INVESTIGATING A FIRST NATIONS CULTURAL MODEL OF EMPLOYMENT

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ABSTRACT

When compared with the non-Indigenous population in Canada, First Nations men and women have higher rates of unemployment, lower labour participation rates, and earn lower average wages which are said to result in an 'employment gap'. Researchers have tried to explain this gap through factors such as colonialism, education, stereotyping, and cultural differences. The current study uses a theory of cultural models to investigate how First Nations men and women in Saskatchewan view employment. The researcher explored this view by implementing person-centred interviews. The interview analysis was systematic, case-based, and standardised between participants. The results suggest that the First Nations cultural model of employment is relationship-focused, interconnected, and context-bound in almost every sense (i.e., among employees; between employees and supervisors; between employees and their families and communities); it is egalitarian by nature, driven by a community-first mentality, and metaphorically can be presented as a circle, denoting interconnectedness of work, people, communities, and environment. Results indicate that this model is human-centred and it has high potential to foster a work environment where individuals' and communities' well-being is a priority. Future research should focus on additional support for the study results in other Indigenous groups and concentrate on specifying the theory's concepts and associated methodology in relation to a First Nations cultural model of employment.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION & LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Employment Inequality

It can be argued that many non-Indigenous Canadians[1] have fair employment opportunities. As of May 2015, the average hourly wage among the working non-Indigenous population was well over the living wage ($15.95) at $25.07, with only 6.8% of this population unemployed (Statistics Canada, 2015; Living Wage Canada, 2015). However, these prospects do not exist to the same extent for the Indigenous peoples of Canada (i.e., First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples) (Government of Canada, 2016). Data indicate that these peoples earn less, have a higher unemployment rate, and have lower labour participation rates when compared with non-Indigenous populations in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011; Government of Canada 2014b; Kar-Fai & Sharpe, 2012; The National Aboriginal Economic Development Board, 2015). Commonly referred to as the 'employment gap' (Roman, 2015), this disparity continues despite a growing, increasingly educated, and highly motivated Canadian Indigenous population.

1.1.1 Colonialism and Employment Inequality

One possible cause of this inequality may lie in the systemic colonisation by European Canadians of Indigenous peoples: a history that has undermined, marginalised, and negatively impacted Indigenous peoples' quality of life and culture (Daschuck, 2013; Findlay et al., 2014; Findlay, Ray, & Basualdo, 2011). Thus, Indigenous individuals seeking employment in non-Indigenous settings[2] may experience discrimination and can find such environments difficult, harsh, and culturally foreign, especially when compared to traditional Indigenous work (e.g., trapping). Yet, deep-rooted colonialism keeps workplaces from recognising or addressing this issue in several ways.

Colonialism reshapes institutions "in accordance with the social, political, and economic interests of the dominant group" (Findlay et al., 2014; p. 10). It does so by creating institutions with policies and ideologies that damage and diminish Indigenous peoples' rights, land, labour, and language (Findlay et al., 2014; Wilson & Yellow Bird, 2005). Ultimately, colonialism aims

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[1] Throughout the thesis, I will use the term "non-Indigenous" to describe the majority group in Canada, which are predominantly Caucasian and of European descent. It is understood that Canada is a multicultural society with many groups living within its borders that have different equity realities (e.g., each group should not be considered 'equal' in terms of wages or employment opportunities).

[2] A non-Indigenous work setting refers in this text to the corporate, hierarchical, and profit-based dominant view of work, which is assumed to be endorsed by non-Indigenous groups in Canada.

to suppress Indigenous peoples' culture to limit that culture's capacity to resist the majority group. It has been suggested that many people in Canada perceive Indigenous peoples through a colonialist mindset, one stemming from "colonialist institutions (i.e., education system, federal and provincial governments) [that] continue to know what is best for Indigenous peoples" (Findlay et al., 2011; p. 150). Yet those operating colonial institutions do not know what is best for Indigenous populations (Daschuk, 2013). Among a multitude of examples, residential schools, the 'sixties scoop' (i.e., where 20, 000 Indigenous children were forcibly taken away from families and put into the adoption system to be raised and assimilated by non-Indigenous families; "Sixties scoop victims demand apology, compensation", 2015), as well as breaches in nation to nation treaty agreements have marginalized and diminished Indigenous culture and have damaged the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Bourassa (2008) claimed that the concept of 'race' was used to justify the systemic exploitation of Indigenous peoples. This non-Indigenous mindset produced a construction of socially inferior Indigenous men and women that persists today (Findlay et al., 2014). Negative social constructions of Indigenous peoples in Canada grew in parallel with the early Canadian fur trade and national economy. Findlay et al. (2014) emphasised that European traders and merchants perceived Indigenous peoples as inferior due to assumptions regarding 'race' that justified the exploitation of Indigenous communities to "accumulate wealth through trade and enhancing personal and social economic status" (p. 11).

Similar to the fur trade, resource-based industries, such as gas, oil, mineral, and forestry, have become vital to the national economy. These industries operate in remote areas where natural resources are located, areas often inhabited by Indigenous communities who were forced to live there on reserves through policies such as the Indian Act of 1876 [3]. These reserves have historically encouraged assimilation and eased European settlement of Canada by forcibly removing Indigenous populations from major centres, ultimately allowing for Indigenous people to be controlled (Daschuk, 2013)

Natural resource companies claim that their practices are mutually beneficial as they provide Indigenous populations with employment in remote locations where there usually is little opportunity for work (Turner, Crompton, & Langlois, 2014). Cameco, for example, one of Saskatchewan's top mining companies and one of the world's largest suppliers of Uranium, is

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[3] The Indian act was introduced to combine all Indigenous specific legislation into one single legislative document.

the leading employer in northern Saskatchewan[4] and may rely on Indigenous populations to fill labour positions (Cameco, 2012; Saskatchewan Mining Association, 2014). To help companies such as Cameco recognise Indigenous labour, the Government of Canada has frequently committed time and money to the development of training programs with the intention of creating future job opportunities, including, a recent commitment of 2.5 million dollars to train northern Saskatchewan Indigenous mine workers (Giles, 2014).

First Nations[5] leaders also advocate for employment opportunities for their peoples to reflect those which are available to non-Indigenous populations. Perry Bellegarde, the national Chief of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), recently responded to the 2015 Indigenous economic report results, saying:

> Indigenous skills and employment training strategies have to be there and once we win on that front; it is good for Canada because the socioeconomic gap closes. That gap that exists is not good for our people, and it's not good for this country. (Roman, 2015)

However, colonial practices and institutions have historically prevented this goal from being realised, creating difficulties for Indigenous peoples securing employment and working at jobs within non-Indigenous settings. A report published by Employment and Social Development Canada claimed that unemployment rates for Indigenous peoples was 14.8% in 2006, more than double Canada's non-Indigenous population (6.3%; Government of Canada, 2014b). Further, some claim that lessening this gap over a period of time (i.e., by 2026) would produce Canadian economic benefits of over 400 billion dollars (CDN), with the government saving 115 billion dollars in support system expenses (Howe 2011; Kar-Fai & Sharpe, 2012). The importance of this training is especially relevant considering that during the period of 2006 to 2011, the Canadian Indigenous population grew by 20.1%; the fastest growing population group in Canada (Government of Canada, 2014b).

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[4] Due to the researcher's location, the context of this study is the province of Saskatchewan. All participants lived in Saskatchewan at the time of the study and spoke about employment within Saskatchewan settings. However, there is limited literature within a strictly Saskatchewan context. Therefore, the literature presented within this study is placed within a Canada wide context. The researcher assumes that similarities exist between Saskatchewan and other provinces but does acknowledge contexts can differ (e.g., differing histories; treaty agreements).

[5] The term First Nations is used in this study to refer to, "a community for whom lands have been set apart and for whom the Crown holds money. It is a body of people declared by the Governor-in-council to be a First Nation for the purposes of the *Indian Act*" ("Defining Aboriginal Peoples Within Canada", 2016). Additionally, First Nations peoples, "refers to the Indian peoples in Canada, both status and non-status" (Government of Canada, 2012) and is, "not a synonym for Aboriginal people because it doesn't include Inuit or Métis" ("Defining Aboriginal Peoples Within Canada", 2016)

Industry jobs, offered by companies such as Cameco, have the potential to facilitate partnerships with Indigenous communities. This means growing Indigenous populations could focus on career development in such a way that makes sense for their community through traditional ways of knowing and living (e.g., holistic, family-centred) inside the job market, while also improving access to employment (Findlay et al., 2014; Luffman & Sussman, 2007; Mendelson, 2004). In addition, many other organisations and companies have engaged in partnerships with First Nations communities. Among them, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Armed Forces claim that partnerships with surrounding Indigenous communities are socially and economically beneficial for both parties involved (Domvile, 2005; McIntyre & Holman, 2004; Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2016; Sosa & Keenan, 2001; Wilson & Macdonald, 2010). However, some individuals believe that these partnerships must be looked at critically. Researchers caution that such organisations and institutions may only initiate these partnerships to benefit themselves, and justify doing so by promising benefits to nearby First Nations communities which remain unfulfilled (Daschuk, 2013; Findlay et al., 2014).

Examples from the mining industry may exemplify the unbalanced nature of such partnerships. Mining companies in Nunavut are required to have 40% of their northern workforce comprised of local Indigenous employees. However, gaps in education and job skill training between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations prevent this quota from being met (McKie, 2013). Les Louttit, of Aski Nation, argues:

> Well, they're serious problems because [First Nations] have been neglected for so many decades. For instance, high school and post-secondary education, there's been a gap there for years. You talk about skills training. How are you going to educate and develop skills training within a period of two years in order to take advantage of construction? (McKie, 2013)

Frustrated, the Agnico-Eagle company in Nunavut flew in non-Indigenous employees to sustain their mine site, because "the Inuit population around Baker Lake is simply not motivated to work in the mine" (McKie, 2013). Clearly, this demonstrates a severe misunderstanding by the mining company and, consequently, they chose to spend large amounts of money on non-local labour rather than honour their job training agreement with the local Indigenous workforce. In summary, the mining company was able to benefit greatly from the government subsidies they utilised (despite their duty to the community) and resources they extracted from Indigenous land,

while Indigenous community members saw little of the benefits they were promised (i.e., employment opportunities, and economic development). Such instances demonstrate the consequences of colonialism in the employment domain, also showing how the promised benefit for Indigenous people in a history of colonisation remains unfulfilled.

The systemic exclusion and marginalisation of Indigenous peoples by colonialist practices and institutions, and the formation of negative stereotypes by those practices, may influence Indigenous men and women to distrust the companies employing them (âpihtawikosisân, 2012). Workplaces in Canada claim that non-Indigenous education, communication challenges, low level of non-Indigenous employable skills, and cultural differences may all be the barriers to employment of Indigenous men and women. Contrary to potential employers' beliefs, Indigenous men and women have stated that they do not want to work for these employers because such criticisms are rooted in negative stereotypes (âpihtawikosisân, 2012).

1.2 Employment Barriers for Indigenous Employees

Considerable research shows that multiple barriers exist between Indigenous employees and their potential employers. These obstacles may prevent Indigenous employees from pursuing or keeping jobs, and may restrict successful retention of Indigenous men and women in significant labour positions. Specifically, these barriers encompass factors such as differences in education, negative stereotypes and discrimination, and cultural differences.

The most commonly identified barrier by non-Indigenous employers is low levels of education amongst Indigenous men and women, a barrier which can be attributed to a colonialist history in the school system (Kar-Fai & Sharpe, 2012; Luffman & Sussman, 2007; Wetere, 2014; Wilson & Macdonald, 2010). Additionally, the residential school system forced Indigenous children to assimilate and learn the European Canadian way of life. It did so by taking children from their families and imposing harsh punishments on those children who chose to speak their own language or practice their own culture. Although residential schools have recently dissolved (i.e., the last closed in 1996), current curricula in the Canadian education system do not sufficiently incorporate traditional knowledge or teach non-Indigenous students to understand racialized colonial histories (Findlay et al., 2014; Sloan & Oliver, 2009). Battiste (2013) illustrated that the current educational system in Canada is one that focuses on individualistic ideals. She claimed that this created a discrepancy for Indigenous students:

In many ways, this concept of collectivity, which is central to Indigenous knowledge, runs counter to the individualism that is promoted by formal school systems, where children are urged to 'get ahead' and 'be the best' while they want instead to be part of the whole. (p. 7)

As a result, First Nations children learn in a way not compatible with their traditional ways of knowing, in a language not their own, and in a way that discourages understanding of their own spirituality or connections to traditional knowledge (Daschuk, 2013; Findlay et al., 2014; Findlay et al., 2011; Sloan & Oliver, 2009). Secondly, because this educational system values only non-Indigenous styles of teaching and learning, it presents a distinct cultural disadvantage for First Nations students pursuing education.

Open discussions have recently been initiated by Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to recognise the importance of the education of Indigenous children (Roman, 2015; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Perry Bellegarde argued in a recent interview that, "education (general) is the key" (Roman, 2015) to closing the 'gap' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Further education, including traditional methods of education, for Indigenous men and women could lead to lower rates of unemployment, higher wage earnings, and increased labour participation rates for Indigenous peoples of Canada (The National Aboriginal Economic Development Board, 2015). In response to reports such as these, recent Canadian federal legislation has dedicated over a billion dollars (CDN) to the creation of education opportunities benefiting Indigenous individuals in Canada. Simultaneously, Indigenous communities have increasingly taken charge of their own schools through self-governance. First Nations schools have incorporated traditional ways of knowing and learning into their school systems. As a result, these communities have experienced an increase of education achievements of their students, as in high school completion ("First Nations Education Act," 2014; Ferguson & Zhao, 2014; Elliott, 2014).

Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination present further barriers to employment with significant and far-reaching social issues. Negative stereotypes of Indigenous men and women are widespread throughout Canada (Claxton-Oldfield & Keefe, 1999; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1994; Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell, 2008). Indigenous people are often assumed to be 'lazy', 'alcoholic', 'poor', and 'uneducated' (Claxton-Oldfield & Keefe, 1999; Fedio, 2016; Morrison et al., 2008). Stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination can cause emotional and

physical harm, leading to low self-esteem, depression, lower work motivation and productivity, and even suicide among Indigenous men and women (Hanson & Hampton, 2000; Longclaws, Barkwell, & Rosebush, 1994; Morrison et al., 2008).

Another major barrier to employment may exist in the form of different cultural world views and perceptions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous employees. Understanding cultural differences is key to assessing the misunderstandings that create stereotypes and discrimination. Such differences may, in part, prevent Indigenous men and women from pursuing jobs with non-Indigenous co-workers. Researchers have also spoken of a cultural shock for Indigenous individuals from reserves upon entering non-Indigenous cultures (Sloan & Oliver, 2009). This cultural shock means that Indigenous individuals are forced to constantly switch between non-Indigenous corporate and Indigenous cognitive and cultural mindsets to adjust to their surroundings. This is referred to as living in two worlds, and it can be emotionally, cognitively, and physically demanding (Juntunen et al., 2001). Valery Whynot, an Indigenous employee, described this experience while explaining why Indigenous individuals did not want to apply for a job at Michelin:

> You have to realise that you drive by the plant, there's a fence, a gatehouse, and mirrors. You can't do this. You can't do that. That's very intimidating. Not only is Michelin a non-Indigenous world, but it's a world of its own inside those gates and cement walls. (Sloan & Oliver, 2009; p.3)

In response to such situations, the Canadian Government launched the Aboriginal[6] Workforce Participation Initiative (AWPI) in 1991, partly, to assess cultural differences between Indigenous employees and their corporate employers, therefore allowing employers to better understand their Indigenous employees (Blais, 2003; Government of Canada, 2014c). Many members of Indigenous communities saw the AWPI initiative as a positive development that promised to bring forth change for Indigenous employees through educational materials and handbooks outlining employment perceptions (Sloan & Oliver, 2009). Yet, despite the 25-year effort to increase awareness of cultural differences within the workplace, unemployment rates have not improved (Statistics Canada, 2011; Wilson & Macdonald, 2010). Similar to the AWPI,

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[6] The term Aboriginal refers to, "the descendants of the original inhabitants of North America. The Canadian constitution recognizes three groups of Aboriginal people – First Nations, Métis, and Inuit" (Government of Canada, 2012). It is a legal term used by the Canadian Federal Government, but is commonly thought of as a synonym for Indigenous in Canada ("Defining Aboriginal Peoples Within Canada", 2016)

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this project assumes Indigenous employees and their respective employers have different ways of thinking of 'career' or 'work' with various conceptualizations of what a job is and what the corresponding work-related expectations are. When the two groups approach a job from two culturally different world-views, their unresolved differences can create misunderstanding, miscommunication, and, ultimately, negative economic and social consequences.

A cultural psychological literature search revealed only one study (Juntunen et al. 2001) of knowledge of Indigenous concepts of employment. Therefore, it is important to explore the Indigenous cultural world-views around career and employment. Exploring a First Nations cultural model (CM) of employment will allow researchers to outline discrepancies between it and the non-Indigenous models. These discrepancies may reveal potential sources of unemployment and can have the potential to help eradicate the prejudice, discrimination, and misunderstandings Indigenous people face in non-Indigenous workplaces (e.g., Fedio, 2016). Colonialism in Canada has allowed Indigenous voices, ways of learning, and traditional knowledge to be ignored and discredited. Consequently, only the non-Indigenous world view of work is recognised and adhered to within Saskatchewan workplaces (Findlay et al., 2014).

Researchers that are focused on Indigenous unemployment suggest that bridging cultural differences between employees and employers would alleviate Indigenous unemployment (Darnell, 2009; Luffman & Sussman, 2007; Mendelson, 2004). Quoting Weber-Pillwax (1999), Wilson (2008) claimed that, if Indigenous knowledge was studied and incorporated into non-Indigenous settings then it would be a "source of enrichment to their lives and not a source of depletion or denigration" (p. 55). However, researchers tend to provide insufficient explanations of the nature and scope of these cultural differences. This study aims to explore how First Nations men and women[7] view employment. The theoretical underpinnings of this exploration are based on the theory of CM developed by cognitive anthropologists (D'Andrade, 1981, 1984, 1995; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Shore, 1995).

1.3 Theory of Cultural Models

The theory of CMs explains mechanisms of cultural influence on human behaviour and experience by proposing a system of interconnected, taken-for-granted, and personal mental

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[7] Although outlined literature featured Indigenous populations (i.e., Metis, Inuit, First Nation), the current study will focus exclusively on cultural perceptions of First Nation men and women. This is because the researcher assumes differences of employment perceptions exist among Metis, Inuit, and First Nation groups. Thus, a decision was made to focus efforts on only one group.

models representing various domains of life and guiding the conduct of community members. The theory argues that individuals are connected to communal social institutions through widely available models which are, in turn, internalized by individuals and expressed as representations of existing expectations, norms, and ideals of a community (Chirkov, 2013, 2016; D'Andrade, 1984; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Shore, 1995; Shweder, 1991). Anthropologists have defined CMs as "the presupposed, taken-for-granted, commonsensical, and widely shared assumptions which a group of people hold about the world and its objects" (Hollan, 1992, p. 285). The theory of CMs states that there are different forms of mental models that individuals develop and use to navigate daily activities.

1.3.1 Mental Models (Schemas)

The human mind is a creative and extensive model-builder (Shore, 1995). Mental models provide internal (i.e., personal) representations of the world and its objects which can be used to interpret and interact effectively with an external reality. Psychologists often refer to mental models as 'schemas'. Reed (2010) described schemas as "a collection of models . . . that we encode [as] knowledge clusters into memory and use them to comprehend and store our experiences" (p. 228). Others have defined schemas as naturally evolving knowledge and belief structures that help individuals to interpret efficiently, learn, and explain their world (Gentner & Stevens, 2014; Halevy, Cohen, Chou, Katz, & Panter, 2013; James, Todd, & Reichelt, 2009). Cognitive anthropologists have also adopted the idea of 'schemas' and use 'mental models' as a synonym. Cognitive anthropologists and psychologists conceptualise and understand mental models differently. The major distinction between them is that cognitive anthropologists emphasise a cultural component in these mental models. For example, Shore (1995) argued that models that exist in the minds of individuals, are widely shared within a community, and are numerous and heterogeneous in nature (p. 44-45). He also states that 'models' might be used to explain the structured knowledge of a cultural community. This proposal uses both conceptualizations of mental models defined by cognitive psychologists and anthropologists outlined above. The theory of CMs presents two distinct, yet interdependent, sources of mental models: idiosyncratic and internalised.

1.3.1.1 Idiosyncratic and Internalised Mental Models

Idiosyncratic mental models are representations of reality that are formed on the basis of an individual's personal experience and correspond to the cognitive psychological understanding

of this concept (Chirkov, 2016; D'Andrade, 1995; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Shore, 1995). For instance, idiosyncratic mental models may be formed when an individual visits a restaurant, sporting event, or religious ceremony. Based on his or her experience, the individual forms an idiosyncratic mental model that allows him or her to perceive the context and objects relevant to that environment efficiently. It also serves to reduce the amount of complex and demanding cognitive processes required for action within that particular context (Reed, 2010).

During the process of socialisation, individuals are influenced by public norms, regulations, rules, and guides for how to perceive the world and how to act on it. These sets of prescriptions are learned and internalised by members of a community and constitute another component of mental models termed *internalised mental models*. These become taken-for-granted, available to all members of a community, and provide communal prescriptions for how to think and act in all contexts of everyday life. The public component of these mental models reflects a portion of the public CM.

The main difference between internalised and idiosyncratic mental models is that internalised representations are said to be socially determined, constrained, reinforced, and maintained by widely experienced positive and negative social pressure, whereas idiosyncratic mental models are unique to each individual and are not necessarily known to others. The power of social pressure explains how and why internalised mental models are maintained – for example, try not standing for the Canadian national anthem (i.e., a widely held behavioural expectation or prescription of national patriotism) at a public event, and you may be shamed or ridiculed by others. Internalized and idiosyncratic mental models are not exclusive: rather they are two end points on a continuum. A person utilises both to interpret the world around them. Shore (1995) stated:

> In some cases, an individual's mental models may be derived directly from a public model, in which case it is a highly conventional mental model. But in other instances, the mental model may diverge sharply or even be completely independent of any public representation, in which case it is a highly personal model . . . and there are all sorts of intermediate cases. (p. 48)

1.3.2 Public Aspects of Cultural Models

CMs can function publicly as social institutions (e.g., employment, marriage, education, health care) and as similar communally-prescribed thoughts and behaviours which are socially

driven, presupposed, commonsensical, and widely shared within a cultural community (Shore, 1995). These social institutions, by their nature, are intentional, intersubjective, and taken-for-granted entities.

1.3.2.1 Intentionality. The term intentionality describes the nature of public aspects of CMs that are objectively real, but would not exist without members of a cultural community devoting beliefs, values, or emotions towards it (Chirkov, 2013, 2016; D'Andrade, 1984; Shweder, 1991). Intentionality consists of intentional things and intentional states. Intentional things and states can be explained by looking at the social institution of money. A twenty-dollar Canadian bill is an intentional thing: a piece of coloured paper with numbers and text written on it. Yet, individuals place great worth on this piece of paper. Its value stems from people's belief that it has a certain value and should be used for economic transactions (Chirkov, 2016). Due to this belief, money becomes a negotiated objective reality or intentional thing.

Money as an intentional thing cannot exist without intentional states directed towards it. Intentional states are an individual's beliefs, motivations, desires, emotions, and mental representations (i.e., internalised and idiosyncratic mental models) towards an intentional thing. Without intentional states, there would be no motivation to create and maintain intentional things. As written in Shweder (1991):

> Intentional [things] do not exist independently of the intentional states (beliefs, desires, emotions) directed at them and by them, by the people who live in them . . . intentional things are causally active, but only by virtue of our mental representations of them. (p. 74)

Intentional things and intentional states are constituents of public aspects of CMs as a negotiated social reality. Intentional states maintain intentional things as objective entities and influence behaviours towards them. For example, intentional states that place great worth on money may cause individuals to save, invest, steal, or spend their money. By doing so, individuals will also maintain and reinforce the intentionality of money, and the social institution of money will continue to exist and function. Intentionality is necessary to the theory of CMs because it may begin to explain how the individual human psyche and wider socio-cultural reality participate in each other's existence (Chirkov, 2016; Shweder, 1991).

1.3.2.2 Intersubjectivity. In order for intentional things to exist, members of the community must have similar conceptions about those things, be involved with them, and react

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to them (Chirkov, 2016). This is achieved through intersubjectivity. CMs are said not to exist if they were not shared by members of a community. This makes intersubjectivity a core component of CMs and allows access to their knowledge for anyone residing within a cultural community. This also means that those individuals sharing similar intentional states of intentional things are capable of *understanding* each other's intentional states. This intersubjectivity allows individuals to understand the thoughts and actions of others within their mutual cultural context, making coordinated actions much easier (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Chirkov, 2013; Shweder, 1991; Strauss & Quinn, 1997). In order for intersubjectivity to create and maintain intentional things and states an individual must:

> 1. Have similar conceptions, be involved, and react to intentional things and intentional states, and share their conceptions and reasons for involvement with others in their community.
>
> 2. Be aware that others around them have similar concepts and reasons for involvement. (Chirkov, 2013)

Combining these two aspects allows for the shared understanding of a CM to be maintained, publicly available, and easy to comprehend (D'Andrade, 1984; Figure 1-1).

1.3.2.3 Taken-for-grantedness. A community member who accepts and creates intentional things and maintains them through intersubjective sharing and understanding may accept this socio-symbolic reality as the ultimate and validated reality (Chirkov, 2013, 2016). Individuals who are socialised into and internalise corresponding CMs within a particular community can believe that their socio-symbolic reality is the correct and valid way of behaving and perceiving the world (Chirkov, 2013). Most authors who utilise this theory state that CMs are taken-for-granted. Taken-for-grantedness represents easily available models for how to think and act within a particular context. Taken-for-grantedness takes hold in an individual after a process of internalisation (Figure 1-1). Consequently, the internalised mental model can be processed without question or reflection because it represents the way an individual and their community has historically thought or acted.

A Canadian university lecture exemplifies taken-for-grantedness. During each lecture, certain expectations (i.e., sitting quietly, asking questions, respecting other students) are taken-for-granted by members of that classroom. Because of the intersubjective and automatic nature of these expectations, most students comply and do not question the intentionality of the lecture.

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There is no point in questioning the way a lecture, as an intentional thing, functions because doing so would waste valuable cognitive resources. However, if a student were to attend a lecture in a different cultural context, that lecture's intentionality may be completely different, shaking the taken-for-granted CM of a lecture for that student. It may also cause them to question the intentionality of lectures in their own cultural community. Without this disruption, taken-for-grantedness stays largely habitual in nature.

1.3.3 Internalized Aspects of Cultural Models

For public aspects of CMs to be endorsed and become taken-for-granted regulators of people's behaviour, individuals must go through a process of internalisation.

1.3.3.1 Internalisation. Internalisation is the process of integration of an externally-based thought, experience, representation, or regulatory system into an individual's psyche (Chirkov, 2016; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Spiro, 1987). An individual born into a community is socialised into its various CMs. As seen in Figure 1-1, an individual incorporates parts of the external CM they experience into their own psyche, allowing them to take the model for granted (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992). The process of learning and internalising CMs helps an individual interpret and act in the world around them while referencing taken-for-granted guides provided by their community (i.e., internalised mental models). This meaning-making is in conjunction with their own idiosyncratic mental models (Chirkov, 2016). Spiro (1987) outlined five stages of internalisation leading to behavioural regulation:

1. An individual learns the basics of the CM, including norms, beliefs, ideals, or acceptable behaviours. However, an individual may not accept or understand the CM at this point.

2. Through socialisation and internalisation, the CM becomes fully recognised, and its operating parameters are completely understood.

3. The individual begins to believe the CM as true, correct, or right. However, it still does not drive behaviour.

4. The CM is held as the ultimate truth but also informs the behavioural repertoire of the individual. This helps structure perception of the CM and, consequently, begins to guide their actions. Beliefs held at this level are said to be genuine.

5. Genuine beliefs not only guide behaviour but also instigate it. At this level, the
   motivational system of the CM is internalised and arouses strong effect. This stage
   represents the full internalisation of a CM. (p. 164)

Through these five steps, a child or a new member of the community incorporates prescribed
CMs and 'appropriate' corresponding behaviours. However, members of a cultural community
do not internalise all aspects of prescribed CMs.

1.3.4 Accepting, Rejecting, and Filtering Cultural Models

Although CMs are shared by members of cultural communities, individuals may vary in
the extent to which they internalise these models and on what aspects of the models are
incorporated. Personal experiences, power differentials, gender, socialisation agents, or social
institutions in an individual's life can influence what aspects of the CMs are integrated into their
psyche. Figure 1-1 refers to these as filters. Filters can help to create the basis to experience all,
parts, or very little of a CM. Metaphorically, a CM may be thought of as an all-encompassing
dome that surrounds the community. It exists above everyone, requires the community to hold it
up (i.e., intersubjectivity), and influences the life of a community. However, internalising the
whole 'dome' is impossible because it is simply too large to learn practically. Parents, schools,
friends, work, sports activities, and individuals' experiences may 'filter' the content of this
dome, and as a result, these individuals will internalise only parts of it.

In addition, individuals have the power to reject or accept parts of a CM based on their
own personal experiences (i.e., idiosyncratic models). Therefore, a person is allowed unique
qualities whilst still being influenced by the cultural community. This factor ensures individuals
in the community do not become 'cookie-cutters' to cultural influence and begins to explain why
behaviour differs among people in a community (Chirkov, 2013, 2016).

1.3.5 Behaviour and Cultural Models

Each CM has components that are parts of people's behavioural regulation. These
components are: *concepts and categories, moral codes, cognitive interpretive schemas, a
repertoire of practices,* and *social regulation of behaviours* (Chirkov, 2013)*. Concepts and
categories* can be thought of as how the world is categorised and understood by a cultural
community. *Moral codes* provide guidelines for what is right and wrong in the wider community.

Interpretive schemas prescribe ways of interpreting events (e.g., church ceremony,
sporting events) and situations (e.g., a conversation, a lecture). *The repertoire of behaviours* is

both a set of accepted behaviours and the accompanying rules for how to execute such behaviours. Different sets of socially acceptable behaviours are available in all micro-contexts of life (e.g., movie theatre, hockey rink, funeral home). Finally, *social regulation of behaviours* includes punishments or social pressure used when prescribed behaviours are violated. The social regulation of behaviours maintains the desired normative communal behaviours. Once these cultural prescriptions are internalised and have gone through relevant filters, they are represented within the internalised mental model and, consequently, influence people's behaviour.

The real motivating power of these mechanisms comes from the idea that individuals want to create congruence between their behaviour and the behaviour of those around them (Chirkov, 2013, 2016; Shore, 1995; Spiro, 1987). Holland (1992) provides an example of the collective nature of regulating behaviour within a CM:

> The full measure of the motivation to smoke was not brought by the individual to the activity of pot smoking, nor was the individual fully compelled to continue smoking by the nature of the drug. Rather the compelling nature of activity developed and was maintained in the context of interaction with others. (p. 63)

1.3.6 The Distribution and Structure of Cultural Models

Shore (1995) explained that in order for individuals to enable the efficient use of different CMs, a certain structure must be imposed:

> At the greatest level of particularity are (1) specific cases, concrete experiences that provide the most direct basis for general reasoning (i.e., idiosyncratic mental schema). More abstract and institutionalised are (2) instituted models (i.e., internalised mental schemas), which are the behavioural equivalent of conventional 'categories' for [an] experience. Most abstract are (3) foundational schemas. Foundational schemas are very general models that work across empirically heterogeneous domains of experience and underlie a community's worldview. (p. 366)

This proposed structure makes apparent how a large number of CMs can be organised and efficiently used by an individual within a community. Chirkov (2016) claimed this structure allows individuals to transfer easily from context to context, therefore allowing for the regulation of behaviour and effective communication in different domains of life.

1.3.7 Benefits of the Theory of Cultural Models

The dynamic of internalised and idiosyncratic mental models and public/private aspects is complex (Figure 1-1). Within an individual, both internalised and idiosyncratic mental models exist and influence thoughts, perceptions, and behaviours. CMs, representing facets of everyday life (e.g., employment), are maintained by social interactions guided by the *public aspect* of CMs (i.e., intentionality and intersubjectivity). An individual becomes socialised into communal prescriptions and begins their own process called internalisation (i.e., blue arrow in Figure 1-1). During internalisation, filters introduce an individual to varying levels of the 'dome' that is the CM. Once this process is complete, accepted communal prescriptions become taken-for-granted in nature.

Members of a community use their idiosyncratic and internalised mental models to think about, act towards, and perceive the world around them while maintaining the community's CMs. Because of an individual's filters, not every member of the community will have the exact same mental representation of the communal CM. However, there will still be an overlapping communal representation (accounting for individual differences) of the CM when a group of people intersubjectively express and maintain this prescription in a community. This sharedness allows CMs to be relatively stable from generation to generation.

Overall**,** the theory of CMs may allow researchers to discover deeper meanings of cultural differences in any setting. A practical utilisation of this theory allows researchers to connect 'culture' to every individual mind within a community. It also explains why people act as they do by revealing how 'culture' is formed, maintained, and has the potential to change. I chose this theory for the current study because of these reasons. Traditional explanations of cultural differences between First Nations and non-Indigenous peoples do not offer the same depth as the theory of CMs does (to view an example, see Vukic, Gregory, Martin-Misener, & Etowa, 2011).

Appealingly to me, the theory of CM perspective argues that culture is not something that exists outside of human influence. Instead, 'culture' is interconnected for those residing within its influence, and exists in the form of a large set of heterogeneous models in the community and individual minds. In other words, the theory of CMs may explain *how* and *why* the taken-for-granted ideals and boundaries set by a cultural community can influence the way individuals see and interact with their environment.

Cultural model 'dome' representing community knowledge

Blue arrow represents internalization process (includes filters, acceptation, rejection)

Concepts and Categories

Moral Codes

Intentionality & Intersubjectivity maintain content of the cultural model

Cognitive Interpretive Schemas

Components of cultural model

Repertoires of behaviour

Social regulation of behaviour

Internalization culminates in knowledge becoming taken-for-granted

Taken-for-granted knowledge used to navigate everyday activities

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Figure 1-1. A Representation of the Theory of Cultural Models

1.3.8. Limitations of the Theory of Cultural Models

  While the theory of CMs provides a detailed explanation of cultural influence, I believe there are limitations to the theory. The first potential limitation is that, while the theory claims to explain how culture can change via social discourse (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Chirkov, 2013; Shweder, 1991; Strauss & Quinn, 1997), it does not explicitly state *how* cultural change would be captured by research. Rather, the theory offers a set of theoretical constructs that allows researchers to view a 'snapshot' of a given CM at a point in time rather than assess the potential for change. To be specific, it does not explain how cultural change would be perpetuated through social interactions.

  One additional limitation is that individuals who are bi-cultural or hold more than one set of cultural assumptions on a given topic (e.g., employment), are not accounted for within the theoretical components. This theory appears to be well-suited to study individuals who hold only one set of cultural assumptions. However, in a modern world, it is hard to assume that a given individual's cultural knowledge stems from only one culture (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 2003). This may be especially true for First Nations individuals who move away from their home community and internalise parts of non-Indigenous culture. It may be safe to assume that they would have multiple sets of taken-for-granted knowledge within them guiding them on how to navigate everyday activities. Unfortunately, the theory of CMs does not explain any potential interactions between two or more sets of cultural knowledge.

  1.4 Indigenous Cultural Models: A Review of Existing Psychological Research

  Psychological researchers have utilized various versions of the theory of CMs to explore specific aspects of Indigenous culture in North America including education (Fryberg & Markus, 2003), mental health (Vukic et al., 2011), attitudes toward nature (Medin & Bang, 2014), and career (Juntunen et al., 2001), among others (Cohen, 2008; Deyhle & LeCompte, 1994; Fryberg & Markus, 2003; Gloria & Kurpius-Robinson, 2001; McCormick, 2009). The following review will explain how the theory of CMs informed selected studies and what methodological tools were used to extract these models. Additionally, a critical analysis of strengths and weaknesses of the presented studies' theoretical and methodological approach will help strengthen the case for the use of the theory of CMs in the present study.

1.4.1 Cultural Model of Mental Health

Vukic et al. (2011) analysed and compared First Nations and non-Indigenous CMs of mental health. Although these researchers did not explicitly use the theory of CM as a basis, they did study widely understood, accepted, and shared models of mental health (i.e., public CMs) in both First Nations and non-Indigenous cultures. In addition, they used language (i.e., 'exemplar models') and concepts (e.g., 'interpretive schemas'; 'public CM') that parallel the theory of CM. Vukic et al. (2011) described CMs of mental health, as well as a critical evaluation of current mental health programs within a First Nations community by 'outside' non-Indigenous counsellors. Evidence was gathered through document analysis, anecdotal evidence, and observation. However, no original data were collected, and research methods were not elaborated. Based on the available evidence, Vukic et al. (2001) stated that First Nations peoples view mental health with respect to the interconnectedness of mind, emotion, spirit, and body. This is represented by the medicine wheel, in which Vukic et al. (2011) claim:

> The overall principle that all knowledge is contained in the circle is constant…the circle represents the totality of existence, the interconnectedness of relations, and is symbolic of life. All things interrelated (relatedness is a core value) and everything in the universe is part of a single whole. (p. 69)

Further, First Nations mental illness is often associated with a separation from the community, culture, and family (Vukic et al., 2011; McCormick, 2009). In contrast, Vukic et al. (2011) stated that non-Indigenous communities view mental health from an individual perspective, focusing on a person's thoughts or feelings because of chemical imbalances. They further argued that this may represent a problem for psychologists, or anyone else, attempting to treat First Nations patients because a neurobiological explanation of mental illness does not speak to the interconnectedness of mind, body, emotion, spirit, family, land, or community. Thus, Vukic et al. (2011) argued that, in order to properly treat mental illnesses in First Nations communities, a First Nations view of mental health must be adopted and respected.

Several commonalities between First Nations and non-Indigenous models of mental health were also presented by Vukic et al. (2011). Specifically, determinants of health and mental health promotion are similar in both models. Both First Nations and non-Indigenous approaches to promoting mental health largely depend on social factors (e.g., family and friend networks). While non-Indigenous approaches may promote mental health using social factors,

they do not 'treat' mental illness in the same manner as the individual. Rather the family and friend network is the focus of treatment. However, Vukic et al. (2011) claimed both models *promote* mental health by an emphasis on the community, environmental, and social aspects of individuals' lives. In other words, they both promote mental health to the whole of the population, rather than just individuals at risk.

Vukic et al. (2011) claim should be taken with caution because they used an existing database. While this evidence is valuable, discovering the dynamics of any CM is difficult without interacting, interpreting, and actively selecting participants. Without first-hand interaction with participants, discovering the public *or* private aspects for that CM will be trying. While document analysis is certainly a viable and important aspect to discovering a CM, it cannot be relied upon as the sole methodology to do so.

1.4.2 Cultural Model of Nature

Medin and Bang (2014) outlined the importance of cultural considerations in communication by describing research on Native American (NA) and European American (EA) models of nature. Once again, the researchers did not explicitly use the theory of CM. However, the authors focused on indirect communication styles produced by 'artefacts' created by implicit worldviews of the cultural communities. The authors also claimed that a community's worldviews are embedded within its cultural artefacts and that these artefacts influence individual and community perceptions of a concept. When examining the terminology used in the current proposal, Medin and Bang (2014) touched on the elements of intentional things and states, interpretive schemas, and public CMs. Thus, the information yielded in interviews used in this study is somewhat representative of the NA and EA model of nature.

Twenty NA and EA participants were queried about their relationship with nature through a structured interview. NA responses indicated that their individual and community perceptions of nature involved humans being emotionally and physically connected to nature. For example, when asked to describe animals within nature (e.g., deer), NA participants tended to imagine themselves as the animal to be able to describe it. In contrast, the EA participants tended to place the deer in a known location. When asked to rate how important they feel plants and animals are, both groups rated them similarly. However, NA participants also described plants and animals' importance to the forest. Based on the evidence provided, Medin and Bang (2014) concluded that NA and EA cultural worldviews of nature differ.

Despite evidence on NA and EA worldviews of nature, several methodological issues arose when describing this discovery as a representative CM. Medin and Bang (2014) essentially describe the public aspects of CMs using different terminology (i.e., artefacts, implicit worldviews) but do not describe how these worldviews are created and maintained. The authors simply state that influential worldviews exist and influence behaviour. Describing cultural influences on behaviour is difficult without studying the source of the worldview (Chirkov, 2016).

1.4.3 Cultural Model of Education

Fryberg and Markus (2007) compared three aspects of the NA, EA, and Asian American CMs of education and found differences between NA and non-NA models. Researchers explicitly used the theory of CM as the theoretical framework for this study. They used the theory of CM to examine the hypothesis that EA and NA communities perceive, think about, and behave towards education differently. Therefore, Fryberg and Markus (2007) tried to access a taken-for-granted model of education for university students in America. They justified their theoretical account by explaining that individuals are often unaware of differences existing between cultural communities (i.e., taken-for-grantedness). In addition, the researchers further explained their theoretical position by outlining how 'tools of thought' (i.e., CMs) are shaped and created through social interactions. Finally, Fryberg and Markus (2007) explained repertoires of behaviour, concepts/categories, and behavioural consequences of CM through the claim that different students from various cultural communities will hold different expectations, associations, reactions, and behaviours while operating in the same context (i.e., a classroom).

Fryberg and Markus (2007) explored whether different CMs translate into different educational attitudes in American schools. Specifically, they argue that NA students' academic motivation, academic behaviour/thoughts, and feelings regarding education are strongly influenced by the internalised CM. Through these models, researchers may be able to address some of the issues and problems of NA students' education. Notably, there were two types of NA participants: those who resided on reservations and those who had not for most of their lives. To this goal, researchers conducted a mixed-method analysis of three components of NA and EA CMs of education (Asian American will be largely ignored in this outline): the purpose of education, the teacher-student relationship, and the sense of 'self' in education.

Fryberg and Markus (2007) conducted three studies to support the existence of each proposed factor in the education CMs. The first study included two open-ended questions asking participants what they thought of 'education' as an idea and 'teacher' as a concept. Specifically, written free associations to the words 'education' and 'teacher' were thematically categorised, analysed using frequencies, and subjected to inter-rater reliability ratings. The second study featured a series of five vignettes. Participants responded to the first three vignettes by outlining a conflicting choice between school and their community (e.g., a sick family member with a paper due the following week), as well as two additional vignettes surrounding personal success in education (e.g., scholarship). Finally, the third study utilised questionnaire measures assessing representations of self (i.e., interdependent or independent) and perceived trust of teachers.

Several cultural differences in models of education emerged from this investigation. When compared to non-NA responses, NA viewed the purpose of education as a tool to achieve individual *and* community success. Specifically, Fryberg and Markus (2007) found evidence that education was important to NA individuals in achieving community prosperity/success despite concluding that NA students held a more negative view towards education (i.e., negative views of teachers, a displacement of tradition). Authors reported that this was particularly evident for those participants who still lived on reservations. In contrast, EA were less likely to mention 'family' or 'community' when responding to questions regarding the purpose of education. They instead explained the purpose of education as the achievement and personal acquisition of knowledge, rather than as a tool for community success. Finally, EA participants held a largely positive view towards education (i.e., the purpose and the teacher-student relationship) when compared to NA participants.

In addition, NA participants indicated both independent and interdependent representations of self in responses to vignettes. NA participants often put their community and family before academic concerns when the two were in conflict (Fryberg & Markus, 2007). Specifically, NA responses to the five vignettes outlined community fears that students would not return home after their education was complete. In addition, NA written responses indicated that they were far more likely to take a break from school to return home for an ill family member or a community celebration, and were more likely to write about their community when accepting an academic reward when compared to EA participants.

However, NA also displayed personally driven responses to vignette questions. Authors derived whether something was independent or interdependent by classifying responses into themes. Researchers concluded that Non-NA responses outlined the importance of individuality *and* interdependence in educational models. EA responses focused more on themselves when referring to the five different vignettes, and often chose their academic concerns over family matters. This is an indication that EA has a prevailing independent sense of self in education when compared to NA. Finally, the survey measure used in the third study largely supported the findings of the previous two studies (i.e., differences in self and the teacher-student relationship between EA and NA).

While Fryberg and Markus (2007) presented a justified understanding of CMs in their study, several contradictory ideas emerged. Researchers presented several important components of CMs based on past research, used a multitude of methods to support their hypotheses, and presented congruent statistical evidence through three studies, providing strong support for their claims. However, their claim that the purpose of education, the teacher-student relationship, and the sense of 'self' are the *only* factors in the CM affecting education is dubious. Anthropological and psychological researchers studying CMs recommended that the parameters of CMs should be extracted from the data in an exploratory study (because of their complex, numerous, and taken-for-granted nature) in order to gain a complete picture of their components and structure (Chirkov, 2016; Hall, 1981; Shore, 1995; Shweder, 1991). Thus, it is recommended that researchers consider additional factors over and above Fryberg and Markus' (2007) conclusions (e.g., parental influences; motivations; communication preferences).

1.4.4 Cultural Model of Employment

Juntunen et al. (2001) examined the CMs of career and success for NA. They recognised that NAs were disproportionately represented in unemployment statistics in the United States and conducted semi-structured interviews to find out why. Specifically, they explored NA worldviews of 'success' and 'career' to find out how these community ideals affect community participation, thoughts, and actions in a work context. Eighteen NA participants were interviewed using a semi-structured format that allowed for spontaneous connections between ideas surrounding 'success' and 'career', indicating, that Juntunen et al. (2001) understood these taken-for-granted worldviews could be viewed through interviews. Consequently, researchers used semi-structured interviews to allow participants to answer freely and openly with only

minimal interruption from the interviewer. In this, researchers could reference the pre-existing structure that exists in their community. Juntenen et al. (2001) used thematic analysis to extract five key cultural aspects from interviews regarding the NA CM of career and success.

The first emergent theme they found was that NA subjects constructed career as part of a person's self-identity. The majority tied career inherently with their life, as a thing they were born to do, and a determinant of many aspects of their lives. They related career to goal setting, planning, and life-long commitment. Participants also reflected on a career as an individual's work inside of a shared tradition passed from generation to generation.

As a second major theme, NA viewed success as a collective experience. Juntunen et al. (2001) concluded from their thematic analysis of participant responses that success in NA culture is measured by an individual's ability to contribute to the well-being of others. Subsequently, more than half of NA participants indicated that they chose a career specifically to help their home communities. In addition, participants indicated family as what makes work worthwhile and that success also involves providing for the next generation. Participants tended to leave material possessions out of the discussion about success, instead opting to place more importance on personal and community wellbeing.

