," or another (TFN501) says that "I feel very empowered when I vote [in TFN elections]." Some Members explain their unwillingness to vote by the lack of adequate information (TFN514): "I feel like there they tend to send these big packages with all of the information about development and the government and there are just written so there is just so much to go through and read and it's not realistic for anyone to go through and read it. And I'm a single person with no little kids and I don't have time to read it. It's not designed in a way that I can understand and so that's one of the reasons why I don't go to elections and stuff because I don't feel like its fair to make a vote if you don't understand what you are voting for so if they make a way for me to understand it better then I know that I'd participate."

The lowest rates of voting were for local school board elections (12%), even though some Members, living outside of the Tsawwassen lands (TFN334), feel like it could be important for preserving the culture: "I think that there needs to-- so maybe this is already being done, but I think having partnerships with the local school board is very helpful to have culturally sensitive and cultural awareness."

Since the TFN elections were the most attended and present the highest interest, we have run statistical models to analyze the factors defining voting in TFN elections. In summation, we found that older people are more likely to vote in TFN elections. Moreover, people living on Tsawwassen lands are more likely to vote in TFN elections. Likewise, married people are more likely to vote in TFN elections than single people are. College and some college education increase the odds of voting in TFN elections compared to having less than high school education. Members who trust other Members and institutions of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to vote in the TFN elections (Table 16).

Table 16. Explaining TFN Elections Voting among Tsawwassen Members[38]

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	%change in odds[39]	SIG.	%change in odds	SIG.	%change in odds	SIG.
Control Variables						
Age	6.2	(0.00)	7.6	(0.00)	5.6	(0.02)
Gender	-31.8	(0.40)	-17.9	(0.70)	-44.8	(0.31)
Married or with partner	139.8	(0.06)	205	(0.04)	224.8	(0.04)
Have children	-69.6	(0.04)	-72.5	(0.04)	-61.5	(0.15)
Employment	6.6	(0.89)	-26.7	(0.57)	-20.3	(0.70)
Personal income	22.9	(0.11)	15.9	(0.32)	15	(0.39)
Education Variables[40]						
High School			147.7	(0.26)	200.4	(0.23)
Some college			398.3	(0.01)	477.1	(0.01)
College or higher			589.1	(0.02)	703.3	(0.02)
Trust variables						
In-Group Trust					19.1	(0.09)
Out-Group Trust					-4.2	(0.70)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					1022.3	(0.00)
X^2	24.62		37.14		58.01	
Sig.	0.000		0.000		0.000	
N of observations	156		151		151	

Table 16 shows that Tsawwassen residency is by far one of the most important predictors of voting in TFN elections. TL-residents much more likely to vote in TFN elections, thus knowing whether a person lives on TFN lands increases the odds of predicting whether or not a Member votes by 1022%. Other strong predictors of voting are college or higher level of education that increases the odds of voting by 703% and some college education that increases odds of voting by 477%. Moreover, married and older people are more likely to vote. Each unit increase in the level of trusting people in general, and trusting Tsawwassen people and institutions is associated with the odds change of voting by 19%. This means that Members that trust other Members and Tsawwassen institutions are more likely to vote in TFN elections.

Evaluations of Effectiveness

Additionally, Members were asked to rate the Tsawwassen government on how effective it has been at performing certain community tasks. Members were asked to rate the government on a scale of '1' to '5'

[38] These are binary logit models, given in % change in odds. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[39] See Appendix B for interpretations.
[40] The reference group is less than high school.

with '1' representing "not effective at all," and '5' representing "highly effective." The results are summarized in Table 17 below.

Table 17. Government Evaluations

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

The tasks upon which the Tsawwassen government was most frequently rated as "highly effective" included the provision of early childhood education (26%) and providing services and support for the elderly (23%). The tasks most frequently rated as positive (a score of '4' or '5') included provision of early childhood education (66%) and facilitating land development (60%). Other tasks receiving a high percentage of positive ratings (a score of either '4' or '5') included ensuring land development occurs in a sustainable manner (48%), ensuring a strong Tsawwassen economy (48%), providing services and support for the elderly (47%). Providing treatment support for alcohol and drug addictions received the lowest ratings, with 72% of Members giving the Tsawwassen government a low rating (a score of '1' or '2') for this task. One Member (TFN102) states the following about his or her opinion about addition: "I think we're healthier now than we have been. But we need to do more around improving things like diet, doing more to deal with addiction," or others mention: "I like to see a drug addiction and alcohol program happening here as soon as possible" (TFN409) or that "[t]he most important thing is dealing with the addiction and helping people" (TFN514). Many in the community understand the direness of the addiction problem and encourage an open discussion of the issue (TFN430): "And so there's a lot of addiction problems in the community. And I talk to a lot of people and there's a huge concern… we, you know, need to do more proactive-- see because I'm a

recovered addict myself, right, so I've been there and I've done that. I was alcoholic addict. I've been to treatment. I've been to recovery. So speaking through my own personal-- it's just-- it's hard to sit back and see-- and there's so much of it behind closed doors and-- it's terrible."

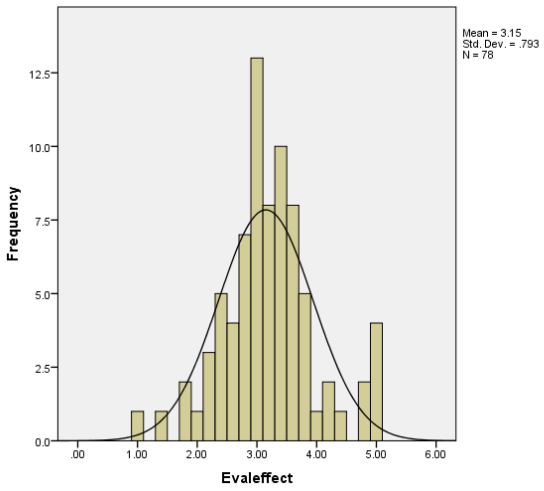
Composite Measure of Evaluations of Government Effectiveness

Furthermore, we tested the data on these questions for internal consistency to create a composite measure of evaluations of government effectiveness. We found that the ten items can be combined into a single composite scale, or cohesive measure of government effectiveness (Cronbach's alpha = .89).

Table 18. *Evaluations of Effectiveness (*N *= 78)*

	No. of items	*M* (*SD*)	Skewness	Kurtosis	Alpha
Evaluations of Effectiveness	10	3.15 (0.79)	0.21	0.78	0.89

The combined measure of evaluations of effectiveness has a mean (3.15) close to a neutral answer because '3' for all the questions was an answer "neither effective nor ineffective," with a negligible lean toward positive evaluation of the Tsawwassen government. This is also confirmed in Table 17, where we find that the modal average answer was neutral. The distribution approximates normal (see Figure below) with a little positive skew.



Models Explaining Evaluations of TFN Government Effectiveness

This subsection discusses the factors that influence the evaluations of TFN government. In the models below, together with the variables that we have used in our previous analyses, we introduce couple of new blocks relating to community and political involvement. We add variables describing community involvement and satisfaction because they may have a big influence on evaluations of TFN government.

Additionally, we add voting in TFN elections to investigate whether those who vote have different perceptions of the government than those who do not (see Table 19).

Table 19. Evaluations of Government Effectiveness among Tsawwassen Members[41]