Third, Juntunen et al. (2001) found, in transcripts, the supportive factors and obstacles NA met in pursuing careers in their communities. Similar to the previous theme, participants indicated that a supportive family provided crucial encouragement in finding a career. A supportive family gave participants the confidence to pursue a career and to continue education related to a career choice. In conjunction, participants claimed that a lack of support from a family could seriously hinder career development. The other main obstacles included discrimination, alienation from their community upon returning home from working outside of the community and facing ridicule from other community members for leaving home to pursue a career (i.e., leaving the reserve to pursue a 'non-Indigenous' ideal).

Finally, Juntunen et al. (2001) indicated that moving between NA and non-Indigenous cultures (i.e., living in two worlds) hindered positive NA career perception and development. Adherence to both NA and EA expectations of career and success was both emotionally and cognitively challenging. Some participants formed a third holistic world, integrating NA and parts of non-Indigenous culture. The authors concluded based on these five themes that NA and EA societies hold distinctly different expectations and worldviews regarding careers and success.

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1.4.5 Reflections of the Methodology Used in the Reviewed Articles

Most of the cited articles neglected the fact that important aspects of CM (e.g., intentional states, taken-for-grantedness) are often *hidden* (i.e., not directly observable) from community members and researchers. This is particularly the case of Juntunen et al. (2001), Fryberg and Markus (2007), and Medin and Bang (2014), who represented individual participant responses to interview questions and displayed them as the CM for all. As outlined earlier, individuals themselves do not usually reflect on the extensive taken-for-granted aspects of CMs and, therefore, only display traces of them in their responses. Because of the *hidden* nature of CMs, the representation of CMs requires more sources of data and a systematically integrated interpretation of responses. Evidently, researchers took excerpts from individual interviews and stated them in their report, assuming it was the representation of deep layers of corresponding CMs. For example, responses in Juntunen et al. (2001) represent the idiosyncratic mental model of career and success of *one* NA individual but does not reflect the publicly held, widely accepted, taken-for-granted aspects of career and success that exist in this person's community. Instead, researchers may want to focus on creating and justifying a more systematic approach to studying culture in the future while considering the theoretical underpinnings of public and private aspects of CMs to maximise the likelihood of uncovering the hidden CM components.

Outlined studies used methodologies that limited study to only one-half of CMs (i.e., public or private). While Juntenen et al. (2001), Fryberg and Markus (2007), and Medin and Bang (2014) exclusively examined private aspects of a CM, Vukic et al. (2011) examined only public CMs to explain the whole of CMs of mental health within an Indigenous community. As previously stated, the dynamics of a CM depend on the interaction of public and private models. To systematically capture a complete representation of cultural perceptions, a study must incorporate *both* public and private aspects into the overall strategy. By not explaining the private aspects of this CM, Vukic et al. (2011) assumed that culture exists independently of community members. Therefore, it is possible to claim that they were guilty of the reification of culture, meaning the viewing of culture as something that cannot be changed or influenced by those who live in its sphere. As previously outlined, this is contradictory to the theory of CMs. The same can be said for the other three articles examining only the private aspects of the CM. These limitations stem from methodological decisions that were not justified in a satisfactory

manner, and, consequently, weaken the associated claims of discovering a CM within an Indigenous community.

1.4.6 Indigenous Scholars' Perspectives on Indigenous Cultural Worldviews

Canadian Indigenous scholars offer a valuable outlook on how cultural world-views are viewed from within the Indigenous context. Contrary to the psychological literature reviewed above which tended to separate CMs by domains (e.g., mental health, employment, education), Indigenous scholars speak of Indigenous knowledge systems that are holistic, encompassing, and inclusive of topics (e.g., Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008; Settee, 2013; Wilson, 2008). Thus, it is possible that Indigenous perspectives on CMs, or how to participate in life, may be explained by outlining broader Indigenous values rather than separating them into different domains:

Indigenous knowledge systems do not encompass a singular body of knowledge but reflect many layers of being, knowing, and expressing. (Settee, 2013; p. 9)

I believe this adds a significant contribution over and above the articles outlined above because it represents a shift in thinking about CMs that would not have been explicit had I outlined only psychological literature.

Settee (2013), a Swampy Cree Indigenous scholar, outlined what constitutes traditional values. Core among traditional values is the concept of collectivity, or the focus on creating and maintaining relationships with all in the community (Settee, 2013). She writes that this fundamental value is translated into words such as pimatisiwin (i.e., knowledge of value sharing) and miyo-Wichihtowin (i.e., a focus on good relations). Indigenous individuals can live by these principles and can apply it to multiple domains of life (e.g., employment, family, community, leadership). Thus, Settee (2013) passes on the knowledge that the Indigenous values regarding the importance of community/family, the connectedness of humanity to all living things, and an individual's duty to 'better' all around them may be the foundations of Indigenous CMs in Canada.

The idea of core life teachings translating into daily activities was echoed by several other prominent researchers. Chandler and Lalonde (2008) examined Indigenous community well-being and concluded that Indigenous knowledge systems, termed cultural continuity, were essential to reducing youth suicide rates. Specifically, they claimed that ingrained cultural knowledge about how to "create a life that is still worth living" (p. 244) was one key factor to

low suicide rates and high well-being within British Columbia Indigenous communities. This is further evidence that Indigenous scholars view CMs, or guides to navigate life, as holistic and all-encompassing. Based on parallel narratives from Wilson (2008) and Battiste and Henderson (2000), of whom both outline the deep-rooted nature of Indigenous knowledge, it may be concluded that Indigenous peoples in Canada navigate their everyday lives through the core values of interconnectedness, family, community, relationships, or responsibility. Battiste and Henderson (2000) explains that Indigenous individuals tend to use their knowledge system when interacting with the world:

> Those that have the knowledge use it routinely, perhaps every day, and because of this, it becomes something that is part of them and unidentifiable except in a personal context. (p. 36)

1.4.7 Non-Academic Resources of Cultural Differences

To complement the literature reviewed above, training and human resource manuals were analysed to offer non-empirical evidence for a more complete understanding of the First Nations CM of employment. Specifically, Joseph and Joseph (2007) attempted to explain some aspects of the public CM of First Nations employment, claiming that First Nations peoples have a deep mistrust of 'contracts' and 'written agreements', resulting from a history of systemic discrimination and broken promises (e.g., treaty agreements often were broken; Indigenous peoples were prevented from voting until 1960; residential schools). Similar to Juntunen et al. (2001) and Medin and Bang (2014), the authors claimed that family came before a job. Similarly, self-identity played a major role in career choice/work habits for First Nations individuals, who as a group found living in 'two worlds' difficult (e.g., non-Indigenous and First Nations). Finally, Joseph and Joseph (2007) stated that learning in a First Nations community might be a holistic, life-long journey linked to wellbeing when compared to corporate work communities.

Although their claims comparing Indigenous cultures to non-Indigenous cultures in the context of employment were not supported by empirical evidence, they are summarised in Table 1-1. This table reflects the practical cultural differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures. Notably, previously presented evidence by Juntunen et al. (2001) is represented at the bottom of the table. Thus, Table 1-1 accounts for the perceived differences between two cultural models of employment and related practices.

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Table 1-1.
Summary of Hypothesized First Nations and non-Indigenous Employment Practices

First Nations	Non-Indigenous
Getting education is viewed as a tool to help the community	Education is a way to get ahead in life
Learners seek autonomy while maintaining interdependent relationships in social contexts.	Learners seek autonomy in thoughts/actions in social contexts
Community is the foremost of values	Individual is the foremost value
Goals are met with patience	Goals are met with aggressive effort
Ownership is communal	Ownership is a reward of hard work
Work is motived by group need	Work is motivated by 'ambition'
Eye contact is over-assertive	Eye contact is natural
Listening skills are prized	Communication skills are prized
Nodding signifies understanding	Nodding signifies agreement
Handshake is soft, signalling no threat	Handshake is firm, assertive
Responds to praise of the group	Responds to praise of the individual
Success/work is a collective experience and motivation Career/employment is part of your identity	
Work may be viewed as a holistic experience	
Family is a large motivator of career Choice	

1.5 A Summary of the Introduction

One main purpose of the current study is to utilise the theory of CMs to investigate a First Nations CM of employment. However, McGuire (2008) – an Indigenous scholar – cautioned researchers with the following:

> Much of what is written about the Indigenous as the other has a dehumanising effect on us. In early academia and not so early academia, we are often discussed as objects to be

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studied. Our cultures and lives are seen as static, unchanging relics of another time. We and our cultures are often seen as based in the past and as inert objects, not as active dynamic subjects interacting with the social world. (p. 124)

Thus, it is important to carry out a methodology that addresses the gaps in the literature outlined earlier. Specifically, these shortcomings would be lessened with a methodology that is overtly systematic, takes multiple accounts into consideration (i.e., attempting to address taken-for-grantedness), is easily justified and replicable but, at the same time, assumes that First Nations men and women are shaping, negotiating, and understanding their employment cultural reality through their speech. Once again, interdisciplinary knowledge and ideas were utilised to help the researcher determine the best strategy to fit these purposes.

Past research from cognitive anthropologists suggests that one way to study CMs is a unique interviewing style called person-centred interviewing (Levy & Hollan, 1998). It is claimed that it can be used as a tool to investigate the taken-for-granted, intersubjective, and the intentional nature of CMs (D'Andrade, 2005; Levy & Hollan, 1998; Quinn, 2005b; Strauss, 2005). This is done by conducting an interview which explores *both* the public and private aspects of a CM through careful question design. To incorporate systematic elements to the methodology and to accompany analysis, the researcher added the tools of purposeful sampling and a case-based method that utilises within and between-case analysis strategies. In the following sections, each methodological tool will be justified in terms of how they can be used to study CMs and explained in detail to increase chances of replicability.

1.6 Research Purpose & Questions

The purpose of the current study is to systematically explore the First Nations CM of employment in the context of Saskatchewan. It is intended that this exploration will address several gaps in the literature by providing: 1) a systematic and standardized exploration of cultural content; 2) a justified sampling strategy, chosen methodology (i.e., person-centred interviewing), and analysis procedure; 3) an exploration of public aspects of a CM within and between individuals; and, 4) an evaluation of the applicability of the theory of CMs to study the issue of Indigenous people's underemployment. Based on the theory of CMs and identified gaps in previous research, I posed the following research questions for the current study:

Research question 1: What is the content of the First Nation CM of employment?

Research question 2: Can CMs be explored in a systematic, standardised, and replicable way? Which methodological strategy can be used to achieve this goal?

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1 Data Generation

2.1.1 Researcher's Personal Position and the Ethics of the Interviews.

When engaging in research, it is important for a researcher to reflect upon his or her own cultural background and accompanying world-view to minimise potential biases during the study. I am not First Nations, and I was not socialised in a First Nations cultural community at any point in my life. I was socialised into a non-Indigenous Anglo-Saxon Canadian community. Undoubtedly, this socialisation has shaped my view of the world and has allowed me to reference cultural knowledge specific to my home community which may be distinctly different from assumptions I might have if I had grown up in a First Nations community. This will have theoretical and practical implications as I likely will implicitly use my own cultural knowledge to infer conclusions from data coming from First Nations individuals.

It is equally important to outline the taken-for-granted nature of a cultural model of employment that I may hold myself, as it has a high likelihood to inform the way in which I infer results. When I reflect on what 'work' is, I perceive it to match closely to what I think the dominant economic paradigm in Canada may be. That is, I believe the simple purpose of work regards the exchange of products to generate wealth for the owner of a given business. I believe that a productive workplace is one that has efficient employees (i.e., accomplish work in a timely manner). While reflecting on this topic, I came to the realisation that I perceive work and my home life to be relatively separate. Specifically, I try my hardest not to let my personal problems affect my job, and I try even harder not to let the stress of work affect my relationships outside of work. Thus, I operate under the assumption that my work and life contexts can be separated. Finally, my reflection revealed that I measure 'hard work' in terms of the number of tasks completed within a given time. Undoubtedly, these assumptions about employment will sway my inferences. The reader is encouraged to read results with these assumptions in mind.

The use of my own cultural knowledge to infer study conclusions is unavoidable due to a lack of resources, time associated with this project, and cultural socialization of the researcher (i.e., I cannot be truly and fully socialized into a First Nations community), but this lack may not necessarily be a detriment to research. Specifically, an 'outsider to insider' perspective (when the researcher attempts to explore a different cultural perspective other than their own 'from within'

through practices such as interviews; Chirkov, 2016) was adopted for my research. This point of view may still enable a researcher to identify CM elements. There are, however, distinct advantages and disadvantages associated with this perspective. These are represented in Table 2-1 below:

Table 2-1.
Advantages and Disadvantages of an 'Outsider to Insider' Position (Chirkov, 2016)

Advantages	Disadvantages
Taken-for-granted components of CMs of a community under investigation may be easier to identify, as they may be more obvious to the researcher because they are *not* taken-for-granted for him or her	A researcher does not fully participate in the intentional world of his or her participants and, therefore, does not have full access to the existing CMs.
A researcher can reflect on the differences between cultures and apply comparative thinking, as he or she has some knowledge of both.	The researcher's own cultural worldview - and corresponding actions, thoughts, or communication – may differ from participants. Investigator's ethnocentrism, cultural incompetence, and unintentional unethical behaviour may happen.
Allows the researcher to begin to understand cultural practices (e.g., values, regulations of behaviours, moral codes) from 'within' a community or from first-hand experiences.	Some information may not be shared with a researcher. This may be due to participant perceptions that the researcher will not appreciate this knowledge or may be caused by a lack of trust.

Despite the drawbacks of an 'outsider to insider' perspective, I took several steps to minimize its disadvantages including the following: 1) acknowledgement that, without an 'insider' view, I may have a differing conclusion about the model; 2) the researcher made an effort to reduce power disparity and lack of trust by requesting participants to choose a meeting location, by engaging in casual conversation outside of a research context, and the methodological strategy of two semi-structured interviews - the first of which was meant to establish rapport, as well as trust, and the second focused on exploring the main research questions; and 3) a self-selection of participants, who voluntarily contacted the researcher and were motivated to help him to answer the research questions. It was also important for the researcher to recognise his position toward the participants and disadvantages of the "outsider to insider" approach throughout the methodology, results, and discussion sections.

2.1.2 Interviewing

For this study, a person-centred interviewing (PCI) was chosen as the main data-generating tool. Quinn (2005a), a leading cognitive anthropologist who previously studied CMs, claims that culture can be investigated through speech and not *only* through behaviours or participation (e.g., ethnography). Thus, I believed that interviews which theoretically account for both public and private aspects of CMs (Levy & Hollan, 1998) would be the ideal way to assess lived experiences of participants.

2.1.2.1 Person-centred interviewing. The person-centred interviewing approach appeared to fit perfectly with the theory of CMs because it called for the researcher to explore two perspectives within the interview: 'informant' and 'respondent' (Chirkov, 2016; Levy & Hollan, 1998). Through interviewing participants as 'informants' and 'respondents', I collected evidence about the public intersubjective and private idiosyncratic aspects of cultural models. These verbal accounts of different aspects of the CM are not used at face value, but as 'witness accounts' formed to infer the taken-for-granted dimensions of the model (Chirkov, 2016; D'Andrade, 2005; Quinn, 2005b; Strauss, 2005).

2.1.2.2 Interviewing participants as informants. When interviewing using the informant perspective, the researcher theoretically gains access to how a participant's cultural community interprets a topic of interest (Chirkov, 2016; D'Andrade, 2005; Levy & Hollan, 1998; Quinn, 2005b). The researcher assumes the participant is an *expert witness* of the communal CM of employment (Chirkov, 2016). By asking how an individual's community perceives a topic of interest, the researcher can gather evidence regarding the categories, rules, thoughts, and actions stemming from the public CM. For example, one informant perspective question asks: what makes the typical First Nations employee extremely happy at work? This question aimed to elicit answers reflecting moral codes in the public aspect of the CM.

2.1.2.3 Interviewing participants as respondents. When interviewing from the respondent perspective, a researcher examines the participant's internalised components of the public CM (Chirkov, 2016; Strauss, 2005). Specifically, questions are designed to assess what individuals personally think or how they personally act towards a topic of interest (Strauss, 2005). An individual account is then taken and compared with other accounts to discover the shared components of CMs. By comparing the taken-for-granted assumptions of individuals across the respondents, a researcher can infer the major components of a public CM. Respondent

questions were similar in content to informant questions, but differed only in the orientation of the question: what makes you happy at work? What makes you miserable at work? These questions aimed to elicit the interviewee's personal view of moral codes while, theoretically, requiring participants to use their community employment model to answer the interviewer's question.

Two interviews with each participant were completed. It was thought this was the best approach for several reasons. First, the researcher did not have a strong existing relationship with the participants; therefore, a main purpose is to use the first interview to establish a sense of trust and rapport between the interviewee and researcher. Second, two interviews could also allow the researcher to explore CM components meaningfully. Specifically, the first interview was used to establish specified directions that pointed towards potential CM components and the second explored and expanded on these components. Finally, the use of two interviews would allow for adjustment to the analytic strategy after the first interview if it was not effective.

I initially designed interview questions to elicit both the informant and respondent perspective for all the components of a CM (i.e., concepts and categories, moral codes, repertoires of behaviour, social regulation of behaviours, and interpretive schemas). It should be noted that *both* perspectives were used as evidence for the public aspect of the First Nations CM with the major focus being on the informant perspective. This will be explained in further detail within the analysis section below, but, to summarise, the informant perspective theoretically provided evidence for the public aspect of the CM. When this perspective is compared with the respondent perspective, similarities between the two should emerge because individuals form their private aspect based on traces of the public aspects. Thus, similar and complementary information in both the respondent and the informant perspectives was treated as further evidence for the public aspects of the CM. Contrasting information, however, has been processed as belonging only to the private aspect of the CM (i.e., one that is unique to the individual participant) and was not used as evidence for the common representation of the public CM. This decision was made based on the public and private aspect principles. Overall, the PCI style allowed participants to verbalise complex aspects of their culture while referencing their own experiences in conjunction with how their community typically views employment.

2.1.2.4 The structure of interviews. A semi-structured interview with open–ended response format was used for this study for two reasons. The first is that person-centred

interviewing posits that researchers create structured questions to examine components of CMs (Levy & Hollan, 1998). Secondly, when participants' responses to structured questions are unhindered by the researcher, participants are theorised to use their CM in explanations (Quinn, 2005a).

Quinn (2005a) claimed that open-ended responses provide participants with an opportunity to freely express their thoughts and feelings about the topic of interest in a spontaneous and unrestricted manner. Such an unrestricted response format can reveal the participants' taken-for-granted aspects of the model (Chirkov, 2016; Quinn, 2005a; Shweder, 1996; Strauss, 2005), as spontaneous connections will be an indication of a participant referencing the structure of a CM. Allowing stories to be told in participants' own words enabled them to use their knowledge and experience of the public CM while responding to the questions. Quinn (2005a) argued that this approach helps ensure that the participant data reflect their representation of the community CM.

2.1.3 Purposeful Selection of Participants

A participant, in the context of a CMs study, may be defined as anyone who has access to and who actively utilises community sociocultural knowledge. The theory of CMs states that anyone who resides within a community and who participates in its everyday life (and therefore co-constructs and uses the existing models) has access to the cultural model of interest (D'Andrade, 1984; Shore, 1995) and can be a participant in a study such as this one. However, a researcher should avoid selecting just *anyone* who resides in the sample community. Rather, it is recommended that researchers purposefully select those participants who offer the best description, insight, and different perspectives to the cultural model because a CM can be embedded differently among individuals in a community (Chirkov, 2016). Therefore, a strategic plan was developed to help the researcher recruit participants with differing insights on the First Nations CM of employment. The following four categories were used:

1) The participant has worked in both a First Nations and non-Indigenous corporate setting (e.g., office in large companies) and has experience and success transitioning between work environments (e.g., self-perceived job satisfaction). This research assumed that such individuals can engage in self-reflection and have identified differences between their taken-for-granted knowledge and the work practices of non-Indigenous individuals (in the context of the dominant economic paradigm outlined

earlier). Through the firsthand experience of both environments, these participants should be able to explicitly state differences and adequately reflect upon the way employment is perceived in First Nations communities.

2) The participant has worked in First Nations and non-Indigenous corporate settings, but has not experienced the transition success experienced by those in category 1 (e.g., perceived a poor relationship with the employer, self-reported short employment tenures, left the workplace or was fired, did not enjoy his/her experience). These participants are crucial because, as with category 1, they have experienced both work environments and are able to self-reflect on the principles of both. They hold a unique perspective because they may have work experiences that did not match with their own internalised employment model (i.e., the First Nations employment model).

3) The participant has worked at a non-corporate job, such as services or trades (e.g., manual labour) within both First Nations and non-Indigenous settings. This category is important because such participants represent another perspective on the principles of work (i.e., one that differs from a corporate view of work). The individuals who fit within this category have extensive experience, as well as varying levels of success, at manual labour style jobs.

4) Participants who are First Nations experts, community leaders, or managers. These experts are necessary because they may offer yet another perspective (i.e., a managerial standpoint) to help illuminate the First Nations CM of employment in this sample.

It was anticipated that this purposeful sampling strategy, which is supported by past research (Chirkov, 2016), would lead to the best possible representation of the First Nations CM for these reasons: 1) it incorporates multiple perspectives on the employment model[8]; 2) it increases researcher confidence that the representation of the CM is more comprehensive; and, 3) it adds a systematic element to the chosen methodology.

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[8] One purpose of this study is to find commonalities within the sample of participants to assess the CM of employment. I was seeking a commonality between participants through their diverse experiences. However, I acknowledge that some readers may perceive this as a limitation because it discounts individual differences and experiences (e.g., participants were socialized into different First Nations communities; gender differences; varying work experience). This decision was made to follow the theory of CMs, which proposes that common knowledge between individuals is representative of their cultural knowledge.

2.1.3.1 Participants of the current study. Five First Nations individuals - three males and two females - participated in this study. I used pseudonyms to identify each participant. A summary of the participants is provided:

Interviewee 1 (John) is a thirty-year-old male who spent time as a child on and off First Nation reserves in Saskatchewan. John began work at the early age of 9 working alongside his father on a farm. Since that point, he has worked many manual labour jobs both within and off First Nation communities. He has experienced self-reported successes and failures in his employment endeavours. Consequently, he could confidently speak about employment differences among First Nations men and women and the non-Indigenous workforce. At the time of the interview, he was a full-time student at the University of Saskatchewan (U of S).

Interviewee 2 (Sam) is a forty-one-year-old male who spent most his childhood in an isolated First Nation community in Alberta. Similar to John, Sam also began working alongside his father at a young age. Since making the transition from his First Nation community to a non-Indigenous community, he has worked at a multitude of manual labour jobs where he has experienced self-reported success and struggles. He is currently an employee at a non-Indigenous organisation in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Interviewee 3 (Sarah) is a female individual who grew up in a Saskatchewan First Nation community. Although she did not disclose her age to the researcher, she is the oldest of all participants and, consequently, has the most work experience. She has enjoyed many self-reported successes in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous corporate style jobs. Currently, she is working within Saskatoon in a department that is responsible for hiring and representing Indigenous employees. As a result of her current position and work experience, she confidently spoke to the researcher about the differences between the way First Nations men and women view employment when compared to the non-Indigenous population.

Interviewee 4 (William) is a male individual who grew up in a Saskatchewan First Nation community but also spent time away from this community. William reported that he is 35 years of age. He has been working since adolescence, when he began internship programs in his First Nation community. Since then, he has worked at a host of First Nations and non-Indigenous corporate style jobs. Currently, he is employed at a non-Indigenous corporation in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. William is also an enthusiastic volunteer within the urban Indigenous community,

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where he has spearheaded numerous initiatives to help the urban Indigenous population transition and gain employment.

Interviewee 5 (Ann) is a 36-year-old female individual from a First Nations community in northern Alberta. She spent the majority of her childhood within her home community but moved back and forth between non-Indigenous communities and her home community in her adolescence. As a result of being transient, she began working in her adolescence at both non-Indigenous and First Nations corporate style occupations. Currently, she is employed within Saskatoon at a non-Indigenous corporate job where she is spearheading local programming for First Nations youth. As a mother of two, she wishes to improve the acceptance of First Nations men and women in the non-Indigenous workforce to help future generations of First Nations individuals.

It is evident that each individual brings a unique perspective on the CM of employment. Thus, purposeful sampling was implemented with relative success. To complement the above descriptions, a summarised version and justification for the purposeful sampling category is presented below in Table 2-2.

Table 2-2.
Participant Purposeful Sample Justification

Sampling category	Cultural background	Self-reported work experience	Income	Marital status	Education
John- Category 3	Cree	Participant has worked at manual labour jobs within First Nations and non-Indigenous contexts. Limited experience with corporate style jobs.	Student	Single	Partial University
Sam - Category 1; Category 3	Cree	Participant has worked at manual labour jobs within First Nations and non-Indigenous contexts. Recently transitioned to a corporate-style job.	~ $50 000 per year	Single	Chemical Technological Trade Certificate
Sarah - Category 1; Category 4	Cree	Participant has held a vast number of corporate-style jobs in both First Nations (i.e., within First Nations communities) and non-Indigenous contexts (e.g.,	~ $85 000 per year	Married	Not disclosed

		federal government; health region).			
William - Category 1; Category 4	Cree	Participant has worked extensively within First Nations organisations (corporate style) and recently has transitioned to a non-Indigenous context within the same job style.	~ $75 000 per year	Married	University Degree
Ann - Category 1; Category 2	Mohawk	Participant has worked extensively within First Nations organisations (corporate style) and non-Indigenous context within the same job style.	~ $50 000	Living with partner	Multiple training & management certificates

2.1.4 Interview Procedure

Ethical approval for the current study was obtained on November 2015 through the University of Saskatchewan Beh-REB. At this point, recruitment was initiated. First Nations men and women were invited through the university online bulletin system (i.e., PAWS) to participate in the study in January 2016. The second interviews took place in October of 2016. Participants who expressed interest in participating commonly offered a short description of previous and current work experience in e-mails to me. Additional participants were recruited from the researcher's network of friends and community connections via e-mail and phone. Each participant was offered a small gift certificate to a local coffee shop valued at $10 for each interview. The recruitment of participants was halted once at least one interviewee from each of the purposeful sampling categories had been recruited

All interviews took place at locations chosen by the interviewees based on their level of comfort. Locations included the U of S Gordon Oakes Red Bear Student Centre, Arts 173, participants' work offices, a local coffee shop, and a local restaurant. Before each of the two interviews with participants, the researcher presented a consent form. Additionally, participants were informed that the conversation would be recorded for research purposes. All participants were told that they were welcome to stop the interview recording – or the interview entirely – at any time should they feel uncomfortable or unwilling to participate further.

Interviews lasted from 66 to 84 minutes, with an average time of 75 minutes. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Following their transcription, participants were given an un-altered version of their transcript to view with the purpose of allowing for any desired changes to be made. Only one participant requested that his or her transcript be altered for content. Once participants deemed the transcript satisfactory, they signed transcript release forms.

Three pilot interviews were conducted with non-Indigenous Canadians to refine the first interview question set in such a way that questions made sense to participants and that they elicited the CM components. Questions did not change significantly from the pilot interviews to the interview schedule for the final interviews. Changes featured small wording differences but no substantive content differences. It was determined that, after the third pilot interview, a sample analysis should be done to ensure questions appeared to elicit CM components. All major CM components (e.g., moral codes, repertoires of behaviour, social regulation of behaviours) appeared to be present after an initial coding of the third pilot interview. Thus, the decision was made to continue with the exploration of the First Nations CM of employment

2.1.5 Development of the First Interview Questions

Participants were asked to reflect on how their self-identified community thinks about, perceives, and acts within employment settings (i.e., informant perspective). I also asked participants to share their personal experiences of and views on employment (i.e., respondent perspective). To reflect the theory of CM within the person-centred interviewing style, structured questions [9] targeted the following components of a CM:

- Values and moral principles regarding the content of employment (e.g., *Are people proud of being employed?*).
- Categories and words used to talk about work (e.g., linguistic analysis of spontaneous stories; words describing schedule, work shifts, discipline, or job morale and other aspects of employment environment).
- Interpretive schemas about work (e.g., *When your community see unemployed members of your community, what thoughts does your community have about that unemployed person?*).

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[9] To view the full interview schedule from the first round of interviews, refer to Appendix A.

- A repertoire of behaviour towards work (e.g., *What do people do to be employed (e.g., provide resumes)?)*
- Social regulation of behaviours regarding work (e.g., *What social regulation of behaviours does your community impose on the unemployed? Are they ridiculed, praised, treated indifferently?*).

The first interview with each participant always began with demographic questions (e.g., tell me about your employment history) and moved on to the questions exploring CM components. Due to the encouragement of open-ended responses, some questions were answered before they were asked by the researcher. Thus, the order of the questions differed among the interviews. Main questions typically were followed by probe questions to expand upon relevant CM components. When the conversation stalled or the interviewee had exhausted their explanations, I asked a pre-determined question from either the informant or respondent perspective to redirect the conversation back on track.

2.1.6 Development of Second Interview Questions

Four participants participated in the second interview. John, could not be contacted for a second interview. The questions used in the second interviews can be found in Appendix B. I focused exclusively on the informant perspective during the second interview. This decision was made to maximise the chance of discovering the public aspects of the First Nations CM of employment. These questions were based on the results of the first round of interviews. Thus, these questions were more structured and focused on exploring hypothesised public CM components. It was discovered that components of the CM were easier to elicit if the researcher structured the questions in a certain way. Specifically, if the researcher asked about behaviours at work, or what was observable, it formed an easy starting point for participants to explain the model from an informant perspective. For example, the following question would be asked to elicit behaviours at work: How does the typical First Nations employee talk to or interact with their co-workers?

After a question such as this, it was common for participants to describe observable work behaviours. Then, I probed with 'why' questions (e.g., why is it important for the typical First Nations employee to interact in that specific way at work?). When asked 'why' a certain behaviour takes place, the participants explained the purpose of the behaviour. As Quinn (2005a) suggested, participant reasoning about different cultural practices is considered to be one of the

'windows' into the taken-for-granted aspects of CMs Corresponding answers were used to infer the key CM components that included values, moral codes, words and categories, interpretive schemas surrounding work, repertoires of behaviour at work, and social regulations of behaviour at work. All interviewees were asked the same set of questions in the same order but were encouraged to respond in an open manner to 'why' questions.

2.2 Data Analysis

To the best of my knowledge, there is no step-by-step guide to analysing person-centred interviews. I used all available resources to establish the logic and procedure for this type of interview: Anderson and Chirkov (2016), D'Andrade and Strauss (1992), Levy and Hollan (1998), Quinn (2005a), Miles and Huberman (1994), Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014). The basic structure consisted of coding interview transcripts according to theoretical and participant-driven concepts as well as a systematic componential analysis within-case followed by a between-case analysis, where I determined the commonalities among participants and to draw my inference about the model of employment.

2.2.1 Coding of the Interviews

At the core of the analysis was the use of the stackable comparable cases approach (Miles et al., 2014). This method is a combination of case-orientated and variable-oriented approaches that Miles et al. (2014) outlined. Specifically, this approach dictates that researchers analyse each participant as a separate 'case' to form a within-case matrix that contains a particular individual's interview data within it. However, it also calls for the use of a standard set of 'codes' among all participants. Thus, each participant in the current study was analysed separately from one another, and I created a within-case matrix for each participant, but the same codes were used to organise and interpret the information for *all* within-case matrices. After completing the within-case step, the method suggests creating a combined between-case matrix to compare information between cases. Miles et al. (2014) indicate that this approach facilitates systematic comparison and conclusions.

As previously stated, the first step in the stackable comparable cases approach is the development of 'codes' that are used in the within-case matrices. Thus, the first phase of the analysis was to code each interview transcript for the theoretical components outlined within the theory of CMs. As noted above, the components described by the theory included concepts and categories, moral codes, repertoire of behaviours, and social regulation of behaviours. The

following operational definitions were used to classify passages of text into the appropriate CM component code:

- Moral code: The prescribed sociocultural ethical evaluation about work and employment. Can be thought of as principles of judgement or a system of laws developed by the values that exist intersubjectively within a community. Coded based on the participant stating whether something is 'right' or 'wrong' when talking about employment or anything that is an evaluation of the 'ideal' employment setting or practice.

- A repertoire of behaviours: A set of accepted and agreed upon employment behaviours socially developed to adhere to values, moral codes, and social regulation of behaviours that represent community cultural knowledge. Coded based on 'action-oriented speech'; identifying discourse that is based on social behaviour.

- Concepts and categories: The words and groups individuals use to describe and view the world around them about employment.

- Social regulation of behaviours: The punishments (social or physical), consequences (i.e., negative social pressure), or rewards (i.e., positive social pressure) related to breaking or maintaining the moral codes and values surrounding work/employment held by the majority of the cultural community. Coded based on individuals describing an instance (or instances) where a colleague broke or followed the unwritten (or written) rules of work determined by the community and faced social pressure as a result.

All five of the first round of interview transcripts were initially coded based on these four CM components. However, the results were too broad to allow for meaningful interpretations. Therefore, a new set of codes, which were theoretically based on the previously described CM components, were necessary to facilitate a detailed analysis. The chosen set of codes was based on the results of the first round of interviews. They are presented in Table 2-3 along with operational definitions.

Table 2-3.
Operational Definitions of Codes Used

CM component used to code	Operational definition
Horizontal relationships – Nature of relationships among co-workers	Includes statements about relationships among co-workers (excluding bosses) and how these relationships are formed, maintained, and perpetuated. Includes reasons for any corresponding behaviours.

Horizontal relationships – Sources and resolutions of conflicts	Includes statements about how and why conflicts form between co-workers. Also, includes how conflicts are resolved between co-workers.
Vertical relationships – Nature of relationships	Includes statements about relationships with boss or individuals in authority and how these relationships are formed, maintained, and acted upon within the workplace.
Vertical relationships – Leadership style	Includes statements about the leadership style of a boss or individuals in authority positions. Includes how an authority figure should think, act, and operate within the workplace.
Vertical relationships – Sources and resolutions of conflicts	Includes statements of how and why conflicts are caused and solved between individuals in authority and employees.
General communication style in the workplace	Includes statements of how First Nations men and women verbally and non-verbally interact with one another in the workplace. Includes reasons that a style of communication takes place.
First Nation-specific practices in the workplace	Includes statements of workplace acts and values that are specific to First Nations men and women. Specifically comprises of organisational responsibilities to the community, organisational responsibilities to employees, employee responsibilities to the organisation, office space/equipment, hiring practices, scheduling practices, and vacation time/time off.
Decision-making in the workplace	Includes statements of how decisions are made within the workplace and corresponding reasons that decisions are made in a certain way.
Overall nature of work environment	Includes statements of the preferred social workplace environment (e.g., egalitarian or authoritarian).
Method of cultural model socialisation	Includes statements of how and why the employment cultural model is internalised by young or inexperienced individuals.
Work motivation – The role of money	Includes statements of how money does or does not motivate a person to engage in work.

Work motivation – Competence and professional growth	Includes statements of the motivating reasons related to feeling skilful or competent in one's workplace ability or skill development.
Work motivation – Meaning and purpose of work	Includes general statements of the reasons that a person should work. Includes statements of a general purpose for work.
Work motivation – Family & community as motivators	Includes statements of how and why one's family and community motivates or does not motivate a person to engage in employment.
Work motivation – Emotional engagement	Includes statements of how one's emotions motivate or do not motivate a person to engage in employment.
Regulation of behaviour – Kinship network	Includes statements of how an individual's kinship network can influence how, why, and where an individual works.
Regulation of behaviour – Social action to influence behaviour	Includes statements of the social acts used to encourage or discourage work behaviours or values.
Regulation of behaviour – Broader community influence	Includes statements of how one's larger community can socially influence how, why, or where an individual works.

2.2.2 Within-case Matrix Development and Analysis

After the coding of each interview transcript, the information was transferred to a within-case matrix based on recommendations from Anderson and Chirkov (2016) and Miles et al. (2014). This matrix was completed for the first round of interviews and again for the second set of interviews. Each of these was then combined into a final within-case matrix (see Appendix C; see Figure 2-1 for example). The final combined within-case matrix for each participant is the basis of researcher interpretations.

The information yielded in the first round of interviews was divided into 'informant-perspective' and 'respondent-perspective' cells (refer to Appendix D for an example of the first interview within-case matrices). The use of informant and respondent cells allowed the researcher to follow through with the idea of person-centred interviewing by splitting the interviewee's words into two separate cells: 1) instances where they talk about First Nations work practices in general (e.g., First Nations men and women in my community work this way);

and 2) instances where they talk about their own personal work practices. It should be noted, however, that only informant perspective information was transferred from the first within-case matrix to the combined within-case matrix because the respondent perspective data was not illuminating commonalities between individuals.

The structured CM code used for the combined within-case matrix is presented in the left column (Figure 2-1 below). To the immediate right, a participant's words were inputted if they belonged to that category. It was put into either 'statement of behaviour' if it was a behaviour they were describing the CM code or 'answer to why question' if their words were explaining behaviours. The researcher then identified keywords and phrases (i.e., concepts and categories; highlighted text) based on repeating words or those the researcher deemed essential for that code. All highlighted text within the 'statement of behaviour' and 'answer to why question' categories were used as the first layer of analysis of the CM – the linguistic layer.

The linguistic layer of analysis focused on interpretations of keywords, phrases, metaphors, or reasoning. This step of the analysis was inspired by Quinn (2005a), who showed that components of CMs could be accessed through assessing keywords and metaphors. These were identified within the context of any given cultural model component and identified by the researcher. This empirical material - keywords and phrases, patterns of behaviour, reasoning about these words and behaviours through 'why' questions - were then interpreted to infer moral codes, a repertoire of behaviours and other components of the CM. Work motivations and social regulation of behaviours, along with all other CM components, were also interpreted (see Appendix C for all combined within-case matrices).

I4 Combined within-case matrix

Horizontal Relationships (co-worker to co-worker)

Cultural Model Component	Participant D[...]	Researcher interpretation of horizontal relationships
Nature of relationships among coworkers	**Statement of behavior:** • everyone sat around a table, had co[...] [...]hatever, but for that first hour, everyone was just like, "How's Fred? How's Nola? How are things at home? Oh, nephew's missing school again." Then, it goes almost like a support system. • The first 15, 20 minutes of that is just saying how the weekend was, how everyone's feeling • also encourage them to say, "You're valued, so you need to take off. If you want to enjoy yourself, you need to refresh, you need to regroup, so you're better and healthy to help other people." • After that they take you visiting around every department and getting to know everybody's whole bio about everybody. What their work all entails and if you need anything come to me for this. • Within that first hour, people were able to go smudge, then come for a cup of coffee. Having that and always that space to... We're very s[...] [...]ritual wise. If something happens throughout the day, where you n[...] [...]you need a breather, you need to just meditate or whatever, tha[...] [...]lable. **Answer to 'why' question:** • We're really relationship-based • Their relationships are just more genuine, more, again, like I said, family-oriented. To goes back to kinship. We had that sense of cooperation community-minded. Our focus is our community. • I think when we have thos[...] [...]understanding of, "Yeah, we're not in the hierarchi[...] • but when you have the co[...] [...]ople are doing or what people are going through, it allows you to just be more human. • It was that common understanding like we're all in this together, and if we don't know what each other's lives are, how can we understand who's going through what right now? • If I'm expecting Michael to be on top of it and produce this, this, this, but then in the morning, if I hear that you're going through something, I'm like, "Okay, maybe this could wait until the afternoon or the next day or I won't be too hard on them."	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Concepts of being *human* and the idea of humanity is presented within this text. The purpose of peer support is to genuinely show an individual that h[...] valued, appreciated, and [...] part of the larger work sy[...] having these present will [...] individual feel mentally [...] healthier. Grounding one[...] is part of this – as it is m[...] times that an individual should understand where they fit into the larger system (i.e., a community). • Multiple mentions of a support *system*, relationship *building*, or kinship *ties* implies that the peer sup[...] workplace is a process t[...] quickly. The overall pos[...] in this speech implies tha[...] construction is desirable. It is interpreted that the purpose of this relationship building is to provide humility (i.e., context). **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Getting to know one another on a deep and personal level is the first and foremost goal for First Nation employees. Relationship building is above all and supersedes talking or focusing on work

Annotations:
- Category for participant's statement of behaviors
- Cultural model component used to code
- Example of participant's words
- Category for participant's exploration for why a behavior takes place
- Researcher's interpretation of identified concepts & categories
- Researcher's interpretation of cultural model content

Figure 2-1. Combined Within-case Matrix Example

After this step, the within-case analysis procedure was completed separately for all four participants, and the researcher moved to between-case analysis.

2.2.3 Between-case Matrix Development and Analysis.

Within-case matrices were designed to be combined and re-interpreted, where only commonalities of the public aspects of the First Nations CM of employment remained (see Appendix B for full matrix). The interpretations from each of the within-case matrices were combined into a between-case matrix to extract the commonalities of the CM under investigation. Once all the information was inputted, one final interpretation was made for each of the CM components, and the whole CM of employment was reconstructed.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The primary source for my inference of the CM was the between-case matrix (see Appendix E). Within-case matrices also provided information about the unique features of the model for participants. These within-case matrices were developed for all 5 participants, but to avoid redundancy, I will not present all 5 of them in the results section but will describe only one (for participant William) as an illustration. William's analysis was chosen because he was able to verbalise key CM components that matched closely with all other interviews. The rest of the four matrices are available in Appendix C.

3.1 A Within-case Descriptive Summary for William.

3.1.1 Communication Style in the Workplace

Informal communication, an interpreted moral code in the workplace, appears to be preferred over formal communication (e.g., talk only about work) because William believes it facilitates relationship building[10] (e.g., "*It always re-establishes both relationships and communicating what we're doing."*). Thus, evidence suggests a 'personal' and engaging style of communicating at work may be desired. This may include repertoires of behaviour such as talking about emotions, feelings and having sincere conversations with one another. It is interpreted that a group at work may see themselves as a community – and the same principles governing the broader community (e.g., family first; relationship building; giving back to the community) has the potential to be mirrored within work settings. This is interpreted because William provided evidence that work may be seen as a smaller version of community or family (e.g., *"it's a very family-oriented relationship."*). Thus, individuals appear to talk to one another as if they are family (repertoire of behaviour).

Evidence suggests that the moral code of informal communication may be the key to showing humility. This relationship-based communication style has the potential to facilitate an aura of understanding (e.g., *"It [work] can't be perfect all the time, and for us to laugh in a genuine nature within a work setting allows us to understand. We're all human. We all make*

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[10] Unless otherwise indicated, the context in which the quote is presented is work within Indigenous organizations. If it is not, the researcher will indicate a non-Indigenous context to the quote by using the following indication before the quote: [non-Indigenous].

mistakes. That's where that humility comes in."). This contextual information appeared to be gathered through informal talk and used closely to inform work decisions and tasks.

3.1.2 Meaning or Purpose of Work (Motivation)

According to William, the concept of Wahkohtowin[11] can guide First Nations employment behaviours, moral codes, and social regulation of behaviours. It is a Cree word that represents, "living the good life" (e.g., *"Again, it always goes back to those teachings Wahkohtowin - it's living the good life."*). In this, foundational cultural teachings of respect, humility, trust, a focus on relationships, and community are inherent. It is a concept that states everything is interconnected and, therefore, no aspect of life (e.g., employment, family, friends) operates in a silo but does so in the spirit of Wahkohtowin (e.g., *"Little aspects of responsibility and trust. It's all encompassed in that spirit of Wahkohtowin having ... if you were to take something out of that ...that what it should be."*). When speaking of employment, it was evident that William used the concept of Wahkohtowin to explain how First Nations men and women view employment (e.g., *"You are always working towards that concept of Wahkohtowin - living that good life... if you were to incorporate that concept of Wahkohtowin in saying like it's an all encompassing term and a mind frame of people. How that inherent teaching and philosophy about living a good life. That was really key to our people."*).

3.1.3 Horizontal Relationships (Nature of Relationships; Sources and Resolutions of Conflicts)

Within the matrix, there appears to be a focus on relationship-building and the idea of connectedness present within horizontal relationships (i.e., co-worker to co-worker; same structural level) in William's responses. Work appears to be secondary to building deep, personal relationships with all in the workplace. Therefore, a relationship-building focus and interconnectedness are interpreted to be values in William's model of employment. Based on William's responses, it seems as if an individual views his or her co-workers as a second family of sorts because they spend a significant amount of time together (e.g., *"but when you have the common understanding of what people are doing or what people are going through, it allows*

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[11] Wahkotowin is presented here as it was described by the participants. The author acknowledges that differences may exist in the interpretation of Wahkohtowin between First Nations communities and peoples. Wahkohtowin is the natural Cree law that has been orally passed down for many generations stating the importance of interconnectedness, respect, and relationships among community members (BearPaw Legal, 2016). It is described in detail within the discussion section.

you just to be more human."). Due to concepts such as Wahkohtowin driving a person's worldview, there seems to be a push to 'live the good life' through the workplace as it forms a large focal point in an individual's life.

The desire for social support in the workplace appears to be a moral code and one way in which a person may partially fulfil Wahkohtowin. This is because, according to William, it can facilitate interconnectedness of all in the workplace (value), can allow for deep and personal relationships to form (repertoire of behaviour), may allow individuals to express respect for one another (social regulation of behaviour), and can provide a venue for people to show humility (repertoire of behaviour; e.g., "*It was that common understanding like we're all in this together, and if we don't know what each other's lives are, how can we understand who's going through what right now?*"). If employees do not enter the workplace with a goal to form deep and personal relationships, it is possible that this is one source of conflict among First Nations employees.

A further element of the proposed regulation of respect may be a repertoire of behaviour of accepting individuals for who they are and what they bring into the workplace. This may not happen without the facilitation of peer support and fulfilment of Wahkohtowin. In order to be respected in the workplace, an individual may have their own responsibility to figure out how they fit into the larger work social system. This is perceived to be a moral code driving behaviour and may cause conflict if not fulfilled. In William's explanation of this system, it is referred to as a circle that is fluid, flexible, and supportive (e.g., [non-Indigenous] "*when you look at it as a hierarchy, it could come crumbling down fast, but if you look at it as a circle, everything still continues to move in a circle, and sometimes, people will just need to take breaks or whatever throughout.*"). In order for an individual to know where they fit within this circle, a person may do two things: 1) engage in relationship building with others in the workplace (repertoire of behaviour); and 2) ground oneself into the workplace through venues such as spirituality (e.g., smudging; repertoire of behaviour) so others may understand the context which surrounds you (e.g., "*First Nations people who are very spiritual people that we always need to have outlets somewhere, some place, somehow.*"). Providing an aura of understanding through individual grounding appears to be a moral code related to respect.

It seems that the idea of respect and showing humility (e.g., accepting that others make mistakes drives the mutually beneficial relationship of social support in the workplace (e.g., "*It's*

one of our teachings of being humble and showing humility. Everything happens to us for a reason, and we always think that the creator humbles you… We're all human. We all make mistakes. That's where that humility comes in."). Further evidence indicated that an individual should engage with others around them on a genuine level to let others know of the context that surrounds them, to figure out how they fit within the work circle, and to understand the broader contexts of others lives. It is interpreted that these behaviours form the basis of an ideal workplace for First Nations employees because they are focused on the formation and preservation of relationships. When employees do not engage in this behaviour, it is possible that this may be one source of conflict.

3.1.4 Vertical Relationships (Nature of Relationships; Leadership Style; Sources and Resolutions of Conflicts)

The nature of relationships between employees and workplace leadership appears to be similar to that described for horizontal relationships. Namely, there may be an expectation for bosses, supervisors, and managers to get to know their employees on a deep, personal level. This seems to be driven by a need to be connected with those an individual works with because there is a desire to mirror a community feeling within the workplace (e.g., "*The director again invites you for coffee one-on-one, invites you to the whole committee, room meeting and the meeting runs. It's just a feeling of community. After that, they take you visiting every department and getting to know everybody's whole bio about everybody. What their work all entails and if you need anything come to me for this. There's always that."*). It was evident that conflict is caused when a boss treats the workplace as hierarchical or when he or she does not get to know their employees. Based on William's responses, conflict may be caused by a lack of interaction between employees and management. Consequently, management are less likely to know the strengths and weaknesses of their employees meaning the workplace, as a whole, has the potential to be less effective for both staff and managers (i.e., tasks and relationships may be harder to accomplish or form).

Anything that supports an employee and advances their skills should be facilitated because it creates an employee who wants to work hard for their leadership. This is one form of leadership social support in the workplace (e.g., *"if we require this person to have five years' experience in a degree and if we see the value and the skill set of an individual … I just think that if we see those two individuals and we see that education is really prohibiting someone to get a*

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job or progress, I think we're more willing to say, let's give them a chance. This person has the passion, the willingness to do it. Let's honour that or let's see where this person can thrive. They're willing to do it. How can we help them in supporting them getting there? I think we're more flexible.").

3.1.5 Decision Making in the Workplace

Ensuring decisions are made in collaboration with their employees may be a moral code and perpetuated through behaviours such as supporting employees socially (i.e., respect; informal talk; understanding) and work-based (e.g., providing skill training opportunities). Therefore, a top-down approach to decision making may not be ideal for First Nations employees (e.g., "*There was always that idea of consensus, right? Let's work together in consensus to where it's beneficial to everybody.*"). William described that collaboration comes with elements of relationship building (i.e., strengths and weaknesses of other employees identified and used; informal communication style behaviours such as talking in a circle) and feelings of competence. It appears that if an employee feels as if they are a critical part of the decision-making process, he or she may feel trust and pride (e.g., [non-Indigenous] "*When I say are they valued, are they contributing to decision making within their organisations? If they're not then they're just on staff as a token person. They're not really there, in any capacity making any kind of change that would benefit the overall organisation in a good way.*"). I interpret that this will serve to increase motivations for hard work.

Evidence indicates that this style of decision making may be ideal for First Nations employees because an individual can work according to their strengths, a manager can understand the context that surrounds an employee, and there may be fewer mistakes in the effective allocation of tasks (e.g., *"Sitting down with someone, getting to know their strengths and weaknesses and understanding and not jeopardizing that task that needs to be done by putting unnecessary tasks on someone that you know they can't do it."*). Employees appear to be working towards a common goal: to improve the environment and people around them (creating a sustainable and healthy community).

3.1.6 Overall Nature of Work Environment

As mentioned, relationship building may be the primary focus of work, and work tasks secondary. William explained this is because it creates a higher likelihood of an ideal, comfortable, and hard-working work environment. It is interpreted that this is a value guiding

work practices. When a work group engages in relationship-building behaviours (e.g., talking circles; eating lunch together; informal communication) they may get to know the strengths and weaknesses of those around them as well as value each other as an integral part of the circle work system. Thus, when a task is handed down to a group, they may be able to tackle it effectively because of a direct, informal communication preference and the personal knowledge of an individual's strengths or weaknesses. This can create a situation where assigning duties is collaborative, and the task is completed in the best possible manner (i.e., a person will gravitate towards their strength: *"There was always that idea of consensus, right? Let's work together in consensus to where it's beneficial to everybody."*).

Therefore, William described the desirable environment in which First Nations employees want to work as one that is flexible, free, collaborative, and egalitarian. These appear to be moral codes of workplace environments. It is interpreted that this forms the basis of the 'circle' work system where individuals feel they are truly valued and an integral part of the system. This type of environment is facilitated by values of relationship-building and interconnectedness but has its start point with workplace leadership. It is interpreted that a leader (e.g., boss, manager, supervisor, etc.) has the responsibility of making sure an egalitarian work environment is perpetuated through their behaviours (e.g., *"I think it goes back to what I was saying. We're less likely to be black and white, rigid. I think that's a fluidity and flexibility of our organizations."*).

3.1.7 Work Motivation

3.1.7.1 Competence and professional growth. When an employee feels this trust, is given responsibility, and accomplishes tasks, their confidence and corresponding feelings of job competence may soar. This confidence can be reinforced when an individual is able to ground themselves in the workplace and 'fit in' with their work group (i.e., build relationships). Feelings of confidence and job competence may be facilitated by an egalitarian leadership style, relationship building, and regulations of behaviour such as trust and respect but they are also interpreted to be key motivators for continued efforts (e.g., *"If you have built on something, that individual, they're going to be more willing to work harder, be confident in their skill set, so they can contribute the most. Say, okay maybe I have this other idea, maybe I can do this. You're building that level of self-esteem and encouragement in that individual."*). When a person feels confident and competent in their abilities, they may perceive it as them having a higher

likelihood of fulfilling their own responsibilities dictated by Wahkohtowin (i.e., giving back to the community; providing for the family; betterment of others). Thus, there may be an internal drive to always better oneself in order to better provide for individuals around them. An employee who feels confident and competent in their abilities and comfortable in their workplace can be a hardworking employee because they will partially fulfil Wahkohtowin (e.g., *"I: If you have your own responsibilities at work, you have that trust from your manager does that allow them to feel like they're achieving broader responsibilities of taking care of their community, family ... yeah? P: Absolutely, absolutely."*).

3.1.7.2 Family and community. Consistently throughout his two interviews, William refers to one's responsibility to provide for their own community and kinship network (e.g., *"You put that responsibility on everybody, that we have an obligation to do right in our community. I think, it's always that ingrained...like one of our philosophies. It's always responsibility."*). Providing may mean giving back resources but can also mean bringing back one's educational and life experiences to help inform life in the community. Additionally, the concept of Wahkohtowin may capture this motivation for work perfectly. Responsibility towards one's community may mean that there is an opportunity to provide for that community.

3.1.7.3 Emotional engagement. Intense feelings of personal pride can be felt when an individual feels that they are 'living the good life'. It is interpreted that this is another motivating factor for hard work. Pride may be felt when an individual can see the effect of their work on those around them or when a boss transfers trust or responsibility to them. Pride can be interpreted as a result of confidence and competence whereby an employee needs to be confident in themselves to accomplish a task that facilitates feelings of pride. Seeing the betterment of those around them (e.g., improving health outcomes in the community) can promote pride in individuals. William described First Nations men and women always wanting to be working towards a larger goal (e.g., Wahkohtowin) and when they make progress towards this goal, they feel proud of their accomplishments (e.g., *"Again, it always goes back to those teachings Wahkohtowin - it's living the good life. When you live that good life, you exemplify those teachings of respect and trust. The elders would always say, 'make sure you get up, and you work hard in life'. You are always working towards that concept of Wahkohtowin - living that good life. With that you're going to have less anxiety, you're going to have less stress in your life. You're overall going to be a better person. I think it's those role models at that young age that*

will really instil those concepts of the value of working and the value of contributing. The concept of giving back to your value.").

3.1.8 Regulations of Behaviour at Work

3.1.8.1 Social regulation of employment behaviour. Evidence indicated that respect and humility might be shown when an individual knows another on a deep level and, therefore, understands the circumstances that surround them (e.g., family problems). When a person understands this context, they may adjust their level of peer support and figure out why or why not a person is acting a certain way in the workplace (e.g., *"If I'm expecting Michael to be on top of it and produce this, this, this, but then in the morning, if I hear that you're going through something, I'm like, 'Okay, maybe this could wait until the afternoon or the next day or I won't be too hard on them'."*). William's responses indicated that this is considered to be respectful, as a person is respecting the idea that work and life should not be separated and an individual will inevitably allow outside life to influence the way they work.

Additionally, showing trust and handing down responsibility can be perceived by employees as their being an integral part of the team. They feel *trusted* in the sense that their superior knows they can accomplish the task and do it well. William described the ways that employees can reciprocate a show of trust with hard work, efficiency, and intense loyalty (e.g., *"That is a big one of our philosophies too is that trust is like, we're enabling you to do this for this outcome. Again, it raises that level of responsibility. It raises that level of awareness that these people know, the higher their roles are, the more responsibility and the more trust they have. Again, I think it helps out the stage of bringing a better understanding and link to that individual to work in their community."*). It should be noted, however, that William made clear that a free and fluid style of management is required because trust may not be perceived if a leader does not allow an employee to accomplish a task according to their own strengths by dictating how to do something or constantly checking in on their progress (e.g., *"They would always have a flexible schedule, so if there was something happening in the community, the health staff would try their best to attend and on staff time. Allowing them to do it on staff time gives them the ability to say, "We're putting our time and energy into giving back to the community."*).

3.1.8.2 The influence of kinship. William described that one primary social influencer of where, how, and why someone works are to provide for one's family or community. It is

frequently described by the matrix that family and community network has the potential to encourage an individual to work hard, pursue their dreams, increase their skill sets, and may give them a larger purpose to pursue at work: to provide for those around them and give back to the community in whatever way they can (e.g., *"Seeing everybody else in the community going to those workshops, learning and then those people then asserted themselves as champions or as experts in their field, right? You're building the capacity of your community by just the sheer fact of what they already intrinsically know."*). If an individual feels as if they are providing for their family members, it is likely that he or she will continue to work hard. In contrast, if an employee feels as if they cannot provide for their family or community at their current position (e.g., the experience is not optimal or useful; not enough resources), then it is likely the employee will pursue other options.

3.1.8.3 The broader community influence. Social regulations of behaviour may also manifest from the people in the wider community (i.e., extending beyond immediate family). Specifically, if an individual is working within the community with the purpose of benefitting the community in some way (e.g., providing resources; providing experiences) then that employee appears to be a valued member of the community (e.g., *"I think for the most part a lot of people are really open and proud of people that come back to the community educated. Because they see the value of that and that level of maturity and that ability to give back to the community."*). However, if a person comes back and does not benefit the community, then they may be socially ostracised. Additionally, if an individual chooses to leave the community to pursue education or work then he or she may be shown negative social repercussions (e.g., *"I think most of the time people are accepted but there's always an occurrence of crabs in the bucket syndrome. Oh, you think you're better than us now."*).

3.1.9 Method of Cultural Model Socialization

It is evident that First Nations employees may learn how to work through mentorship and coaching. Specifically, a repertoire of behaviour may be observation, which may be with family members or other Indigenous employees with more experience. It appears that it is a moral code for a mentor to teach the youth member or employee key concepts such as: 1) hard work; 2) personal sacrifice; 3) commitment; 4) responsibility; 5) dedication; or 6) respect (e.g., "*If you have that person always working, always contributing you see the value of that hard work at a young age. You see the value of personal sacrifice, commitment and that responsibility to trust*

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that that person themselves in order to make sure that it's passed onto their kids and then those
kids understand that that's hard."). It is interpreted that the concept of Wahkohtowin guides
mentors in their teachings of youth and younger employees.

3.1.10 First Nations Specific Work Practices

Providing a fluid and flexible work environment appears to be among the repertoires of
behaviour that can allow for the fulfilment of other responsibilities. The fulfilment of
responsibilities beyond work seems to be a moral code that William considered necessary (e.g.,
*"It's because they know the importance that's placed on the community because it's ingrained in
our teachings. If you want to make a change in your community, you need to do it."*). William
frequently referred to a free and fluid schedule as allowing employees to fulfil responsibilities to
their community/kinship network (e.g., looking after sick children) which, in turn, created
healthier employees (e.g., *"also encourage them to say, "You're valued, so you need to take off.
If you want to enjoy yourself, you need to refresh, you need to regroup, so you're better and
healthy to help other people."*).

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3.2 Between-case Descriptive Summary

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Each of the specified CM component codes (see table 2-3) were initially analysed
separately from one another, but the researcher also understood that they do not operate in a
vacuum. Therefore, each of the CM components analysed was interpreted in the context of how
it can dictate employment alone and how it may be influenced by other CM components. When
this analytical step was taken, it was evident that there are underlying basic CM commonalities
between all interviewees. Each of the CM components will now be described in detail, as each
features its own nuances and differences.

3.2.1 Communication Style in the Workplace

An informal communication style is preferred among interviewees when in the
workplace. This style includes behaviours such as teasing, humour, joking, and laughter but also
involves deeper communication practices such as genuine conversations about oneself or others,
shows of emotion, and talking to one another about life outside of work (e.g., family;
community). It is interpreted to be the foundation of several moral codes and value that creates
understanding, respect, and humility between individuals and, ultimately, facilitates relationship-
building and interconnectedness (e.g., William: *"for us to laugh in a genuine nature within a
work setting allows us to understand."*). As the interviewees explained it, an informal style of

communication can result in a comfort between individuals that may ease conversations where individuals may freely express themselves, discover who another person is on a profound and personal level, and can facilitate connectedness between all in the workplace (e.g., Ann: *"a social communication where you would develop friendships or to first get to know each other, tease each other profusely and then we just enjoy our work together. I guess First Nations; Indigenous humour is an odd thing in itself. It's a really unique type of humour. When you connect through that lens, your work just gets easier after that."*).

Evidence from interviews indicated that First Nations men and women in a workplace consider each other to be a second family of sorts, meaning co-workers usually treat each other as brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunties. This can create the drive to communicate with one another as if they are family (i.e., get to know them on a deep, personal level) using informal communication (e.g., Sarah: *"I would say because they share the same…knowledge of who they are and they share the same experiences in this world that being able to make those jokes is a lot easier and the thing about jokes is that it establishes a closeness. So if you can establish a closeness or a link or that commonality then you are...that's an advantage."*). Evidence indicated that it might be difficult to get to know one another if communication is largely formal (i.e., not disclosing personal details; too much focus on task completion). Specifically, the between-case analysis revealed that individuals who do not engage in this informal communication, such as joking or teasing, are not as easily accepted into the work social group. Rather, a person who is not engaging in informal communication may be socially ostracised in favour of those who are (e.g., Sam: *"they are in the group, but they don't really get teased or anything…they don't really want to…it's kind of like 'hehe' if they make a joke or whatever…its kind of muted it's…you don't want to…sometimes you just don't want to deal with that."*).

The purpose of this may be twofold: 1) to get to know who an individual is outside of work because it is assumed they will act the same in a work setting; and 2) to be able to understand the context that an individual brings with them to work. This has the potential to dictate the level of social support they give or receive during the day, how they will accomplish goals set out for them, or what attitude they will bring with them (e.g., Sam: *"if you ask somebody what happened the night before…that is part of the other reason why you ask, "oh what did you do last night" and it's like, "Oh I had an argument with my wife, and it's like fuck sakes" and that sets the tone for that person for the day. That's…yeah…that's more or less*

why.”). Once relationships are established, informal communication can take place in acts such as daily circle talks, coffee breaks, smoke breaks, eating together at lunch. All interviewees considered these acts vital for understanding context, further relationship building, and the ultimate efficiency of the workplace (i.e., comfort and loyalty; e.g., Ann: *“Sharing food is like when you're eating, your walls are down. It's easy and more comfortable. It is a cultural foundation and social ability.*).

Thus, informal communication appears to be a repertoire of behaviour in the workplace. Individuals who laugh, joke, tease, and are genuine with other persons are more likely to be accepted into the work circle and will be a valued part of the team. Therefore, it is assumed that informal communication forms the core of values such as relationship building, the nature of relationships between all in the workplace, and may be the medium through which key decisions are made, the overall feel of the work environment, and whether or not an individual is likely to stay within a given work placement. Below is a summary of the communication style's main features:

- The purpose of communicating informally is to gather the 'context' which surrounds employees and work leadership.
- Informal communication appears to facilitate relationship-building.
- Informal communication involves laughing, joking, talking candidly and personally and asking about one's family or community.

3.2.2 Meaning or Purpose of Work (Motivation)

Interviewees indicated a First Nations employee might be internally motivated to work hard when he or she feels as if they are working towards a larger purpose or goal other than strictly personal success. Within this appears to be a drive to progress one's relationships and work skills, so an individual legitimately feels progress towards some sort of larger goal. When a First Nations employee feels as though they cannot progress in their current position, it is likely they will move positions or workplaces (e.g., Sarah: *“I think like for me it was when I feel I get more experience or I got more education, or I've got this, I feel like I need to advance.”*). Feelings of competence and confidence may coincide with the fulfilment of responsibilities and when an individual sees that they are making progress towards a larger goal. This larger goal may be as wide as benefitting the community or as narrow as improving employment outcomes for a community or family members, but it is almost always focused on the well-being of others

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and not on the well-being of the individual employee (i.e., to earn a higher wage; to buy a house; e.g., William: *"Yet they don't do it for that, but they do it for the sake of the community that needed a coach or the community that needed extra funding support. We have an obligation to do right in our community. I think it's always that ingrained…like one of our philosophies. It's always responsibility."*). One purpose that may drive employees is the concept of Wahkohtowin.

Between-case results indicated that having a sense of progression may contribute to the overall expected egalitarian environment because it may coincide with an internal feeling of contributing to the work system as a valued and equal member. Therefore, it appears as though the fundamental want of an egalitarian work environment may drive the need for constant progression and work towards a common, but larger, goal (e.g., William: *"I think that when you start building that and offering that opportunity for people, you're making those things great."*). This may influence work behaviour in every sense (e.g., to provide for family; to better the work community; to form relationships; to be more *human* in work settings) in that employees appear to be community-centred and want to see an impact of their work on the individuals around them (e.g., William*: "I think too, if they see the benefits of their work. How do you say that? Fruits of their labour."*). If individuals see their impact, it can have huge benefits for their competence, confidence, and capacity to continue to work hard.

As previously mentioned, it appears when individuals can see this impact, they may feel intense pride in their own work and continue along their trajectory. The motivation to always work towards a goal may link to seven-generation thinking that is interpreted to be part of the broader Indigenous culture. In this style of thinking about the future, the larger goal of creating a better community is set and guides all corresponding behaviours (i.e., everything done should be to benefit the community immediately and for future generations). It is entirely possible that this translates into workplace settings when the betterment of those around them motivates individuals to get up in the morning and go to work.

The purpose driving the betterment of individuals may be explained through the concept of Wahkohtowin. Although it was mentioned explicitly only by William, its components appear to be salient throughout all interviewees (e.g., the interconnectedness of all in the workplace; a focus on relationships). Thus, evidence leads the researcher to believe that it is one purpose of work that individuals are motivated to fulfil. Presented below is a summary of the purpose/goals of work main features:

- Working towards some larger goal may be necessary for employees (e.g., Wahkohtowin; improving health in the community).
- If no larger goal is perceived, an individual may change workplaces or environments.
- A community-centred ideal also motivates individuals to better those around them and, consequently, see their impact on their community members (including work community).

3.2.3 Horizontal Relationships (Nature of Relationships; Sources and Resolutions of Conflicts)

Interviewees described many instances where First Nations employees enter a workplace with the primary purpose of building deep and personal relationships with their co-workers; a focus on task progression or work goals appears to be secondary. The purpose of relationship building within the workplace may be multifaceted and foundational, but its primary goal can be to facilitate connectedness between individuals in any given workplace (e.g., Ann: *"When you go about it that way, I mean the work still gets done, but I think the quality of work is so much better when you're enjoying yourself, right. If you have that connectedness with your co-workers, then it's not quite as dry I guess."*). Conflict may arise if there is a misunderstanding among employees. For example, if relationship building activities do not take place, then an employee's personal life may not be known to their co-workers. Thus, if work is affected by personal life factors (e.g., death in the family), an employee may not receive empathy or understanding when he or she is distracted at work.

Informal communication has the potential to facilitate relationship building among individuals. As stated in the communication style section, people who do not perpetuate informal communication may cause conflict with other employees because understanding and social acceptance may be lower. Specifically, engaging in informal communication (e.g., smoke breaks, circle talks, eating together) allows for individuals to freely express themselves, to talk candidly with their co-workers, and create a comfortable environment where acceptability and understanding – key elements to relationship building – is a focus (e.g., Sarah: *"If you're like me, who is in an Indigenous unit, a 90 percent Indigenous unit, then sometimes we go for lunch together, or we try to include Indigenous pieces into the work that we do. Like for example, sometimes we do prayer, sometimes we do the circle. Oftentimes we do the circle where we do a circle and talk about where we're at, and how people are feeling."*). Within relationships at

work, work and life contexts may never be separated. Rather, individuals appear to encourage one another to talk about one's home or community life in order to help build relationships at work.

Ultimately, evidence is presented that a focus on relationship building at work helps to eliminate social barriers preventing task efficiency, hard work, and loyalty to one another (e.g., Sarah: *"That it's almost like there's a circle in your work of people who know each other, who respect each other, and get along. I think that would be, that's key."*). Interviewees described that a First Nations employee in this job environment is more likely to work harder because they feel a responsibility to their work community and because they are able to use the strengths of individuals around them to effectively complete a task (i.e., information regarding individual skills is gathered during the informal talk). This responsibility to one another, or an organization, may not exist without a focus on relationship building (e.g., Sarah: *"If you think way back to the way we used to live a long time ago where relations were survival, and I think now that carries through to where we are now with that… maintaining those relationships is key. You can't advance without those relationships."*). A match between the ideals of relationship-building between the community and a workplace can facilitate a comfortable and welcoming environment. Evidence indicates that these relationships lead to an effective social and physical work system.

Interview transcripts identified First Nations men and women being able to ground their individual selves within the workplace to determine *how* they fit into the broader social system at work. Specifically, individuals should figure out their roles, responsibilities, and social standing with others. Grounding in the workplace can be done through engaging with fellow employees and through practising spirituality at the workplace (e.g., smudging; e.g., Sarah: *"because smudging is important to you, you want your other co-workers to respect that you feel better when you smudge, and it makes your workplace better. You want other people to be able to see that and respect that."*). Individual grounding appears to help contribute to the context that surrounds an individual which, in turn, is expected to be recognised and respected by fellow co-workers. Interviewees indicated that respect regulates relationship-building (e.g., Ann: *"You want to come to a place where you feel respected, where you feel like you contribute, and you feel like you're a part of a team, so a sense of belonging."*). An individual is expected to respect the context in which others are operating in (e.g., problems at home; why or why not they are

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accomplishing work tasks). As stated, this may create understanding between individuals and lead to the concept of humility (i.e., we all make mistakes). Humility and understanding may then result in further social support and relationship-building between individuals. Thus, social support from an individual's co-workers and leadership appears to be one key component of an effective work system for First Nations employees in this sample. Here is a summary of horizontal relationship main features:

- Forming profound and personal relationships with co-workers appears to be the central goal for employees; work is considered to be secondary to this.
- The purpose of relationship building is to perpetuate a comfortable and welcoming environment.
- Respect and humility drive the need to form relationships with co-workers.
- Individual grounding is one's responsibility to know how one fits into the larger work system (e.g., work roles, responsibilities).

3.2.4 Vertical Relationships (Nature of Relationships; Leadership Style; Sources and Resolutions of Conflicts)

Similar to co-worker relations, a focus on relationship-building appears to drive relationships between leaders (i.e., boss; manager; supervisor) and employers. Evidence indicates that this leads to a unique leadership style that can facilitate an ideal work system for First Nations men and women. A boss should also understand the context that surrounds employees; hence the focus on relationship building. Interviewees portrayed the idea that work and life are never separated. Therefore, employees have the potential to bring personal matters with them to work (e.g., sick child) affecting how they engage with others and the tasks. It may be the manager's responsibility to understand and respect this, or conflict may arise between employees and workplace leadership. The between-case results indicated that it is up to the manager to build that relationship so they can understand behaviour. Reducing social separation between a leader and employees and a non-hierarchical work structure may be the key to relationship building (e.g., Sarah: *"It's that people are, it's more of a circular thing. Like this is your family, these are your relations. Yes, you're the boss, but it's not like a separation so much as you're still listening to them, but you know who each other are if that makes any sense. You know each other."*). By contrast, evidence indicated that social and physical separation between employees and workplace leadership facilitates conflict (e.g., Sarah: *"It wouldn't be so much of a separation in*

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terms of, I wouldn't be seen having coffee with you. No, that wouldn't work that way. It would be that you could have coffee with them, they're an employee, but it wouldn't be as separate. Like sometimes hierarchy separates people here.").

Interviewees portrayed that a top-down or hierarchical approach is not effective because it socially and physically divides leadership from the employee and interrupts connectedness between individuals. A leader who establishes a collaborative, flexible, and free-flowing workplace, and able to build positive and productive relationships is the ideal leadership style for First Nations employees (e.g., Sam: *"A manager who invests in them, who is like, 'This is what we need. This is what we want.' Their goals. It's always about the communication, about setting the tone. 'This is our long-term goal. These are your short-term goals. I want you to do this, and then to get to that goal'. It's about getting somebody invested in their job."*). This kind of relationship between employees and leaders encourages the discovery of employee strengths and weaknesses, which can be utilized to show social support for employees (i.e., play to their strengths; facilitate feelings of confidence/competence) and create an ideal task completion process (i.e., everyone is working to his or her strengths).

Evidence shows that it is the manager's role to facilitate a desire for employees to work hard (e.g., William: *"Where do you feel more connected in doing this, and how can I help you get there?"*). While this style of leadership is not hierarchical, it is expected that employees will follow the 'tone' a manager sets. Ideally, creating an environment that encourages hard work, loyalty, and support among employees all starts with the way a leader approaches a workplace (e.g., Ann: *"where we learn about each other's strengths and weaknesses but I'm doing it in a training way that my non-Indigenous subordinate staff can relate to. It's given us that connectedness."*). Further evidence indicates that if leaders understand that the keys to a successful workplace are interconnectedness of all in the workplace, respect between employees, and an egalitarian environment, employees will follow their lead (e.g., Sarah: *"Also, if the leadership exemplifies these policies, then people down below follow-up, right?"*).

Once again, informal communication during coffee breaks, smoke breaks, and eating together appears to facilitate relationship building, but a manager also utilizes active listening; logistical support (e.g., training opportunities – making sure everyone is advancing); constant communication (i.e., reducing social separation from employees); and showing trust towards

their employees (e.g., handing down responsibilities) to demonstrate their support for employees. Below is a summary of vertical relationship main features:

- Workplace leadership should understand and respect the context which surrounds individual employees (e.g., strengths, weaknesses, outside life).
- A collaborative, flexible, and egalitarian leadership style is preferred among employees.
- Workplace leadership appears to 'set the tone' for the entire workplace environment.
- Informal communication is used to hand down work tasks, assign workers, and build relationships.

3.2.5 Decision-Making in the Workplace

First Nations employees appear to treat decision-making as a collaborative, non-hierarchical, and inclusive process where the leader should not be the only one making decisions in the workplace (e.g., William: *"I think that's the best way I can describe it is everyone contributes some point of that common goal of the organization."*). Evidence indicates it is not enough only to communicate and ask for opinions of employees, but they should feel as if they are a valued part of the decision-making process and are actively contributing to the team by seeing their opinions used in the decision.

Individuals have the potential to feel pride and ownership when they are able to contribute to a decision meaningfully. That is, they can feel pride that they are genuinely able to work towards something more substantial than their smaller personal goals or work tasks (e.g., Sam: *"When somebody trusts us with something, again, we do it to the best of our capabilities. That's that pride. I did this. I got there. At the end of the day, if you can go home and say, 'I did this,' it feels good."*). Therefore, it is interpreted that pride is a motivating factor for the continued hard work of an employee. It appears not only important for First Nations men and women to be part of the decision process but also to see the impact on the people and environment around them. Positive impacts have the potential to increase pride, the likelihood of which may come only when a decision is collaborative. It is interpreted that this preferred style of decision making stems from a drive for relationship building through informal means (e.g., Sam: *"It's an upward way of getting ideas informally without having to make people look stupid in an official meeting."*).

Contrary evidence from all interviewees indicated a lack of a collaborative decision-making process implies a lack of trust, respect, and social support in a workplace. When

individuals are not involved, they may feel as though they are not competent enough to be able to contribute. Interviewees indicated that pride suffers as a result. This style of decision making links directly to the nature of relationships between leaders and employees as well as between co-workers. Through these mediums, individual strengths and weaknesses may be identified and utilised (e.g., Ann: *"She is doing a phenomenal job. She has that sense of pride, and it's something that is completely off my desk that I don't have to worry about because I know she is going to do it well. I trust in her. It all happened from a smoke break."*). As a result of this identification, an individual's context (e.g., the degree to which they practice their spirituality) may be better understood. All of this would not likely happen without social support in the workplace and an overall egalitarian environment. Thus, evidence indicates collaborative decision-making processes that rely on individual strengths, informal communication, and understanding between individuals create better buy-in from employees and a better likelihood of a successful decision (i.e., fewer mistakes are made). Here is a summary of decision making main features:

- A collaborative, non-hierarchical, and inclusive style of decision making appears to be preferred.
- Individual employees feel pride when they are a valued part of a decision.
- It is important for First Nations employees to see the impact of the decision to which they have contributed.
- A lack of collaboration can be detrimental to employee confidence, competence, loyalty, and motivation to work hard.

3.2.6 Overall Nature of Work Environment

Interview evidence indicates that First Nations men and women want an egalitarian workplace driven by interconnectedness, humility, respect, and relationship building. These core workplace behaviours and moral codes can drive the unique – and informal – communication style that can lead to collaborative attitudes at work, competence, trust, responsibility, effective task completion, comfort, pride, and hard work. Essentially, an egalitarian work environment is the core upon which work values are based.

In egalitarian work environments individuals feel comfortable, welcome to be themselves and operational in a workplace, and equally valued (i.e., respected as a person and as part of the group; e.g., Ann*: "I can go in and develop those personal relationships, connect as an*

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Indigenous person and then get the work done in a more enjoyable atmosphere."). As mentioned earlier in informal communication, this environment can be facilitated using informal communication and, in the broadest sense, a focus on relationship building rather than on work. It is interpreted by the researcher that an individual desires to mirror the values they hold in the community in their place of work. First Nations desire to feel as comfortable at work as they do at home or when they are with their family; driving intense relationship building at work. A First Nations employee craves this type of environment and can sense it (e.g., Sam: *"But when you are walking into an environment and you just kinda like, you sense it out."*). The likelihood of them staying and contributing depends on the nature of the work environment. Evidence from interviews indicates that if it is not comforting, welcoming, and validating, employees will not reward the organisation with overly hard work. A summary of the overall nature of work environment main features is below:

- An egalitarian work environment is preferred where individuals are actively contributing and viewed as valued members of the workplace system.
- A comfortable, welcoming environment appears to be necessary for employee well-being.

3.2.7 Work Motivation

3.2.7.1 Competence and professional growth. All interviewees indicated that First Nations men and women have the drive to feel competent and skilful at their job. It is interpreted that individuals feel that, to fulfil their broader responsibilities and commitments (e.g., to the community, to the family, work community), they must be skilful at their jobs. A First Nations employee may be motivated to achieve feelings of competence to better serve those around them and fulfil an internal drive (e.g., Sarah: *"because it makes them feel like they're actually doing something, and that's really important, that this sense of importance in their work feeds them."*).

According to all interviewees, feelings of competence may occur in several different ways. The first is receiving trust from one's boss that they can accomplish a goal (e.g., Sam: *"When somebody entrusts you with something important, you've emotionally invested in them. I don't want to lose that trust. It becomes, 'I want to do this because my boss trusts me'."*). This may be reinforced when they are given the freedom to accomplish a goal consistent with their own strengths and in the absence of an authoritarian style of leadership. The regulation of

behaviour in the form of trust [12] may facilitate feelings of competence. The second is fitting into the larger work system and feeling as if a valued member of the work team may fulfil a responsibility to the work community and allows an individual to feel that they are actively contributing to something larger than their own personal desires (e.g., William: *"You don't really understand that you're an expert there in that profession because you're always working for that common better group in your community, right?"*). Therefore, employees may feel comfortable and competent in achieving these responsibilities. Third, receiving opportunities for experience or training from management to advance job skills. The fourth way may be applying one's self in the workplace in a flexible, comfortable, and free manner. Finally, the fifth way may be fulfilling broader responsibilities through work (e.g., contributing to a community).

Confidence and competence appear to be linked. Evidence indicates that personal confidence happens both before and after feelings of competence and serves to facilitate additional drives for competence in the workplace. However, evidence suggests that humility, a key First Nations cultural teaching, must be shown when an individual is feeling competent or confident. Bragging or outright shows of confidence and competence may not be acceptable because it violates the respect of other individuals (i.e., by potentially bringing them down or making them feel lesser). Rather, an individual should use these feelings to further the *internal* drive for additional hard work (e.g., William: *"If you have built on something, that individual, they're going to be more willing to work harder, be confident in their skill set, so they can contribute the most."*). The purpose of this motivation may not be to show how accomplished people are, but to make a comfortable work environment so they can accomplish any goal or responsibility given to them. Here is a summary of the main features:

- Individual employees desire to feel competent in their skill sets.
- Competence may be influenced by handing down responsibility from management to employees, perceptions of trust, engaging with others in the workplace (including fitting in), or through skill training.
- Feelings of competence lead to confidence and, consequently, greater likelihood of hard work and efficiency because an individual genuinely feels as if they can accomplish the task using their strengths.

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[12] Trust as a regulation of behaviour is described in detail in a later section.

3.2.7.2 Role of money[13]. Individuals within the study are not motivated to attend work or to work hard only for making money (e.g., Sam: *"If you're buried in debt, you're coming to work, you're miserable, because you're just there for a paycheck. You don't see beyond that. Some people don't."*). Rather, evidence is presented that money motivates individuals only when they see it as a medium for providing for others or to fulfil other responsibilities (e.g., providing for kinship or community).

3.2.7.3 Family & community. Evidence indicates that First Nations employees are not motivated to work only to better themselves, but also to work hard so that they can better the people around them. Providing or giving back resources, lived experiences, or anything to the community is seen as one primary reason that individuals are motivated to work (e.g., Sarah: *"They don't think about, oh, I can buy some new shoes, a new coat or whatever. They might think, but it's usually their family. I can buy bikes for my kids, or you know, all those things first, and then they think about themselves.*). Interviewees portrayed that family and community are everything. A flexible and understanding schedule or work cohort has the potential to facilitate this value. As mentioned, co-workers consider one another to be a second family of sorts, meaning individuals may be equally motivated to better their co-workers over their own well-being. The same concepts of giving back, providing lived experiences, and being socially supportive are mirrored within the workplace. Once again, it is a drive to give back and connect with those around them (e.g., Sarah: *"There is an acceptance to that because family is priority. Business is always secondary to family."*).

3.2.7.4 Emotional Engagement. One long-term motivation for First Nations employees may be feelings of pride. Interviewees indicated that employees want to feel proud of their work and this happens when they see the impact they have on the people around them. Pride may be a result of competence and confidence, and it is interpreted that confidence is necessary to carry out the type of work tasks that lead to feelings of pride (e.g., Ann: *"I: What role does confidence have for Indigenous employees in the workplace? P: Well, then I guess it adds to pride, right. You have that and it's not pride in a, "Look at me shine," kind of way. It's a very humble pride."*). Pride may be driven by a desire to do better for those around you, to be able to support one's family, or to be able to genuinely feel as they have contributed towards a larger goal. Pride may

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[13] Money as a motivating factor was not talked about by William (in the within-case description), but was talked about by others. That is why it is present within the between-case description.

happen when an individual knows they did the best possible job they could. It may also occur when they are shown trust by a manager, can complete their job on time, and reward the trust given to them. Feeling proud of one's accomplishments and seeing the positive impact a person is having on their work and broader community is a fulfilment of a larger purpose in life (e.g., Wahkohtowin; e.g., Ann: *"That's also that pride thing again, striving for hard work."*)

Linked to being community-minded, interviewees indicated that individuals may seek out opportunities to improve themselves and be motivated by attending and completing such opportunities (e.g., Sam: *"They want to advance. They want to better themselves."*). It is thought that the improvement of oneself is a motivation to continually work hard and is linked with competence and confidence. It may represent an internal drive to always grow, to always improve not only for these individuals but also for the people around them so they may better provide. Presented below is a summary of the main features of emotional engagement:

- Feelings of pride facilitate hard work; individuals strive to feel proud in their work and their impact.
- Pride may result from feelings of confidence, competence, and perceptions of trust.
- Individuals are motivated to better themselves so they may benefit not only themselves but those around them (e.g., friends, family, co-workers).

3.2.8 Regulations of Behaviour at Work

3.2.8.1 Social regulation of employment behaviour. Trust appears to be used as a key regulation of behaviour that can either encourage or discourage hard work, loyalty, social support, and competence or confidence. Trust can be given or taken away and is nested within relationship building values (e.g., Sarah: *"I think trust is a very difficult thing for First Nations people. When you have somebody who trusts, and you trust that person, I think that's a huge. That's that relationship thing, that we've developed a good relationship, then we have trust."*). It may involve giving responsibility to other employees and showing them that you truly believe that they can accomplish a task. However, there appear to be parameters that dictate its use: 1) employees should be given freedom to complete the task the way they see fit or trust will not be perceived; 2) trust may be earned through the development of personal relationships; 3) trust may be given in correspondence to the identification of strengths and weaknesses at work through informal communication.

When individuals are shown trust, they may reciprocate with hard work because they want to keep the trust they have earned and feel competent in the process (e.g., Sam: [non-Indigenous] *"If they don't have that trust, and someone's looking over your shoulder and wants that job, does that make them work hard still, or does that make them slack off more? P: They'll do the bare minimum. It's like, "Fuck, I'm just going to work and be a robot. I'll do this, but I won't do extra."*). This desire serves only to improve the overall efficiency of the workplace. If an individual feels trusted by an organisation, they appear to be loyal to that organisation and keep up hard work. When a person gives or takes away trust, they may have the additional ability to contribute to creating a welcoming, comfortable, and egalitarian work environment where everyone is an integral part of the system.

Evidence indicates that respect is one foundational teaching and may be the reason that individuals engage in relationship building activities (e.g., informal communication, peer support). Individuals appear to be taught to respect one another for who they are and for how they fit in with the group; everyone has different roles and responsibilities and, for the work system to operate, those roles should be respected and maintained. Interviewees indicated that respect influences an individual to want to know other employees on a deep, personal level so they may understand the context that surrounds them (e.g., Ann: *"Respect is a huge deal in First Nations culture and showing each other respect is…"*). This context may include kinship network problems affecting them at work or personal strengths and weaknesses, but it essentially informs why a person is engaging in certain actions. Without respect guiding this social interaction, individuals would likely not know each other on a personal level and would not understand their context.

Showing respect may have several influences on behaviour including: 1) making individuals feel comfortable in their environment and, as a result, more likely to engage with one another; 2) increasing their sense of competence (causing them to feel pride and work harder) because respect allows an individual to know where they fit into the larger work social system (e.g., Sarah: *"You've got a good boss who respects your work, and you want to maintain that respect."*); and 3) prioritizing relationship development. Below is a summary of main features:

- Trust is used by co-workers and leadership to encourage hard work, feelings of competence, and can result in an individual feeling confident in their abilities.

- Employees who feel trusted may respond with increased loyalty, hard work, and may stay in a job longer because they feel genuinely valued.
- Respect influences how individuals interact with one another. It may be considered respectful to get to know another person on a deep, personal level as well as a responsibility to understand their context and why or why not a task is being accomplished.

3.2.8.2 The influence of kinship. One's kinship network may have a large influence over how, why, and how long an individual works because evidence indicates work and kinship cannot be separated as interviewees said they are in the non-Indigenous world. All family or kinship problems and successes have the potential to be brought with an individual when they enter the workplace and may inform how they behave or think on any given day. This may include being distracted because a family member is sick or being focused because a cousin received some good news (e.g., Ann: "*If you have a sick relative at home or your wife's family has stresses or if that individual has lots going on, you can understand a little bit more when you get to business if they're a little bit distracted or in the middle of the meeting, have to take a phone call.*"). Essentially, the family can have the largest potential to influence an individual's behaviour at work.

One's family and kinship network also appear to dictate communication style, social support, and overall efficiency at the workplace. Evidence portrayed that work does not come before family responsibilities (e.g., Sarah: "*Indigenous people take their families to work in terms of the Indigenous lens.*"). Isolation from one's kinship network may increase poor job satisfaction. A kinship network can encourage an individual to pursue their dreams, education, and work goals and even *why* they work. It appears that First Nations behaviour is influenced by relationships above all. Work actions are affected in such a way that everything is done to benefit the community - which includes the work community.

3.2.8.3 The broader community influence. The larger community may affect whether an individual will leave to pursue employment or not. If a person leaves a community to pursue work, it may be interpreted as no longer benefitting the community – which is against a core teaching – and will likely lead to social ostracising and isolation. This is one regulation of behaviour the community appears to engage in to prevent people from leaving and not benefitting the community (e.g., Sam: "*If you leave, you become that black sheep there, then*

you're like, "Oh, you think you're better than us?" It turns that family into ... Family relations are just shit. That friend, family relations are shit because she decided to leave and do something for herself."). If an individual returns successful (i.e., educated, employed, with resources) and gives back to the community they will likely be socially accepted again. If the opposite happens (i.e., they stick to themselves and do not give back to the community), they will experience continued negative social consequences.

3.2.9 Method of Cultural Model Socialization

Evidence from the between-case analysis revealed several ways in which the CM of employment is passed on between generations. Namely, role models and opportunities for mentorship are the indicated ways in which young or inexperienced First Nations employees learn the values, moral codes, and repertoires of behaviour associated with work. An experienced employee or family member will pass down their knowledge (i.e., seven generation thinking; the betterment of the community) in an experiential way in which younger employees will directly learn how employment works through modelling (e.g., Ann: *"That experiential learning I think is ingrained historically and genetically with Indigenous people that we learned best hands-on and in an oral manner.")*. According to interviewees, mentors have a huge influence on what values, acceptable behaviours, and models are instilled within younger employees. Role models may not teach about work directly, but may teach about *life* (e.g., Wahkohtowin; Teepee teachings) which, evidence indicates, will dictate how employment is perceived and acted upon. Foundations of First Nations culture are the concepts modelled and instilled, and not necessarily the specifics of work (e.g., William: *"it's those role models at that young age that will really instill those concepts of the value of working and the value of contributing, the concept of giving back to your value.")*. If individuals follow the foundational teachings of First Nations culture, they will bring that into the workplace with them and be successful. Here are the main features:

- Mentorship and coaching appear to be key ways in which an individual learns the values and behaviours acceptable at work.
- An individual learns about *life*, not about work. It is expected that life lessons (e.g., Wahkohtowin) are perpetuated in all settings – including work.

3.3 Summary of the First Nations Cultural Model of Employment

To provide the reader with an easy reference, all analysed component summaries are presented in Table 3-1 below.

Table 3-1.
Cultural Model Main Features

Cultural Model Component	Main Features
Communication style in the workplace	• The purpose of communicating informally is to gather the 'context' which surrounds employees and work leadership • Informal communication appears to facilitate relationship building • Informal communication involves laughing, joking, talking candidly and personally and asking about one's family or community
Horizontal relationships (nature of relationships; sources/resolutions of conflicts)	• Forming profound and personal relationships with co-workers appears to be the central goal for employees; work is considered to be secondary to this. • The purpose of relationship building is to perpetuate a comfortable and welcoming environment • Respect and humility drives the need to form relationships with co-workers • Individual grounding is one's responsibility to know how he or she fits into the larger work system (e.g., work roles, responsibilities) • A focus on relations between co-workers is perceived to create an ideal and productive workplace.
Vertical relationships – nature of relationships; leadership style; sources and resolutions of conflicts	• Workplace leadership should understand and respect the context which surrounds individual employees (e.g., strengths; weaknesses; outside life) • A collaborative, flexible, and egalitarian leadership style is preferred among employees • Workplace leadership appears to 'set the tone' for the entire workplace environment • Informal communication is used to hand down work tasks, assign workers, and build relationships
Decision making in the workplace.	• A collaborative, non-hierarchical, and inclusive style of decision making appears to be preferred. • Individual employees feel pride when they are valued part of a decision • It is important for First Nations employees to see the impact the decision they have been a part of. • A lack of collaboration can be detrimental to employee's confidence, competence, loyalty, and motivation to work hard.
Overall nature of work environment	• An egalitarian work environment is preferred wherein individuals are actively contributing and viewed as valued members of the workplace system

	• A comfortable, welcoming environment appears to be necessary for employee well-being.
Method of cultural model socialisation	• Mentorship and coaching appear to be key ways in which an individual learns the values and behaviours acceptable at work • An individual learns about *life*, not about work. It is expected that life lessons (e.g., Wahkohtowin) are perpetuated in all settings – including work.

<div align="center">Work Motivations</div>

Meaning or purpose of work	• An employee appears to want to always work towards some larger goal (e.g., Wahkohtowin; improving health in community) • If no larger goal is perceived, an individual may change workplaces or environment. • A community-centred ideal also motivates individuals to better those around them and, consequently, see the impact they have having on their community members (including work community) • Wahkohtowin may be one broad, yet important, purpose of work
Competence and professional growth	• Individual employees desire to feel competent in their skill sets. • Competence may be influenced by handing down of responsibility, perceptions of trust, engaging with others in the workplace (including fitting in), or through skill training • Feelings of competence lead to confidence and, consequently, greater likelihood of hard work and efficiency because an individual genuinely feels as if they can accomplish the task using their strengths.
Role of money	• Money is not an individual motivating factor to engage in employment. Money only motivates when they see it as a way to provide for others.
Family & community	• Providing for others and fulfilling community/kinship responsibilities are one motivating factor to engage in employment.
Emotional engagement.	• Feelings of pride facilitate hard work; individuals strive to feel proud in their work and impact they are having. • Pride may result from feelings of confidence, competence, and perceptions of trust • Individuals are motivated to better themselves so they may benefit not only themselves but those around them (e.g., friends, family, co-workers)

Social regulation of employment behaviour	• Trust is used by co-workers and leadership to encourage hard work, feelings of competence, and can result in an individual feeling confident in their abilities • Employees who feel trusted may respond with increased loyalty, hard work, and may stay in a job longer because they feel genuinely valued. • Respect influences how individuals interact with one another. It may be considered respectful to get to know another person on a deep, personal level as well as a responsibility to understand the context which surrounds people (i.e., why or why not a task is being accomplished)
The influence of kinship; The broader community influence	• An individual's kinship and their corresponding context influences how employees accomplish tasks or interact with one another at work; this can be positive or negative

3.3.1 Underlying Commonalities of Cultural Model Components

When results are assessed as a whole, I identified several underlying commonalities between interviewees that appeared to guide how they answered their questions. It is possible that these commonalities begin to represent the taken-for-granted knowledge that these individuals are using to navigate employment.