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	Beta	**SIG.**	**Beta**	**SIG.**	**Beta**	**SIG.**
Control Variables						
Age	-0.01	(0.95)	0.06	(0.58)	0.08	(0.49)
Gender	0.07	(0.54)	0.00	(0.97)	0.01	(0.95)
Married or with partner	-0.24	(0.04)	-0.21	(0.03)	-0.22	(0.02)
Have children	-0.04	(0.73)	-0.03	(0.79)	-0.03	(0.80)
Employment	-0.23	(0.07)	-0.17	(0.17)	-0.18	(0.14)
Personal income	-0.10	(0.02)	(omitted)[42]			
Education Variables[43]						
High School			-0.00	(0.99)	0.01	(0.94)
Some College			-0.03	(0.88)	-0.03	(0.86)
College			-0.14	(0.45)	-0.15	(0.43)
Trust variables						
In-Group Trust			0.16	(0.18)	0.15	(0.19)
Out-Group Trust			0.19	(0.06)	0.17	(0.08)
Community Variables						
Community Involvement			0.06	(0.61)	0.10	(0.40)
Community Satisfaction			0.38	(0.01)	0.37	(0.01)
Political Variables						
Vote in TFN elections			0.05	(0.24)	0.05	(0.20)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					-0.08	(0.33)
R squared	0.13*		0.50***		0.50***	
Adjusted R Squared	0.05*		0.39***		0.39***	
F statistic	2.35		7.13		6.74	
p-value	0.040		0.000		0.000	
N of observations	78[44]		77		77	

[41] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[42] Personal income variable had to be omitted because it had a high multicollinearity with voting in TFN elections in this model (VIF > 30).
[43] The reference group is less than high school.
[44] The number of observations is lower for this model because non-TL residents provided fewer responses to these questions (only 23% of non-TL residents replied to all questions, while 73% of TL-residents did).

Table 19 in its final Model III shows that Members who are satisfied with the Tsawwassen community are more likely to evaluate their government positively. Members who trust people and institutions of outside the Tsawwassen are also more likely to evaluate the Tsawwassen government positively. This suggests that Members who are more trusting of institutions are also more likely to have positive perceptions of TFN governance. However, married Members are less likely to evaluate the TFN government positively. We do not see the differences in perceptions of TFN government between TL and non-TL residents or between those who choose to and those who choose not to vote in TFN elections.

Introduction of blocks of variables relating to education, community, and political participation improves model fit considerably. Model II explains 39% (adjusted R^2= 0.39) of the variance of evaluations of government effectiveness, while Model I explains only 5% (adjusted R^2= 0.05). The introduction of the variable on residence does not improve the model fit significantly (F = 0.98, p-value = 0.33). That is also evident in the fact that Tsawwassen residency variable is not significant in evaluations of government effectiveness model. This indicates that we do not have enough evidence to suggest that there is a difference between TL and non-TL residents in their evaluations of the TFN government.

Tsawwassen Self Government

Forty-six percent agree or strongly agree with the statement that they are "better off under self-government than the Indian Act." Sixty-one percent agree or strongly agree that "the elected Tsawwassen government is working in the community's best interest." Fifty percent think that "the Tsawwassen government is acting in a fair way." Fifty-four percent agree or strongly agree that Members like them "can have an influence on Tsawwassen government decisions." Sixty-one percent think that their community "is changing for the better." The only two questions where the modal answers were "neither agree nor disagree" are "the decisions of the current Tsawwassen government have made me better off" (51%) and "the Tsawwassen government is able to combine new ways to govern with Tsawwassen traditions" (50%).

Older Members are on average more likely to evaluate self-government as a positive improvement compared to younger people. Men are likely to evaluate self-government more positive than women are. Additionally, non-TL residents are more likely to evaluate self-government positively. People who are already satisfied with the community also view self-government positively. People who trust Members and institutions of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to view self-government positively. However, Members who trust people and institutions outside the Tsawwassen community are less likely to view self-government as a positive thing.

Self-Government Models

At the request of the Advisory Committee, the interviews placed a great deal of emphasis on questions regarding Members perceptions and understanding of the Tsawwassen government and its activities. A series of six quantifiably measured questions were used to examine this topic (see Table 20).

Table 20. Government Evaluations

	Strongly Agree (5 out of 5)	Agree (4 out of 5)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Disagree (2 out of 5)	Strongly Disagree (1 out of 5)
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.	17%	44%	30%	6%	3%
Average for all questions	11%	38%	37%	8%	7%

The highest level of approval was given to the statement that the Tsawwassen Government is working in the community's best interest and that the community is changing for the better, with 61% of Members agreeing or strongly agreeing with these statements.