3.3.1.1 Interpersonal interconnectedness. Based on my interpretations, the cultural model components appear to be intimately interconnected, meaning it is difficult to think of them as separate entities with little influence on one another. The idea of interconnectedness is evident in the behaviours, moral codes, regulations of behaviour, and motivations guiding the First Nations employment model in this sample. Evidence indicated that the meaning of interconnectedness within this model is a need for everyone at work to be socially linked with one another. Furthermore, interconnectedness may also extend to a connection between the work system and the community. Principally, I believe it is important for the reader to remember that one of the core values of the CM is the idea of interconnectedness; nothing is separate from anything, each influencing the other closely.

3.3.1.2 Relationship building. Throughout all interviews, there was a significant emphasis on the importance of building relationships within a workplace. The interpreted

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meaning of relationship building is a desire to foster deep and personal relations with all in the workplace; this can include all co-workers and leadership (e.g., boss, manager, supervisor). Evidently, relationship building is linked with a value of interconnectedness. Work may be a place where relationships are a priority in the completion of a work task. The desire to form relationships can also extend beyond those in the workplace. Specifically, relationship building may also take place between a place of work and a community or between individuals at different workplaces. It is evident that relationship formation and preservation is a value above all.

        3.3.1.3 Community-first mentality. The concept of community is important within all interviewee descriptions of their CM. As one may assume, the interpreted meaning of community includes all those who reside within a place. It is evident that a community is one of the most important considerations for First Nations men and women because it includes the very fabric of life and their worldview. Therefore, evidence indicated that family, friends, and the entire kinship network are considered to be part of the community. In terms of the employment CM, a community may also be those who are within the workplace. A leader, all employees, as well as any potential clients/customers, can be part of this community and shape it through their negotiated values and behaviours, which may guide most behaviours. Interviewees revealed that this is linked to relationship building and interconnectedness and it was evident that a relationship-first mentality extends to community-first mentality and it is carried out through employment.

        3.3.1.4 Egalitarianism. Evidence from all interviewees indicated that egalitarianism is present throughout the CM. The ideal is a workplace in which all are equal, valued, and important to the fabric of the workplace system. It is inherently non-hierarchical. Evidence also indicated that the value of egalitarianism is directly informed by community values where the same ideal may exist. Throughout the entirety of the model, it is evident that work is not a separate system but is informed by community values on every level. An individual does not internalize a work model. Rather, they internalize a broader CM about life and use it to inform *how* and *why* to work.

        3.3.1.5. The notion of a circle. The first commonality in all interviews was the concept of a circle. It is interpreted that, while researchers may refer to this environment as egalitarian, First Nations men and women perceive this desired environment in the form of a circle. My

understanding of this circle metaphor is one that is non-hierarchical, encourages collaboration among employees, focuses on identifying and acting upon common ground among individuals, and leads to the discovery of strengths and weaknesses of individual employees. Integral to the concept of a circle is equality among members, adaptation to and accommodation of mistakes, and a high degree of support if one individual falters. Additionally, a circle concept implies that there is no hierarchy. To these individuals, a hierarchical structure would crumble if one person were to make a mistake where a circle would be able to stay strong and adapt to the situation.

Thus, a circle work environment is desirable and seen as the best way in which to operate. Everyone contributes to this ideal and metaphorically shapes a work environment into the form of a circle. Additionally, the circle metaphor may extend to the ideal that work and community contexts should not be separated. The context which surrounds an individual (i.e., home life, community circumstances) will be brought into the workplace and vice-versa. Therefore, the circle metaphor appears to apply to both work and broader life contexts. As is indicated in Figure 3-1, the circle metaphor links all the core moral values into one coherent system to guide workplace perceptions.
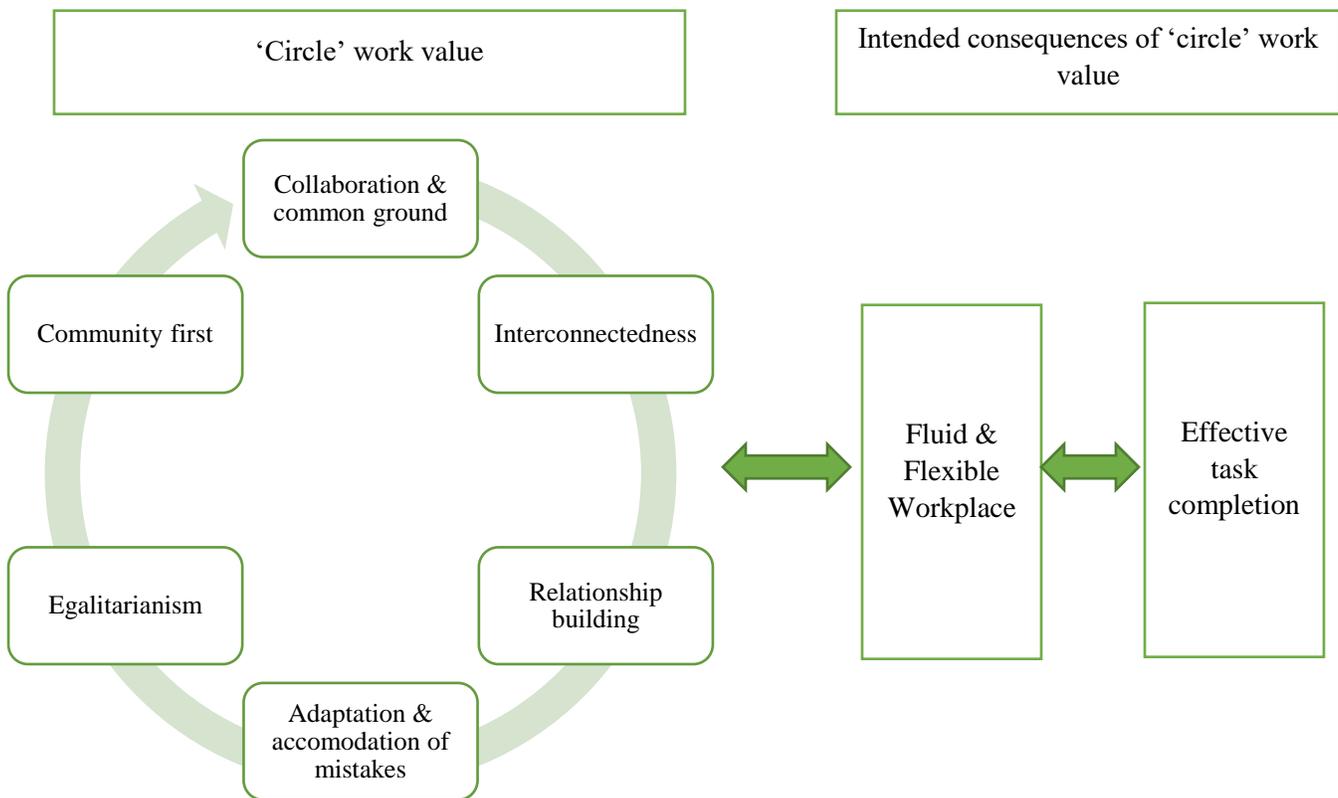

Figure 3-1. 'Circle' Work Value Representation

3.4 A Hypothesised First Nations Cultural Model of Employment

When one looks at the between-case results as a whole, an overlapping CM structure emerges. It is interpreted that this is a representation of the employment CM guiding individuals thoughts, actions, and perceptions. The reader is invited to view Figure 3-2 below with the narrative describing the model that follows. Although the arrows within the diagram imply a linear and causal structure to the CM, this should not be assumed. This style of diagram was done for ease of interpretation, but the CM is not linear. Rather, I recommend it be thought of as a system wherein each component has the real potential to influence the one previous to it (e.g., confidence may influence trust and vice-versa). Although I designed the diagram to flow bottom-up, it can also be read top-down because it is a complicated and, more importantly, an interconnected cultural system. At its core, the nature of the CM is non-linear, fluid, and flexible.
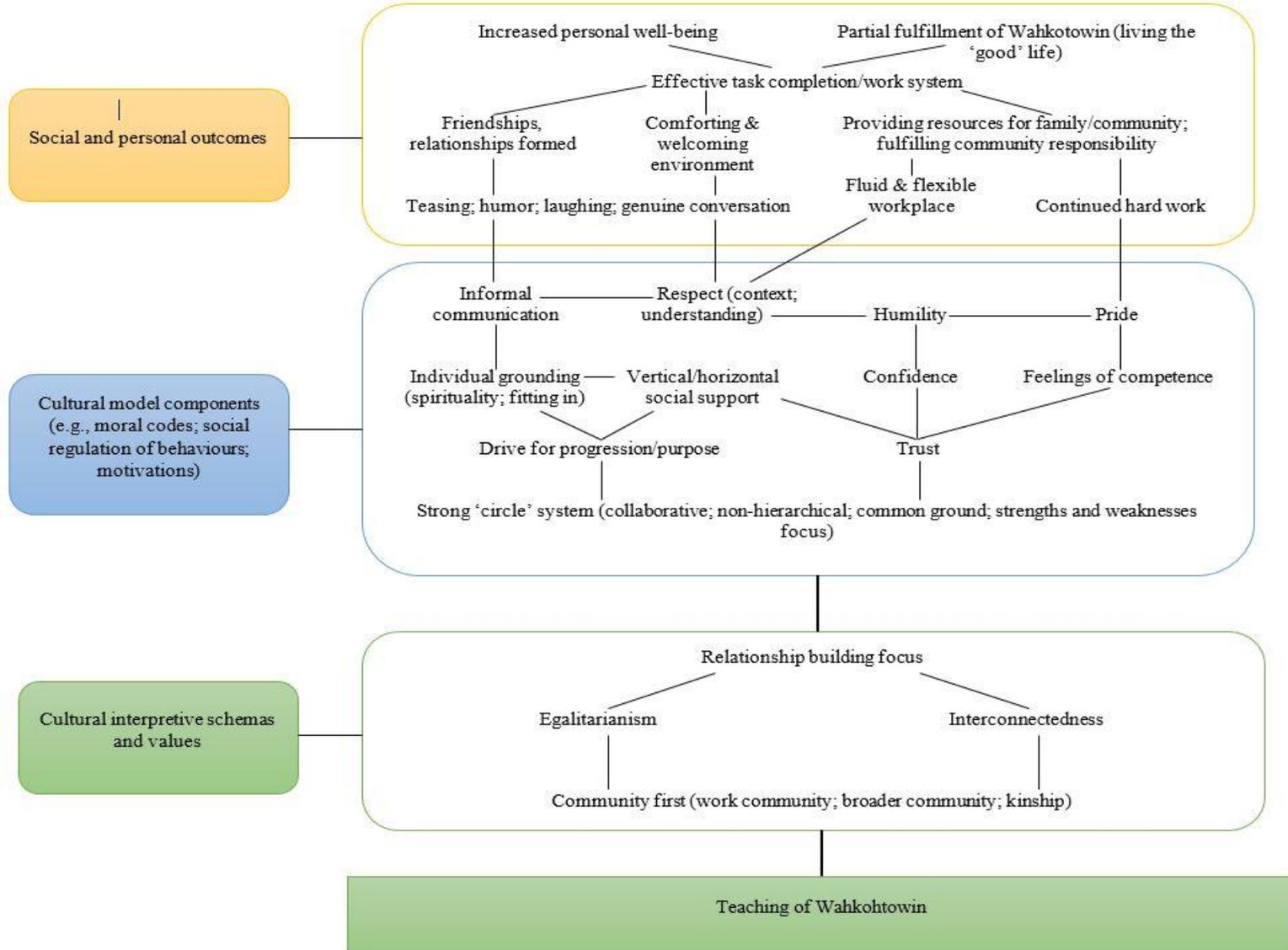
Increased personal well-being   Partial fulfillment of Wahkotowin (living the 'good' life)

Effective task completion/work system

Social and personal outcomes

Friendships, relationships formed   Comforting & welcoming environment   Providing resources for family/community; fulfilling community responsibility

Teasing; humor; laughing; genuine conversation   Fluid & flexible workplace   Continued hard work

Informal communication — Respect (context; understanding) — Humility — Pride

Cultural model components (e.g., moral codes; social regulation of behaviours; motivations)

Individual grounding (spirituality; fitting in) — Vertical/horizontal social support   Confidence   Feelings of competence

Drive for progression/purpose   Trust

Strong 'circle' system (collaborative; non-hierarchical; common ground; strengths and weaknesses focus)

Relationship building focus

Cultural interpretive schemas and values

Egalitarianism   Interconnectedness

Community first (work community; broader community; kinship)

Teaching of Wahkohtowin

Figure 3-2. Hypothesised Cultural Model of Employment

Through the between-case analysis, it appears that the concept of Wahkohtowin is the basis of the First Nations CM of employment. As previously noted, Wahkohtowin is a concept which represents a natural Cree law that has been passed on through generations and, consequently, has guided the lives of First Nations people for centuries[14]. This concept structures the entirety of the model because its influence is evident within each of the CM components studied. Although only one participant (William) referenced this term directly, it is apparent from the interview analysis that each participant has been implicitly referring to this underlying value when speaking of the CM components. It can be seen from the analysis that the principles set out by this life teaching (e.g., relationships first, everything is interconnected, honour in providing for one's family, community-first mentality) are represented within the employment CM. Furthermore, externalisation and instantiation of the First Nations CM of employment appear to contribute towards the cultural ideal of achieving Wahkohtowin.

The teaching of Wahkohtowin may inform several foundational cultural values that participants bring with them into the workplace. The first of these appears to be a *community first attitude*, which is a value that states that work should be perceived and acted upon in such a way that community priorities are put before work or individual priorities. The 'community' is defined here as both the work team within a workplace, who form a work community, and a broader community (i.e., a workers' home community). Working exclusively for the sake of being employed is not a value, but working for the benefit of the community (e.g., giving back, providing resources) appears to be a core value.

Furthermore, the community first mentality can inform values of egalitarianism and interconnectedness within a workplace. In line with the value of egalitarianism, everyone in the workplace is equal and worthy of an organisation independent of their social status and position in the work system. Wahkohtowin, community-first mentality, and egalitarianism appear to influence workplace etiquette. Specifically, they seem to inform how decisions are made, how communication between individuals takes place, and to guide key regulations of behaviour such as respect and humility.

The values of egalitarianism and interconnectedness may connect to another fundamental cultural value used in the workplace: a focus on relationship building. It is interpreted that

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[14] Other interpretations of Wahkohtowin are presented in the discussion section that follows.

individuals enter the workplace with a purpose of relationship building, as it appears to have roots in almost every moral code, regulation of behaviour, and behaviour that takes place in the workplace environment. Evidence that employees value relations above all was overwhelming throughout all interviews and appears to have an influence on *why* and *how* a First Nations man or woman works.

Evidence indicates that a focus on relationship building is important for the First Nations desired structure of employment. The linguistic and content analysis led me to believe that the circle metaphor best describes the ideal work environment within which First Nations men and women effectively work. It is interpreted that, without the above-described values (i.e., Wahkohtowin, community-first mentality, egalitarianism, relationship building), this desirable workplace environment may not exist. This is possibly because of a community-first mentality, where work responsibilities are secondary when compared to responsibilities of an individual toward their work and home communities.

Evidence indicated that employees have a desire to engage in constant progression or advancement of their skills and relationships at work. Furthermore, a desire appears to exist for employees to work towards a larger goal that extends beyond any personal goals and see the impacts of their progression towards any larger goal. It is interpreted that these drives are present because of the circular nature of the model because they are both continuations of an individual contributing to the well-being of the whole. If individuals advance their skills and relationships, the result can be a further contribution to the workplace, further support and betterment of those around them, and even the strengthening of what were weaknesses. These contribute to the reinforcement of the circle work system.

Within my interpretation of the model in Figure 3-2, all moral codes, social regulations of behaviours, work motivations, and core values lead to several workplace behaviours that directly perpetuate desirable work conditions. The existence for each of the discovered behaviours may be traced directly back to their own moral codes and core values, but all appear to contribute to the natural law of Wahkohtowin. For example, informal communication can lead to behaviours such as teasing, laughing, and genuine conversation which, consequently, help to form relations and create an observable welcoming workplace environment. Pride appears to be perpetuated through continued motivation for hard work, and respect/understanding facilitates a fluid and

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flexible workplace environment. Both seem to culminate in an ability for an individual to physically fulfil responsibilities they have for their family and community.

Most importantly, I believe that Wahkohtowin, culturally laden values, moral codes, motivations, regulations of behaviour, and all corresponding behaviours lead to the ideal work system for First Nations individuals. If the cultural model represented in Figure 3-2 is perpetuated, it may give rise to a high degree of personal well-being, an overall ideal workplace (in terms of task completion), and provide individuals with a strong medium to fulfil the Wahkohtowin prescription.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

As noted in the introduction, the unemployment rate for Indigenous workers is higher than that of the non-Indigenous population (Statistics Canada, 2011; Government of Canada, 2014b; The National Aboriginal Economic Development Board, 2015; Kar-Fai & Sharpe, 2012). A recent report published by the National Aboriginal Economic Development Board (2016) stated that, because there is higher unemployment among Indigenous workers, Canada misses out on $27.7 billion dollars (CDN) in economic benefits. It is estimated that Saskatchewan alone would benefit up to $90 billion dollars (Howe, 2011) if all labour-capable Indigenous people were employed. Perhaps more importantly, a high unemployment rate has the potential to create negative social consequences for Indigenous peoples and communities (e.g., lower self-esteem; reinforcement of negative stereotypes; Hanson & Hampton, 2000; Longclaws et al., 1994; Morrison et al., 2008). Researchers often pointed to education levels related to job skill training (Kar-Fai & Sharpe, 2012; Luffman & Sussman, 2007; Wetere, 2014; Wilson & Macdonald, 2010), negative stereotyping or discrimination (Claxton-Oldfield & Keefe, 1999; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1994; Morrison, et al., 2008) as potential barriers to employment. However, the primary reason that this study was undertaken was to further illuminate potential cultural differences between First Nations and non-Indigenous employees.

4.1. Stated Differences Between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Models

Based on interview evidence, it is entirely likely that the elements forming the core of the model I presented are vastly different and, at times, contradictory to the non-Indigenous model of work. Although the non-Indigenous model was not examined in this study, evidence of a stark difference emerged through the interviews. Specifically, I kept track of instances when participants described the differences they saw between their model and their view of the non-Indigenous cultural model of employment. A full list of all quotes may be found in Appendix F, but here are some excerpts that led me to believe there is a difference between models:

- *"Whereas over here [non Indigenous workplace] it's just very abrupt, very cold and a stern way of doing business.". (William)*

- *"Yeah, there's no gray areas. It's all like self-orientating. You know what I mean? Where they give you a binder and here's all of our policies and procedures. Have fun! Whereas it's just a totally different culture when you look at First Nations ways of ...maybe onboarding staff.". (William)*

- *"We were never what society views us today as lazy and not working. That concept is placed on us through a European lens because they came with their lens. You had to go to work 8 to 5 and blah blah blah. If you don't then you're less than. Our way of living is completely different.". (William)*

- *"The reality of the lived experience of the Aboriginal person often overlaps with a structure like this. Where time is of the essence, get your work done. All of that stuff. It impacts sometimes in that…and that creates conflict with the system because the system is time-oriented. Get your work done…do not bring your personal stuff to work. That really clashes with the Aboriginal way of doing…is that our work is inseparable from our personal lives and you can't just separate those two in our world. But in this world, you have to.". (Sarah)*

- *"People gather together during this time, and they reinforce that sense of community and belonging. That is really important. Sometimes people in the city get to feel isolated because they don't have that.". (Sarah)*

- *"When you go about it that way, I mean the work still gets done but I think the quality of work is so much better when you're enjoying yourself, right. If you have that connectedness with your co-workers, then it's not quite as dry I guess.". (Ann)*

- *"I had to go to my supervisor and my supervisor had to go to her manager. She went to her supervisor and went to her manager. The managers had to negotiate. It took six weeks for them to come back to me with a response in the first place if I could smudge in my own office because of those chains of command. So by that time, I was feeling so offended at being denied my right to practice my religion and my cultural beliefs in my own space. It just festered.". (Ann)*

- *"There is a desire with non-Aboriginal co-workers to keep it more professional and drier and focus on the work.". (Ann)*

These quotes to describe non-Indigenous workplaces were not analysed because it was not part of my research, but they provide valuable hints regarding the differences Indigenous

individuals can face when working within a non-Indigenous context. This context is described as work and time centred, 'cold', alienating, independent, or 'dry'. If these descriptions are correct, then it is not a surprise that there can be clashes of First Nations employees with the non-Indigenous employment reality. The participant-described non-Indigenous model can be quite negative at times and may even go as far as deterring individuals from pursuing employment in non-Indigenous contexts. Those First Nations individuals who do seek jobs in non-Indigenous work environments can have difficulty adjusting, feeling welcome, and their well-being may go down; this may be especially true for employees who come to work straight from their home community or who were previously working within a First Nations setting.

Many of the findings outlined in this study may be comparable to broader Indigenous literature. According to the participants, a circular system is thought to be more *human centred.* Specifically*,* evidence indicated that mistakes are going to be made but should be accommodated, that everyone should feel a strong sense of social support, and because this style of the system only works when the focus of work is on relationship building (backed by Gray, 2011). In contrast, a hierarchical system was viewed by participants as vulnerable to mistakes, unsupportive, and results-focused. Perhaps the two styles of work systems have difficulty adapting to each other, which would begin to explain the discomfort some Indigenous employees feel when they enter a non-Indigenous hierarchical work system.

Literature and interview evidence indicates that the circular and hierarchical work systems may differ fundamentally from the process of task completion (Beatty, Berdahl, & Poelzer, 2012; Gray, 2011; Fryberg & Markus, 2007; Sloan & Oliver, 2009). Numerous times, interviews led me to believe that First Nations and non-Indigenous individuals have the same goal at work (i.e., to accomplish the task); they just believe in different methods to achieve the same goals. It was observed that the First Nations men and women in the study believed strongly that the building and maintenance of relationships between individuals in a workplace (as well as relationships with the community) are the keys to achieving an ideal work environment. Relationships appear to be held above all else, and evidence for this appears in the specified informal communication style presented by the participants as well as socially supportive work behaviours (e.g., eating together; morning circle talks; Gray, 2011).

One further possible difference between models that I perceived during this study is the type of values First Nations men and women bring into work; namely, evidence from the

interviews suggested that, rather than learning about how to work (e.g., show up fifteen minutes early for your shift), First Nations men and women appear to learn about the values of *life* (e.g., respect) because it is expected that those positive values will be brought with them wherever they go (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008; Settee, 2013; Wilson, 2008). Therefore, I believe a focus on community responsibilities, providing for others, and the Cree law of Wahkohtowin is inherently guiding this work model. This concept was mentioned by William, but there was evidence of its principles throughout all interviews.

Representatives from the BearPaw Legal Education and Resource Centre talked to elders about what Wahkohtowin meant to the Cree people and this resource matches closely with what was found in the interviews. Specifically, Wahkohtowin is a natural law that, at its broadest sense, dictates how one thing may be related to another (BearPaw Legal, 2016). At its core, living by the law of Wahkohtowin requires individuals to respect one another as well as the living things around them and is an understanding that *everything* is connected. These individuals believe that healthy relationships are cultivated by living through the concept of Wahkohtowin (BearPaw Legal, 2016; Beatty et al., 2012; Settee, 2013). Relationships, family, and community mean everything to those following Wahkohtowin, meaning individuals often adapt their behaviour with this law in mind (e.g., communication style; BearPaw Legal, 2016; Beatty et al., 2012; Macdougall, 2010). As a result of a focus on relationships and seeing family within all things (e.g., nature, people), Cree individuals may believe that people's well-being will increase. It is a law that has been passed on orally for thousands of years from generation to generation (BearPaw Legal, 2016; Settee, 2013) and it may be informing how many First Nations individuals perceive employment. As I stated earlier, individuals are expected to learn this law about how to live life, but they are expected to apply these principles to their daily activities (BearPaw Legal, 2016). Perhaps it is the foundation on which the employment model sits. Young men and women learn about how to live an honourable life through Wahkohtowin and, consequently, find out how to be productive and happy employees as a consequence.

Along with the concept of Wahkohtowin, the parallel concept of Wetaskiwin also aligns closely with the results I outlined. Both concepts are mutually beneficial, and it appears both are valued life teachings (BearPaw Legal, 2016). Wetaskiwin is the concept that represents the desired closeness of all people as well as the mutual love and respect they should have for one another (Beatty et al., 2012; BearPaw Legal, 2016; Settee, 2013). It is the teaching that is meant

to guide social interactions between individuals. There are parallels between Wetaskiwin and what was found in the current study; namely, the ideal that interviewees portrayed by which social support and informal communication should reign supreme in the workplace. One way in which Wetaskiwin is perpetuated is through simple social acts such as greeting one another each day (BearPaw Legal, 2016). This is thought to show respect, provide opportunities for conversation, and ultimately build stronger relationships. Although Wetaskiwin was not mentioned explicitly within the current study, traces of it can be found throughout many of the results presented earlier. Table 4-1 is a summary of the elements of traditional Indigenous culture that appear to link with some components representing conclusions of this study.

Table 4-1.

Demonstrations of How Traditional Knowledge links with the Study Conclusions

Traditional Knowledge	Linked CM component
Individual strengths are valued and utilised to create an effective community system. (Gray, 2011; Beatty et al., 2012)	Vertical & horizontal relationships; informal communication; relationship building
The system of government was conducted in such a way that *all* in the community benefited (Gray, 2011; Beatty et al., 2012)	Vertical & horizontal relationships; community-first mentality; collaborative decision making;
Learning, education, and relationship building are a long process that does not happen overnight but is a meaningful pursuit (Gray, 2011; Finlay, Hardy, Morris, & Nagy, 2010)	Professional development; Competence & confidence
It is expected that individuals are mindful of their actions in such a way that they are always evaluating their decisions on the benefits/drawbacks it will bring 7 generations later (Gray, 2011)	Responsibility to kinship; collaborative decision making
Everyone has a place in the community. This means that all are valued (including children, youth, adults, elders; Gray, 2011)	Egalitarianism
First Nations cultural ceremonies are an expected and integral part of everyday life. It is used for celebration, role transition, milestones, and many other life events (Gray, 2011)	Cultural practices such as smudging

Adult role models, youth/child observation and participation are key ways in which First Nations men and women learn new roles and knowledge (Gray, 2011)	Informal communication; modelling; mentorship
Participating in cultural practices makes an individual feel that they are part of something bigger than only themselves. It is used to facilitate social and emotional well-being (Gray, 2011)	Individual grounding and fitting into the circle work system.
The Economic prosperity of both an individual and community is evaluated on more than just materialistic means. If the individual, social, cultural, and spiritual well-being is high than an individual/community can be considered prosperous (Gray, 2011)	Community influence; influence of money
The leadership of a community is held accountable for their actions and decisions. The community has the power to remove those who are not benefitting the community (Gray, 2011; Beatty et al., 2012)	Collaborative decision making; vertical relationships

This number of links made to broader literature written by Indigenous researchers is encouraging, as this begins to provide evidence that the findings of this study do indeed map onto commonly held knowledge among Indigenous individuals.

As highlighted in the results section, there are many unique components within the First Nations model that help to inform how participants perceive and act upon employment. The CM presented within this study is one that is more human-centred, compassionate, understanding, and focuses on the well-being of individuals and relationships rather than results or productivity. Task completion, productivity, and efficiency can be an inevitable by-product of this model. Additionally, the importance of cultural ceremonies should not be understated. According to Gray (2011), the knowledge of and participation in cultural ceremonies (e.g., smudging) is a cornerstone of a First Nations individual's life. This was also reflected in the results of this study, where interviewees expressed increased comfort and loyalty to organisations where they can freely practice ceremonies.

It is interesting to note that the evaluation of economic prosperity matches closely to what was found in the current study (Gray, 2011). Interviewees did mention the importance of money and its associated influences but, similar to Gray (2011), it was always in close relation to providing for their kinship networks. One final note on community regulation of behaviour

regards the accountability that First Nations leaders must have. If they are not benefitting the community in the decisions they are making, they are removed in favour of someone who will have the community's best interest in mind (Beatty et al., 2012). Once again, this same idea was reflected within all interviewees.

Similarities may also be drawn between motivations for work and traditional knowledge: 1) wealth is not necessarily measured only in materialistic terms (e.g. money), but also in terms of how 'rich' an individual is in terms of their spirit and cultural participation; 2) one motivation to work is to socially, culturally, politically, and economically contribute to one's community (Beatty et al., 2012; Gray, 2011). These ideals were also reflected within interviewees' accounts and provided the basis for both the purposes and goals of work. It is encouraging to be able to draw similarities between commonly held knowledge from a First Nations insider position and this study's findings. Once again, this provides further evidence of the methodological strength and adds to the validity of the CM representation outlined in this study.

As I stated earlier, this model appears to have the same end-goal as the non-Indigenous model, but the way in which First Nations individuals operate to achieve those goals is fundamentally different when compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts. The main conclusion that the results of this study have led me to is that this difference in perspective may be one reason for high unemployment rates among Indigenous employees in Saskatchewan and, more broadly, across Canada. It presents such a stark contrast that when employees enter that type of environment (i.e., results-focused; production focused; Appendix F), they may experience some culture shock (Juntunen et al., 2001; Sloan & Oliver, 2009) and everything about employment may be understandably difficult.

4.2 Potential Practical Application of Study Results

While the current study offers a systematic take on how First Nations men and women may view employment, I believe it is equally important to briefly outline how this information may be used by potential non-Indigenous employers and offer some direction of what the next step may be in improving First Nations employee experiences in non-Indigenous workplaces. I see two options for non-Indigenous employers: 1) accommodate key elements of the model presented in this study into the non-Indigenous structures of employment; 2) embrace and respect the natural law of Wahkohtowin and embrace the First Nations CM of employment raised in this study. I believe both are equally viable options and each has the potential to change

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the workplace for non-Indigenous and First Nations employees for the better. They will be elaborated below.

The first way is a compromise between two models and ideally would incorporate the best from both and, consequently, can create a situation that is better for many First Nations and non-Indigenous employees. As stated earlier, the differences between the two models can be quite drastic in the major components (e.g., hierarchy vs. circle) but there are several steps that non-Indigenous employers and leaders may take. While further study is needed to provide a full list, some changes may include a focus on relationship building in the workplace. Based on the interviews conducted in the current study, it appears that some First Nations employees desire to feel comfortable, valued, and needed within the workplace and the key to influencing these feelings is to make deep, personal relationship building a focus in all work activities. This can be done through such simple acts as eating lunch together, communicating frequently and informally, and allowing for a free-flowing schedule that is built upon trust and responsibility. These elements are not exhaustive, but each can help a First Nations employee feel welcome, especially ones that help form an aura of *understanding* between employees.

Workplace leadership plays a primary role in helping adapt non-Indigenous workplaces in creating an environment that is friendlier for First Nations employees. Specifically, they may focus more strongly on relations among and with the employees, on collaborative decision making, and on informal communication and, in doing so, their non-Indigenous employees may follow their lead. Over time, I believe it may help to create an environment that is more comfortable for First Nations employees but still has the core of the non-Indigenous model that other employees identify with (e.g., hierarchy still in place). Employers may have happier First Nations employees who, according to interview evidence, are likely going to reward employers with hard work, loyalty, and efficiency. This topic deserves its own independent study, but the model outlined earlier can be a foundation for that study and provide some legitimate help for change in the workplace.

The second option non-Indigenous individuals in Saskatchewan have is to respect the law of Wahkohtowin outlined in this study by interviewees and BearPaw Legal (2016). This would require a fundamental change in how workplaces are viewed and operate by non-Indigenous employees, but I believe it has great potential to improve the lives of both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous workforce. To reiterate, the First Nations model I presented in this study appears

to be far more *relationship centred* versus *work centred*, the latter of which was what interviewees experienced in the non-Indigenous workplace (Appendix F). This is because the First Nations model identified in the current study is one that focuses on people and not on results, products, or efficiency as I perceive the dominant non-Indigenous economic paradigm to be. I interpret based on interview evidence that individuals will be mentally and physically healthier if they focus on improving their relationships with the people around them (e.g., friends, family, co-workers, management) first and put work second. Further study is needed to provide evidence that Wahkohtowin, and the model presented in the current study, can be meaningfully adopted by workplaces but I believe it is the key to higher employee well-being as well as productivity and efficiency for both groups.

The two options I just outlined for accommodation may be challenging and time-consuming, but some employment barriers may be addressed in a shorter period. I came across several employment obstacles that interviewees stated outright in the current study. I believe they are important to note so they may be minimised. Some of the barriers often presented within the non-Indigenous work environment include: an unsupportive environment, a perceived inferiority (on behalf of employers and from within First Nations men and women), a lack of recognition of cultural practices in the workplace (e.g., smudging), and stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination.

4.3 Methodology Reflections

A relatively unexplored methodology to study the theory of CMs (D'Andrade, 1981, 1984, 1995; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Shore, 1995) was designed for the purposes of systematically studying the existence of CM components within First Nations men and women in a standardised and replicable way. It is believed that the current methodological strategy facilitated systematic and deep exploration of the CM.

This can be claimed for three reasons: 1) the person-centred interviewing style was an efficient way to sort out information that theoretically belonged to public or personal aspects. It appeared that participants frequently spoke from both perspectives (i.e., informant and respondent) because both informant and respondent cells in within-case matrices were often filled (see Appendix A); 2) the use of purposeful sampling allowed the researcher to gain confidence that the representation of the CM presented extended beyond the individual. This is because many claims overlapped in the between-case matrix despite distinct differences in

careers; and 3) the use of within and between case matrices for both sets of interviews forced the researcher to consider all elements of the transcripts and maximise the number of interpretations required of the data. 4) the use of two interviews was effective in establishing trust and rapport while, at the same time, allowing the researcher to gather an immense amount of information pertaining to the CM; and 5) the strategy utilized in the second interview of designing questions based on observable behaviour and probing with 'why' efficiently facilitated participants to use their cultural model to develop their answers. When asked 'why' a certain behaviour was perpetuated within a workplace, it was explained as if it were taken-for-granted within their work context.

It is possible that the current results may not have emerged without a case-based and systematic approach to data analysis (Chirkov, 2016; Miles et al., 2014). The fact that a within-case matrix allowed for specification of the data in such a way that it was the same for all interviews, and therefore comparable with one another, facilitated a deep level of description for *each individual*. A detailed and systematic analysis for each person led to a between-case analysis that is rich and ensures the researcher achieved the maximum potential from each of their interviews.

The combined use of linguistic and content-based analysis during the within-case stage assisted in the discovery of CM components. Specifically, the theoretical proposition that the words and phrases an individual used to describe a given situation is culturally laden proved to be evident from the current study. The linguistic analysis (see highlighted speech in the within-case matrix – Appendix B) proved to support what the researcher inferred based strictly on content. Although the linguistic analysis was kept to a relative minimum during the current study, the researcher finds this methodological strategy exciting and promising for future research directions because they can assist a researcher to find CM components. A combination of both was ideal for the current study.

The chosen methodology served as a guide when the researcher was uncertain of study direction because every step was justified and each nuance was selected to fulfil a particular purpose of the study. I recommend that the methodological strategy used in the current study is adopted by researchers wanting to explore culture on a deep and meaningful level. This will allow for further refinement, evidence of methodological validity, and – most importantly – a meaningful exploration of individual experiences.

4.4 Limitations of the Current Study

There are several limitations inherent in the current study. First, the sample size was limited with only four individuals having completed both interviews. It is entirely possible that the inclusion of only five participants limited the content of the CM presented. It is assumed having at least 2-3 participants per sampling category would have been beneficial for a richer representation of the CM. Although it is resource and time intensive, it is recommended that in the future more participants be interviewed and included in the case-based analysis.

Readers should be careful to interpret the current results to be completely representative of all First Nations men and women. When one considers that all interview participants currently reside in urban centres, are relatively well-educated and are of higher socioeconomic status, a generalisation to First Nations communities should also be taken with caution. Therefore, it is recommended that future research endeavours take place within First Nations communities and interview participants who have never left that community to assess a different perspective. This hypothetical participant would likely represent a different view of the CM in some respects. An additional limitation is that the researcher did not conduct a gender-specific analysis. It may be safe to assume that First Nations men and women may have slightly differing work roles between genders. Ideally, the researcher should have assessed this in the analysis but, because he focused only on commonalities, it was omitted from the current study. Future researchers should include a gender analysis within the methodological strategy.

Another limitation is the lack of inter-rater reliability of the coding in the present study. As was mentioned, the interviewing, coding, and analysis was done by one researcher as well as informal and formal committee feedback. No other researchers were included in an inter-rater reliability process. This may be a serious limitation of the conclusions drawn from the study. Once again, this was due to a strict time limit and lack of resources. It is recommended that future endeavours include an inter-rater reliability process to help refine the results.

Within the context of participant recruitment, another limitation of the current study was the broad nature of purposeful sampling categories. As I highlighted, all participants fit within more than just one purposeful category. Therefore, it is interpreted that the purposeful sampling categories, although effective in gathering differing perspectives, were not specific enough to ensure individuals fit only one category. Thus, it is possible that the purposeful sampling process

did not work as adequately as intended. Greater specification and distinct participant perspectives should be sought after in the next research project.

Additionally, it may be a limitation that First Nations men and women were congregated into a single group. It is realised that there are differing cultural ideals within the First Nation peoples of Canada. For example, most individuals within the current study held a Cree cultural background, but there are many other First Nations. For example, Dene is one of Saskatchewan's other major cultural backgrounds and there are also specific Cree cultural backgrounds (e.g., Plain, Swampy, Woodland). Cultural perceptions of employment may be common between groups, but I hypothesise that differences between groups may exist. Once the First Nations model has been explored further, another research approach may include a similar study conducted with a purposeful sample of non-Indigenous individuals so results may be compared and evidence of cultural differences inferred.

4.4 Future Directions & Conclusion

The overall purpose of this study was twofold: 1) to explore a new methodology to study culture that is standardised, and (ideally) replicable; and 2) to provide evidence of employment CM components of employment within a purposeful sample of First Nations men and women. Further goals of the current research were to provide preliminary evidence that the components outlined in the theory of CMs can be explored within individuals in a systematic manner. It is believed that this goal was achieved.

This study represents a start to a different direction to cultural research within psychology. Thus, this study recommends its findings be expanded upon by researchers in multiple disciplines (e.g., psychology; anthropology). Additionally, the theory of CMs should be considered for further explorations as it provides a well-conceived perspective on the taken-for-granted elements of culture influencing behaviour. With further exploration, should come greater specificity of sample and refinement of CM constructs (e.g., moral codes). It is anticipated that the study of CMs will become more efficient and reliable with the devotion of further exploration.

In part, having conducted a theoretically driven and systematic study, the current study tries to provide insight regarding the cultural worldview with which First Nations men and women in Saskatchewan approach employment. Thus, the conclusions drawn from the research findings may help inform one element of the higher rates of First Nations unemployment. It

appears that First Nations men and women in this sample adhere to the natural Cree law of Wahkohtowin wherein work is relationship focused, community minded, and focused on well-being rather than productivity, efficiency, and products. In the end, I believe it is a *human*-centred model that not only creates an ideal and effective work system but helps to foster an environment where individual and community well-being is improved. I think non-Indigenous employers and individuals have the responsibility to respect this model – whatever it may be in the end – because, as elder William Dreaver stated in 2009, "white man has to be our partner; after all, he shook our hand" (BearPaw Legal, 2016). I believe this model has the power to improve employment conditions for both non-Indigenous and First Nations groups working together.

I hope, with recent efforts of reconciliation, that honest, genuine, and open conversations on First Nations employment and other realities take place. Namely, I believe that the ideas presented in this project can help contribute towards the following six calls of action outlined by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015):

- We call upon the federal government to develop with Aboriginal groups a joint strategy to eliminate educational and employment gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.
- We call upon the federal government to eliminate the discrepancy in federal funding for First Nations children being educated on reserves and those First Nations children being educated off reserves.
- We call on the federal government to draft new Aboriginal education legislation with the full participation and informed consent of Aboriginal peoples. The new legislation would include commitment to sufficient funding and could incorporate the following principles: i) providing sufficient funding to close identified educational achievement gaps within one generation; ii) improving educational attainment levels and success rates; iii) developing culturally appropriate curricula; iv) protecting the right to Aboriginal languages, including the teaching of Aboriginal languages as credit courses; v) enabling parental and community responsibility, control, and accountability, similar to what parents enjoy in public school systems; vi) enabling parents to fully participate in the education of their children; vii) respecting and honouring treaty relationships.

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- We call upon post-secondary institutions to create university and college degree and diploma programs in Aboriginal languages.
- We call upon the federal, provincial, and territorial governments, in consultation and collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal peoples, and educators, to: i) make age-appropriate curriculum on residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada a mandatory education requirement for Kindergarten to Grade Twelve students; ii) provide the necessary funding to post-secondary institutions to educate teachers on how to integrate Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods into classrooms; iii) provide the necessary funding to Aboriginal schools to utilize Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods in classrooms; iv) establish senior-level positions in government at the assistant deputy minister level or higher dedicated to Aboriginal content in education.
- We call upon the corporate sector in Canada to adopt the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a reconciliation framework and to apply its principles, norms, and standards to corporate policy and core operational activities involving Indigenous peoples and their lands and resources.

While the current study is not representative of all First Nations men and women in Canada, and its findings need to be validated, I hope to initiate a much-needed conversation surrounding First Nations and non-Indigenous awareness of each other. I think it is important for this conversation and general awareness to take place because with awareness and education may come an improvement of relationships – an important goal all Canadian peoples should strive for.

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Appendix A – First interview schedule

Date:

Location:

Start time:

Recording device used: iPhone

Category of interview:

Age of participant:

Education of participant:

<u>Demographics:</u>

1. Where are you from? Which community do you live in now (if different)? Where did you spend the most time?

3. Tell me a little bit about your employment history. When was the first time you had a job? What was it? What did you do?

7. Do people talk about work a lot back home? What do they talk about? What was the last story you heard about work from back home?

Potential probe questions:

How do you think of the word 'employment'? What comes to mind when you think of that word?

Do you talk often about work?

Do people have any common sayings about work?

8. Tell me about a typical day at work for you. What sort of activities do you routinely do every day at work (e.g., coffee break)? Why do you do those things? Start from when you wake up until you get home after work. Would you say that your typical day is similar to others back home? Why or why not?   Start from when they wake up until they get home after their workday is done

Potential probe questions:

When you are at work, do you behave differently than you would when you are at home or with others in your community?

9. Tell me a story when someone you know in your community tried very hard to earn money. What sort of things did they have to do? Why do you think they did this?

Potential probe questions:

What steps do you take to ensure you have employment?

10. What stories have you heard from your community members about a time where they were *happy* and a time they were *miserable* at work?

Potential probe questions:

Tell me a story when you were happy at work.

Tell me a story of a time when you were miserable at work.

11. How do individuals in your community feel when they come home after they have completed a workday? (Are they relieved, miserable, happy?). What about right before they have to go to work, how do they feel?

Potential probe questions:

How do you feel when you get home from work?

12. Are there things people do (in your community) do at work that people dislike? What sort of attitudes or work behaviours is praised in your community?

Potential probe questions:

When you see an employed and well-to-do member of your community, what do you think about them?

What sort of qualities and traits do you look for in a boss or supervisor?

13. Tell me of a time when someone in your community did not have a job for a couple months. How did others treat them? (i.e., was that person looked down

upon? Were they isolated from the rest of the community? Did community members stop greeting them?)

Potential probe questions:

Have you ever been unemployed? How did others treat you? How did you view yourself?

14. Did you have anything else you wanted to add?

End time:

Recording location:

Appendix B – Second interview schedule

Interview information:

Researcher name: Micheal Heimlick

Date of interview:

Location:

Interview length:

Recording device used: Researcher's iPhone 5s (voice memos program)

Interview recruitment process:

Interview compensation:

Participant relationship to interviewer:

Demographic Questions

Age:

Gender:

Ethnic heritage (e.g., Cree, Dene):

Socioeconomic status (income):

Family (single, married, common law):

Education (including trade certificates):

Current job:

Known job tasks at current job:

Interview Questions

1. **Communication**
   - Horizontal:

- Can you explain this in terms of how typical First Nations co-workers interact with one another at work?

- Do First Nations workers interact the same with white co-workers?
  - How does the typical First Nations employee greet another co-worker in the morning? What about in a meeting?
  - How does the typical First Nations employee go about teamwork or working with others in the workplace?
  - In the eyes of First Nations employees, what causes conflict in the workplace?
  - How do First Nations employees solve issues or conflict with other co-workers?

- Vertical
  - How does the typical First Nations employee take orders from a boss?
  - If someone is not doing their job well, what does the boss do to that person? How is that communicated toward that person?
  - What typically causes conflict between a boss and a First Nations employee? How is it resolved?

2. **Can you tell me the typical workplace specific behaviours (e.g., smudging) for First Nations employees?**
   - How does scheduling work for First Nations employees (e.g., having a set-schedule; being on time)?
   - How important is receiving training for First Nations employees?
   - How do First Nations employees use their vacation time?
   - How do First Nations employees deal with deadlines? Both organizationally and personally?
   - How do First Nations employees run meetings?
   - Is there anything that surprises First Nations employees about the way non-Aboriginal people work?

    o Are there any differences in the way First Nations men act at work when compared to women?

3. **Emotions at work**
   - What would have to typically happen for a First Nations worker to be happy at work?
   - What about to be miserable at work?
     - o External components like money
     - o How important is progression for the typical First Nations employee? Personal growth?
     - o Competence? Confidence?

4. **What causes/motivates/determine First Nations people to work hard at their job? What about the opposite (i.e., not to work hard?).**
     - o What makes them proud of their work?
       - ▪ Is it recognition of being a professional?
       - ▪ Respect as a good worker?
       - ▪ Money?
       - ▪ Trust?
       - ▪ Responsibility?

5. **Can you describe the role typical First Nations families have on an individual's employment? Does an employee's family have any influence over how, where, or why a person works?**
     - o You mentioned the importance of acceptance of the community and the importance of having a network of other First Nations people in the First Interview. How does that apply to the workplace?

     - o Where and how do First Nations men and women learn to become good workers?

- What advice do young First Nations men and women receive when they go to start working?

o Can you describe the punishments and rewards for those working hard that the community enforces (e.g., praising hard workers or isolating hard workers)?

o What happens when a person who experienced success in the non-Aboriginal world comes back to the community?
- How does the community react?
- How does that individual person react to the community?

o What happens when a person who did not experience success in the non-Aboriginal world comes back to the community?
- How does the community react?
- How does that individual person react to the community?

Appendix C – combined within-case matrix full structure

Sam Combined Within-case Matrix		
Horizontal Relationships (co-worker to co-worker)		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of Horizontal Relationships**
Nature of relationships among co-workers	**Statement of behavior:** • they were complaining that I was listening to music all the time so I left that. I said, "fuck". • yeah its just typical its…or even, you know, "what did you do last night? • you just kinda like leave them alone…just…You kind of ostracise them • they are in the group but they don't really get <mark>teased</mark> or anything…they don't really want to • When people smoke there, I go out with them. I don't smoke, but I go out just to go talk. <mark>Just to see if somebody's having a problem.</mark> • Some people take 3 or 4 smoke breaks. • .but there is the highly emotional people and there's…then other people are kinda just like they are <mark>temperate</mark> because they are at work and are around other people • I: So being around other people can cause some people to control their emotions? P: Yeah I: Okay, control in what way? As in they don't show it? P: Just kind of mute it. I: Mute it? P: Yeah I: But they are still there? They just mute it? P: Yeah • You watch those people there, you don't <mark>tease</mark> them as much…you just kind of like…(push aside motion)…you don't want to anger them and you just kinda like leave them alone…just…You kind of ostracise them. • They will <mark>tease</mark> back and you know, and like you know…if they…if you know that they are having a bad day you don't <mark>tease</mark> them as much. • Then you are walking into an environment and you just kinda like, you sense it out, and everybody is sort of quiet and you know, its like…because usually people are very <mark>chatty</mark> like, they like to talk and whatever but when you…when its quiet its kind of like, okay somebody's not…they are not <mark>chatty</mark> for a reason. And then eventually you find out who the reason • Its usually…if…on a smoke break you ask them. When it is…when, you know, when they are away from other people… • You get up and you go outside, have a quick smoke, a coffee. "Yeah, we did this, blah blah blah." <mark>The tone is set</mark> for the day with that quick first break smoke.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Tease, chatty, and tone are the frequently used words in this passage. These may demonstrate the types of desired behaviors that are related to ideal peer support (i.e., tease, chatty) and one intended consequence of teasing and chattiness (i.e., to set the tone for the day). **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Informal talk is the preferred method of showing peer support in the workplace. It is interpreted that, through informal talk (e.g., smoke breaks, teasing) that an individual can engage in relationship building. • Work and outside life cannot be separated – a person brings their 'outside life' context with them to work. Individuals should be able to recognize these circumstances and act appropriately. This is a more subtle form of peer support within the workplace.

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	Answer to 'why' question: - most of the time you have to work with each other…they usually go have beers and you argue it out… - you don't want to…sometimes you just don't want to deal that. - if you know that they are having a bad day you don't <mark>tease</mark> them as much. - if you ask somebody what happened the night before…that is part of the other reason why you ask, "oh what did you do last night"…and its like, "Oh I had an argument with my wife and its like fuck sakes" and <mark>that sets the tone</mark> for that person for the day. That's…yeah…that's more or less why… - Yeah the person there who is easier to <mark>get along with</mark>…you know the person quick to anger…you know they usually, you know, you don't want to deal with them. So…<mark>no the person who you can tease is much better to have.</mark> - you can deal with them better…like you know, but if somebody is always quick to anger you can't say nothing…and all these things like they are…anything is taken as offense, so its like 'ugh' you know? And you really don't want to deal with that. - when its quiet its kind of like, okay somebody's not…<mark>they are not chatty for a reason</mark>. And then eventually you find out who the reason is - in order to…almost fit in with everyone at work…they try and hide that… - P: they try and hide their depression and, you know, smile and stuff like that. It is forced but - if they had an argument with their wife they will tell you eventually. - Then they are away from other people…you don't want to let everyone else know you are having a, you know marital problems or whatever. - you know if your friends with them at the workplace and home you <mark>take them off to the side</mark> and, you know, during a smoke break or whatever and ask what is going on. Just take them off…yeah! It is always off to the side. You don't bring it up in front of everybody. - I go out just to go talk. Just to see if somebody's having a problem. - <mark>a lot of things are more said in smoke breaks</mark>, emotion-wise and then business-wise, too. - I: You get there, you do a little bit of work, and then you go for a break. P: Yep. I: Why is that? P: That's where you ask people what they did the night before. Everybody gets to know their workmates or whatever, see what tone is set for the day. You get up and you go outside, have a quick smoke, a coffee. "Yeah, we did this, blah blah blah." The tone is set for the day with that quick first break smoke. - They're just the people you ostracized because they're not happy and shit's going on in them and so everything's always a drama - we are at work, we have clothes, we have shelter, we have a means to get all of this shit so why would you not be happy? - You don't wanna bring your home problems to work - If you're happy at home, you're happy at work	- Relationship building is the primary focus among colleagues. This focus allows individuals to gain context of each other's lives which can be vital when interacting with one another. Essentially, a deep and personal relationship must exist for peer support to be facilitated. - One intended consequence of relationship building is the idea of being able to 'set the tone' for a person's workday. Through informal talk (i.e., smoke breaks) and individual is able to determine whether or not a person needs more or less social support during the day. Additionally, a person is able to understand better another individual's actions based on their relationship building activities. - An individual who has is not having a good day will not jeopardize the harmonized system of peer support in the workplace. Rather, the social well-being of the group will supersede the individual's personal problems. That being said, an individual's personal problems may be addressed through the friendships and informal talk they engage in at the workplace. This is another form of social support – not jeopardizing the harmony of the larger group unless an individual prompts you to express personal problems. - Respect – don't bring up something personal unless that person does it first or there is overwhelming

	• How you look at life is what you bring to work. <mark>If your outlook is shitty, then you're going to bring that shitty attitude to work</mark>, but if you come to work like, "I'm going to learn a new thing today, or I get to play with tools," or whatever, that's important.	comfort or is prompted. The harmony of the group is first! • Interconnectedness – this is the primary aim of informal talk (i.e., to get to know someone on a deep, personal level and understand the context which surrounds them).
Sources and resolutions of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** • most of the time you have to work with each other…they usually go have beers and you argue it out… • everybody is quiet and, and you know they don't really talk. It is really muted up there and you can feel it. It's like a tension in the air • P: Either they scrap it out I: What do you mean by scrap it out? P: fight • yeah they will typically…they will either fight or they will go have beers with each other, then fight or argue…whatever…get it out of their system or…or they will take it …like you know, either they do that and they keep it, like you know 'down' or they would go out and create drama on Facebook or whatever. • most of the time you have to work with each other…they usually go have beers and you argue it out… • that's how…on a construction crew you would do it…you would <mark>just yell at each other and then go have beers later</mark> • You can't <mark>swear at each other</mark> because there is other people around you and they won't know what the hell is going on and then • so yeah and at that point you go out…you either <mark>take him aside or go have beers and say, "why are you doing this?</mark> This is… • Usually after a couple of days after tensions kind of simmer down and anger… • Well usually when swinging starts happening its because your drinking and when somebody, like could get real man…if you get him…there is angry and then there is like start picking up 2 by 4s and shit angry so people try and stop it before then. • I: You kind of almost, conflict avoidance is what you are saying? P: Yeah • I: you want to avoid that conflict…but with the people who aren't quick to anger, its okay to regularly tease them? P: Yeah! **Answer to 'why' question:** • You can't swear at each other because there is other people around you and they won't know what the hell is going on and then • Usually after a couple of days after tensions kind of simmer down and anger… • Well usually when swinging starts happening its because your drinking and when somebody, like could get real man…if you get him…there is angry and then there is like start picking up 2 by 4s and shit angry so people try and stop it before then. • they are not <mark>chatty</mark> for a reason. And then eventually you find out who the reason is • if its just a generally bad shitty day, they had an argument with their husband then you don't want to get dragged into that. You don't wanna bring your home problems to work.	

	- you don't want to bring it out in front of other people in case they don't want to, you know - Its usually…if…on a smoke break you ask them. When it is…when, you know, when they are away from other people…you don't want to let everyone else know you are having a, you know marital problems or whatever. - They go out, and you go find a reason why, or you suggest, "You know." Then they come back and they think it's their own idea. It's a way to get around that incompetent people are put there, and they're toeing the line, but if you take them outside and have a smoke, and, "Why don't you try it this way? See if this works." Just slide it in there, and then they sort of, "This is my idea." It's an upward way of getting ideas informally without having to make people look stupid in an official meeting.	

Vertical Relationships: Bottom-up and top-down		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of vertical relationships**
Nature of relationships	**Statement of behavior:** - if I was manager, and like you know, I did it and I got it back I wouldn't care but it'd be like a couple months before I say anything like that - what I noticed there is that the bosses and employees try and keep it…they don't tease each other much unless they have known each other for a really long time, and we are talking years, or they were friends before. And then, they would sort of…if somebody else tried to tease they would sort of, "No" (pushing down motion). - yeah, the boss would say no. You know, or cut him down right quick and keep him, you know. And…generally that's how it is unless you, you know, you know them enough then you can't. And then sometimes, like you know, you gotta know them for years before you can tease them. - if the manager and employee were friends for a while the manger would say something like, "don't go dog fuck for a while, you know, I need this done right away". But… - He was buried in his own admin work, and he never looked over my shoulder. **Answer to 'why' question:** - we're managers, we don't do that anymore - if the manager and employee were friends for a while the manger would say something like, "don't go dog fuck for a while, - His goal was always to ... He wanted to make it better for other Native people - Basically, another reason why he works within the system there, he wanted to change the system.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** Phrases such as 'you can feel it', 'tension in the air', 'set the tone', 'get somebody invested in it', 'buy into it' may be interpreted as evidence that states it is the manager's responsibility to dictate the environment of the workplace. These pieces of speech were used to describe leadership social support frequently, but were not as common when describing peer support (which focused more on interpersonal relationships). These passages were more so about a 'Sheppard' role in which the manager is responsible for how the workplace 'feels' to employees. They appear to be key in the social system at work.

		Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:
	• They're not respected, but they also create tension. They keep other people down. We don't want that. He doesn't want that for Native people anymore. He wants our people to get up on top and help bring everybody else up. • It still comes down to that incompetence. If they're bringing in this system, and they say, "We're bringing it again because I said so," then there's going to be a lot of dog fucking, • the tone could be set by the manager, too. The manager could be angry because he had a shitty day. He got shit on by his bosses, so he's going to come down and shit on you. That sets your tone for your day • It's always about the communication, about setting the tone. "This is our long-term goal. These are your short-term goals. I want you to do this, and then to get to that goal." It's getting somebody invested in their job. My boss is really good at that. • the tone could be set by the manager, too. The manager could be angry because he had a shitty day. He got shit on by his bosses, so he's going to come down and shit on you. That sets your tone for your day	• A hierarchical and dictatorship leadership style appears to be counterproductive for First Nation employees. A boss who is giving orders, rather than working with employees to accomplish tasks, is not respected. As a result, individuals are going to be less likely to work hard for that individual and the entire workplace will suffer. • A collaborative, free, and flexible leadership style facilitates a more productive, hardworking, and loyal work group. • It appears to be the responsibility of the leader in the workplace to be a Sheppard for the entire workplace. It is their responsibility to 'set the tone' for the workplace (i.e., a collaborative, free, and trust filled environment) and their employees will pick up on that and reinforce that tone. When an appropriate tone is set by the boss, it is perceived as a show of social support. • Another way to show social support in the workplace is to work *with* your employees with the goal of making everyone better. It is assumed by making everyone better that the entirety of the workplace will run efficiently and productively. When employees
Leadership style	**Statement of behavior:** • If somebody feels like an incompetent person brought this down, then implementation of this new system, it's not going to work. They'll slack at it. • He was buried in his own admin work, and he never looked over my shoulder. • she has her little minions and her minions can set the tone for that whole place and everybody is quiet and, and you know they don't really talk. It is really muted up there and you can feel it • but you know, she went away, she got her certificates and she immediately knew more than the director who was there by default and the director sort of sent her in a lot of jobs that required her to be away…like she was living way up in Fox Lake and then the job required her to be all over the place helping other, like, foster families with kids from that reserve elsewhere right? So she was constantly kept away from the office, so they couldn't see how bad this director was. And…oh…chief and council put…chief put his own wife as her supervisor and she didn't know nothing, right? • So she's always giving advice and this is what should go on and then the supervisor does whatever the fuck she likes, because… • . He got shit on by his bosses, so he's going to come down and shit on you. That sets your tone for your day • A manager who invests in them, who is like, "This is what we need. This is what we want." Their goals. It's always about the communication, about setting the tone. "This is our long-term goal. These are your short-term goals. I want you to do this, and then to get to that goal."	

	- He says, "This is what I want done. These are your goals. I don't care how you do it." My boss is has been, "Ask him." After five years, "Here's the credit card there. I want this done. We need it done by September." - There's a lot of micromanaging. There's always somebody looking over your back, and there's always somebody who wants your job and your pay check. **Answer to 'why' question:** - most of them are fairly happy but there is this one women who, she's the boss, she's the queen bee and she has her little minions and her minions can set the tone for that whole place and everybody is quiet and, and you know they don't really talk. It is really muted up there and you can feel it. It's like a tension in the air - generally there is just to keep, you know, "I'm the boss, I am getting paid more than you, I am better than you". That's how some of it goes. The other time there is just to, you know, there needs to be a line. - His goal was always to ... He wanted to make it better for other Native people - but if somebody like, "I'm bringing in this because this will increase our quota by X," and if somebody could buy into it, it's so much ... If they can get somebody invested in it, because you have to remember we're still run by our emotions. - the tone could be set by the manager, too. The manager could be angry because he had a shitty day. He got shit on by his bosses, so he's going to come down and shit on you. That sets your tone for your day - It's always about the communication, about setting the tone. "This is our long-term goal. These are your short-term goals. I want you to do this, and then to get to that goal." It's getting somebody invested in their job. My boss is really good at that.	interpret that a boss's true intentions are to facilitate employee skill building, social interaction, and well-being than it is perceived as a high show of social support. - Interconnectedness – the preference of a free, fluid, and collaborative environment speaks to the desire for everything to work as a system, or to be interconnected. If work is perceived like this, it is much more supportive because individuals have the ability to make mistakes while being assured others will help them in the workplace. Instead, a hierarchical system is the opposite of this, and if one individual makes a mistake it will be interpreted that the boss will not tolerate it and, thus, there will be less perceived social support.
Sources and resolution of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** - what I noticed there is that the bosses and employees try and keep it…they don't tease each other much unless they have known each other for a really long time, and we are talking years, or they were friends before. And then, they would sort of…if somebody else tried to tease they would sort of, "No" (pushing down motion). - yeah, the boss would say no. You know, or cut him down right quick and keep him, you know. And…generally that's how it is unless you, you know, you know them enough then you can't. And then sometimes, like you know, you gotta know them for years before you can tease them. **Answer to 'why' question:** - They're not respected, but they also create tension. They keep other people down. We don't want that. He doesn't want that for Native people anymore. He wants our people to get up on top and help bring everybody else up. - It still comes down to that incompetence. If they're bringing in this system, and they say, "We're bringing it again because I said so," then there's going to be a lot of dog fucking,	

Additional Cultural Model Components		
Communication style in workplace	**Statement of behavior:** • They're not respected, but they also create tension. They keep other people down • always tease each other about going in to work hungover, or you know…going golfing! • Oh man, jeez, just like a lot of people I know they golf for business…business (sarcasm) • No its not a bad thing, I just tease them • a lot of people I know I tease them about that • I like to tease a lot and stuff like that • other people on reserve or other First Nations people I know they do like to joke there • One joke I tease all my other buddies at work here at lunch time, I always tease them and say, "ah get off my land you white people", right? • I always tease them like that you know, you stole my land and then you gave me alcohol • they let me hang my self with that and they just laugh • oh man back home you had to be witty…just be fast on the uptake for teasing • my Uncles and Aunties would always say something sexist…it always comes down to tits and ass • you go back home and then…and then I come back and I start up again and I have to remember there • like common phrase back home is Wenuck…they'd say that or they…they would say something like, "yeah, fuck off" • the higher-ups you don't say anything like that around them…like the managers and shit because they…they are you know, too…you know…we're managers, we don't do that anymore • Well its just, "morning"…whatever…you know, yeah…yeah its just typical its…or even, you know, "what did you do last night? Had a few, got drunk, whatever • So the conversation is not necessarily on work? Its on something else? P: Yeah, its just on what you did last night or…or yeah… • Its just…like you know… "what did you do last night, man why would you do that?" Just generally because you don't want to think about work right away. • they will go have beers with each other, then fight or argue • they usually go have beers and you argue it out… • we use to just yell at each other • It was in construction right so…it was acceptable there just to yell at each other and tell each other to fuck off, like "Jesus Christ man your so fucking stupid, like you know, this goes this way" • so yeah and at that point you go out…you either take him aside or go have beers and say, "why are you doing this? This is…	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Overwhelming use of 'tease' and 'joke'. This implies that the style of informal communication is inherently tied with being able to tease one another and joke around. This is how interpersonal relationships are fostered among First Nation employees. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • It appears to be acceptable to engage in a rough style of communication – especially in male dominated manual labor jobs. This would involve lots of teasing, ripping on one another, humor, and joking. Individuals who fit in are able to engage in this communication style effectively (i.e., are witty and fast) but those who cannot may not fit in. They may not be teased or joke with, but that is an indication that they are not fitting in with the larger work group. • This style of communication is not meant to anger, ostracise individuals, or cause conflict – it is the opposite of that and is meant to facilitate deep and personal relationship building. The only time a person is socially ostracised is when they do not engage in this

	- You watch those people there, you don't <mark>tease</mark> them as much…you just kind of like…(push aside motion)…<mark>you don't want to anger them</mark> - You know, they are there but they don't…you know its kinda like people shut up…just kind of like an immediate…if they wonder into the general area they kinda, "shhh"…or like you know, they just automatic…"oh don't say nothing", or just "go on about your business" - They could be <mark>bitching</mark> about their boyfriend again and…and you know, "Oh I want to break up with him"…well then after I while I just say, "just fucking break up with him!"…you know? - I: you want to avoid that conflict…but with the people who aren't quick to anger, its okay to regularly tease them? P: Yeah! - P: usually if someone is having a shitty day they will be silent I: Okay, silent…so they won't be as outgoing as they normally are? P: Yeah, it would kind of look like they are brooding or something like that. - I always asked people <mark>what sort of night they had</mark> - if they are depressed they would still put on their…they will try to hide it. - You know, you don't want to drag…and then if they had an argument with their wife they will tell you eventually. - It would eventually come out, usually around lunch, but you don't want to bring it out in front of other people in case they don't want to, you know. - Its usually…if…on a <mark>smoke break</mark> you ask them. When it is…when, you know, when they are away from other people… - Usually like one person will say something then it is kind of kept there. Unless it is really funny! You know, if they had an argument but then his wife slapped him, its like, "fuck man you got bitch slapped by your wife" and then you tell everybody because, man, that's just funny *laughs* <mark>you know if your friends with them at the workplace and home you take them off to the side and, you know, during a smoke break or whatever and ask what is going on</mark> - what I noticed there is that the bosses and employees try and keep it…they don't <mark>tease</mark> each other much unless they have known each other for a really long time, and we are talking years, or they were friends before. And then, they would sort of…if somebody else tried to tease they would sort of, "No" (pushing down motion). - yeah, the boss would say no. You know, <mark>or cut him down right quick and keep him,</mark> you know. And…generally that's how it is unless you, you know, you know them enough then you can't. And then sometimes, like you know, you gotta know them for years before <mark>you can tease them</mark>. And then, when they are in front of other managers you don't…<mark>tease</mark> them at al - if the manager and employee were friends for a long time, like, you know, the manager would usually say, "I need this done right away please", you know? It would be	rough communication style (i.e., they can't take a joke; they anger easy) - There is a split between how an individual should interact with the manager and how they should interact with another colleague. Specifically, an individual should avoid the large degree of teasing and humor with a boss as is demonstrated with other employees. It may not be seen as appropriate. That being said, the focus still appears to be on informal talks (e.g., smoke breaks) as well as on relationship building. - The reason for informal talk (e.g., smoke breaks, teasing, etc.) is to determine the context of individuals in the workplace (i.e., the baggage they bring to the situation) as well as to determine whether or not they can *handle* the rough communication style. If an individual had a bad experience the night before, then individuals might not tease him that particular day. It boils down to understanding, context, and compassion. This would not happen if the reason behind informal talk was not relationship building. - Business talk is allowed, but is preferred to be done in an informal style. In fact, evidence presented here suggests that business decisions, task completions, etc. are more effective when communication is informal.

congealing. But you know, if it is that new employee, you know, its more like "Go do this" and it would be done. You know.

- When people smoke there, I go out with them. I don't smoke, but I go out just to go talk
- No, they just go out for a quick puff, 5 minutes, back in. It really depends on your boss. Within Native organizations, usually smoke breaks are acceptable. How is that? If you're in a meeting with somebody like that, and then you go out for a smoke break, people break up into little groups. A lot of small talk and shit gets done during smoke breaks, too.
- You take them outside, have a puff, say, "Why are you so against this?" You find out why
- if you take them outside and have a smoke, and, "Why don't you try it this way? See if this works." Just slide it in there, and then they sort of, "This is my idea."
- but if somebody like, "I'm bringing in this because this will increase our quota by X," and if somebody could buy into it, it's so much ... If they can get somebody invested in it, because you have to remember we're still run by our emotions.
- You get up and you go outside, have a quick smoke, a coffee. "Yeah, we did this, blah blah blah." The tone is set for the day with that quick first break smoke.

Answer to 'why' question:

- I am just trying to remember what we tease each other about at work. Its usually…is usually situational
- Because people would be teasing you and if you don't have something to say back quick..or whatever…its kind of like…you kind of suck
- : It's usually…if you…in tight quarters…like you know, if you work with somebody for a while then you get to know them there but
- the higher-ups you don't say anything like that around them…like the managers and shit because they…they are you know, too…you know…we're managers, we don't do that anymore
- "what did you do last night, man why would you do that?" Just generally because you don't want to think about work right away.
- You know, you just got in and sat down and just processing what you want to do on the day…you still don't want to think about it at the same time
- They don't want…they just don't want to get involved in whatever shit is going on in that particular day with that person, like you know.
- Yeah there's a lot of drama with some people…they are kind of like…they are in the group but they don't really get teased or anything…they don't really want to…its kind of like 'he he he' if they make a joke or whatever…its kind of muted its…you don't want to…sometimes you just don't want to deal that.
- if you know that they are having a bad day you don't tease them as much.
- usually if someone is having a shitty day they will be silent.

- Those who cause drama in the workplace are socially ostracised.
- Relationship building – the primary reason as to why individuals engage in this informal, and rough, communication style is to get to know one another on a personal level. Teasing, humor, and informal conversations over smoking allows for personal details to emerge – which are crucial to really get to know someone.
- Interconnectedness - this informal speech allows those who will fit in with the group and those who do not to be separated. It is evident who will and who will not by how they engage at work. It is possible that this style of communication is used as a tool to facilitate a maximum level of interconnectedness at work.

- if you ask somebody what happened the night before…that is part of the other reason why you ask, "oh what did you do last night"…and its like, "Oh I had an argument with my wife and its like fuck sakes" and that sets the tone for that person for the day. That's…yeah…that's more or less why…
- I: So if they respond that way, its okay to tease them during the day? P: Yeah, it's a key to tease them…or you know…
- Yeah the person there who is easier to get along with…you know the person quick to anger…you know they usually, you know, you don't want to deal with them. So…no the person who you can tease is much better to have.
- if somebody is always quick to anger you can't say nothing…and all these things like they are…anything is taken as offense, so its like 'ugh' you know? And you really don't want to deal with that.
- No, its not. Its just kind of <mark>drags down the whole</mark>…you know…you are generally happy
- when its quiet its kind of like, okay somebody's not…they are not <mark>chatty</mark> for a reason. And then eventually you find out who the reason is
- If you are not <mark>chatty</mark>…you know and then, like you know if it doesn't seem like there is any sort of happiness o
- it is usually hidden and, you know, so they don't want to talk about it. If they don't want to talk about it then they don't want to talk about it and you don't say anything.
- Because if somebody really wanted to say what was wrong then they would say it
- you don't want to bring it out in front of other people in case they don't want to, you know.
- . Usually like one person will say something then it is kind of kept there. Unless it is really funny!
- Yeah, more or less! We just want to keep it, like you know, on the down low.
- you know if your friends with them at the workplace and home you take them off to the side and, you know, during a smoke break or whatever and ask what is going on. Just take them off…yeah! It is always off to the side. You don't bring it up in front of everybody.
- You just don't want that <mark>drama</mark>.
- They go out, and you go find a reason why, or you suggest, "You know." Then they come back and they think it's their own idea. It's a way to get around that incompetent people are put there, and they're toeing the line, but if you take them outside and have a smoke, and, "Why don't you try it this way? See if this works." Just slide it in there, and then they sort of, "This is my idea." It's an upward way of getting ideas informally without having to make people look stupid in an official meeting.
- They're just the people you <mark>ostracized</mark> because they're not happy and shit's going on in them and so everything's always a drama

| First Nation Specific work Practices

Includes: organizational responsibilities to community; organizational responsibilities to employees; employee responsibilities to organization; office space/equipment; hiring practices; scheduling practices; vacation time/time off | **Statement of behavior:**
• Because its my office! In the ten years that I'd been here I never had an office
• They got jobs just by being there for so long or they got it by chief and council or they sucked up to somebody or, you know.
• a lot of the older generation got in there by default because there was nobody to take it so
• Because X boss knew this guy there, he'd become director of sales or whatever, because he was that guy's friend.
• Everybody takes their bulk vacations.
• It's usually about 4 to 6, depending on the organization.
• You get to work, you have your coffee, and you have your smoke. That's what I see most places. You get to work, you put your jacket down, you log on, you check your email, then you go for an immediate smoke break. That's what I see
• There's the hardcore people there, but they usually smudge before work.

Answer to 'why' question:
N/A | **Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):**
• N/A – not enough data to gain consistency.
Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:
• Spirituality is presented here with limited evidence – smudging appears to be one way in which individuals can practice their faith at work.
• The focus is not on work – individuals immediately engage in informal conversation when entering the workplace in the morning because they want to see how each other's nights were. This will help set the tone for the day, provide context, and build relationships. Work is not the primary focus. Relationships are!
• Relationship building – informal talk and focus on context immediately in the morning. In addition, grounding oneself spiritually in the workplace provides additional context for others. |
| **Decision making in the workplace** | **Statement of behavior:**
• It still comes down to that incompetence. If they're bringing in this system, and they say, "We're bringing it again because I said so," then there's going to be a lot of dog fucking,
• "oh yeah all our business decisions are made on the golf course"
• its like oh yeah, you are off to have a meeting (sarcasm) on the golf course
• So she's always giving advice and this is what should go on and then the supervisor does whatever the fuck she likes, because…
• If you're in a meeting with somebody like that, and then you go out for a smoke break, people break up into little groups. A lot of small talk and shit gets done during smoke breaks, too. | **Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):**
• The frequent use of the words 'competent' or 'incompetent' as well as authoritarian phrases (i.e., because I said so) implies that a leader may be judged on the way they facilitate the decision making process. If they are hierarchical about it and make decisions |

- You take them outside, have a puff, say, "Why are you so against this?" You find out why
- if you take them outside and have a smoke, and, "Why don't you try it this way? See if this works." Just slide it in there, and then they sort of, "This is my idea."

Answer to 'why' question:
- Billy Zane put a lot of yes-men around him, and that organization, SIGA, has gone to shit.
- If you're smarter than somebody, then somebody up there is going to keep you down because you know more than their job. This person will hire incompetent people and get the odd competent one by mistake
- It's like the golf course. It's a smaller version than the golf course. Agreements get made better. You take them outside, have a puff, say, "Why are you so against this?" You find out why. They won't say it in front of everybody else, but then somebody can come up with an idea that gets around this problem.
- a lot of things are more said in smoke breaks, emotion-wise and then business-wise, too.
- It comes back down to that they were put into this position, so they don't know any better. They don't know any new ways. It's always been done this way.
- It's an upward way of getting ideas informally without having to make people look stupid in an official meeting.
- Yeah, that's because of that "this has always been done this way. We don't know any better." They don't want people to ... Because of the power structure, you don't want to be an underling and make people look bad above you,

primarily by themselves, they may not be judged as competent. Instead, if they approach decision making in a more collaborative manner then there may be a greater likelihood of being judged as competent.

Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:
- Informal decision making may be preferred over formal decision making. This links closely to the informal communication style theorized earlier. It may be easier to make work-related decisions in an informal manner because it is more comfortable for First Nation employees to do so.
- A collaborative and non-dictatorship style of decision making is much preferred (similar to the style of leadership discussed earlier). If this is not the case, the may be deemed 'incompetent'.
- Individuals do not appreciate being suppressed in the workplace. Not allowing them to participate in decisions, or not making them feel like they are an important part of the process, is not an ideal way of decision making.
- Social support interpretations play a role in decision making as well. It is interpreted here that, by engaging in informal decision making processes, it is less likely that an individual will 'show up' their leadership and create a rift between

		them. It is a relationship focused element once again. It is not acceptable to jeopardize the harmony of the group. • Egalitarian purpose – it appears that this style of decision making is underlined by a comforting and 'equal' environment that encourages all to be part of the decision making process.
Overall nature of work environment	**Statement of behavior:** • You work on somebody else's terms, and that's unacceptable to some people, so they leave it. They get out of it. • They won't say it in front of everybody else, but then somebody can come up with an idea that gets around this problem. **Answer to 'why' question:** • No, its not. Its just kind of drags down the whole…you know…you are generally happy • When you are at work you are generally happy, you know, except for the odd day and if I…a couple times I found myself in an unhappy environment and I just fucked right off because I didn't want to deal with that. • Yeah! No, you can feel it. You can feel the tension in the air. Its kinda like, 'ugh' • But when you are walking into an environment and you just kinda like, you sense it out, and everybody is sort of quiet and you know, its like…because usually people are very chatty like, they like to talk and whatever but when you…when its quiet its kind of like, okay somebody's not…they are not chatty for a reason. And then eventually you find out who the reason is • I: if it is a quiet, muted environment, its almost being perceived as…on behalf of First Nation employees, that people are afraid to say what they want to say? P: Yeah! I: And that's not a welcoming environment? P: No, its not. If you are not chatty…you know and then, like you know if it doesn't seem like there is any sort of happiness or, its kind of like *scoffs*. • I: so you don't really want to disturb the betterment of the group? You kinda want to take someone off to the side, if you want to say something, and say hey what is going on? P: Yep!	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • There is frequent use of words to describe a 'feeling' or 'sensing' out of an environment that implies an egalitarian work environment has implicit consequences. While behaviors that create an egalitarian work environment may sometimes be explicit (e.g., collaborative decision making), it has an implicit effect of freedom and comfort. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • A First Nation employee can immediately sense the type of work environment they are walking into. They prefer an egalitarian, free, and comfortable environment. As mentioned earlier, if the manager has not set the precedent for this type of environment, an employee can tell and will not enjoy his or her experience. Chances are that they may leave and seek a better work environment. An egalitarian work

	• if you work within those power structures there, you don't work on your own terms. You work on somebody else's terms, and that's unacceptable to some people, so they leave it. They get out of it • . If you're smarter than somebody, then somebody up there is going to keep you down because you know more than their job. • His goal was always to ... He wanted to make it better for other Native people • Basically, another reason why he works within the system there, he wanted to change the system. • They're not respected, but they also create tension. They keep other people down. We don't want that. He doesn't want that for Native people anymore. He wants our people to get up on top and help bring everybody else up. • It's an upward way of getting ideas informally without having to make people look stupid in an official meeting. • Yeah, that's because of that "this has always been done this way. We don't know any better." They don't want people to ... Because of the power structure, you don't want to be an underling and make people look bad above you, • If we don't think it's going to work, we're going to slack at it, but if we can get invested into it, and there's a clear plus for that employee, then they'll buy into it. They're invested in it, and they'll work hard at it. • No, it's not welcoming. You're competing for your job.	environment creates a feeling of well-being within employees. Feelings of well-being is facilitated by the sense or feel of the work environment • Part of an egalitarian work environment is being able to have freedom at work. This would include receiving trust from a manager or employees and being able to express your strengths in the way you want. It is interpreted that this would only help to facilitate efficient work, make employees comfortable, make employees feel competent, and help them engage socially (due to being comfortable). Being awarded 'freedom' in the workplace is an important element of an egalitarian work environment. • Work should not be a competition, it should be a collaborative effort. • Interconnectedness – individuals want to feel as if they are equal and positive contributors within their work environment. This is driven by a sense of interconnectedness, wherein an individual wants to fit in and contribute to a system where they are valued.
Method of cultural model socialization	**Statement of behavior:** • My buddy is the leader of Treaty 8. His mom, she always worked. She got her education. She worked in social services there, and she always worked, she always provided, and always told Joe to work harder, get your education, get out from the reserve, and then always told him that when he was younger, then he got shacked up and had a family. Then he just kept going. **Answer to 'why' question:**	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • N/A – not enough data for consistency **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • It can be interpreted that an individual learns important job

	• She worked in social services there, and she always worked, she always provided, and always told Joe to work harder, get your education, get out from the reserve, and then always told him that when he was younger, • Yeah. It's what you see when you're younger influences what you do as an adult. If you see everybody slacking around and doing nothing, then that's how it is.	skills and values from more experienced employees or from family mentors. Youth appear especially appreciative of this mentorship.

Work motivation		
Role of Money	• If you're buried in debt, you're coming to work, you're miserable, because you're just there for a pay check. You don't see beyond that. Some people don't. • why am I here? Oh I got a mortgage • They want a house or whatever their goals are. • I: Is that something that makes someone very happy to go to work and be at work and those sorts of things? What else in addition to that? P: You always get a pay check. • It comes down to if they're coming to work because they're buried in bills, they're going to be miserable and shit like that. Your life sets the tone for your work most of the time. • If you're buried in debt, you're coming to work, you're miserable, because you're just there for a pay check. You don't see beyond that. Some people don't. • P: Some people get a job for the wrong reason. I: What's the wrong reason? P: Pay check.	**How motivation influences behavior:** It is important to make money, but it appears that money is *not* a desirable motivation to work. It may be a motivation to work – but it is not an overly acceptable motivation. Rather, an individual should work for something bigger than just a paycheck. This something bigger may be the improvement of self, providing for one's family, or working towards a larger purpose (e.g., improving employment outcomes for the community).
Competence and Professional growth	**Statement of behavior:** • There is not really that much an acknowledgement • If they're doing something they don't like, it's like they're going through the motions. You can find those people easy. • A lot of First Nations people are becoming their own bosses because they don't want to deal with that shit. **Answer to 'why' question:** • When somebody entrusts you with something important, you've emotionally invested in them. I don't want to lose that trust. It becomes, "I want to do this because my boss trusts me." • There's always somebody looking over your back, and there's always somebody who wants your job and your pay check. Yeah. Somebody trusts me to do the job. You have pride. We don't have enough pride. For Native people, we don't have enough pride. When somebody trusts us with something, again,	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Trust is used frequently when describing feelings of competence. This means it is evidence that it is key in influencing employees to feeling competent and encouraging continued hard work. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Individuals want to feel like they are good at their jobs. These feelings come through several mediums- the first of which is trust.

	we do it to the best of our capabilities. That's that pride. I did this. I got there. At the end of the day, if you can go home and say, "I did this," it feels good.	If an individual is shown trust that he or she can accomplish a goal without extensive checking in than they will ultimately feel like they can accomplish something. With this sense of accomplishment comes a sense of pride – an important motivating component for continued hard work. One other way individuals may feel competent is through acknowledgement of a good job by their boss. • Trust and pride are fueling feelings of competence
Meaning/purpose of work	**Statement of behavior:** • If they don't believe in it, they're just dog fucking. • A lot of First Nations people are becoming their own bosses because they don't want to deal with that shit. • Those that aspire will usually go outside the system. They'll work elsewhere, work at a university. • I get to work with my hands. I get to learn new things every day. • but if you come to work like, "I'm going to learn a new thing today, or I get to play with tools," or whatever, that's important. **Answer to 'why' question:** • for the regular employee it is but for the, you know, some want to aspire. • They come here, so betterment for themselves to get out from somebody else's ... You're under the thumb, more or less, living on the reserve. The chief holds a huge amount of power. When you leave and you work, you get out from underneath that. You're no longer living under their dictates. • Like when people become educated there, they come back and the chief and council usually doesn't want this education person working for them there because they have more knowledge than them, but they have the power. So they keep this other person down. • So, the power structure is there that you don't really, if an employee becomes too good then they sort of have anger issues toward that person because they could, they are probably coming after your job.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • There are frequent mentions of being kept 'up' or 'down' presented in text as metaphors. It appears that, when talking about progression there are strong visual speech than can get the point across about not wanting to be smothered but to allow for freedom. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • It appears to be crucial for First Nation employees to have the perception that they can progress in the workplace. This progression may be in places such as skill development or relationship building but it also features one key element: freedom. If an individual feel like they are not suppressed in the workplace and are able to better

	• somebody comes along and they have all these credentials, they are sort of, you know…we will give you a job but ==we won't elevate you because==…you like, you know, we want to keep our jobs. • for the regular employee it is but for the, you know, some want to ==aspire==. • If you're smarter than somebody, then ==somebody up there is going to keep you down== because you know more than their job. • P: ==They want to advance. They want to better themselves==. They want a house or whatever their goals are. • My buddy had a young family. He works within the system, but he's become a boss. He's fought against that, and he's got over that little hump • If we don't think it's going to work, we're going to slack at it, but if we can ==get invested into it, and there's a clear plus for that employee, then they'll buy into it.== They're invested in it, and they'll work hard at it. If you're buried in debt, you're coming to work, you're miserable, ==because you're just there for a pay check. You don't see beyond that. Some people don't.==	themselves in a way they see fit, they will be happier. • It appears that management is the key to facilitating progression and, consequently, providing a purpose to work. They have the power to set 'the tone' of freedom in the workplace and create opportunities where an individual can progress themselves. • Wanting a sense that one can progress in the workplace may be due to an underlying want to always be working towards something – a better future. It may be a crave to be invested in something, to be part of something larger then themselves.
Family & Community as motivators	• He wanted something different for his kids. I just remembered, we were drinking that one time. He was like, "I don't want my kid to live under the reserve system." His kids went to school and stuff like that. They did everything they could to get them educated and out from it. They don't want him to be a slacker, • We don't want that. He doesn't want that for Native people anymore. He wants our people to get up on top and help bring everybody else up.	**How motivation influences behavior:** An individual will engage in tasks they may not have before in order to benefit their family and/or community. Essentially, an individual will work *because* they want to benefit these groups and not solely for personal benefit.
Emotional engagement	• but if somebody like, "I'm bringing in this because this will increase our quota by X," and if somebody could buy into it, it's so much ... If they can get somebody invested in it, because you have to remember we're still run by our emotions. • If we don't think it's going to work, we're going to slack at it, but if we can get invested into it, and there's a clear plus for that employee, then they'll buy into it. They're invested in it, and they'll work hard at it. • If they're doing something they don't like, it's like they're going through the motions. You can find those people easy. They're just the people you ostracized because they're not happy and shit's going on in them and so everything's always a drama. Some people come to work because they like what they do and they want to do it. Those are the people I like working with. • It's getting somebody invested in their job	**How motivation influences behavior:** **Pride** • An individual filled with feelings of pride will work harder, and show more loyalty, than an individual who does not have pride in their work. As mentioned earlier, shows of trust and feelings of competence facilitate pride in one's work. • An individual with little or no pride in their work will not feel the

	- Yeah, that the manager trusts you. When somebody entrusts you with something important, you've emotionally invested in them. I don't want to lose that trust. It becomes, "I want to do this because my boss trusts me." - Me, my boss said ... We had three weeks to get the lab up and running because of all the painting and shit like that. I worked thirteen days out of two weeks, and was just like, "Fuck, here. Got it done." On the last day, toast, but I got her done, and everything was up and running. - Somebody entrusts you with something, you want to ... It's pride. Somebody has enough trust in you, and then you have pride that somebody has trust in you enough. You can deal with this. - Yeah. Somebody trusts me to do the job. You have pride. We don't have enough pride. For Native people, we don't have enough pride. When somebody trusts us with something, again, we do it to the best of our capabilities. That's that pride. I did this. I got there. At the end of the day, if you can go home and say, "I did this," it feels good. We don't have enough of that. We don't have enough pride. We don't have enough people saying, "You could do it." There's always so much negativity. - the people I know are mostly driven to work…like a lot of Lawyers a lot of people I know…they work hard - Those that aspire will usually go outside the system. They'll work elsewhere, work at a university. - P: They want to advance. They want to better themselves. - I get to work with my hands. I get to learn new things every day. - Some people come to work because they like what they do and they want to do it. Those are the people I like working with. - I'll probably work until I die, because it's all I know. - A lot of them come to a job, they want to better themselves and get out from the reserve system. - hey come here, so betterment for themselves to get out from somebody else's ... You're under the thumb, more or less, living on the reserve.	confidence necessary to feel like they can succeed in their tasks. As a result, there will be cautiousness showed and work will not be as efficient. - An individual is filled with pride when he or she can complete a task in the allotted time or they can see the impact of their work. Being able to see the positives they have had as a result of completing a task can facilitate feelings of pride, especially when the completion of a task benefits other individuals. **Improvement of self** - Links to the concept of competence and confidence. An individual will be motivated to work hard if they are able to see an opportunity in which they can better themselves (i.e., improve their skillset). - Offering training and opportunities to learn new things are able to motivate individuals to improve their self. - One thing of note: it appears that this individual did not speak of 'improvement of self' in terms of the community.
Work behavior regulations		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of Component**
Kinship network	- aren't kids a lot of work? - We don't want that. He doesn't want that for Native people anymore. He wants our people to get up on top and help bring everybody else up. - Your life sets the tone for your work most of the time. If you're happy at home, you're happy at work	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** There is evidence presented here that individuals will go above and beyond to be able to provide for

	• Family is very powerful. If all your other family are getting shacked up and having tons of babies there, and that's the general consensus, people generally follow that. If you leave, you become that black sheep there, then you're like, "Oh, you think you're better than us?" It turns that family into ... Family relations are just shit. That friend, family relations are shit because she decided to leave and do something for herself. Her dad was always controlling her. He never believed in his kids. Now that they're doing stuff for themselves, they don't like it when they're doing stuff for themselves. Family is ... I: A very important influence. P: Yeah. • Yeah. It's what you see when you're younger influences what you do as an adult. If you see everybody slacking around and doing nothing, then that's how it is. • Family would, "Yeah, there's ..." Just snide remarks. "Look at big powerful guy with new clothes and blah blah blah." • Yes. Their family, they'll look. Everybody in the family, they're, "Don't leave."	their family or, more generally, their people. • Family also has the influence to set the context of one's work life. If there is a rough situation in one's home or extended kinship life (e.g., cancer in the family; divorce) an individual will be affected at work. • Learning to be a hard worker is dictated by how an individual's family teaches them. Links to the component of modelling attitudes.
Social regulation of employment behavior	• He says, "This is what I want done. These are your goals. I don't care how you do it." My boss is has been, "Ask him." After five years, "Here's the credit card there. I want this done. We need it done by September." Right now I have twelve experiments I need to have up and running by December. That's my end goal right now. • Yeah, that the manager trusts you. When somebody entrusts you with something important, you've emotionally invested in them. I don't want to lose that trust. It becomes, "I want to do this because my boss trusts me." • You don't have that trust because somebody's looking over your shoulder and somebody wants your job. • I: If they don't have that trust, and someone's looking over your shoulder and want that job, does that make them work hard still, or does that make them slack off more? P: They'll do the bare minimum. It's like, "Fuck, I'm just going to work and be a robot. I'll do this, but I won't do extra." • Somebody entrusts you with something, you want to ... It's pride. Somebody has enough trust in you, and then you have pride that somebody has trust in you enough. You can deal with this. • Yeah. Somebody trusts me to do the job. You have pride. We don't have enough pride. For Native people, we don't have enough pride. When somebody trusts us with something, again, we do it to the best of our capabilities. That's that pride. I did this. I got there. At the end of the day, if you can go home and say, "I did this," it feels good. We don't have enough of that. We don't have enough pride. We don't have enough people saying, "You could do it." There's always so much negativity. • If somebody feels like an incompetent person brought this down, then implementation of this new system, it's not going to work. They'll slack at it. • now with the political correctness crowd and…you know…threats of harassment and, you know, stuff like that its getting pretty serious out here.	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** **Trust** • Trust is used as a social regulation of behavior by co-workers and leaders. The show of trust will greatly influence how hard an individual works and how loyal they are to an organization. • When trust is shown to an individual (i.e., an individual is trusted to accomplish a goal using their individual strengths with freedom) an individual will feel competent and, as a result, feel pride in the work they are doing. As a result, trust is the key to employee confidence and facilitating hard work. • An individual will do everything in their power to maintain the trust they have *earned* (they feel they have earned it) with their boss. **Respect**

	- you just kinda like leave them alone…just…You kind of ostracise them - they are there but they don't…you know its kinda like people shut up…just kind of like an immediate…if they wonder into the general area they kinda, "shhh"…or like you know, they just automatic…"oh don't say nothing" - they are in the group but they don't really get teased or anything…they don't really want to - So…no the person who you can tease is much better to have. - Its usually…if…on a smoke break you ask them. When it is…when, you know, when they are away from other people…you don't want to let everyone else know you are having a, you know marital problems or whatever. - It comes down to, generally, like…there is, you know, threat of lawsuit is a big thing! Even in Native organizations it like, you know, if a boss says something to an employee, or vice-versa, somebody else can construe that as sexual harassment or…and or…yeah it escalates quite quickly. - that competition or is it not something that is desirable? - P: No, its not. Its…when you are coming into that you know that there is anger directed at you because you are smarter than them and that is frowned upon. - It still comes down to that incompetence. If they're bringing in this system, and they say, "We're bringing it again because I said so," then there's going to be a lot of dog fucking, - If we don't think it's going to work, we're going to slack at it, but if we can get invested into it, and there's a clear plus for that employee, then they'll buy into it. They're invested in it, and they'll work hard at it. - They're just the people you ostracized because they're not happy and shit's going on in them and so everything's always a drama	- If an individual respects another (i.e., acknowledges their skills [competence]; understands the context which surrounds them [peer support]) it is far more likely that they will work harder for that individual when compared to if there is no respect. - Individuals are not respected in the workplace if they cannot engage in the communication style that is desired. As a result, the non-respected individual will not be socially accepted in the workplace and work tasks will suffer. - A leader who engages in a dictatorship or authoritative style will not be respected by their employees. Work will not be efficient as a result and workers will not be passionate about their work.