The 7 questions relating to the self-governing capability of the Tsawwassen First Nation showed a high level of internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha =0.87) and provided us with enough ground to combine them into one composite measure. Table 21 provides descriptives for the composite measure. Most of the respondents showed a neutral position on the evaluations of self-government leaning a little toward positive evaluation (mean = 3.39, where '1' is 'strongly disagree' and '5' is strongly agree). Table 20 also shows that the modal average response was 'agree,' with more than the third of Members positively evaluating the outcomes of self-government.Table 21. Descriptive statistics for the Self Government (N *= 151)*

	No. of items	*M* (*SD*)	Skewness	Kurtosis	Alpha
Self-Government	7	3.39 (0.74)	-0.75	1.80	0.87

Furthermore, we ran couple of linear models to analyze the factors explaining the perceptions of self-governance among Tsawwassen Members. The results are presented in Table 22 below.

Table 22. Self-Government of Tsawwassen[45]

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.	Beta	SIG.
Control Variables						
Age	0.17	(0.08)	0.18	(0.03)	0.18	(0.03)
Gender	0.17	(0.06)	0.11	(0.19)	0.11	(0.19)
Married or with partner	-0.06	(0.47)	-0.10	(0.20)	-0.10	(0.20)
Have children	-0.07	(0.45)	-0.04	(0.66)	-0.04	(0.64)
Employment	-0.00	(0.98)	0.02	(0.78)	0.02	(0.78)
Personal income	-0.07	(0.03)	0.01	(0.88)	0.01	(0.87)
Education Variables[46]						
High School			-0.07	(0.40)	-0.07	(0.40)
Some College			0.03	(0.75)	0.03	(0.80)
College			-0.12	(0.28)	-0.12	(0.26)
Trust variables						
In-Group Trust			0.50	(0.00)	0.50	(0.00)
Out-Group Trust			-0.24	(0.00)	-0.24	(0.00)
Community Variables						
Community Involvement			-0.03	(0.71)	-0.01	(0.88)
Community Satisfaction			0.25	(0.02)	0.24	(0.03)
Political Variables						
Vote in TFN elections			-0.02	(0.59)	-0.02	(0.63)
Residency Variables						
Tsawwassen Resident					-0.03	(0.80)
R squared	0.08**		0.40**		0.41***	
Adjusted R Squared	0.03**		0.34**		0.34***	
F statistic	3.83		6.45		6.24	
p-value	0.001		0.000		0.000	
N of observations	151		148		148	

When we only introduce demographic variables (Model I), we find that older people are more likely to see self-government as a positive improvement compared to younger people. Men are likely to evaluate self-government more positive than women. Additionally, lower income Members are more likely to evaluate self-government positively. However, the whole model does not explain much of the variance in self-government variable (3%).

[45] Models are robust. Note: p-values in parentheses.
[46] The reference group is less than high school.

Moreover, introduction of education variables does not improve the model fit. On the other hand, the introduction of community involvement, satisfaction, and trust variables (Model II) increases the explained variance in self-government perceptions by 31%. People who are satisfied with the community also tend to view self-government as a positive thing. Additionally, people who trust Members and institutions of the Tsawwassen community are more likely to view self-government positively. However, Members who trust people and institutions outside the Tsawwassen community are less likely to view self-government as a positive thing.

Introduction of the residence variable does not improve model fit (F= 0.07, p-value = 0.80) (see Model III). This indicates that we do not have enough evidence to suggest that there are differences in evaluating self-governance between TL- and non-TL residents.

Afterword

References

Reconstructing Culture: A Traditional Use Study of the Tsawwassen First Nation. (July, 1998). A Report Prepared by the Tsawwassen First Nation. Study conducted under an agreement between the Tsawwassen First Nation and the Ministry of Forests, British Columbia.