Broader community influence	• Its just the way of life. Because, well there is 80% unemployment right so…and they don't want to leave for work or go anywhere, they just are kinda like, "I'll just stay here" • Like you, you know you went out and became educated. You're an apple now. You're white and…your corrupted. • If you leave, you become that black sheep there, then you're like, "Oh, you think you're better than us?" It turns that family into ... Family relations are just shit. That friend, family relations are shit because she decided to leave and do something for herself • I: a person leaves the reserve, becomes very successful, and comes back. That person is treated like an apple, you said before? P: Yep. • Just essentially a lot of cousins will ask them for money. They'll try to sponge off them. You're essentially ostracized unless somebody's trying to sponge off you. • Family would, "Yeah, there's ..." Just snide remarks. "Look at big powerful guy with new clothes and blah blah blah." • They left. That's essentially it. You've been put on the reserve, and then for years you were kept there. Now that you're allowed out, some people don't want to leave. They don't think you should leave. • Yes. Their family, they'll look. Everybody in the family, they're, "Don't leave." • The chief holds a huge amount of power. When you leave and you work, you get out from underneath that. You're no longer living under their dictates.	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** • There is negativity (i.e., gossiping, negative social speech) shown towards those who leave the community – even if they come back to said community. This may prevent some individuals from leaving to pursue education or work. Therefore, an individual's community has an influence on where and how an individual works. Links back to the idea that an individual must always provide for their community.

Disrupted Cultural Model		

Cultural Model Component (From Interview 1 results)	**Participant Description of Component**	
Inferiority of skills/abilities by employer	N/A	
Self perceived inferiority of skills/abilities	• When somebody trusts us with something, again, we do it to the best of our capabilities. That's that pride. I did this. I got there. At the end of the day, if you can go home and say, "I did this," it feels good. We don't have enough of that. We don't have enough pride. We don't have enough people saying, "You could do it." There's always so much negativity	
Results focused	N/A	
Lack of First Nation specific practices	N/A	
Lack of awareness of others	• but here its kinda like…you…because so many different backgrounds they don't know what's a joke • some of them tease back like that but a lot of them they are too worried about offending other people • that's how it used to be for years but as I said a lot of people got offended and it was like, "ugh"…so its just not worth it! • now with the political correctness crowd and…you know…threats of harassment and, you know, stuff like that its getting pretty serious out here.	

	• a couple times I found myself in an unhappy environment and I just fucked right off because I didn't want to deal with that.
	• like if it is a quiet, muted environment, its almost being perceived as…on behalf of First Nation employees, that people are afraid to say what they want to say? P: Yeah! I: And that's not a welcoming environment? P: No, its not.
	• if a boss says something to an employee, or vice-versa, somebody else can construe that as sexual harassment or…and or…yeah it escalates quite quickly.
Lack of direction towards employment goals	• if you work within those power structures there, you don't work on your own terms. You work on somebody else's terms, and that's unacceptable to some people, so they leave it. They get out of it.
	• . If you're smarter than somebody, then somebody up there is going to keep you down because you know more than their job.
	• I: It's freedom? P: Yeah. I've noticed that with a lot of people. They complain about it, and they go to a work to get away from that mostly.
Lack of confidence	N/A

Sarah Combined Within-case Matrix

Horizontal Relationships (co-worker to co-worker)

Cultural Model Component	Participant Description of Component	Researcher interpretation of horizontal relationships
Nature of relationships among co-workers	**Statement of behavior:** • So, if there is a lunchroom – they are often not invited to be included so they sit apart or they eat someplace else kind of thing. They keep to themselves in their work generally unless they can find some good friendships in the unit. • Unless the other employees make that…make an advance, you know, talk to them. Feel like…treat them like a colleague and that happens a lot, • I: Then it's up to the other co-workers to relay that message? P: To work with the other one to bring them up. • If you're like me, who is in an Aboriginal unit, a 90 percent Aboriginal unit, then sometimes we go for lunch together, or we try to include Aboriginal pieces into the work that we do. Like for example, sometimes we do prayer, sometimes we do the circle. Oftentimes we do the circle where we do a circle and talk about where we're at, and how people are feeling, • decide how we want to do it. And then decide who is going to do what part of that work. • If you're in a First Nations organization it's generally, it could be friendship-based. It could be recognized who your relations are. See, that's the thing about First Nations, they always know who you're related to, • They get to know who has got the loose deadlines and who doesn't.	<u>**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):**</u> • Speech indicates that there is an emphasis on relationship building at work. Individuals want to make friends, be respected by one another, figure out how they fit in to the social workplace. • The amount of times the words respect, relationship, friendships, and circle are used are strong evidence they are part of the nature of relationships. <u>**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:**</u> • Relationships above all – every social interaction within the workplace is placed within the

Answer to 'why' question:

- because smudging is important to you, you want your other co-workers to ==respect== that you feel better when you smudge, and it makes your workplace better. ==You want other people to be able to see that and respect that.==
- I think when you go to work and you have ==good friendships== and you feel ==part of the group==
- the thing about jokes is that it establishes a ==closeness==. So if you can ==establish a closeness== or a ==link== or that ==commonality== then you are...that's an advantage.
- you have other people who are like you here. And that you have ==friendships== here and things are good
- you know who each other are if that makes any sense. You know each other.
- For an aboriginal group, they would do that but they would ==preserve relations of all, above all things.==
- All of those things, because you ==feel part of the group==
- you have fellow employees who are ==treating you well==, you want to ==treat them well==.
- Yes. Yeah, because you work here, you want to be ==respected== for who you are.
- it's usually about family, it's about what you're doing. It's about things that they've heard. It's [kind of the that Aboriginal piece.
- Oftentimes we do the ==circle== where we do a ==circle== and talk about ==where we're at==, and how people are ==feeling==, that kind of thing because ==we want to connect that to our work==.
- People gather together during this time, and they ==reinforce that sense of community== and belonging. That is really important.
- I think it weakens them. It weakens their ability to adapt and to maintain, to be strong when people say things, or might look at you funny. If you're weak you can't take it.
- Yeah. That ==sense of community== sustains people through the times that aren't as community-oriented.
- That it's almost like there's a ==circle== in your work of people who ==know each other==, who ==respect each other, and get along==. I think that would be, that's key.
- I; what about miserable at work? Would it be the exact opposite of that? P: Yeah. You're not appreciated, you're isolated, you're spoken down to, you're treated like not very well, yeah.
- You've got ==good relationships==, you like your work because you're appreciated for it.
- When you have somebody who trusts, and you trust that person, I think that's a huge, that's that ==relationship t==hing. That we've developed a ==good relationship==, then we have trust.
- Yeah, it makes them feel good because it reaches that sense of relationship that Aboriginal people crave
- Yeah. ==Fitting in and having==, being able to feel like you're going to be attacked every time you turn around.
- That is important, that ==relationship== with other people who are working.

context of establishing personal relationships with your peers.

- Peer support extends beyond the workplace. In order to establish a relationship with someone else, a person must get to know another individual on a personal level. This includes discussions about family, problems, and life outside of work. It allows for the desired connectivity between people on a much deeper level.
- All workers should try their best to fit in with the group. This means avoiding disturbing the balance of group relations. The group's overall well-being is important.
- Relationship building establishes a closeness and sense of context between co-workers and facilitates respect between co-workers.
- Social isolation is detrimental to peer support – avoid at all costs.
- Shows work is not the driving component to the peer-support process. First Nation employees crave relationships and act upon this by getting to know one another on a deep, personal level. It is done for the comfort all of within the workplace and not necessarily to improve work outcomes (i.e., a person-centered approach). Work is more enjoyable as a result, as co-workers understand each other's actions and thoughts (i.e., personal relationships provide context). It is referred to as humility – or understanding where everyone is

	- I would agree, because again, it's grounding who you are and that you fit. That's what it is. - because smudging is important to you, you want your other co-workers to respect that you feel better when you smudge, and it makes your workplace better. You want other people <mark>to be able to see that and respect that.</mark> - Employees want to have this place to go smudge, because it recognizes <mark>who they are</mark>. - they share the same…knowledge of <mark>who they are</mark> and they <mark>share</mark> the <mark>same experiences</mark> in this world that being able to make those jokes is a lot easier - Yes. You know in your families, that's the biggest thing. You know where your relations, and so the separation is great.	coming from and why they are doing what they are doing at work. - Respect, a key teaching in Indigenous culture, is shown through the establishment of deep interpersonal relationships. - Fitting in with a group of people causes a person to understand their place (i.e., how they fit in) in a work environment. It allows the establishment of a larger purpose (i.e., to know one's roles in the group) and feelings of comfort (i.e., eliminating uncertainty; gaining the acceptance of peers) - Peer support is perpetuated and facilitated by the First Nation communication style (see below for complete interpretation of communication style).
Sources and resolutions of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** - I think the conflict between two First Nations employees would, on one hand, be less…the risk of it would be lessened because they are in it together in this big organization. So, they would have to <mark>stick together</mark>. - if their family life is infringing on their work life, like it could…like if they are members of two families who are feuding. That impacts their <mark>relationship at work</mark>. - The other thing that they would do is that they would bring in their family members, and they would have either heated discussions, or have their families talk, and sometimes their families can go away and talk. Once their families resolve it sometimes it's resolved between the two of them, depending on what the issue is. If they're fighting over something <mark>personal</mark>, like for example, this one is dating this one's ex-husband or something ...You know, that would cause conflict because, well, you can figure out why it would cause that conflict. - If it was something about their kids are fighting, and now the mothers are upset and they're fighting at work, I mean, that would be the conflict - I can't see them fighting at work over the quality of their work. That wouldn't happen. - I: so if someone does a poor job another employee comes along and says ... There wouldn't be conflict there over poor work? P: No. No. That would never happen. **Answer to 'why' question:** - Lack of <mark>appreciation</mark> for what the Aboriginal employee is doing. Lack of <mark>understanding</mark> of what the lived experience of the Aboriginal person - and that creates conflict with the system because the system is time-oriented. Get your work done…don't bring your <mark>personal stuff to work</mark>. - Well, it depends if the other one is suffering because that one's not doing the work. If that one does a bad job and has no excuse for it, and the boss comes up and says you have to do that job over, there would be conflict. - For an aboriginal group, they would do that but they would <mark>preserve relations of all</mark>, above all things.	

	• if you think way back to the way we used to live a long time ago <mark>where relations were survival</mark>, and I think now that carries through to where we are now with that… <mark>maintaining those relationships is key. You can't advance without those relationships</mark>	

Vertical Relationships: Bottom-up and top-down		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of vertical relationships**
Nature of relationships	**Statement of behavior:** • You're not appreciated, you're isolated, you're spoken down to, you're treated like not very well, yeah. • you don't want to feel stressed all the time that somebody is going to be l<mark>ooking at you like you're not doing your job</mark> or that they are <mark>watching you</mark>, • Its not like, its <mark>not top-down</mark>. "Do this, I want you to do this…I want you to do this first and this and this and this". They will do it, but it wont be as successful because its like, "okay I will do it…I have to do this today…I have to make these arrangements" • It wouldn't be so much of a separation in terms of, I wouldn't be seen having coffee with you. No, that wouldn't work that way. It would be that you could have coffee with them, they're an employee but it <mark>wouldn't be as separate</mark>. • Well, the boss wouldn't say anything to the person who did the poor job. He would talk to the other employee. • so it's not a direct communication to the person who did the poor job? P: Yes. • That trust looks like your boss knows that you can do the work and <mark>appreciates that you can do the work</mark>, and that when they state something to you, and they won't say anything bad, that's trust…<mark>That they're not going to talk about you</mark> **Answer to 'why' question:** • Because you don't want to feel stressed all the time that somebody is going to be looking at you like you're not doing your job or that they are watching you, that your five minutes late that…you know it colors all of your people, like, "typical Indian is always late"… • So that stress is always there, you don't know how you're going to be treated by people who have power over… • There would be more of, even though <mark>you would have to listen to that person</mark>, like they're still your boss, it's more of a <mark>recognition of commonality again</mark>. It wouldn't be so much of a separation in terms of, I wouldn't be seen having coffee with you. No, that wouldn't work that way. It would be that you could have coffee with them, they're an employee but it wouldn't be as separate. <mark>Like sometimes hierarchy separates people</mark> here. • Its that people are, it's more of a <mark>circular thing</mark>. Like <mark>this is your family, these are your relations</mark>. Yes, you're the boss, but it's not like a separation so much as you're still	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Speech here indicates that, similar to horizontal concepts and categories, relationship building is key. Workplace leadership appears to be expected to engage with employees like co-workers would. Do not separate youself! **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Avoid direct conflicts and preserve relationships within and outside the workplace above all. This has a higher priority than task completion and/or quality of work. • Showing appreciation, trust, and respect towards your employees is a vital form of social support – employees are looking for a boss's appreciation, trust, and respect. • Do not separate yourself from your employees – support one another as equals through the development of interpersonal relationships • A top-down approach to leadership will not work because it is the opposite of collaboration. A top-down approach will not work because employees will not feel

	listening to them but you know who each other are if that makes any sense. You know each other. • For an aboriginal group, they would do that but they would ==preserve relations of all, above all things.== • In terms of direct ==conflict-avoidance==, there's direct conflict-avoidance. It's usually around. • Well, it's ==protecting those relationships. It's maintaining the relationships.== It's key, if you learn anything here it that the ==relationships are key.== • You've got a good boss who ==respects your work== and you want to maintain that respect, • It can be achieved through, if you're in a good place and you do you work well, whether you're washing floors, and somebody, your boss is appreciating it. • Because I think trust is a very difficult thing for First Nations people. When you have somebody who trusts, and you trust that person, I think that's a huge, that's that relationship thing. That we've developed a ==good relationship, then we have trust.== • That trust looks like your boss knows that you can do the work and appreciates that you can do the work, and that when they state something to you, and they won't say anything bad, that's trust…That they're not going to talk about you. It's a relationship…a ==trusting relationship.== • Also, if the leadership exemplifies these policies, then ==people down below follow-up right?==	trusted to do their job, comfortable in their environment, socially supported, or feel competent in their own abilities • Enforcing a hierarchical leadership style is contradictory to what employees desire; a hierarchical support style eliminates interpersonal relationship building. • A boss can utilize the development of deep interpersonal relationships to provide context to an employee's work actions (e.g., an employee shows up late because a family member is sick). Without this support from leadership, no context can be provided and misunderstandings occur. Relationships above all! • Social support in the workplace starts with the boss. If the boss is not socially supportive and does not actively facilitate interpersonal relationship building, there may be a low chance of employees doing so.
Leadership Style	**Statement of behavior:** • you don't want to feel stressed all the time that somebody is going to be ==looking at you like you're not doing your job== or that they are watching you, • Its not like, its ==not top-down==. "Do this, I want you to do this…I want you to do this first and this and this and this". They will do it, but it wont be as successful because its like, "okay I will do it…I have to do this today…I have to make these arrangements" • so it's not a direct communication to the person who did the poor job? P: Yes. **Answer to 'why' question:** • So that stress is always there, you don't know how you're going to be treated by people who have power over… • For an aboriginal group, they would do that but they would ==preserve relations of all==, above all things. • You've got a good boss who respects your work and you want to maintain that respect, • It can be achieved through, if you're in a good place and you do you work well, whether you're washing floors, and somebody, your boss is appreciating it. • Also, if the leadership exemplifies these policies, then people down below follow-up right?	

Sources and resolution of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** • You're not appreciated, you're isolated, you're spoken down to, you're treated like not very well, yeah. **Answer to 'why' question:** • Because you don't want to feel stressed all the time that somebody is going to be looking at you like you're not doing your job or that they are watching you, that your five minutes late that…you know it colors all of your people, like, "typical Indian is always late"… • For an aboriginal group, they would do that but they would preserve relations of all, above all things. • In terms of direct conflict-avoidance, there's direct conflict-avoidance. It's usually around.	
	Additional Cultural Model Components	
General Communication style in workplace	**Statement of behavior:** • And then you have people somewhere, they just make off the cuff…they don't mean about you – but they are making comments about other Aboriginal people. • Aboriginal people tend to be more reserved in situations…in cross-cultural situations. They don't generally speak up, they don't generally give their opinions, they don't… • That communication is easier. For example, if the first thing when two Aboriginal people do when they get together they ask each other where they are from. And sometimes if they say, if they introduce each other by name they say, "Oh you from so and so" and they get to talking that way • Yeah they can do that, or they can speak the language or they can wave…or they can talk about what they've done on the weekend or talk about relatives. That kind of thing. • Okay, well there is a lot of that kind of joking that starts it all. People talking about relatives and things…and things that are common to Aboriginal people. • Just things that are common to our reality. • Yeah…its informal and it will last until the beginning of the meeting and then people will start in the meeting. But during the meeting they will be shots of different things going around but it will mainly be in that first… • some of them are related to teasing each other about different things like, if somebody says, "I am really tired today" then they tease them about, "Oh yeah why are you tired?" kind of thing…just those kind of things. • the other thing that they would do is that they would bring in their family members, and they would have either heated discussions, or have their families talk, and sometimes their families can go away and talk • nobody is going to cut you down because of who you are.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Phrases such as 'common ground', 'common experience', and 'common' are frequently used here. Perhaps the nature of communication is to establish closeness and common aspects between people. • Informal communication seems to be preferred judging by words such as jokes, shots, speak the language, etc. • Knowledge and experience are also used relatively frequently. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Communication between employees should consist of teasing, humor, and genuine conversation • All communication should be aimed at relationship building and

- Well, the boss wouldn't say anything to the person who did the poor job. He would talk to the other employee.
- so it's not a direct communication to the person who did the poor job? P: Yes. I: Then it's up to the other co-workers to relay that message? P: To work with the other one to bring them up.
- I don't generally go for a coffee unless it's to meet somebody and then it's that relationship thing.
- No, it's usually about family, it's about what you're doing. It's about things that they've heard. It's [kind of the that Aboriginal piece. Yeah…
- I: Is it ever about work? P: Sometimes it is. People are always saying, "Why are you talking about work?" You know. Sometimes it's complaining about so-and-so's boss or whatever.
- sometimes we do the circle. Oftentimes we do the circle where we do a circle and talk about where we're at, and how people are feeling, that kind of thing
- they need to get extra training around maybe communications, or how to get along with other people,
- we have these things in place so that they have a place they can access if they're not feeling that way. We have things to access for people to talk about, or opportunities where people can talk about these issues that are bothering them.

Answer to 'why' question:
- its just that the notice your different and they don't know how to cross that gap and that gap grows
- But they kind of establish that common ground and then that…that carries on because they establish a common ground, then they establish the common experience so that they know without saying what their experience is…makes it easier for them to speak if that makes sense.
- "I am an Aboriginal person, I am from this community, and this is our experience…this is how we see the world".
- I would say because they share the same…knowledge of who they are and they share the same experiences in this world that being able to make those jokes is a lot easier and the thing about jokes is that it establishes a closeness. So if you can establish a closeness or a link or that commonality then you are...that's an advantage.
- Because it establishes camaraderie that they are working together, that they are in this…they get comfort in work, that kind of thing.
- Even though I am at such a level that they probably wouldn't, but if they didn't know me they might

connecting with one another first and foremost (business may follow afterwards).
- Informal communication is preferred over formal communication – it is more personal and engaging
- It is desirable not to separate work from home life in conversation. It is acceptable to talk about one's family, problems, or anything else not related to work because it informs how work will be carried out.
- Communication is the foundation to interpersonal relationship building, creating an egalitarian work environment, and allowing employees to feel comfortable in their positions. This style of communication is different from non-Indigenous settings but has the effects of facilitating deep interpersonal relationship building. It also allows employees to discover the context or 'baggage' that everyone brings to work with them so they may be socially supportive towards them.
- Engaging in behaviors such as talking circles in the morning or coffee breaks with the aim of relationship building allow the tone for the day to be set – it provides context for where everyone is at and allows the group to figure out how to interact with one another.

	• I: First Nations employees come to a workplace, see each other in the morning, how does that communication take place? P: I think it provides a good…how do you say it…a good way to start the day. • Because I think they establish, like I said, that ==sense of comfort== in your workplace. • I think when you are with your colleagues you want to have an ==informal in your common interactions but the formal would have to follow with your meetings== and the, you know, they stuff…part of the organization you work with. • Just ==teasing== to make – to make the atmosphere a lot more ==easygoing==. • I: Do you think that is the purpose of teasing? For an easy going…P: I think so • I: why is it important to feel like they are part of the process? P: Because that way ==everybody== knows where ==everybody== is going and ==everybody== knows who is supposed to do what…and its not like, its not ==top-down==. • Yes. You know in your families, that's the biggest thing. You ==know where your relations==, and so the separation is great. • I don't generally go for a coffee unless it's to meet somebody and then it's that ==relationship thing.== • Oftentimes we do the ==circle== where we do a ==circle== and talk about where we're at, and how people are feeling, that kind of thing because we ==want to connect that to our work.==	
First Nation Specific Practices Includes: organizational responsibilities to community; organizational responsibilities to employees; employee responsibilities to organization; office space/equipment; hiring practices; scheduling practices; vacation time/time off	**Statement of behavior:** • they can speak the language • Yeah, and then employees have access to smudging every morning. If they would like…It's like a coffee break, you can go for your coffee break and smudge. • They would prefer a set schedule. • When we have the meeting at 9:00, for some people that's very important. For other people, from the community for example who attend that meeting, it's not so important. It's like coming from another world into this world of structure, where you're supposed to be there at 9:00 and they kind of wander in around 9:00. • Some of them take it during Pow Wow season ... if they want to attend certain pow wows. • In the summer, yeah. Some of them, you know, there's a lot of activities during the summer in aboriginal country in terms of pow wows, in terms of ceremonies, sun dances, feasts, a lot of these things. • It's like, it's everything. It's having policies that support cultural confidence, cultural safety, and whether you're talking about a smudging ceremony, or open presence policy, or whatever you're talking about, **Answer to 'why' question:** • The reality of the lived experience of the Aboriginal person often overlaps with a structure like this. Where time is of the essence, get your work done. All of that stuff. It impacts	**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Time-orientation is not as important as grounding one-self (e.g., smudging), relationship building, community, and/or one's lived experience. • Polychronic time – time is not the major focus dictating behavior.

	sometimes in that…and that creates conflict with the system because the system is time-oriented. Get your work done…don't bring your personal stuff to work • so if you're related to, and the boss hires you, often they wouldn't hire somebody who is from an opposing family if that makes any sense. It would be, they would hire people from families that are, that get along well. • Yeah. This last-minute stuff doesn't really work with us. • Because the system on reserve isn't built around the same structures as they are here, like it's not time oriented. People don't have to be at work at a certain time unless they do work in like a band office or something like that, but other people don't usually. • It's like, it's everything. It's having policies that support cultural confidence, cultural safety, and whether you're talking about a smudging ceremony, or open presence policy, or whatever you're talking about, if those policies say that, or respect and dignity. Policies say these things, that people should follow those policies	
Decision making in the workplace	**Statement of behavior:** • I think we would collaborate on the work that needs to be done and then, as a team, decide how we want to do it. And then decide who is going to do what part of that work. • it would be in person because people like to sit in a circle and talk about what needs to be done and feel like they are part of the process. • "Oh, got to have this done by here because of this ... " Okay, we'll kill ourselves to get it done, but if, you know, "We'd like to have it done by here, but we're not sure what's going to happen after," well, that's a very loose deadline, so you prioritize the things that are more, you have to get done. **Answer to 'why' question:** • people like to sit in a circle and talk about what needs to be done and feel like they are part of the process. • that way everybody knows where everybody is going and everybody knows who is supposed to do what…and its not like, its not top-down. "Do this, I want you to do this…I want you to do this first and this and this and this". They will do it, but it wont be as successful because its like, "okay I will do it…I have to do this today…I have to make these arrangements". They can do it but its not as collaborative. And it's the collaborative piece that's important I think. • I think we are community minded and we are…we are not hierarchical I think. So we like to work things out together. • I: you mention that top-down… that doesn't really work as well for First Nations employees? Because of that collaborative? P: Yeah. It is like a clash of cultures. It will work with somebody like me who has been in the system. I know how to work in structures. If somebody comes and says, do this. I can do that knowing that I need to do	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • The words of 'collaborative', community-minded, part of the process all suggest a unique decision making style. • The use of speech describing how decision making is a circle and not hierarchical is frequent as well. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Decisions must be made with the consultation of all in the workplace in order for the buy-in of employees. • Decision making, and resulting consequences, are the responsibility of all and not only a select few. • Decision making should be done in such a way that everyone feels like they are contributing and part of the decision making process. • Collaboration is key in decision making. If there is collaboration,

	this and get permission, do this and get permission. So it's like that. Whereas with the <mark>collaborative</mark> thing it is a lot different.	there is greater buy-in from employees and efficiency in task completion • A lack of collaboration may be seen as a lack of trust on the part of the employee. If this is perceived, and individual will not feel comfortable or competent in their workplace. • The success of the decision relies on a collaborative attitude. With no collaboration there will be a lesser chance of success.
Overall nature of work environment	**Statement of behavior:** • but the ones that feel the most apart are the ones that end up quitting I would say. They don't feel part of…they don't feel like they are a regular employee. • People are including me, I don't feel like I am, you know, just the Aboriginal person working there • people like to sit in a <mark>circle</mark> and talk about what needs to be done **Answer to 'why' question:** • I think when you go to work and you have <mark>good friendships</mark> and you feel <mark>part of the group</mark> and you feel like you're <mark>contributing</mark> and everybody is <mark>working towards the same piece</mark>…I think that makes it really worthwhile as a person…to be…to work in that situations… • People are including me, I don't feel like I am, you know, just the Aboriginal person working there. And those are…those kind of places are very good places. • they kind of establish that <mark>common ground</mark> and then that…that carries on because they establish a <mark>common ground</mark>, then they establish the <mark>common experience</mark> so that they know without saying what their <mark>experience</mark> is…makes it easier for them to speak • They establish that <mark>common ground, that common ground</mark> is – as an Aboriginal person – is in the work space. • So, and where they are from…so they have…they come with all of this, "I am an Aboriginal person, I am from this community, and this is our <mark>experience</mark>…this is how we see the world". So when they see somebody else like that…it's a linking…it's a <mark>commonality</mark> that they can share. • You know, so it <mark>causes a problem. When you accentuate those differences</mark>. • they share the same…knowledge of who they are and they share the same <mark>experiences</mark> in this world	<u>**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):**</u> • A collaborative, equal, and egalitarian environment may be preferred according to highlighted speech. Everyone appears to want to work towards the same goal, a *common* goal. • Creating a work 'community' with the same feelings as the broader community is reflected in this speech • The word 'comfort' was used frequently. <u>**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:**</u> • The ultimate goal of all social interaction (verbal and non-verbal) including supportive behaviors, communication, relationship building, and collaborative decision making is to create an egalitarian community at work. Everyone is valued for their contribution (both personal and work related), respected as an individual and an

- Because it establishes <mark>camaraderie</mark> that they are <mark>working together</mark>, that they are in this…they get comfort in work, that kind of thing. It is just a sense of that <mark>comfort</mark>.
- Because I think they establish, like I said, that sense of <mark>comfort</mark> in your workplace. That this is a good place to be because you have other people who are like you here. And that you have friendships here and things are good.
- Things that are <mark>common</mark> to Aboriginal people.
- Just things that are <mark>common to our reality.</mark>
- Just teasing to make – to make the atmosphere a lot more <mark>easygoing</mark>.
- people like to sit in a <mark>circle</mark> and talk about what needs to be done and feel like they are <mark>part of the process</mark>.
- its not like, its <mark>not top-down</mark>. "Do this, I want you to do this…I want you to do this first and this and this and this". They will do it, but it wont be as successful because its like, "okay I will do it…I have to do this today…I have to make these arrangements". They can do it but its not as <mark>collaborative</mark>.
- Like sometimes <mark>hierarchy separates people here.</mark>
- Its that people are, it's more of a <mark>circular</mark> thing. Like this is your <mark>family</mark>, these are your <mark>relations</mark>. Yes, you're the boss, but it's not like a separation so much as you're still listening to them but you know who each other are if that makes any sense. You know each other.
- Yes, because it's more <mark>comforting</mark> when you're in that environment where <mark>you know everybody's relations</mark>. You know that this is how things work, nobody is going to cut you down because of who you are. Even though there might be fighting in the First Nations, it's not like heaven or anything.
- Well, it's <mark>protecting those relationships</mark>. It's <mark>maintaining the relationships</mark>. It's key, if you learn anything here it that the <mark>relationships are key.</mark>
- You've got a good boss who respects your work and you want to maintain that respect, you have fellow employees who are treating you well, you want to treat them well. <mark>It's like a very good circle. Aboriginal people feel that circle</mark>…when that happens…
- Well, the welcoming environment, the feeling that you've <mark>built relationships</mark> within your unit.
- That knowing their family is in a good place, but that their work environment is in a good place, because all those things kind of meld together. <mark>You've got good relationships</mark>,
- They have this <mark>sense of relationship in their own community</mark>. Having that at work makes them work makes them feel like they are <mark>part of that community</mark>. It's that feeling of community. I don't know how else to say that.
- It is because they know that within the organization people are having a rough time, whether it's their families and friends who are coming into the organization and experiencing negative, having negative experiences, the employees know when people in their unit are saying things, making negative comments because the employee feels that

important part of the group, and trusted.
- A comforting workplace is an egalitarian workplace. Engage in informal communication, relationship building, collaborative decision making/teamwork, and show social support to create a comforting environment.
- An environment that is welcoming, comforting, and egalitarian is seen as the ideal – and only real option – for First Nation employees.
- The foundation of almost all other components! The underlying purpose of creating an egalitarian environment drives the focus on relationships (interconnectedness), which drives the unique – and informal – communication style focused on relationships, which can lead to collaborative attitudes at work. This can lead to competence, trust, responsibility, efficient task completion, comfort, pride, and hard work! This all then feeds back into creating an egalitarian workplace environment. It is the ultimate goal or purpose of an ideal First Nation workplace. Everything appears to be connected to creating and maintaining this type of work environment and style.

	even though it's not directed to them. Creating that organization where people are more understanding and people don't say things like that will make things a lot better. • Yeah. Fitting in and having, being able to feel like you're going to be attacked every time you turn around. • All of these things kind of contribute to this organization being that, culturally confident. It's not just one way, but it results in an organization that patients feel safer and more welcome coming into, and that employees feel safer and more welcome, and able to work in this organization.	
Method of cultural model socialization	**Statement of behavior:** • That's difficult. I think they learn from doing for the most part. • I think for young people it's very difficult, and I think they learn on the job. • Yeah, they do. Like, for example, with me, my daughter, I dragged her around to all my different workshops and things, so she can do workshops. She can do a lot of different things and she saw me do them, so I think for her, and she's always gone to school and she worked, and done schoolwork • Sometimes they learn, sometimes they have mentors at school. • Yeah, it could be grandparents, it could be whoever is there to help with the kids. • Yeah, because you have somebody there who can mentor you. Like if you know somebody who works in welding or something, they say, "Oh, well, you should come work over here," and all of that, "Get a welding certificate" **Answer to 'why' question:** • Also, if the leadership exemplifies these policies, then people down below follow-up right? • For her, I think that part is learned because I learned from my mother. • However, if you work for a family that has, like for example, has not been able to get work, has not been able to because of maybe some, the trauma of residential school. There's a lot of people out there that can't get work, because they can't go into those organizations. They just can't because of the trauma. To subject yourself to that is just too painful, so they have never worked. Their children are at a disadvantage. Their children have to find other ways to get along. • Any of those programs that can support youths to do things I think is important, because if you don't we lose them to things that, because they have to survive, so they start doing survival things and then get in to worse trouble. • I: so really learning how to be a good worker comes through mentorship ... P: I think so. • Yeah, sometimes they go back home and get some more encouragement and strength	<u>**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):**</u> • Principles of experiential learning are present within this speech! <u>**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:**</u> • An employee (young or old) learns work culture and how to be an ideal worker from mentors – or role models – around them. • Role models may be family members but can also be other Indigenous employees that have more experience • A mentor should provide on the job skill training but should also provide encouragement (and consequently strength) to the less experienced employee. • The idea of learning through a mentor implies that learning is best done through 'hands-on' methods. There may be a preference for work to be more interdependent rather than independent due to this. • Mentors can facilitate social support and create an egalitarian workplace. • Mentors can provide encouragement and strength for

	• so then they're encouraged to go get the certificate and then they can go back and they can try to get a job in that organization. That is important, that relationship with other people who are working.	individuals, which may foster confidence and competence.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3" align="center">Work motivation</td></tr>
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Role of Money	**N/A**	**How motivation influences behavior:** N/A
Competence and Professional growth	**Statement of behavior:** • I think that when they come from this different cultural outlook into a very structured, anything that helps them adapt across is very helpful. Yeah, and all training helps. • why they're doing this, products, like anything that makes them feel more accomplished in work **Answer to 'why' question:** • Employees want to have this place to go smudge, because it recognizes who they are. • people like to sit in a circle and talk about what needs to be done and feel like they are part of the process. • I: so does it make them more loyal? Does it make them work harder? What does it do for them? P: Definitely all of those things. • it's grounding who you are and that you fit. That's what it is. • Because they want to do a good job. • They don't expect to come here and just laze around. You know, they want to do a good job. • because it makes them feel like they're actually doing something, and that's really important, that this sense of importance in their work feed them. • I think it feeds their sense of confidence and their sense of accomplishment. It reinforces that they can do something important. • They may, after they get all this training, feel so good about themselves that, you know, maybe I can try for that supervisor position. • You know, getting that training and feeling like you've got the training to do the job and you've done a good job, and then the possibility often doesn't hit people, with the possibility that, you know, maybe I can do a little bit more. That is important. • you like your work because you're appreciated for it. You've had the training, you feel like you can do all the work that's necessary too, so all of those things going well would do it.	<u>**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:**</u> • Competence is facilitated by trust and pride. Foster trust in employees and individual pride to create feelings of competence • Competence is necessary for an employee to feel like they are contributing and successful. • Understanding one's place in the workplace (i.e., how they fit into the environment) contributes to feelings of competence. Grounding oneself in the context of their environment and peers. • A competent employee is a loyal and hardworking employee because they feel like they are successfully contributing to the people and tasks around them. • Facilitating confidence in employees (through showing trust, giving training, handing down responsibilities) will help them feel competent in their jobs. • Continued training is an excellent way to foster confidence and, consequently, feelings of competence.

	• I: It almost seems like being proud in your work is like being competent. You know, like being able to have that confidence to achieve any goal that's set in front of you. P: Yes. I: Is that, am I correct in assuming that? P: Yeah. • It can be achieved through, if you're in a good place and you do you work well, whether you're washing floors, and somebody, your boss is appreciating it.	• Feeling pride is due to a feeling of competence at work. If an individual feel like they can accomplish any goal set in front of them (i.e., they feel competent to do so), they will feel pride in their work – which is a major motivating component. • Competence also is linked closely to fitting in with one's group. In order to feel competent, and individual must feel welcomed and comfortable into their workplace (including feelings that they are trusted and can handle responsibility). This is accomplished through the previously described unique communication style, focus on collaboration, and social support. An employee who feels competent appears to be a highly contributing employee!
Meaning/purpose of work	**Statement of behavior:** • I: Okay, so did they desire that training coming in? Like, you know, the first job in the non-aboriginal world, did they desire that training? P: Yes. I would say so. I: Training to help them adjust? P: Yes. I: Training to advance their job skills? P: Yeah. I: Because that was mostly talking about job skills, but ... P: Yeah, absolutely. • It's important for them to get that training. Whatever it is, like even if they're doing maintenance, or they're washing floors, or whatever, they need to get extra training around maybe communications, or how to get along with other people, why they're doing this, products, like anything that makes them feel more accomplished in work. I think that kind of training is important. • They may, after they get all this training, feel so good about themselves that, you know, maybe I can try for that supervisor position. I've been here this long, I've got all this training, maybe I can get some more training and I can be a supervisor. It's just being able to start thinking, well, you know, this might be possible.	**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Allowing First Nation employees opportunities to progress skills or advance personally and professionally is necessary • When a First Nation employee feels like he or she cannot progress anymore in a position, they will move jobs. • Having a larger purpose in work (could be a larger goal accomplished through work or a goal outside of work) motivates

	• getting that training and feeling like you've got the training to do the job and you've done a good job **Answer to 'why' question:** • I think like for me it was when I feel I get more experience or I got more education, or I've got this, I feel like I need to advance. • I: That motivates someone to work hard? P: Yeah. Because they can meet that and go to the next level	First Nation employees to work hard. • A First Nation employee feels confident and competent when they have opportunities to better themselves and develop their skills. • The concept of competence feeds directly into the concept of having a purpose and constantly progressing. A feeling that one must be competent in the workplace is carried out through a desire to progress skills and work towards a larger goal (a larger goal may be work based like increasing community engagement or non-work based like providing for family) • Having a sense of purpose in the workplace can relate to the idea of an egalitarian work environment wherein an individual must discover how he or she fits in with the group and contributes to a larger good. In order to discover their place in their work environment, components such as social support, communication, and an egalitarian workplace must be present.
Family & Community as motivators	• That really clashes with the Aboriginal way of doing…is that our work is inseparable from our personal lives and you can't just separate those two in our world. • Well, it's protecting those relationships. It's maintaining the relationships. It's key, if you learn anything here it that the relationships are key • Yeah. That sense of community sustains people through the times that aren't as community-oriented. • maybe get more money, and they think about their family is the first place they go. They don't think about, oh, I can buy some new shoes, a new coat or whatever. They might	**How motivation influences behavior:** • A person works to provide resources (including lived experiences) for their family and kinship network. It is important to note that money is part of this, but not the reason why individuals work. Family is everything!

	think, but it's usually their family. I can buy bikes for my kids, or you know, all those things first, and then they think about themselves. • Aboriginal people take their families to work in terms of the Aboriginal lens, • I talked about mainstream people separating the two, this is my home life, this is my work life. Aboriginal people take those things together because when they work, they're not only working for themselves, they're working for their own mother, their kids, their husband, their extended family because all those people depend on that one person who is working. • I think it's something they want because they're proud of being able to help their family, and they know how hard their family struggles, so any help they can give is a good thing ... because family is everything. • Your family is appreciating that you're happy with work and you come home and you're able to put food on the table. All these things makes people happy. • I think because First Nations carry their family around families, our families. Some people go to Fort McMurray to work, and then they send money back. But it's always for your family, no matter if you're working over there, or you're in Europe.	• Family is 'taken' to work in terms of the reasons as to why an individual would work hard. Once again, one motivation for work is to support one's family and not necessarily to provide resources for oneself (e.g., a new vehicle). This motivation for work is inherently non-selfish in nature. • Pride is a positive motivation for work – one way to achieve this pride is to be motivated to work for the right reasons; to provide for your family and make sure they live a good life. • A happy family life, caused by working hard at one's job, creates a happier employee.
Emotional engagement	• I think it's something they want because they're proud of being able to help their family, and they know how hard their family struggles, so any help they can give is a good thing ... because family is everything. • That knowing their family is in a good place, but that their work environment is in a good place, because all those things kind of meld together. You've got good relationships, you like your work because you're appreciated for it. You've had the training, you feel like you can do all the work that's necessary too, so all of those things going well would do it. • I: it's more so, "Everything around me is great, therefore I'm proud in what I'm doing."? P: Yeah. • It can be achieved through, if you're in a good place and you do you work well, whether you're washing floors, and somebody, your boss is appreciating it. Your family is appreciating that you're happy with work and you come home and you're able to put food on the table. All these things makes people happy.	**How motivation influences behavior:** **Pride** • The feeling of pride within an individual can be a motivating component to work. An individual *wants* to feel proud in their work; wants to feel proud that they are able to support their family; wants to be proud that they are contributing to something important through work. • This links with the concept of competence and having a larger purpose at work. **Improvement of self** **N/A**
Work behavior regulations: Social regulation of behaviors		

Cultural Model Component	Participant Description of Component	Researcher interpretation of Component
Kinship network	- Because we are…I think we are community minded and we are…we are not hierarchical I think. So we like to work things out together. - That really clashes with the Aboriginal way of doing…is that our work is inseparable from our personal lives and you can't just separate those two in our world. - f her child gets sick she has got to take time off. She has got to phone in sick. If she phones in sick to many times because her child is sick, the…the organization doesn't like it and they say, "well you can't do that, you have to make sure you are here on time…you know we have been watching your…the times you have been taking sick and you're taking to many sick times" because then they start thinking because you are out partying because you're an Aboriginal person. So then they hold these meetings where they say, "well what are you going to do to solve this problem?" and the single mother is saying well, "what can I do? My child is sick - On the other hand, if their family life is infringing on their work life, like it could…like if they are members of two families who are feuding. That impacts their relationship at work. - I: If there is conflict in the workplace, it's typically because of something outside of the workplace? P: Yeah. - so if you're related to, and the boss hires you, often they wouldn't hire somebody who is from an opposing family if that makes any sense. It would be, they would hire people from families that are, that get along well. - if you think way back to the way we used to live a long time ago where relations were survival, and I think now that carries through to where we are now with that… maintaining those relationships is key. You can't advance without those relationships. - Well, it's protecting those relationships. It's maintaining the relationships. It's key, if you learn anything here it that the relationships are key. - Because then they would know when they had to work and they could arrange for the daycare, and because it's a very complicated thing to look after those kids when you have very few supports, so you have to have that time to make those arrangements. - Sometimes people in the city get to feel isolated because they don't have that, so when they have a chance to do that they race back there and they get some of that. - They don't think about, oh, I can buy some new shoes, a new coat or whatever. They might think, but it's usually their family. - Aboriginal people take their families to work in terms of the Aboriginal lens, - I think it's something they want because they're proud of being able to help their family, and they know how hard their family struggles, so any help they can give is a good thing ... because family is everything.	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** - Family is everything – work and outside life cannot be separated. Consequently, work does not come before family. If a member of a family is ill and it interferes with work, family will take precedence almost every time. An individual will make sure their family and relatives are taken care of before any work task. - Individuals work hard because they want to provide for their family and not only for themselves. The betterment of the community drives this. - If an individual does go to work and consciously knows that something in their family is not well, then he or she will be affected at work (less productive, less social engagement, etc.) - Co-workers are treated like another family. An individual spends considerable time with them each day and, because of a focus on relationship building, employees around an individual have great influence and power over how someone acts at work. This again links back to the idea of social support – if an individual is receiving support then he or she knows she is acting appropriately within the workplace. Similarly, if an individual adheres to the negotiated communication style, is

	• That knowing their family is in a good place, but that their work environment is in a good place, because all those things kind of meld together.	collaborative, and contributes to a welcoming environment it may be seen as contributing to the kinship network (at work) and rewarded through further social interaction.
	• I: it's more so, "Everything around me is great, therefore I'm proud in what I'm doing." P: Yeah.	
	• Well, I think because First Nations carry their family around families, our families. Sometimes families run into problems. Uncle Joe gets cancer, or the mother gets a heart-attack, or the children are sick. All of those things impact on the employee. On one hand, the employee is glad to be able to provide extras to the family; on the other hand, they're still dependent on the family for different things, and sometimes the family issues cause difficulty for the employees if that makes sense.	• Isolation from a lack of familial and kinship contact may cause an individual to leave a workplace and seek this contact – this may also come in the form of vacation or time off.
	• Well, if somebody gets cancer in your family, can you afford to take time off ... take care of them. Can you afford to, all those different things come into play.	
	• Unless you have a disagreement with our family and you move to Europe, and you say, "I'm not having anything to do with you guys anymore," and off you go. But you'll eventually come back and your family knows that.	
	• if you work for a family that has, like for example, has not been able to get work, has not been able to because of maybe some, the trauma of residential school. There's a lot of people out there that can't get work, because they can't go into those organizations. They just can't because of the trauma. To subject yourself to that is just too painful, so they have never worked. Their children are at a disadvantage.	
	• Yeah, because it's kind of like, again, family-oriented.	
	• Yeah, and sometimes people of, uncles or aunts that do that for the family.	
	• Yeah, it could be grandparents, it could be whoever is there to help with the kids.	
	• Yeah, sometimes they go back home and get some more encouragement and strength, and then they come back, or they try different things, or they go buddy. Sometimes if you do a buddy job, I think that's good.	
	• and always being there to help people, having your door open all the time.	
Social regulation of employment behavior	• Its not like, its not top-down. "Do this, I want you to do this…I want you to do this first and this and this and this". They will do it, but it wont be as successful because its like, "okay I will do it…I have to do this today…I have to make these arrangements". They can do it but its not as collaborative. And it's the collaborative piece that's important I think.	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** **Trust**
	• Because I think trust is a very difficult thing for First Nations people. When you have somebody who trusts, and you trust that person, I think that's a huge, that's that relationship thing. That we've developed a good relationship, then we have trust.	• Trust is used as a key motivating social social regulation of behavior. This happens through social relationships. Specifically, if an individual is shown trust (usually through the handing of responsibility from one person to another) then he or she will
	• I: Does it get them to work harder? P: Yeah, it makes them feel good because it reaches that sense of relationship that Aboriginal people crave	
	• For an aboriginal group, they would do that but they would preserve relations of all, above all things.	
	• You've got a good boss who respects your work and you want to maintain that respect,	

| | | reciprocate with hard work, loyalty, and be more likely to contribute to the betterment of the organization. |
| | • because smudging is important to you, you want your other co-workers to respect that you feel better when you smudge, and it makes your workplace better. You want other people to be able to see that and respect that.
• That it's almost like there's a circle in your work of people who know each other, who respect each other, and get along. I think that would be, that's key. | • Trust is only given after an interpersonal relationship is created and maintained. Therefore, it is linked closely with communication style, decision making, social support, and feelings of competence.
• Accompanying trust comes feelings of individual competence. If a manager was to show trust in an employee and give them freedom to accomplish a task (i.e., let the employee decide how to proceed and work), then that employee will feel that the manager deems them competent and it will only serve to increase their own feelings of confidence *and* competence.