Appendix A

The factor loading matrix is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Factor loadings and communalities for 11 items trust questions (N = *152)*[47]

	Factor 1	**Factor 2**	**Communality**
Most Tsawwassen people can be trusted	0.88		0.67
Most people can be trusted	0.80		0.63
There are groups among the Tsawwassen people that I do not trust	(-0.64 omitted)		0.38
I trust the elected members of the Tsawwassen Government	0.62		0.55
Young people in this community can be trusted	0.57		0.38
You can't be too careful dealing with people			0.09
I trust the police		0.44	0.27
I trust the schools and teachers in this area		0.63	0.43
I trust the local hospitals and health workers		0.65	0.40
I trust people who live in the communities surrounding Tsawwassen		0.70	0.48
I trust Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (formerly INAC)		0.71	0.49

We could see from the results that Factor 1 refers more to the trust Members place with people of their own community, while Factor 2 – with people from outside of their community. Thus, the factor labels are for Factor 1 – 'In-Group Trust' and for Factor 2 – 'Out-Group Trust.' One of the components of the In-Group Trust, "there are groups among the Tsawwassen people that I do not trust," was omitted because it held inverse association with the factor and the other, "you can't be too careful dealing with people" because it did not have high factor loadings with either of the factors. Internal consistency for each of the scales was examined using Cronbach's alpha. The alphas were high and moderate: .75 for Factor 1 'In-Group Trust' (4 items) and .63 for Factor 2 'Out-Group Trust' (5 items). No substantial increases in alpha for any of the scales could have been achieved by eliminating more items.

Composite scores were created for each of the two factors, based on the mean of the items which had their primary loadings on each factor. Higher scores indicated greater trust. Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2. The skewness and kurtosis were well within a tolerable range for assuming a normal distribution

[47] Note. Factor loadings < .4 are suppressed.

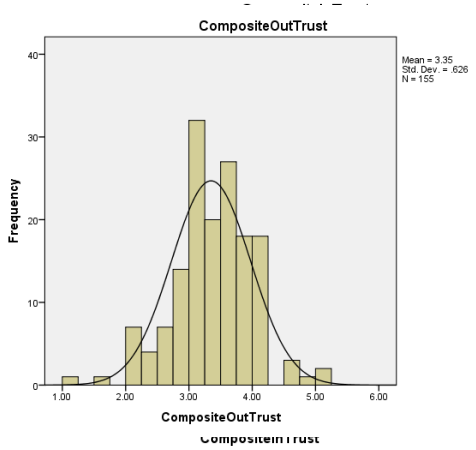
and examination of the histograms suggested that the distributions looked approximately normal (see Appendix A).[48]

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the two Trust factors *(*N *= 155)*

	No. of items	***M* (*SD*)**	**Cronbach's Alpha**
In-Group Trust	4	3.26 (0.78)	0.75
Out-Group Trust	5	3.35 (0.63)	0.63

Overall, these analyses indicated that two distinct factors were underlying Tsawwassen Members responses to the trust questions items and that two factors were moderately internally consistent. Two of the eleven items were eliminated. In the following subsections, we will analyze the factors underlying the creation and maintenance of trust among Tsawwassen Members.

The composite measures for in-group trust and out-group trust are presented on the following graphs:



The mean for composite out-group trust (3.35) is a little higher than the mean for in-group trust (3.26). The distributions for both variables are approximating a normal distribution with a negligible skew.

*Extended Descriptive statistics for the two Trust factors (*N *= 155)*

	No. of items	***M* (*SD*)**	**Skewness**	**Kurtosis**	**Alpha**
In-Group Trust	4	3.26 (.78)	-0.38	-0.12	0.75

[48] Because the oblimin rotation was used, a moderate correlation between the composite scores existed with r^2 of .48 (p-value < .001).

Out-Group Trust	5	3.35 (.63)	-0.35	1.13	0.63

Appendix B

Interpreting Logit Models