Respect
• Respect can be interpreted as being able to express yourself in all capacities in the workplace but still being able to fit in with the larger group
• Along these lines, the concept of respect is used as a governor of how individuals interact in the workplace, how they support/do not support one another, and how hard they work/do not work.
• If an individual has the respect of their employees and boss then he or she will likely reciprocate this respect with hard (and loyal) work, contributing to the group both socially and work wise, and/or |

Broader community influence	- I: how First Nations communities react to hard workers. Are they praised in the community, or are they not praised? P: No, they're praised. - people are praised for their initiative and praised for their ability to help the community - If you're there and you're helping out the community, and you're seen as a good community member, you're good, - Providing resources, helping out like giving back to the community, helping organize things, and always being there to help people, having your door open all the time. - But if they come back to the community and say, you know, "I've got this organization, I want to work with you. Let's get people employed, let's start working," they love you. - But generally, if you're open and you're there for the right reasons and you're not flaunting your wealth, then you should be fine. - People who just look, think after themselves, and they take this money and they buy fancy cars and fancy clothes, and don't do anything with the community, those people aren't thought of very well. That's the difference. - but if you're seen as only feathering your own nest so to speak you're not seen as very well. People talk about them. - I: Talk about them in a negative, like behind their back or directly to them? P: Behind their back. - It depends. Like I said, how they do it. If they're only there to show off their fancy vehicles, and their fancy house, or their fancy clothes, that's not going to go over very well.	ground oneself in the workplace and express individual strengths/weaknesses **How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** - First Nation individuals who return to their community with the purpose of benefitting the community (e.g., providing resources, providing experience) are welcomed no matter if they were successful or not in the non-Indigenous world. - Those who are successful and are now able to benefit their community are praised and their value is seen by the community. This praise comes through positive social interactions and respect. - In contrast, those who return to the community but who do not have any desire to help their community are out casted. This is done through negative social interactions like gossiping and they are generally disrespected. - In general, positive social interactions are used to encourage 'giving back to your community', which is in line with many of the moral codes of Indigenous work.

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Disrupted Cultural Model		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	
Inferiority of skills/abilities by employer	- Because you don't want to feel stressed all the time that somebody is going to be looking at you like you're not doing your job or that they are watching you, that your five minutes late that…you know it colors all of your people, like, "typical Indian is always late"… - Lack of appreciation for what the Aboriginal employee is doing. Lack of understanding of what the lived experience of the Aboriginal person, and outside impact of what…	

	• Creating that organization where people are more understanding and people don't say things like that will make things a lot better. • Then, I think they try to warn them that you might not get hired because you know some people are…they'll say racist and all that kind of stuff, but if you keep trying you will get a job.
Self perceived inferiority of skills/abilities	• but they don't know how to communicate…often don't know how to communicate and that varies by person of course • They grew up in it, so that discussion is a lot easier. An Aboriginal person from outside who hasn't grown up in that culture feels that difference • I think it weakens them. It weakens their ability to adapt and to maintain, to be strong when people say things, or might look at you funny. If you're weak you can't take it. • Would it surprise us coming in here, no. Because we expect things to be done different.
Results focused	N/A
Lack of First Nation specific practices	• It is like a clash of cultures. It will work with somebody like me who has been in the system. I know how to work in structures. If somebody comes and says, do this. I can do that knowing that I need to do this and get permission, do this and get permission. So it's like that. Whereas with the collaborative thing it is a lot different. • The reality of the lived experience of the Aboriginal person often overlaps with a structure like this. Where time is of the essence, get your work done. All of that stuff. It impacts sometimes in that…and that creates conflict with the system because the system is time-oriented. Get your work done…don't bring your personal stuff to work. That really clashes with the Aboriginal way of doing…is that our work is inseparable from our personal lives and you can't just separate those two in our world. But in this world you have to. • say for example you've got a single mother who is working and then her…because she doesn't have the supports that a lot of other people do…if her child gets sick she has got to take time off. She has got to phone in sick. If she phones in sick to many times because her child is sick, the…the organization doesn't like it and they say, "well you can't do that, you have to make sure you are here on time…you know we have been watching your…the times you have been taking sick and you're taking to many sick times" because then they start thinking because you out partying because you're an Aboriginal person. So then they hold these meetings where they say, "well what are you going to do to solve this problem?" and the single mother is saying well, "what can I do? My child is sick. I don't have anybody…sometimes I have somebody who can take care of them while I am at work, sometimes I don't." • For other people, from the community for example who attend that meeting, it's not so important. It's like coming from another world into this world of structure, where you're supposed to be there at 9:00 and they kind of wander in around 9:00. It's two different systems.
Lack of awareness of others	• So, if there is a lunchroom – they are often not invited to be included so they sit apart or they eat someplace else kind of thing. They keep to themselves in their work generally unless they can find some good friendships in the unit. • And then the places where you feel like you are the only Aboriginal person and…people don't treat you like…it's not like they treat you badly often, its just that the notice your different and they don't know how to cross that gap and that gap grows. • They take on those and they become that person in that, but…then there is a barrier…when they enter an organi- if they look Aboriginal, and they enter into an organization that…that is non-Aboriginal, they have an advantage in that they know the culture. They grew up in it, so that discussion is a lot easier. An Aboriginal person from outside who hasn't grown up in that culture feels that difference. • you know and buys on to those stereotypes so there is a stress always there. Like for me within the health region there is a stress always there that people are going to be…treating me a certain way because I am Aboriginal. • ay for example you've got a single mother who is working and then her…because she doesn't have the supports that a lot of other people do…if her child gets sick she has got to take time off. She has got to phone in sick. If she phones in sick to many times

	because her child is sick, the…the organization doesn't like it and they say, "well you can't do that, you have to make sure you are here on time…you know we have been watching your…the times you have been taking sick and you're taking to many sick times" because then they start thinking because you are out partying because you're an Aboriginal person. So then they hold these meetings where they say, "well what are you going to do to solve this problem?" and the single mother is saying well, "what can I do? My child is sick. I don't have anybody…sometimes I have somebody who can take care of them while I am at work, sometimes I don't."
	• And then if you are a single mother and you are just working for the first time, you are not used to this system…you are not used to how things work. You don't have the money to hire daycare. You don't have the money to have somebody take care of your kids. You can occasionally, but maybe not all the time. It gets really complicated for people who are at the poorer end.
	• I: so am I correct in assuming that this separation between boss and employee is not desirable for the typical First Nation employee? P: Yeah, well, it goes against the cultural lens.
	• People gather together during this time, and they reinforce that sense of community and belonging. That is really important. Sometimes people in the city get to feel isolated because they don't have that,
	• I: what about miserable at work? Would it be the exact opposite of that? P: Yeah. You're not appreciated, you're isolated, you're spoken down to, you're treated like not very well, yeah.
	• It is because they know that within the organization people are having a rough time, whether it's their families and friends who are coming into the organization and experiencing negative, having negative experiences, the employees know when people in their unit are saying things, making negative comments because the employee feels that even though it's not directed to them. Creating that organization where people are more understanding and people don't say things like that will make things a lot better.
	• Then the kids get hired, and then they have to learn how to work with other groups, and sometimes if you're working in say, an entry-level position, sometimes you meet the worst kind of people that aren't very supportive.
Lack of direction towards employment goals	N/A
Lack of confidence	• I would say most of them keep to themselves and I notice this in…a lot of them don't feel part of the larger group.
	• Often they can…but often they are…especially if they are new employees, that is difficult.
	• but the ones that feel the most apart are the ones that end up quitting I would say. They don't feel part of…they don't feel like they are a regular employee. They are not treated one, people make comments around them so that it just serves to drive that wedge further until they…
	• I: How do they think they should communicate in the workplace? P: I think they don't know.
	• Aboriginal people tend to be more reserved in situations…in cross-cultural situations. They don't generally speak up, they don't generally give their opinions, they don't…because they are walking that fine line between acceptability and non-acceptability.
	• Very important, because I think that when they come from this different cultural outlook into a very structured, anything that helps them adapt across is very helpful. Yeah, and all training helps.
	• If they have bad experiences, they're not going to go back. That's another thing that dissuades people from getting on with it.

William Combined within-case matrix

Horizontal Relationships (co-worker to co-worker)		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of horizontal relationships**
Nature of relationships among co-workers	**Statement of behavior:** • everyone sat around a table, had coffee and little snacks and whatever, but for that first hour, everyone was just like, "How's Fred? How's Nola? How are things at home? Oh, nephew's missing school again." Then, it goes almost like a support system. • The first 15, 20 minutes of that is just saying how the weekend was, how everyone's feeling • also encourage them to say, "You're valued, so you need to take off. If you want to enjoy yourself, you need to refresh, you need to regroup, so you're better and healthy to help other people." • After that they take you visiting around every department and getting to know everybody's whole bio about everybody. What their work all entails and if you need anything come to me for this. • Within that first hour, people were able to go smudge, then come for a cup of coffee. Having that and always that space to... We're very strong ceremonial, spiritual wise. If something happens throughout the day, where you need that down time, you need a breather, you need to just meditate or whatever, that room is always available. **Answer to 'why' question:** • We're really relationship-based • Their relationships are just more genuine, more, again, like I said, family-oriented. To goes back to kinship. We had that sense of cooperation community-minded. Our focus is our community. • I think when we have those relationships and we have that understanding of, "Yeah, we're not in the hierarchical structure." • but when you have the common understanding of what people are doing or what people are going through, it allows you to just be more human. • It was that common understanding like we're all in this together, and if we don't know what each other's lives are, how can we understand who's going through what right now? • If I'm expecting Michael to be on top of it and produce this, this, this, but then in the morning, if I hear that you're going through something, I'm like, "Okay, maybe this could wait until the afternoon or the next day or I won't be too hard on them."	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Concepts of being *human* and the idea of humanity is presented within this text. The purpose of peer support is to genuinely show an individual that he or she is valued, appreciated, and is an important part of the larger work system. Ultimately, having these present will make an individual feel mentally and physically healthier. Grounding oneself in spirituality is part of this – as it is mentioned multiple times that an individual should understand where they fit into the larger system (i.e., a community). • Multiple mentions of a support *system*, relationship *building*, or kinship *ties* implies that the peer support in the workplace is a process that cannot be done quickly. The overall positive nature used in this speech implies that this construction is desirable. It is interpreted that the purpose of this relationship building is to provide humility (i.e., context). **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Getting to know one another on a deep and personal level is the first and foremost goal for First Nation employees. Relationship building is above all and supersedes talking or focusing on work

	• I: Would you say that hour was essential? P: Yeah. It just feels a more ==cohesive== working environment. • Both. We ==had each others' backs==. We knew how each other were feeling. • I think that ==relationship building== is key. • In First Nation's communities, you don't have to take extra days off. It's apparent if you need time. It's more ==flexible== within that setting. • Absolutely because we go back to those ==kinship ties==, and we say we give relevance to the importance of the ==kinship ties==. It's really important to our ==communities==. • It's always maintaining that ==close relationship== and communication. • you need to regroup, so you're better and healthy to help other people." • First Nation's people who are very spiritual people that we're ==always needing to have outlets somewhere==, some place, some how. • I: Having that room dedicated for that, what does that do for that employee? P: Again, it helps ==calm, concentrate, connect.==	alone. Rather, relationship building and peer support is seen to enhance well-being and efficiency at work because it provides important context. • The nature of relationship building is informal and any associated actions (e.g., talking in a circle) comes *before* work even starts. It is seen as a crucial part of the day. • Relationship building provides *common* understanding between individuals which provides important context as to why work is, or isn't, being accomplished. • Work and 'outside' life should not be separated. Rather, talking about one's life outside of work can be seen as a facilitator to peer support in the workplace. • Being able to 'ground' oneself in the context of spirituality is seen as important to peer support because it provides context for others. Figuring out how you fit into the workplace is part of grounding and it helps to facilitate peer support (i.e., it provides context for those around you) because it allows for easier relationship building. • Showing social support is seen as necessary and a part of being human (see keywords for further explanation on humanity). To show social support is to fit in with the ideal of being an honorable person. • Relationship building leads to flexibility and trust – two important elements of work for First Nation employees. • Humility is one underlying principle to peer support. Humility is a key teaching in Indigenous culture, as individuals are taught to be humble and understanding of others. Humility can only happen if an
Sources and resolutions of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** • Every morning, they need to get up and smudge. If there's conflict in the workplace, that's what a lot of employees do. • Their executive director, if there is conflict, they'll take people into a room and talk and say, "We're ==in a safe space==. How could we ==resolve this constructively==?" **Answer to 'why' question:** • == == I: one thing that would cause conflict is a lack of relationship building? P: Yeah, absolutely. I find some organizations, it's like sterile. There's no room to ==develop those relationships.== • It's one of our teachings of being ==humble== and being ==humility==. Everything happens to us for a reason, and we always think that the creator ==humbles== you. • We're all ==human==. We all make mistakes. That's where that ==humility== comes in	

		individual knows another individual on a deep and personal level. One goal of peer support in this manner to is to coincide with the teaching of humility. • Efficient work is caused by relationship building. It is only after an employee gets to know another on a deep, personal level that they may understand how another employee fits within the work system. Consequently, they then may be able to identify who they should go to for task help, advice, etc.

Vertical Relationships: Bottom-up and top-down		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of vertical relationships**
Nature of relationships	**Statement of behavior:** • Again, I remember sitting down with my supervisor. She's the executive director of our clinic and saying, "I know this thing is coming up," and again, it's really personalizing, and saying, "We have all these duties to do. Where do you feel?" • Where do you feel more connected in doing this, and how can I help you get there? • Their executive director, if there is conflict, they'll take people into a room and talk and say, "We're in a safe space. How could we resolve this constructively?" • When you engage in your staff, and you engage in your individuals, you're creating better working relationship with your community. You're capacity building • The director again invites you for coffee one-on-one, invites it to the whole committee, room meeting and it runs. It's just a feeling of community • We're trying to build our base of support. • It really makes sense that those supervisor and those managers do explain that to their employees, right? **Answer to 'why' question:** • they'll take people into a room and talk and say, "We're in a safe space. How could we resolve this constructively?" • With a woman was in charge. Far more welcoming, far more engaging, far more willingness and open communication.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Words such as engage, support, collaborative, open, flexible, and personalizing all represent a unique management style. The overwhelming presence of these words, along with synonyms, speaks to the importance of this concepts when leading a group of First Nation employees. • The idea of valuing an employee also appears to be key and may be seen as the purpose behind a supportive management style. If an employee feels valued, then he or she will feel competent and will be better at their jobs. This approach is not only more humanizing, it is more efficient for work.

	• if we're requiring this person to have five years experience in a degree and if we <mark>see the value</mark> and the skill set of an individual … I just think that if we see those two individuals and we see that education is really prohibiting someone to get a job or progress, I think we're more willing to say, let's give them a chance. This person has the <mark>passion, the willingness</mark> to do it. Let's <mark>honor</mark> that or let's see where <mark>this person can thrive.</mark> They're willing to do it. How can we help them in supporting them getting there? I think we're more <mark>flexible</mark>.
Leadership style	**Statement of behavior:** • It's not saying, "This needs to be done here, this time," very linear process, whereas it's more, like you said, it's <mark>more that collaborative piece.</mark> • I think it's that <mark>fluidity</mark> and that <mark>flexibility</mark> for the employee to come to the executive director and say, "What up with this? What are your thoughts about this? I have this option. What do you think about this?" • Again, it's more or less that <mark>mentoring</mark> and <mark>coaching</mark> kind of philosophy. That way, the executive director can say, "Maybe, you do need <mark>support</mark> here, and maybe, that's something we could bring in professional develop and help you, so then, when we're faced with this situation in the future, You have <mark>more tools in your toolbox."</mark> • You still have to sit down with your employees and tell your work plans, and with that comes deadlines. That's where that <mark>mentorship and that coaching</mark>- • You need to have this. We would <mark>work with you</mark>, like would you be willing to ... we wouldn't pay you here but we'd pay a little bit lower until you get that and we'll work with you to get there. Maybe if you need night classes or a day off a week to do that, we'll work with you to get that. **Answer to 'why' question:** • Sure, I'm your executive director, maybe, but <mark>I'm here to support you in any way, shape, or form.</mark> • I think it's more <mark>collaborative</mark>, again. • Sitting down with someone, getting to know their strengths and weaknesses and <mark>understanding</mark> and not jeopardizing that task that needs to be done by putting unnecessary tasks on someone that you know they can't do it. • Then, it's instead of being cause and effect and discipline, it's more of that effective way to help you reach that goal better in the future. What are some <mark>supports</mark> you need? It's very, <mark>very, collaborative</mark>. • I think it goes back to what I was saying, we're less likely to be black and white, rigid. I think that's <mark>a fluidity and flexibility</mark> of our organizations.	**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • Facilitating a great experience for employees is the first duty of a manager or leaders. This means being able to provide everything an employee needs to be successful – but this does not only stay within the work realm. Once again, the concept of relationship building element is the key facilitating step that allows a manager to support their employees. It allows a manager to identify strengths and weaknesses (which allows for efficient task completion) as well as an air of understanding. This context of understanding allows a manager to interpret why or why not an employee is accomplishing their goals. • Fluidity, flexibility, and collaboration are the key elements to leading a group of First Nation employees. A rigid, top-down, approach will be counter productive because it eliminates the relationship building aspect of the workplace that is important to First Nation employees. • Supporting employees includes providing every possible resource so they may further their skills. If an employee fails at a task, it is not punished or ostracised. Instead, it is seen as an opportunity for the manager to help the employee improve themselves for the future (e.g., provide training opportunity) • Interconnectedness is the underlying purpose for this management style. A workplace that is connected, has deep

	- We wouldn't say like we just hire anybody. We would say, are you willing to go back and get that degree. We're willing to work with you to get there because <mark>we value that</mark> and we need this expertise. - Also it's more of that <mark>collaborative approach</mark> where it's like if you don't have it then no, sorry you're out [non-Indigenous workplaces]. - I: Having that responsibility and that trust from a manger is key almost for an Indigenous employee? P: Absolutely.	relationships, and is collaborative is an efficient and more *human* way of working. Relationships and connectedness between people are first and foremost – efficient work will inevitably follow.
Sources and resolution of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** - Their executive director, if there is conflict, they'll take people into a room and talk and say, "We're in a safe space. How could we resolve this <mark>constructively</mark>?" **Answer to 'why' question:** - they'll take people into a room and talk and say, "We're in a safe space. How could we resolve this <mark>constructively</mark>?"	
Additional Cultural Model Components		
General Communication style in workplace	**Statement of behavior:** <mark></mark> and for us to <mark>laugh in a genuine nature</mark> within a work setting <mark>allows us to understand.</mark> - I: It is pretty informal talk? P: Yeah. It is. Reviewing your questions, it comes onto that communication. <mark></mark> I remember when I worked within the health center in the community, every morning, we started work at 8, but between 8 and 9, everyone sat around a table, had coffee and little snacks and whatever, but for that first hour, everyone was just like, "How's Fred? How's Nola? How are things at home? Oh, nephew's missing school again." Then, it goes almost like <mark>a support system.</mark> - If I'm expecting Michael to be on top of it and produce this, this, this, but then in the morning, if I hear that you're going through something, I'm like, "Okay, maybe this could wait until the afternoon or the next day or I won't be too hard on them." - I: Non-welcoming. That 8 to 9 hour, you guys did that every day? P: Yeah. I: Every day? P: Every day. - Sometimes, there were <mark>heavy conversations</mark> in the morning, but again, it's one of those teaches of <mark>humility in our culture</mark> - I: When a group of First Nation's employees get together for a meeting, say, in the afternoon, is it that same sort of idea where your first 15 minutes are set aside informal? P: Yeah. I: Same purpose behind that? P: Yeah. Absolutely. - We get together every Monday. The first 15, 20 minutes of that is just saying how the weekend was, <mark>how everyone's feeling</mark>.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (<mark>analyzed text is highlighted</mark>):** - Once again, the idea of relationship building is evident in the speech regarding communication style. Along with it, the concepts of humility, being humble, understanding, and feelings are closely tied to relationship building. This informal and relationship-based communication style has its roots in understanding others, creating strong ties between individuals, and contributing to a genuine feeling workplace (i.e., feel like people care about your well-being). **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** - Informal communication is preferred over formal communication because it facilitates relationship building

	- She's the executive director of our clinic and saying, "I know this thing is coming up," and again, it's really personalizing, and saying, "We have all these duties to do. Where do you feel?" - Where do you feel more connected in doing this, and how can I help you get there? - It's not saying, "This needs to be done here, this time," very linear process, whereas it's more, like you said, it's more that collaborative piece. - I think it's that fluidity and that flexibility for the employee to come to the executive director and say, "What up with this? What are your thoughts about this? I have this option. What do you think about this?" - the executive director can say, "Maybe, you do need support here, and maybe, that's something we could bring in professional develop and help you, so then, when we're faced with this situation in the future, You have more tools in your toolbox." **Answer to 'why' question:** - We're really relationship-based - When I say that laughter component, it's a very family-oriented relationship. - Their relationships are just more genuine, more, again, like I said, family-oriented. - I think it allows us to be more forgiving - Forgiving. It's one of our teachings of being humble and being humility. - It [work] can't be perfect all the time, and for us to laugh in a genuine nature within a work setting allows us to understand. We're all human. We all make mistakes. That's where that humility comes in. - I: Would you say that hour was essential? P: Yeah. It just feels a more cohesive working environment. I: Same purpose behind that? P: Yeah. Absolutely. - It always re-establishes both relationships and communicating what we're doing. - I think it goes to show the impact of our healthcare team to have established those relationships with our community to say, "You know what? Come get tested. - They probably don't have that same structure or that relationship that's really connected with what the health center did. It goes back to those meetings. It goes back to creating those lasting relationships and those strong community ties with the organizations. - I think, that really takes people off guard because it's very white and black. we're less likely to be black and white, rigid.	- A more 'personal' and engaging style of communicating at work is desired. This includes talking about emotions, feelings, and having genuine conversations with one another. - It is interpreted that a group at work sees themselves as a community – and the same principles governing the broader community (e.g., family first; relationship building; giving back to community) is mirrored within work settings. Work is a smaller version of community. Due to this assumption, people don't treat each other as co-workers only but as family members. Thus, individuals talk to one another like they are family (i.e., family orientated relationship) - Communication is the key to humility. This relationship-based communication style facilitates the key teaching of humility – or understanding where everyone is coming from. This contextual information is gathered through informal talk and used closely to inform work decisions, tasks, etc. - Community-minded individuals are another underlying purpose as to why this communication style is perpetuated. Individuals want to create a sense of community within their work setting, so they communicate in the same manner with their co-workers as they would the rest of the community (including family).
First Nation Specific Practices Includes: organizational	**Statement of behavior:** Other works that I've been with are not Indigenous communities where it's like you show up at 8, and you just get to work. Then, at 10 o'clock, then you have your coffee. Then, 3 o'clock, you can have coffee again, lunch.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** The concepts of fluidity, flexibility, taking 'down time', meditating, or taking a breather highlights the fact that First

| responsibilities to community; organizational responsibilities to employees; employee responsibilities to organization; office space/equipment; hiring practices; scheduling practices; vacation time/time off | • First Nation's... We know we need to keep up with the reports and the financials and different things like that, but we just do it a different way.
 • First Nation's communities just do it a different way, but they still have those end goals in mind.
 • Then if, like my cousin, Lois, passed away a couple years ago. When I was filling out my leave report for the city, it was like, "Is it an immediate family member?" And I was like, "No," but then I do consider him? My family lives outside Saskatoon. Travel to there. In the opportunity to have that morning period
 • In First Nation's communities, you don't have to take extra days off. It's apparent if you need time. It's more flexible within that setting.
 • I: I'm wondering if you can tell me specific First Nation policies that you would view as essential for a First Nation employee in the workplace? P: Ceremonial time.
 • Remember I said that one hour in the morning? Back to the health center, we had the opportunity to... We had a ceremonial room. Within that first hour, people were able to go smudge, then come for a cup of coffee.
 • where you need that down time, you need a breather, you need to just meditate or whatever, that room is always available.
 • the United Way working within developing a ceremonial, spiritual room for people to either smudge or again, just have some time to reflect and meditate.
 • Every morning, they need to get up and smudge
 • A lot of our support staff, community health representatives, dietitians, they would always have a flexible schedule,
 • They're able to be flexible with their time, especially working with elders. Somehow they need time to take them shopping, to do their laundry

 Answer to 'why' question:
 • If you want to make change in your community, you need to do it. They're able to be flexible with their time, especially working with elders. Somehow they need time to take them shopping, to do their laundry. The home health care aids are huge within our community and it's those elders that's really driving the vision of our community.
 • I: How do First Nation's employees use vacation time? Is it for those funerals? Is it for ceremonies, those sort of things? P: I think it's over and above those things. If you don't provide that, you're going to have staff burn out and have resentment. | Nation employees do not believe work should be central to their lives. Their own and the community's well-being comes first and foremost over employment. Employment is important but well-being should not be sacrificed for it.

 Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:
 • Family is not considered only to be immediate family – cousins are considered to be brothers and the entirety of the kinship system is family.
 • Ceremonial, or spiritual time, is seen as necessary for First Nation employees. It offers individuals an opportunity to become grounded and take a break from any stress work may cause. Taking time for oneself to reflect, meditate, and make yourself healthy and balanced again may be interpreted as a First Nation specific component that is not practiced in on-Indigenous settings.
 • A flexible schedule is preferred among First Nation employees because it allows for community, family, and kinship responsibilities to be fulfilled. Work should not get in the way of those primary duties. The example of individuals leaving the workplace to help elders within the community only serves to back this up.
 • It is important to make note of the words 'we just do it in a different way…still have those end goals in mind'. First Nation communities have the same end goals as non-Indigenous communities; they just operate in a different system - a more human-centered system. |

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		Social Social regulation of behaviors governing behaviors/moral codes: • Providing for kinship network through work; community **Motivations formed by moral codes/social social regulation of behaviors:** • Responsibility to community/kinship; pride
Decision making in the workplace	**Statement of behavior:** • where people come together and say, "Our company vision is this, and what are ways to do this?" • I: one of the things that came out in the first interview was that people, because of that relationship building, know each other's strengths and weaknesses. P: Yeah, absolutely. • Then, knowing how each other's strengths are, then we can say, "Keisha, I remember you're posting about this, that, that. Would you be able to help in the social media strategy?" "Yeah, yeah. That's something I really like doing." "Chantell, you have background in engaging sponsors. You want to help us develop a sponsorship package?" "Sure." If it wasn't for that relationship building and the communication upfront, then we wouldn't have... • If it's a collaborative effort, we're like, "Okay, we're going to need help in this. Let's pull in Andrew and Brenda to help around this part. We'll work together to get this." It's like that. It's more of that kind of approach. • You still have to sit down with your employees and tell your work plans, and with that comes deadlines. • Going back to our governing systems a long time ago was very ... woman were at the center of a lot of decision making. There was elder councils and women councils. No decisions were ever finalized without hearing from those councils. It was always the women that had the weight behind the say of whether they should go to war or whether you know like ... That's why I think a lot of our Indigenous communities were very collaborative **Answer to 'why' question:** • I think that's the best way I can describe it is everyone contributes some point of that common goal of the organization.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • The phrases of together, common purpose, consensus, and collaborative highlight the underlying theme of why decision making is carried out in this way. Independence and top-down decisions do not fit within this paradigm. • The idea that decision making is a circle further reinforces the idea that a top-down approach doesn't work. A circle allows for mistakes, re-works, and adaptation but does not necessarily impede the decision making process. A circle is seen as a stronger alternative to a hierarchy – where if something goes wrong the entire decision making process suffers. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • A top-down approach to decision making will not work in First Nation communities. It is certainly not as effective as an approach where all get a say in the process and have the real potential to influence the outcome. Essentially, the key to decision making in First Nation workplaces is collaboration.

	• when you look at it as a hierarchy, it could come crumbling down fast, but if you look at it as a circle, everything still continues to move in a circle, and sometimes, people will just need to take breaks or whatever throughout, • Again, it's more of that collaborative approach where people come together and say, "Our company vision is this, and what are ways to do this?" • One of the ways is always bringing together the community for a common purpose. • If it wasn't for that relationship building and the communication upfront, then we wouldn't have... We're in this meeting and we're going to go. I think that relationship building is key. • Sitting down with someone, getting to know their strengths and weaknesses and understanding and not jeopardizing that task that needs to be done by putting unnecessary tasks on someone that you know they can't do it. • Then, it's instead of being cause and effect and discipline, it's more of that effective way to help you reach that goal better in the future. What are some supports you need? It's very, very, collaborative. • That's why I think a lot of our Indigenous communities were very collaborative • There was always that idea of consensus, right? Let's work together in consensus to where it's beneficial to everybody. • When I say are they valued, are they contributing to decision making within their organizations? If they're not then their just on staff as a token person. Their not really there, in any capacity making any kind of change that would benefit the overall organization in a good way • You put that responsibility on everybody, that we have an obligation to do right in our community. I think, it's always that ingrained…like one of our philosophies. It's always responsibility.	• With collaboration comes elements of relationship building (i.e., strengths and weaknesses of other employees identified and used; communication style) and feelings of competence. If an employee feels like they are a critical part to the decision making process, he or she will feel trust and pride. Ultimately, this will only serve to increase feelings of competence and hard work! • This style of decision making is more efficient for First Nation employees because an individual will be able to work according to their strengths, a manager will be able to understand the context that surrounds an employee, and there will be less mistakes in the efficient allocation of tasks. • Everyone is working towards a common goal: to improve the environment and people around them (creating a sustainable and healthy community). There is an internal drive to always better the situation or context around you. This idea will drive a great many things (i.e., communication style, peer support, etc.) but is key for decision making. If everyone is not benefitting in some way, then it is not a good decision and probably won't be respected.
Overall nature of work environment	**Statement of behavior:** • Sitting down with someone, getting to know their strengths and weaknesses and understanding and not jeopardizing that task • I: Would you say it creates that welcoming environment? It just contributes even more? P: Absolutely, absolutely. Like even right now, the United Way working within developing a ceremonial, spiritual room for people to either smudge or again, just have some time to reflect and meditate.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • It is important to note the use of the word 'circle' when describing an egalitarian workplace environment. The idea that this participant presented through speech is that a hierarchy style of work is not compatible with the Indigenous way of

- The director again invites you for coffee one-on-one, invites it to the whole committee, room meeting and it runs. It's just a feeling of community. After that they take you visiting around every department and getting to know everybody's whole bio about everybody. What their work all entails and if you need anything come to me for this. There's always that.
- Having that ability to express their culture and their traditions.

Answer to 'why' question:
- When I say that laughter component, it's a very family-oriented relationship.
- I think when we have those relationships and we have that understanding of, "Yeah, we're not in the hierarchical structure." That is a big nature of our institutions, but more or less, we work in a circle. We're all part of that circle and make up that circle of wellness for our communities. I think that's the best way I can describe it is everyone contributes some point of that common goal of the organization.
- I think that's why... If someone falters or if someone gets…when you look at it as a hierarchy, it could come crumbling down fast, but if you look at it as a circle, everything still continues to move in a circle, and sometimes, people will just need to take breaks or whatever throughout, but when you have the common understanding of what people are doing or what people are going through, it allows you to just be more human.
- Very kind of institutionalized and non-welcoming.
- Sometimes, there were heavy conversations in the morning, but again, it's one of those teaches of humility in our culture. It's just like no one's better than each other. We're all in here.
- I think it's the work of those co-workers that there's a strong community feel in that organization that allowed us to maintain and develop that data to say, now, let's make improvements in our healthcare system.
- Sitting down with someone, getting to know their strengths and weaknesses and understanding and not jeopardizing that task that needs to be done by putting unnecessary tasks on someone that you know they can't do it.
- Then, it's instead of being cause and effect and discipline, it's more of that effective way to help you reach that goal better in the future. What are some supports you need? It's very, very, collaborative.
- I think that's really needed within organizations, to take upon themselves to offer opportunities for people to, of all faiths, to have that opportunity, especially First Nation's people who are very spiritual people that we're always needing to have outlets somewhere, some place, some how.
- Yeah, there's no gray areas. It's all like self orientating. You know what I mean? Where they give you a binder and here's all of our policies and procedures. Have fun!

life. Working in a circle, and having everyone part of that circle (circle of wellness) is compatible. It creates a sense of community within an organization which creates a comfortable setting for employees to engage in. This circle is the foundation of the cultural model.

<u>Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:</u>
- An egalitarian workplace is the culmination of almost every other component identified. It is the ultimate purpose or creation that First Nation men and women strive for in the workplace. An egalitarian workplace is mirrored from an egalitarian community. In particular, employees feel the need to re-create the strong community feel in their workplaces. This is the reason why employees engage in intense relationship building activities (e.g., decision making; peer support; communication). Once again, the concept of a circle appears. When everything works as a circle, everything is equal and everyone is an intricate and valued part of it. It is the foundation for all other components. There is no hierarchy in a circle.
- The concepts of interconnectedness, relationship building, and community are all present within this desired egalitarian workplace environment.

	Whereas it's just a totally different culture when you look at First Nations ways of …maybe onboarding staff. • I: How does that typically run for First Nations? P: It's very communal. • I think it's the same way, with onboarding, with European, but I think it's just that familiarity with Indigenous organizations where you just a bit more welcomed. • There's just that underlying comfortableness Indigenous people feel when they walk in. I think said if before. Real sterile [non-Indigenous workplaces] • With a woman was in charge. Far more welcoming, far more engaging, far more willingness and open communication. Whereas over here it's just very abrupt, very cold and a stern way of doing business. • That's why I think a lot of our Indigenous communities were very collaborative • I think we're more flexible. • I think that's a fluidity and flexibility of our organizations • you're always working for that common better group in your community, right? It's a different mentality, it's a different ... • You put that responsibility on everybody, that we have an obligation to do right in our community. I think, it's always that ingrained…like one of our philosophies. It's always responsibility.	
Method of cultural model socialization	**Statement of behavior:** • sit down with your employees and tell your work plans, and with that comes deadlines. That's where that mentorship and that coaching- • f you have that person always working, always contributing you see the value of that hard work at a young age. You see the value of personal sacrifice, commitment and that responsibility to trust that that person on themselves in order to make sure that it's passed onto their kids and then those kids understand that that's hard. • The hell with this. I'm not going to stay on welfare. I'm not going to not work. We lived in poverty. We grew up in poverty so I'm not going to have that for my kids • I really think that parents that have jobs and show that commitment and dedication • I remember those teachings from our grandparents. Again, it always goes back to those teachings Wahkotowin - it's living the good life • The elders would always say make sure you get up and you work hard in life • That all comes into teachings of respect, addiction free lifestyle and all that. **Answer to 'why' question:** • I think it's so important because if you don't have that immediate role model in your life, like a parent or guardian that is working, that has huge implications either on the education levels of those students, of their kids.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Value is a keyword that appears within this text. Specific values include personal sacrifice, commitment, responsibility, dedication, and respect. It is entirely possible that these are the key teachings mentors are trying to pass on to less experienced employees/youth and, therefore, form the ideal of how a worker should engage in their tasks. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • It is evident that First Nation employees learn how to work through mentorship and coaching. Specifically, this observation may come through family members or other Indigenous employees with more experience. It appears that it is up to the

	- if they do not see the value in education or employment at a young age and if they're parents it's going to be kind of inherently okay to not do good in school and not achieve those good grades. - You see the value of personal sacrifice, commitment and that responsibility - They understand that that commitment and that responsibility came at a cost - I really think that parents that have jobs and show that commitment and dedication … There kids are more willing to go to school and have that concept of getting a job later in life then someone who hasn't. - There are so many Indigenous people out there that do not finish school. I'm just scared because that's going to have such a huge implication on future generations. - I think, it's those role models at that young age that will really instill those concepts of the value of working and the value of contributing. The concept of giving back to your value	mentor to teach the youth member or employee key concepts such as: hard work; personal sacrifice; commitment; responsibility; dedication; respect. - It is interpreted that the concept of Wahkotowin guides mentors in their teachings of youth and younger employees. Elders are key in this mentorship. - Community and seven generational thinking applies here. This mentorship idea is done because interpretational relationships are fostered and everyone is wanting to contribute to the betterment of the community (work or otherwise). If individuals learn from a positive role model about how to contribute and how to work hard, then these values will be passed on between generations and the community will only benefit from it.

Work motivation

Role of Money	N/A	**How motivation influences behavior:** N/A
Competence and Professional growth	**Statement of behavior:** - I think if an organization can do that and instill that pride and determination - building their capacity within the organization and within themselves - It's instilling that pride and determination of someone - If you have build on something, that individual, they're going to be more willing to work harder, be confident in their skill set, so they can contribute the most. - You're building that level of self-esteem and encouragement in that individual. - I think that it gets really hard for Indigenous people to come out and say I'm a leader and blah blah blah. I'm this and I'm that **Answer to 'why' question:** - Acceptance. I think it comes down to those fundamentals. - Is it a tokenize position, are they truly valued in their organization?	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** - Building, contributing, instilling are all keywords that emerged when talking about competence. This implies that it is a process to help an individual feel competent in their skill-sets. - Words such as acceptance, valued, assurance, and being taken seriously are evidence of the outcomes instilling competence/confidence can have for an individual. It is also evidence of *how* to instill competence (i.e., make employees feel valued, take them seriously).

- When I say are they ==valued==, are they ==contributing== to decision making within their organizations? - I think those things like being ==valued== and ==being taken seriously== as an employee. - Again, I think it's really important because it gives you that feeling of ==satisfaction== that you're good at something and you have something to ==contribute== so you feel part of the team. You're taking that ==ownership== - I think if an organization can do that and ==instill== that ==pride and determination== of someone then those characteristics ... you're touching on those characteristics of ==building their capacity== within the organization and ==within== themselves. - That then again can go further on into their own families, right? Because a lot of our people live in poverty. They need that extra ==assurance== of saying, ==yeah I can do this.== It goes back to the basic fundamentals of ==being good at something.== - I: That confidence can lead to what? Is it greater efficiency, is it working harder, is it more loyal to the organization? P: All of those things. - If you have ==build== on something, that individual, they're going to be more willing to work harder, be confident in their skill set, so they can contribute the most. Say, okay maybe I have this other idea, maybe I can do this. You're ==building== that level of self-esteem and encouragement in that individual. - A lot of our teachings are humbleness, being humble - You'd really ==contribute== lots of professional associations, and they say, "but I'm not a professional. I'm not anybody out of so and so to consider myself an professional." We have to say what you're doing in the community you're ... We have to always reassure them what you are. - It's allowing those people to say that they're experts in their field so it's really hard. I had pressure earlier to about that concept of humility. You don't really understand that you're an expert there in that profession because ==you're always working for that common better group in your community==, right? - I: Does that then fuel feelings of confidence and those sorts of things? Just one after another it seems like? P: Absolutely.	**<u>Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:</u>** - Competence and resulting confidence is the key path to hard work and pride. When an individual feels competent in their skills and task completion, their confidence soars. As a result, they work harder at future tasks and feel increased loyalty towards that organization. As a result, they take pride in the work they are doing, which only furthers feelings of confidence. It is a mutually beneficial relationship. - Determination is a result of competence. If an individual feel competent in their skill set, they will approach job tasks with increased determination (leading to hard work), - An individual can also feel competent when they are valued within an organization (through peer and leadership support; decision making) and when they feel like they are contributing towards a larger goal. This serves to increase self-esteem and confidence because they are fulfilling a fundamental component of the cultural model: creating an environment where everyone benefits (community; relationship building; interconnectedness). - Feelings of competence fuels feelings of individual pride. However, it is not pride in the sense that the individual feels like they are improving the situation for themselves, but pride in the sense that they are able to help everyone around them. If an individual feel competent in their job, then it is likely they will feel more confident that they can provide for those

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		around them – hence instilling further pride.
		• This is reinforced by the teaching of humility, which discourages bragging about individual skill sets but favors bragging about how much an individual has helped those around them. It is not outright verbal bragging. Rather, it is felt internally through feelings of pride.
Meaning/purpose of work	**Statement of behavior:** • When you engage in your staff, and you engage in your individuals, you're creating better working relationship with your community. You're capacity building • if they see the benefits of their work • Seeing everybody else in the community going to those workshop, learning and then those people then asserted themselves as champions or as experts in their field, right? You're building the capacity of your community by just the sheer fact of what they already intrinsically know. • What that meant was whether you were fishing that day, whether you're hunting, whether you were preparing hides to go sell or you're providing renovations to your house where you were living. It's that whole concept of Wahkotowin. Living that good life. **Answer to 'why' question:** • I: How important in training for First Nation's employees? P: I think it's so important. It's ongoing development, personal, profession. • you're creating better working relationship with your community. You're capacity building. You're enabling those individuals to be better, healthy individuals. • I think that when you start building that and offering that opportunity for people, you're making those things great. • You're always trying to, again, building capacity, but also encourage them to say, "You're valued, so you need to take off. If you want to enjoy yourself, you need to refresh, you need to regroup, so you're better and healthy to help other people." • Absolutely. Again, I go back to that capacity building. I think as Indigenous people are always looking at ... • I think too, if they see the benefits of their work. How do you say that? Fruits of their labor.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Engaging may be one way an individual can progress in the workplace. This relates back to communication style and a focus on relationship building. It may be that, when an individual engages with those around him/her or engages with the betterment of themselves then they are able to progress easier and see a larger purpose in what they are doing. • Wahkotowin is a keyword (described below). **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on keywords, phrases, and content:** • One purpose of work that First Nation employees strive for is to be able to see the impact they had around them through their work. Once again, this appears to be community centered rather than person-centered. Judging from these passages, an individual's purpose in work is to better the community (which includes the people around them; family and co-workers). If an individual is able to see their impact on those around them, they will see the purpose in what they are engaging in.

	- Yet by doing that they're getting leadership skills. That individual is outspoken and taken that leadership role. Yet they don't do it for that but they do it for the sake of the community that needed a coach or the community that needed extra funding support - we have an obligation to do right in our community. I think, it's always that ingrained…like one of our philosophies. It's always responsibility. - It raises that level of awareness that these people now, the more higher their roles are the more responsibility and the more trust they have. Again, I think it helps out the stage of bringing a better understanding and link to that individual to work in their community. - Again, it always goes back to those teachings Wahkotowin - it's living the good life. When you live that good life, you exemplify those teachings of respect and trust . You always working towards that concept of Wahkotowin - living that good life. - if you were to incorporate that concept of Wahkotowin in saying like it's an all encompassing term and a mind frame of people. How that inherent teaching and philosophy about living a good life. That was really key to our people. - Our way of living is completely different. You were considered a respectful and honorable person if you got up every morning and you provided for your family. - It's more or less siloes little aspects of responsibility and trust. It's all encompassed in that spirit of Wahkotowin having ... if you were to take something out of that ...that what it should be	- One other purpose of work is *not* necessarily just to work for resources sake but to work to become better, healthier individuals. A drive for constant progression and purpose is evident within these passages. It is interpreted that this 'capacity building' helps facilitate confident and balanced individuals who are considered to be healthy. If an individual is not enabled to progress skill sets (which may include relationship building all the way to technicalities of job skills) then he or she may not see a larger purpose in their work and their well-being may suffer as a result! - Wahkotowin! This is the ultimate purpose guiding all actions in the workplace: to live a good life. The passages used by the participant perfectly describe this concept – everything is done to live the good life; everything a person does is connected to this endeavor. It is truly an all-encompassing term and work is one major component in how an individual creates this 'good life'. It can be interpreted that living the 'good life' and the teaching of Wahkotowin includes a more 'human', engaging, and collaborative style of work. As described before, it is through these mediums that an individual employee is able to better those around them and create the concept of a 'good life'. This is the largest and broadest purpose First Nation employees follow. - Wahkotowin is a Cree word
Family & Community as motivators	They probably don't have that same structure or that relationship that's really connected with what the health center did. It goes back to those meetings. It goes back to creating those lasting relationships and those strong community ties with the organizations.	**How motivation influences behavior:** Consistently throughout these passages refer to one's responsibility to provide for their community/kinship network.

	• When I was filling out my leave report for the city, it was like, "Is it an immediate family member?" And I was like, "No," but then I do consider him? My family lives outside Saskatoon. Travel to there. In the opportunity to have that morning period. In First Nation's communities, you don't have to take extra days off. It's apparent if you need time • My mind goes somewhere right away. Again, I think it's a lot of time, you're trying to do good and make good choices for your community. • Allowing them to do it on staff time gives them the ability to say, "We're putting our time and energy into giving back to the community." • It's your space. You're creating that offering for future generations to have... You want to have a positive impact in your community. If you want something done, it's almost like taking that initiative • If you need to get it done, it's so many different times in our community, it's always the health center that step up to the plate. It's always the health center staff to... A community round dance. A community celebration. • It's because they know the importance that's placed on community because it's ingrained in our teachings. If you want to make change in your community, you need to do it. • Let's get so and so who is a great fisherman to come in and talk about the importance of instilling that skill set in a younger generation so then younger generations know the importance of fishing that it can provide a lively hood. • A lot of our teachings are humbleness, being humble and giving back to the community • It's allowing those people to say that they're experts in their field so it's really hard. I had pressure earlier to about that concept of humility. You don't really understand that you're an expert there in that profession because you're always working for that common better group in your community, right? • "well, I did it because the first time I couldn't afford registration fees for my niece and nephew to attend hockey or whatever. I got on the board because it would help me become a coach and to get a better understanding of how to donate to that cause for other families." Yet by doing that they're getting leadership skills. That individual is outspoken and taken that leadership role. Yet they don't do it for that but they do it for the sake of the community that needed a coach or the community that needed extra funding support. • It's that rule of everybody in your community has a responsibility for the rest of your community, for the children that are coming behind you. It's ingrained in our teaching and even in our language. • your elders always say, you have the responsibility to make a good life for yourself and your kids	Providing may mean giving back resources but can also mean bringing back one's educational and life experiences to help inform life in the community. • The concept of Wahkotowin may capture this motivation for work perfectly. A responsibility towards one's community means that there is an opportunity to provide for that community.

	• You have the responsibility to do this. That feeling of responsibility carries on into the workplace and then when you set that up in saying that your organizations ... You put that responsibility on everybody, that we have an obligation to do right in our community. I think, it's always that ingrained…like one of our philosophies. It's always responsibility.	
Emotional engagement	• I think if an organization can do that and instill that pride and determination of someone then those characteristics ... you're touching on those characteristics of building their capacity within the organization and within themselves. • It's instilling that pride and determination of someone. That further can go onto, oh dad's got a job now. This is awesome. We've always seem him with low self-esteem because he couldn't finish his degree or his university and now he's on welfare. That impacts a whole family. • I: It seems to me like instilling of pride, always being able to progress that instills confidence in an Indigenous employee, am I'm right on that? P: *nods* • Say, okay maybe I have this other idea, maybe I can do this. You're building that level of self-esteem and encouragement in that individual. • A lot of it is like ... I remember those teachings from our grandparents. Again, it always goes back to those teachings Wahkotowin - it's living the good life. When you live that good life, you exemplify those teachings of respect and trust. The elders would always say make sure you get up and you work hard in life. You always working towards that concept of Wahkotowin - living that good life. With that you're going to have less anxiety, you're going to have less stress in your life. You're overall going to be a better person. I think, it's those role models at that young age that will really instill those concepts of the value of working and the value of contributing. The concept of giving back to your value It's more or less siloes little aspects of responsibility and trust. It's all encompassed in that spirit of Wahkotowin having ... if you were to take something out of that ...that what it should be • I'm going to prove you wrong kind of syndrome. A lot of people think that there's stats over there that Aboriginal people will not graduate. 30% of them from kindergarten will not graduate high school. I wanted to be one of the statistics that say, well, I proved you wrong. • You always working towards that concept of Wahkotowin - living that good life. With that you're going to have less anxiety, you're going to have less stress in your life. You're overall going to be a better person. • It was our long term goal that our chief said, education is our new buffalo Really pushed our community to take on a lot of the concept of learning the way of the white man. Because it's going to be our ... because our buffalo are now gone. That's going to be our new buffalo	**How motivation influences behavior:** **Pride** • The feeling of pride within an individual can be a motivating component to work. An individual *wants* to feel proud in their work; wants to feel proud that they are able to support their family; wants to be proud that they are contributing to something important through work. • This links with the concept of competence and having a larger purpose at work. • Pride is caused by the fulfillment of Wahkotowin **Improvement of self** • One motivation to work is the betterment of self – both in terms of advancing personal skills and in terms of improving your own life by improving the life of those around you. • Work offers a great place to facilitate the concept of Wahkotowin.

Work behavior regulations: Social regulation of behaviors		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of Component**
Kinship network	- To goes back to kinship. We had that sense of cooperation community-minded. Our focus is our community. - We're all part of that circle and make up that circle of wellness for our communities - One of the ways is always bringing together the community for a common purpose. - I think it goes to show the impact of our healthcare team to have established those relationships with our community to say, "You know what? Come get tested. We need you to be healthy. We need you to be safe." - Let's get support services for our community because this is what's ultimately affecting our people right now. - There's always that small mindedness of nepotism, family influence because they're communities. Again, our communities, a lot of them are really unhealthy. Drugs, alcohol, addictions come into play in the workplace. A lot of those social issues come into play in a work setting. - I think understanding what conflict is and speaking out against it. That could have negative repercussions on the employee. - they would always have a flexible schedule, so if there was something happening in the community, the health staff would try their best to attend and on staff time. Allowing them to do it on staff time gives them the ability to say, "We're putting our time and energy into giving back to the community." - Then, it's hopefully a ripple effect they take bake to their homes, to their whole community. I think that when you start building that and offering that opportunity for people, you're making those things great. - hat then again can go further on into their own families, right? Because a lot of our people live in poverty. They need that extra assurance of saying, yeah I can do this. It goes back to the basic fundamentals of being good at something. - It's instilling that pride and determination of someone. That further can go onto, oh dad's got a job now. This is awesome. We've always seem him with low self-esteem because he couldn't finish his degree or his university and now he's on welfare. That impacts a whole family. - If they see ... it's really good to see that when the clinic staff would hire part time people to work at their carnivals and family fun days. They'll say, oh so an so is good at birch bark biting. Let's get them in to teach the other youth that skill set, value their teaching and give them an honorarium.	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** - It is clear that the primary social influencer of where, how, and why someone works is to provide for one's family or community. - It is frequently described here that family and community network has the potential to encourage an individual to work hard, pursue their dreams, increase their skill sets, and gives them a larger purpose to pursue at work: to provide for those around them and give back to the community in whatever way they can (Wahkotowin). - If an individual feels like they are providing for their family members, it is likely that he or she will continue to work hard. In contrast, if an employee feels like they cannot provide for their family or community at their current position (e.g., the experience is not optimal or useful; not enough resources) then it is likely the employee will pursue other options. - All work actions are done in the context of the community, family, and extended kinship network.

- Seeing everybody else in the community going to those workshop, learning and then those people then asserted themselves as champions or as experts in their field, right? You're building the capacity of your community by just the sheer fact of what they already intrinsically know.
- I: the way you described it is that in order to be proud of your work it's not necessarily I did a good job at this task, it's here's the impact I made on my community. Is that true? P: Mm-hmm (affirmative)
- What you're doing in this organization, what you're contributing to. Your impact is this in the community. You're doing this in the community. It's allowing those people to say that they're experts in their field so it's really hard
- . when people try and recognize people for their contributions and stuff a lot of Indigenous people are like, well, I do this because my sons involved in lacrosse or I'm doing this because of this.
- "well, I did it because the first time I couldn't afford registration fees for my niece and nephew to attend hockey or whatever. I got on the board because it would help me become a coach and to get a better understanding of how to donate to that cause for other families."
- in our teachings of back home we always talk about that spirit of Wicihitowin and Wahkotowin. Of always giving back to the community and we're working for the best of…for your people.
- Our elders always say, you have the responsibility to make a good life for yourself and your kids. It's always that when we have round dances, we have ceremonies and we have celebrations. It always goes back to that you have responsibility to live a good life so then it's a ripple effect to other people around you.
- You have the responsibility to do this. That feeling of responsibility carries on into the workplace and then when you set that up in saying that your organizations ...
- You put that responsibility on everybody, that we have an obligation to do right in our community. I think, it's always that ingrained…like one of our philosophies. It's always responsibility.
- We lived in poverty. We grew up in poverty so I'm not going to have that for my kids
- they see the value of that and that level of maturity and that ability to give back to the community.
- Our way of living is completely different. You were considered a respectful and honorable person if you got up every morning and you provided for your family.
- What that meant was whether you were fishing that day, whether you're hunting, whether you were preparing hides to go sell or you're providing renovations to your house where you were living. It's that whole concept of Wahkotowin. Living that good life.

Social regulation of employment behavior	• I think it's that fluidity and that flexibility for the employee to come to the executive director and say, "What up with this? What are your thoughts about this? I have this option. What do you think about this?" • I think it's very important to provide that fluidity. • they would always have a flexible schedule, so if there was something happening in the community, the health staff would try their best to attend and on staff time. Allowing them to do it on staff time gives them the ability to say, "We're putting our time and energy into giving back to the community." • This person has the passion, the willingness to do it. Let's honor that or let's see where this person can thrive. They're willing to do it. How can we help them in supporting them getting there? • We wouldn't say like we just hire anybody. We would say, are you willing to go back and get that degree. We're willing to work with you to get there because we value that and we need this expertise. • I: If you have your own responsibilities at work, you have that trust from your manager does that allow them to feel like they're achieving broader responsibilities of taking care of their community, family ... yeah? P: Absolutely, absolutely. • I: Having that responsibility and that trust from a manger is key almost for an Indigenous employee? P: Absolutely. • that is a big one of our philosophies too is that trust is like, we're enabling you to do this for this outcome. Again, it raises that level of responsibility. It raises that level of awareness that these people now, the more higher their roles are the more responsibility and the more trust they have. Again, I think it helps out the stage of bringing a better understanding and link to that individual to work in their community.	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** **Trust** • Trust from management and fellow employees has the capability of facilitating competence and confidence. When an employee feels competent and confident in their position, they will respond with hard work, loyalty, will feel like they have the ability to provide for their family, and will feel more comfortable in their work environment (which will help them contribute to an egalitarian work environment). • Trust can come in many forms, but evidence here includes: flexibility in scheduling, handing down of responsibility in work tasks with freedom, showing support from management (e.g., hiring, discovering strengths and weaknesses), and allowing employees to be fluid in the workplace. **Respect:** • N/A
Broader Community Influence	• When we go and get educated and we're pushed to get educated we go back. Sure there's opportunities to go back. I think most of the time people are accepted but there's always an occurrence of crabs in the bucket syndrome. Oh, you think you're better than us now. • I: The concept of apples? P: Yup • It's tough. I know that when I go back home my family is really ... I experience subtleties like you think you're too good. Things like that. Crabs in the bucket kind of thing. • I think for the most part a lot to people are really open and proud of people that come back to the community educated. Because they see the value of that and that level of maturity and that ability to give back to the community. • I think so. They're kind of welcomed back regardless. They still have that insight into experience off the reserve. I think they're accepted, brought back, respected and	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** • Social social regulation of behaviors can also come in the form of the people in the broader community. Specifically, if an individual who is working within the community with the purpose of benefitting the community in some way (e.g., providing resources; providing experiences) then that employee is a valued member of the community. However, if a person comes back and does not benefit the community then they may be socially ostracised.

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	valued for their education that they experienced. Could mean not educated but experience that they had outside.	• Additionally, if an individual chooses to leave the community to pursue education or work then he or she may be shown negative social repercussions (e.g., apple)

Disrupted Cultural Model		
Cultural Model Component (From Interview 1 results)	**Participant Description of Component**	
Inferiority of skills/abilities by employer	• I think it's the clash between Western European ways of working and then First Nation's ways of being and knowing and work ethics • We were never what society views us today as lazy and not working. That concept is placed on us through a European lens because they came with their lens. You had to go to work 8 to 5 and blah blah blah. If you don't then you're less than. Our way of living is completely different.	
Self perceived inferiority of skills/abilities	N/A	
Results focused	• Yeah, there's no gray areas. It's all like self orientating. You know what I mean? Where they give you a binder and here's all of our policies and procedures. Have fun! Whereas it's just a totally different culture when you look at First Nations ways of …maybe onboarding staff. • Whereas over here it's just very abrupt, very cold and a stern way of doing business.	
Lack of First Nation specific practices	• First Nation's communities just do it a different way, but they still have those end goals in mind. I think it just clashes when you're trying to be too much of European way of doing things, and it clashes with the First Nation's culture. • An example would be bereavement. If a family member passes, and then, even beyond that, it's so structured with European... You have this document of policies. It has to be an immediate family member and/or this, and policy of this, and/or you're granted three days max or whatever. It's all written out in policy, where First Nation's people, we come from such extended nuclear families, that it's... Say if we adopted you into our family, and then, you call our mom, "Mom." It's so many like that. More so, ten of my cousins we've adopted here and there over the years, and we are such a strong family. Then if, like my cousin, Lois, passed away a couple years ago. When I was filling out my leave report for the city, it was like, "Is it an immediate family member?" And I was like, "No," but then I do consider him? My family lives outside Saskatoon. Travel to there. In the opportunity to have that morning period. In First Nation's communities, you don't have to take extra days off. It's apparent if you need time. It's more flexible within that setting. • What's the big deal? Can't you do that on your own time on Sundays? This very Euro-centric way of thinking. It's like why only Sundays? It's a Christian-based mentality. Whereas other people have to do that maybe three or four times a day, like the Muslim faith. Different other faiths like that. Especially First Nation's communities. They're very strong. Every morning, they need to get up and smudge. If there's conflict in the workplace, that's what a lot of employees do. Their executive director, if there is conflict, they'll take people into a room and talk and say, "We're in a safe space. How could we resolve this constructively?"	

Lack of awareness of others	• It's very different when you go from a First Nation's run organization where you have other First Nation people working in an environment as opposed to in a working environment with a non-Indigenous community.
Lack of direction towards employment goals	N/A
Lack of confidence	• You'd really contribute lots of professional associations, and they say, "but I'm not a professional. I'm not anybody out of so and so to consider myself an professional." We have to say what you're doing in the community you're ... We have to always reassure them what you are.

Ann Combined Within-case Matrix		
Horizontal Relationships (co-worker to co-worker)		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of horizontal relationships**
Nature of relationships among co-workers	**Statement of behavior:** • In a new work environment, you get involved with your co-workers. • Even in schools, I migrated towards the Aboriginal community inside my schools, inside the workplace because of that, we are connected somehow. • I made Indian Tacos as a going away thing. There was a lot of people that I hadn't quite connected with, of course, the department I was in was logistically all over the place, all over the building. Even our own unit, I mean, I was working and focusing on my project which took me out of the building quite a bit. There was a lot of people that I didn't quite connect with in my department. • Anyway, everybody was completely weirded out, totally freaking, weirded out. Sort of like, "You're making us lunch?" Yeah, I'd like to do something kind for you as I'm leaving. I make really amazing bannock and Indian tacos used to be a general favorite. They were generally freaked out. They were like, "Well, shouldn't we take you for lunch or whatever?" I was just like, "Well, no. This is how I'd like to leave you. This is the impression that I want to leave. This is my mindset." They just though it was absolutely bizarre	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Connect is a frequently occurring word – it is interpreted as a keyword that underlies the purpose of peer support in the workplace: to connect with one another on a personal level. It is interpreted that, through connection, work is easier and more enjoyable. • Engage, build, and apply are all words that appear with frequency. When an individual is talking about peer support and uses these phrases it is evidence of the importance that peer support only works when an individual is willing to engage with others around them and apply who they are in the workplace.

- When I left to go to the city, they're the same thing. I made a meal for my colleagues and they actually took a vote to decide what it was that I was going to make for them. It was a big joke because they know I cook well and they know that I enjoy that I sharing food with my friends and colleagues. It was just like, "Yay, she is cooking one last time before she leaves."
- we got to know each other really well. The one for Sask health, I'll run into him wherever. I'll give him a hug, "How was your wife?" Whatever
- I: Are there any other workplace-specific behaviors that Indigenous employees engage in? We heard about smudging. We heard about circles. P: Eating together.
- P: Here, we eat together everyday. I: Eat together everyday. P: Yeah, our whole team.
- Even underlying things, like if you hadn't had brought coffee, I would have offered you a coffee or a tea and gone about to make you feel comfortable here because that sharing of ... It's an important thing, right.

Answer to 'why' question:
- guess leans on like a social communication where you would develop friendships or to first get to know each other
- Because you enjoy it so much. You enjoy your colleague's company. You feel more like you have a friend at work so that ...
- You figure out whose cousin you are and how you're connected. Most Aboriginal communities that live in Saskatchewan are connected through some stream or another.
- You are generally connected within the Aboriginal community. You're connected somehow through be it nation, clan, tribe or actually blood related to someone that you connect with. In a new work environment, you get involved with your co-workers.
- Then you realize you have the same type of humor. You connect at that level, and then you work better together at that way because you're connected.
- When you go about it that way, I mean the work still gets done but I think the quality of work is so much better when you're enjoying yourself, right. If you have that connectedness with your co-workers, then it's not quite as dry I guess.
- that professional side takes more effort than just being yourself and being silly and enjoying your time with your co-workers.
- I don't have to prove myself as much. I can go in and develop those personal relationships, connect as an Indigenous person
- I just apply it to my work atmosphere because it is a way to break down barriers and connect people.
- I: Is it the same, informal? P: Yeah. When you've developed that personal relationship, it's usually something silly

This will only help build who they are and build their relationships at work.
- Understand is another frequently used word. It is interpreted that this is a consequence of peer support. As mentioned above, social support allows for the understanding of an employee's life and states the rules on how to engage with them socially. It is crucial for the facilitation of peer support! It is a mutually beneficial relationship.

Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:
- Relationship building among colleagues appears to be the foremost purpose in peer support behaviors and moral codes. It is expected that individuals will get to know one another in the workplace on a deep, personal level. This is done through several acts of peer support like eating lunch together, engaging in informal conversations/activities, and sharing personal lives with one another (i.e., accepting that the context which surrounds an individual in their outside lives will inevitably be brought into the workplace; accept this instead of reject it).
- The purpose of this relationship building is to provide an environment where friendships are fostered, individuals feel *comfortable* to work and be themselves relatively free of judgement. Overall, it is interpreted that, by showing social support for peers, it will create a welcoming environment at work. This environment

	- It's to understand where everybody is coming from and where you are. If you have a sick relative at home or your wife's family has stresses or if that individual has lots going on in their plate, you can understand a little bit more when you get to business if they're a little bit distracted or in the middle of the meeting, have to take a phone call. There is an acceptance to that because family is priority. Business is always secondary to family. I find that more prevalent in Indigenous communities and organizations. - In a way, we build each other up that way when we come together as a team. I don't often find that in non-Aboriginal groups settings. - I have it as a skill set. I can do it but I would prefer not to. If anyone else wants to take it on, like it's part of me putting myself out there too. I only put myself out there in an atmosphere where I feel comfortable that I'm going to not be judged my colleagues - Because of that connectedness - just team of colleagues hanging together and gives us the opportunity to see where everybody is at. - We're a secondary family. You spend 8 hours a day with us here so we're quite close but as important as you are to me, therefore, so is your family. That I think is an Indigenous philosophy. - I say Indigenous person in the workplace because I think that we mentor each other more fluidly or more honestly because of those personal relationships - I would very comfortable doing it at night when I know it wasn't going to disturb her. - Before the actual work gets done, you figure out where you are socially, hierarchically and within your setting, you find your placement and your footing before you launch yourself forward into a position. I think we just naturally do that. - It's to understand where everybody is coming from and where you are - That being free to apply my personality and my beliefs and my auto response in my workplace. - I find that when you're building your team, you get to	will create an inherent enjoyment at work, which will make tasks more enjoyable and encourage hard work. - The underlying purpose of showing peer support within the workplace is to *connect* with one another and eliminate any barriers for efficient work. It may be interpreted that First Nation employees believe that, through a welcoming and peer-supportive environment, an individual will become a better worker (providing they engage in that environment) - One other purpose for peer support is to create an environment where individual employees engage with the people around them. The purpose behind this desired engagement is to provide context of your own individual life for those around you. This context will add crucial information for others to know what to – or what not to – talk about with you and *how* to engage back with you. Additionally, this engagement will help an individual find out where they fit among everyone, and who they are within the work system. It helps them to ground themselves in the workplace, which adds to their comfort level. - Interconnectedness – the goal of peer support among employees to connect one another into a cohesive and collaborative work system that is open, free, collaborative, welcoming, and comfortable for all to work in. Having such an environment will foster efficient hard work from First Nation employees. - Relationship building – Individuals at work are treated like a second family.
Sources and resolutions of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** - She taught me to be proud of my Indigenous self and apply myself with Indigenous culture, not in a meek way but in a strength-based manner which I could do respectfully and strength-based. - Still in the workplace, yeah. It stays within the workplace. There is a breadth of confidentiality. **Answer to 'why' question:** - I think generally it ends up being something personal.	

Cultural Model Component	Participant Description of Component	Researcher interpretation
	• When you spend 8 hours a day with somebody that you know on a personal level and you connect on a personal level, you get to feel as though they're like family, such as siblings, fights will happen. Right? • I: But it's never usually about work, it's about something personal? P: Generally something personal getting involved with work stuff, yeah. • I do find when there is conflict, it gets taken on a personal level because you have those personal connects and those community connects. • Conflict resolution is much easier in the workplace when you only have professional relationship but conflicts are less likely in Indigenous community because we have easier way of communicating with each other so that the conflicts don't happen in the first place • However, and you'll find this, that there are a lot of toxic environments within the Indigenous communities, the Indigenous work communities that people often come at things passive aggressively.	This means that there will be a drive from an individual to get to know them on a deeply personal level because, as per traditional teachings, family is everything. Family is important and, if work colleagues are treated like family, a relationship must exist that fosters context building and ultimately allows individuals to look out for one another's well-being.

Vertical relationships: Bottom-up and top-down		

Cultural Model Component	Participant Description of Component	Researcher interpretation of vertical relationships
Nature of relationships	**Statement of behavior:** • I asked her simply on a smoke break, "Would you enjoy organizing the volunteers and providing tasks for the practicum students when they come in?" Well, that provides her with a sense of like she belongs in a team. She has an important task to do so it gives her that self-respect, a little bit of boosting. I trust her to be able to do it and do it well. • The way that I go about things here is asset mapping and talking to my staff about what their strengths and weaknesses are, what they would prefer to do and what they would prefer not to do. • So long as that is supported, yeah, by all means, go grab a coffee. Go take your break at 9:30 if you're having a tough morning. It doesn't bother me. • it's either to chase them which is a very uncomfortable feeling is to chase someone into performing well or you give them something to reach for **Answer to 'why' question:** • When I was able to tell her why it took longer, she understood me but we only have that professional relationship • When you've established the rapport.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Several phrases and words indicate that there is an expectation for leadership to engage with their employees and 'build' their skills and foster relationships. Words/phrases include: connected, apply yourself, learning, communicate, establish rapport, recognize, giving advice, support, and boosting. All of these words imply a complicated job for managers that First Nation employees expect them to fulfill. Specifically, they must be able to foster relationship building, skill advancement, and create confidence but do so through a deep and personal engagement with their employees.

	• I: When you've established, finding that common ground and just communicating face to face? P: Yeah. It takes some work to get there but that's the goal I think, for me anyway. • Her and I really connected on that project because she has taken it and she is running with it. She is doing a phenomenal job. • She has that sense of pride and it's something that is completely off my desk that I don't have to worry about because I know she is going to do it well. I trust in her. It all happened from a smoke break. • I: When a manager trusts an Indigenous employee, what does that do for them? P: You can apply yourself more freely • I: just to confirm, the personal relationships that Indigenous employees prefer, trust is easier that way? It's given easier. It stays longer. Am I right on that? P: Yeah. I: Right, they go hand in hand? P: Mm-hmm (affirmative) I couldn't do it because I don't think leadership has any business being leaders if you're not connected to your own community and your own culture. You don't think that it's responsible leadership.	**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:** • Establishing relationship building between employees and managers appears to be at the center of reasoning for the existence of social support form leadership. This relationship building between the two parties allows for several important outcomes including: 1) trust to be established and shown; this encourages hard work; 2) effective communication to identify weaknesses and strengths to create an efficient task completion process; and 3) fostering confidence and competence within employees to show them that they are a valued member of the team – fostering pride and inevitably making them work harder.
Leadership style	**Statement of behavior:** • She was doing something that could have been corrected. She was doing something that it was wrong, needed to be corrected, and as opposed to her manager or her supervisor correcting the behavior or giving her advice on how to do it properly, she screamed at her and attacked heron a personal level. Very unprofessional, very horrible scenario. • Like with [non-Indigenous boss], we had a big disagreement because I had a strength that I wanted to apply and she had the same, she has the same ability. She just went, "I'm the boss. We're going to do it this way." • I'm a carrot on a string leader. I like to have that, carrot on a string could be anything from benefits in a workplace to just your superior's pat on the back saying, "Good job," or being to turn around and recognize that you've accomplished something **Answer to 'why' question:** • We could have gone to the same goal but she wanted me to do it her way which I didn't understand. If I'd apply it my way, we would have gotten to the same goal without the conflict. Because I was her subordinate, I just had to suck it up and do it her way which was much more complicated for me. • where we learn about each other's strengths and weaknesses but I'm doing it in a training way that my non-Indigenous subordinate staff can relate to. It's given us that connectedness.	• A top-down approach to leadership is not efficient for First Nation employees. Evidence presented here implies that a collaborative and equal environment is ideal for First Nation employees well-being and a healthy workplace environment. • Active listening is an important behavior that management must engage in with their employees. It creates understanding between individuals and allows a manager to identify how a task may be completed efficiently (i.e., by playing to strengths). • Interconnectedness is driving the support process from leadership. Evidently, it is expected that First Nation employees will have a socially

	• I really attribute that to I think my team approach to leadership and that asset mapping model that is very sister to my Indigenous approach to working with Indigenous communities • I: just to confirm, the personal relationships that Indigenous employees prefer, trust is easier that way? It's given easier. It stays longer. Am I right on that? P: Yeah. I: Right, they go hand in hand? P: Mm-hmm (affirmative) I couldn't do it because I don't think leadership has any business being leaders if you're not connected to your own community and your own culture. You don't think that it's responsible leadership.	supportive boss. The purpose for this is to create a cohesive, collaborative, welcoming, and very efficient workplace! Social support (e.g., active listening, constant communication, collaborative attitude) fosters the identification of personal strengths and weaknesses which can be used to accomplish goals in an effective manner. This only happens when management treats themselves as equal and gets to know their employees the same way employee to employee interaction takes place. It is participation with employees on social support instead of remaining distant and creating a divide. That does not appear to be Indigenous philosophy.
Sources and resolutions of conflicts	**Statement of behavior:** • She didn't understand or listened to me but because we had just a professional relationship, we were able to communicate it out through professionalism • In a healthy atmosphere, and this is how I would do it, and I would talk to my staff and encourage them on the things that they're doing appropriately, make some recommendations about the things that I identify as needing some work and help them through it or provide them suggestions on how to get that done, be open-minded to some resolution that they might have. **Answer to 'why' question:** • I think there would have been probably tears on someone's behalf because we know each other much more personally but also there is a less likelihood that we would have gotten to that because I would have been able to communicate to him in the first place that this is the method that I understand much better. He would have said, "Okay, we'll do it that way then." • Yeah, so and so, I heard so and so said this. It ends up resulting in hurt feelings. It is not a positive way to go about correcting any kind of behavior or work ethic.	• If work is a second family, it is up to the leadership of the workplace to foster ideal Indigenous philosophies in the workplace (e.g., relationship building, support among colleagues). It is up to them to create and maintain this environment.
Additional Cultural Model Components		
General Communication style in workplace	**Statement of behavior:** • Yeah. There is a lot of teasing. Lots of communication strategy between First Nations employees or Aboriginal employees laterally. Like I said, there is a lot of teasing, a lot of laughter.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Keywords such as tease, humor, and laugh are all indications of the types of

- first get to know each other, tease each other profusely and then we just enjoy our work together.
- At the city, it was just awkward silence, uncomfortableness until we all started eating together. They were like, "Okay, well, now I get, these are awesome. Now, I understand why you wanted to share it with us."
- When we get to the board level, I think there is always that professional, that strict, "You abide by Robert's rules of order. There is a way that business gets done at a board level very seriously." After the board meeting is done, we're back to ragging on each other and teasing each other in that Indigenous environment. Non-Indigenous environment doesn't do that.
- When [name omitted] would come to work in the morning when I was at the city, [name omitted] would walk past my office and he'd go, "Mer," then I'd go, "Mer." We'd laugh and he'd go to his office. would come in and she'd be, "Good morning." I would say, "Good morning. How was your night?" Or whatever, if we had time to chat or if we didn't. It was very formal, really really different. I had went, "Mer," to, I think she might have fired me.
- I: Is it the same, informal? P: Yeah. When you've developed that personal relationship, it's usually something silly
- Very often shaking hands and ... Well, when I'm thinking about boarding meetings in an Indigenous setting
- shaking hands. I mean the guy who coordinated the thing, we got to know each other really well. The one for Sask health, I'll run into him wherever. I'll give him a hug, "How was your wife?" Whatever. When the board meeting in the board setting, I shake his hand. I don't know why.
- I'd probably give him a hug, ask how his wife was and stuff like that. When the whole meeting is gathered, yeah, we shake hands.
- I always shake hands with the elder whomever the elder is, go get them tea or whatever if they've sat down and haven't got their own coffee yet or if there are snacks provided, make sure that the elder has something to eat. You show that reverence to the elders.
- She didn't understand or listened to me but because we had just a professional relationship, we were able to communicate it out through professionalism
- I personally would have just went direct to her, "What's your issue with it? Let's find a common ground,"
- That wouldn't have happened if I had had that direct communication with her because then I found out from her that she is a severe asthmatic.
- Indigenous communities, the Indigenous work communities that people often come at things passive aggressively. Rumors happen or they'll talk to someone else who talks to someone else. Then all of a sudden, so and so said that you weren't doing your job right and it gets misconstrued.

behavior that are desirable when communicating between individuals.
- Consequences of this informal speech can also be inferred form keywords such as: family, know each other, personal, develops trust, breaks down barriers, and friendships. It may be interpreted that these are the intended positive consequences of engaging in this type of communication. All of these consequences attribute to facilitating peer support and an egalitarian (comfortable) workspace.

Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:
- A divide between informal talk and then more formal acting in board meetings.
- Informal communication is key for First Nation men and women at work. Evidence points out that this is the preferred method of communication. This involves teasing, humor, and laughter. Additionally, the type of informal talk is focused on getting to know one another personally. It is anticipated that this style of communication creates a more enjoyable workplace because individuals feel closer to each other. When individuals get to know one another, work is easier and more enjoyable. Trust is developed – which is a key social social regulation of behavior for First Nation employees.
- It is much easier to establish the context of those around you when you are able to engage in informal communication style. This is because

- if I have five minutes and someone else has five minutes, we'll go for a smoke together and check in and see where we are, ==talk about work stuff, not talk about work stuff==, whatever

Answer to 'why' question:
- It almost I guess leans on like a social communication where you would ==develop friendships or to first get to know each other==, ==tease each other profusely== and then we just enjoy our work together. I guess First Nations; Aboriginal humor is an odd thing in itself. It's a really ==unique type of humor==. When you connect through that lens, your work just gets easier after that.
- Well, it ==breaks down barriers, develops trust, you get to know each other's families==.
- There is a desire with non-Aboriginal co-workers to keep it more professional and drier and focus on the work. When you go about it that way, I mean the work still gets done but I think the quality of work is so much better when you're ==enjoying yourself==, right. If you have that ==connectedness== with your co-workers, then it's not quite as dry I guess.
- Sharing food is like when you're eating, ==your walls are down==. It's ==easy and more comfortable==. It is a cultural foundation and social ability
- I: That Indigenous employees prefer that informal talk over that formal professional talk. Would you say that's true? P: Yeah. When it comes down to it, when we have in an Indigenous culture,
- ==It's to understand where everybody is coming from and where you are==. If you have a sick relative at home or your wife's family has stresses or if that individual has lots going on in their plate, you can ==understand== a little bit more when you get to business if they're a little bit distracted or in the middle of the meeting, have to take a phone call. There is an acceptance to that because ==family is priority==. Business is always secondary to family. I find that more prevalent in Indigenous communities and organizations.
- I: How are those individual strengths and weaknesses identified? Is it through that informal talk? P: Mm-hmm (affirmative), informal talk, education, w==hat we know about each other==, what our preferences are.
- I think there would have been probably tears on someone's behalf because we know each other much more ==personally== but also there is a less likelihood that we would have gotten to that because I would have been able to communicate to him in the first place that this is the method that I understand much better. He would have said, "Okay, we'll do it that way then."
- Conflict resolution is much easier in the workplace when you only have professional relationship but conflicts are less likely in Indigenous community because we have easier way of communicating with each other so that the conflicts don't happen in the first place
- we'll go for a smoke together and check in and see where we are

personal details are more likely to emerge from teasing and humor than any other type of formal communication.
- Conflict appears to be avoided through direct face-to-face communication. This appears to be the preferred style for First Nation employees.
- There is a divide in communication style when in a board room setting as compared to not. Informal communication dominates the conversation until the moment the board meeting begins, then it switches to a formal style. Similarly, informal begins when the board meeting is complete. This may be due to non-Indigenous processes (i.e., a board meeting) interfering with an Indigenous practice.
- Relationship building – the entire purpose of this style of communication is to facilitate relationship building between individuals. It creates an easier and more comfortable way to talk to one another. It is entirely possible that this is the way communication between Indigenous peoples has been taking place for a long time– which would explain why it is so prevalent and comfortable for them.

	• I: just to confirm, the personal relationships that Indigenous employees prefer, trust is easier that way? It's given easier. It stays longer. Am I right on that? P: Yeah. I: Right, they go hand in hand? P: Mm-hmm (affirmative) • I say Indigenous person in the workplace because I think that <mark>we mentor each other more fluidly</mark> or more honestly because of those <mark>personal relationships</mark>		
First Nation Specific Practices Includes: organizational responsibilities to community; organizational responsibilities to employees; employee responsibilities to organization; office space/equipment; hiring practices; scheduling practices; vacation time/time off	**Statement of behavior:** • We don't really take formal breaks but when we do, it's usually if I have five minutes and someone else has five minutes, we'll go for a smoke together and <mark>check in and see where we are</mark>, talk about work stuff, not talk about work stuff, whatever. • The rest of the staff are doing just their workdays. I'll finish a document and need a break. It's very <mark>informal</mark>. • There is that expectation, I leave at a certain time and I put in my hours or whatever. In the day, I can come and go as I please. Go do tasks, if <mark>I get just burdened with work</mark>, I'm going to go Staples and get some work supplies or I'm going to go buy some groceries or whatever. That <mark>freedom to have a flex schedule</mark> is something that I love. I know that it helps the rest of the time feel <mark>very secure in their position</mark> is because they can do the same thing. • I found it really weird when I was at the city that everybody showed up at 8:00. They're one minute to 8, everybody left for lunch exactly at 12, got back at one minute to 1. They took their breaks at the same time. Then they left at the end of the day at exactly 4:30. It was like, 4:30, pens down, walking out the door. I found that really really strange especially my first week at work because I mean I showed up, I was always told if you're not 15 minutes early, you're 10 minutes late. • I guess my take on it is you work until that day's work is done. Then you <mark>enjoy yourself.</mark> Go have a sip with your colleagues, do that stuff, depending on if they already finished their work. If it's not done, then you stay until it's done. It works out in the end as far as hours are concerned and things like that. I found that really strange. • all people really cared about was that you were there on time in the morning. The rest of the day, you could take a two-hour lunch if you wanted to. **Answer to 'why' question:** N/A	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Work is not central to the work experience for First Nation employees. In fact, other responsibilities are placed before work (e.g., relationship building; responsibilities to family). It is interpreted that, by having work placed secondary, it will actually create a more efficient workplace because it is more comfortable for employees. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:** • Having a free, open, and flexible schedule may be desirable for First Nation employees because it gives them the opportunity to practice other responsibilities (e.g., responsibilities to family). Additionally, have a flexible schedule in place can help employees feel trust from management and feel more competent in their skills/job. This also applies to the concept of time – which is less important than task completion. • Work is not the primary concern of life – it may be seen as a facilitator to practice other, more valuable, concerns like relationship building and responsibility to community.	188
Decision making in the workplace	**Statement of behavior:**	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):**	

- "Well, there is a promotion coming up but [name omitted] really hates accounting so let's not put her there," in that non-Indigenous setting that would absolutely happen in an Indigenous platform if had an opportunity come up, I would at least be consulted in it first.
- I was able to, after the event, say, "I don't understand this method. This was the method that I was taught. We both would have ended up at the same goal essentially but it was much more complicated for me to do it this way."
- The way that I go about things here is asset mapping and talking to my staff about what their strengths and weaknesses are, what they would prefer to do and what they would prefer not to do.
- Yeah. I would think that feeling as though you're a part of the team and a useful part of the team

Answer to 'why' question:
- Because we have that background, when we get together as a team and have to do a project together, well, this is the research component, would you like to take this on? Because I'd like to take on the engagement with the youth piece because that's my strong suit or we come together and we complement each other that way.
- In a way, we build each other up that way when we come together as a team. I don't often find that in non-Aboriginal groups settings.
- Yeah, it's subordinate-staff. I have seniority, I get to pick first or I've been working here for 12 years, you've been working here for 2. I'm going to take this schedule because it suits me best and you need to figure out how to pickup the rest.
- I: It's collaboration rather than dictation? P: Seniority and entitlement.
- When I was able to tell her why it took longer, she understood me but we only have that professional relationship. Had I had that same incident with [name omitted] [Indigenous boss], I think there would have been probably tears on someone's behalf because we know each other much more personally but also there is a less likelihood that we would have gotten to that because I would have been able to communicate to him in the first place that this is the method that I understand much better. He would have said, "Okay, we'll do it that way then."
- I asked her simply on a smoke break, "Would you enjoy organizing the volunteers and providing tasks for the practicum students when they come in?" Well, that provides her with a sense of like she belongs in a team.

- The word 'team' appears several times over. This is evidence for a collaborative approach to decision making which requires multiple people's inputs and efforts. This is in contrast to an authoritarian style of decision making.

Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:
- A collaborative and, more importantly, equal decision making process is ideal for First Nation employees. When individuals are given the chance to contribute, be part of the process, and be able to provide their input the decision is the best for all. This may link to a traditional teaching where the community's (in this case the work community) well-being is put before individual well-being.
- A collaborative style of decision making is facilitated by the informal communication style consequence (and to a lesser extend the peer support process) of being able to identify strengths and weaknesses in individuals. A collaborative decision making process will take strengths/weaknesses into account for efficiency and support but it is not possible without the relationship building element that precedes it.
- A decision making process that involves individuals at all stages can facilitate competence through trust. With this, comes feelings of pride that an individual can contribute to something that is bigger than themselves.

		• Community minded – all have a say in the decision making process so the decision is best for the group and not just an individual.
		• Relationship building – the collaborative decision making style will help to build relationships as no one will feel like they are left out. Feeling left out is interpreted as a sign that an individual is not trusted or competent and will diminish their confidence to do a good job. A collaborative and team based approach to decision making helps to prevent those negative feelings.
Overall nature of work environment	**Statement of behavior:** • Just a tiny bit of an uncomfortableness at having me at the table. You can feel it. You get to the table, everybody, they're talking amongst themselves. I walk in the room and everybody shuts up. Right. • I have seniority, I get to pick first or I've been working here for 12 years, you've been working here for 2. I'm going to take this schedule because it suits me best and you need to figure out how to pickup the rest. • because if I go out there and say, "Ugh, I hate accounting," maybe I'll miss an opportunity with somebody who doesn't know me well enough. • "Well, there is a promotion coming up but [name omitted] really hates accounting so let's not put her there," in that non-Indigenous setting that would absolutely happen in an Indigenous platform if had an opportunity come up, I would at least be consulted in it first. • Like with [non-Indigenous boss], we had a big disagreement because I had a strength that I wanted to apply and she had the same, she has the same ability. She just went, "I'm the boss. We're going to do it this way." • but I had to go to my supervisor and my supervisor had to go to her manager. She went to her supervisor and went to her manager. The managers had to negotiate. It took six weeks for them to come back to me with a response in the first place if I could smudge in my own office because of those chains of my command. So by that time, I was feeling so offended at being denied my right to practice my religion and my cultural beliefs in my own space. It just festered.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Individuals can 'sense' a work environment almost immediately when entering. It appears that it is very distinct (yet implicit) what an egalitarian workplace environment feels like to a First Nation employee. This is seen through words such as enjoyable atmosphere and 'you can feel it' as some examples. This may be further evidence of the deep-rooted need for this type of environment at work, as it may mirror the desirable Indigenous style of community living. • Words such as comfort, connectedness, together, and fitting in imply that an egalitarian work environment can foster these outcomes. When this individual spoke positively about a work environment, these are the words she used. Clearly, these are positives and necessary for a First Nation employee.

	- The way that I go about things here is asset mapping and talking to my staff about what their strengths and weaknesses are, what they would prefer to do and what they would prefer not to do. - Yeah. I would think that feeling as though ==you're a part of the team== and a ==useful part of the team== **Answer to 'why' question:** - I think we just have this ==natural desire to fit in==. - I think that's human nature is you have a natural ==desire to fit somewhere==. - I find it more professional, I guess, which is a positive but I find it less enjoyable because that professional side takes more effort than just being yourself and being silly and ==enjoying your time with your co-workers==. - I said, if you get into an Aboriginal organization, all the brown faces, we know as an Aboriginal community that those stereotypes are not true. I don't have to prove myself as much. I can go in and develop those ==personal relationships==, ==connect== as an Indigenous person and then get the work done in a more ==enjoyable atmosphere==. - Sharing food is a cultural foundation. If I were to offer you food, it would be really rude, in Indigenous culture, it's really rude to not accept food when it's offered to you. Sharing food is like when you're eating, ==your walls are down. It's easy and more comfortable==. It is a cultural foundation and social ability. I just apply it to my ==work atmosphere== because it is a way to ==break down barriers and connect people==. - It's to ==understand where everybody is coming from and where you are==. If you have a sick relative at home or your wife's family has stresses or if that individual has lots going on in their plate, you can understand a little bit more when you get to business if they're a little bit distracted or in the middle of the meeting, have to take a phone call. There is an acceptance to that because family is priority. Business is always secondary to family. I find that more prevalent in Indigenous communities and organizations. - Because we have that background, when we get together as a team and have to do a project together, well, this is the research component, would you like to take this on? Because I'd like to take on the engagement with the youth piece because that's my strong suit or ==we come together== and ==we complement each other that way==. - I have it as a skill set. I can do it but I would prefer not to. If anyone else wants to take it on, like it's part of me putting myself out there too. ==I only put myself out there in an atmosphere where I feel comfortable== that I'm going to ==not be judged== my colleagues - I: Eating together, that again links to the social aspect of it? P: Yeah. - Because of that ==connectedness==. It brings us together as a non-walled and non-professional, just team of colleagues ==hanging together== and gives us the opportunity to ==see where everybody is at.==	**<u>Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:</u>** - First Nation employees and managers all prefer to have an egalitarian workplace environment where everyone feels comfortable, are free to engage with others, and are on equal status. Comfortable and welcoming environments ultimately produce effective workplaces because individuals are able to engage at their own will, foster confidence/competence, and create feelings of pride through their work. - It is the ultimate underlying social goal of all First Nation workplaces – to have a place that is as comfortable for them as home is. This makes sense considering First Nation employees may consider their co-workers as a second family. - A collaborative decision making process plays a large role in creating an egalitarian work environment as individuals who feel like they are part of a team will infer this as being on equal status with others. - An informal communication style also plays a large role in creating this environment because it allows for free engagement between employees. It allows for personal details to be disclosed and context to be made clear. Ultimately, it creates a closeness and connectedness between employees that will bring everyone together and create cohesiveness. As a result, a welcoming and comfortable environment will be achieved.

	• It gives me the exact same thing that I do with my Indigenous colleagues where we <mark>learn about each other's strengths and weaknesses</mark> but I'm doing it in a training way that my non-Indigenous subordinate staff can relate to. It's given us that <mark>connectedness</mark>. • I would have offered you a coffee or a tea and gone about to make you feel <mark>comfortable</mark> here because that <mark>sharing of ... It's an important thing, right</mark>. • You want to come to <mark>a place where you feel respected</mark>, where you feel like you contribute, and you feel like you're a part of a team, so sense of a belonging, • We're a secondary family. You spend 8 hours a day with us here so we're quite close but as important as you are to me, therefore, so is your family. That I think is an Indigenous philosophy. • I couldn't do it because I don't think leadership has any business being leaders if you're not connected to your own community and your own culture. You don't think that it's responsible leadership.	• Belonging – an egalitarian environment fosters a sense of belonging among everyone. When someone feels like they socially and physically belong somewhere it has a large potential to facilitate confidence, trust, pride, competence, and resulting hard work. • Relationship building – Another aim of a welcoming, comforting, and egalitarian work environment is to create a place where relationships are built easier. In fact, an egalitarian workplace environment may facilitate relationship building as individuals do not have to worry about unequal status among colleagues or any other barriers that would prevent genuine relationship building.
Method of cultural model socialization	**Statement of behavior:** • A lot of people who are new to First Nations culture or <mark>just learning</mark> about think that pow wows, rain dances and smudging is the only way to be Indian but there are ingrained theories about <mark>life within your culture</mark> and <mark>living your culture</mark>, not everybody does but <mark>living your culture</mark>. There are themes inside of those concepts. There are 15 Teepee teachings that has been I guess formalized and professionalized. Those are just theories that come into grained into First Nations community, 7 sacred pipe teachings, those are <mark>things that we learn about as we're growing up</mark>. • In the same way as when I'm <mark>growing up, I learned about respect</mark>, what it is, what it means, <mark>how to apply it</mark>. • I: I'm wondering how young Indigenous employees learn how to become good workers. How does that happen? P: <mark>Modelling</mark>. • Having another Indigenous person in the workplace. I say Indigenous person in the workplace because I think that we <mark>mentor each other more fluidly</mark> or <mark>more honestly</mark> because of those <mark>personal relationships</mark>. • <mark> </mark> As a young Indigenous person coming into a workplace, you're the new guy. <mark>You will learn cultural norms within the workplace from other Indigenous staff.</mark> • He was an easy <mark>mentor</mark> for me to fit through and wiggle your way around the city's policies and make it indigenized so that it suited me	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Words such as ingrained and learning implies that work values are passed on from generation to generation from an early age. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:** • An individual learns about how to work through traditional teachings about *life* and not those teachings solely focused on work (e.g., Teepee teachings, pipe teachings; respect). This is an interesting concept, as it may be interpreted that work is mirroring outside life as there have been little evidence of work-specific teachings. Rather, all the teachings guiding work

- Could be, could be. I mean my mom was a very very hardworking woman. I think <mark>I did adopt a lot of her work ethic</mark>. - My dad, not that I lived with him, but my dad was a guidance counselor for a long time so there is empathy and compassion in the workplace. I've really taken that onto as something, <mark>it's ingrained naturally.</mark> - My mom is also a huge volunteer and advocate and stuff like that. It took a lot of her strength and a lot of the compassion and empathy from my dad and that's who I am as a person, right. - Yeah. Well, I mean traditionally, hundreds of years ago, <mark>we learnt by modelling</mark>, drop shadowing, picking berries. We <mark>learnt that, we follow, we did, we applied, we learnt</mark> things tactile. <mark>We had to do it, touch it</mark>. Oral history is in stories and things like that, we modeled after our grandparents. **Answer to 'why' question:** - In the same way as when I'm growing up, I learned about respect, what it is, what it means, how to apply it. Now, as an adult, because it's part of my culture and part of who I am, you do it as an auto response. I apply that because that's who I am. That's my culture. I apply who I am in my workplace. - My family really has influenced the way that I see myself in the workplace but I've also modeled from mentors and things like that I've worked with over the years. - She was one of my greatest mentors in life. She taught me to be proud of my Indigenous self and apply myself with Indigenous culture, not in a meek way but in a strength-based manner which I could do respectfully and strength-based. I learnt that through her. - Mentoring is huge. - I really think even in education that learning hands-on, Indigenous people learn much better. <mark>That experiential learning I think is ingrained</mark> historically and genetically with Indigenous people that we learned best hands-on and in an oral manner.	appear to be guiding life in a broader sense. - Modelling is the act in which individuals learn how to work – along with any associated values with work. This modelling is more efficient with a more experienced Indigenous employee (as compared to a non-Indigenous employee). It is interpreted that there will be established trust and easier communication when learning with another Indigenous employee. - Modelling and mentoring follows the principles laid out in the peer support, communication style, and comforting environment components in which learning the values of work is informal and flexible. This appears to be an efficient way for younger employees to 'learn the ropes'. - Experiential learning appears to be the most efficient way of learning. - Evidence is presented here that modelling in First Nation communities has been taking place for a very long time. It only makes sense that this culture of mentorship continues today. - Modelling may work best when it is informal because it involves so many other cultural model components. Informal communication allows for relationship building, which allows for the development of trust, which then allows an individual to learn efficiently and pick up on work norms.
Work motivation	

Role of Money	• You're not just dead weight dragging along and collecting a paycheck. Not that money has really been a big driver for me. I mean I'm an executive director who makes less than 80,000 a year. Money is not a huge driving force	**How motivation influences behavior:** • Money is not a motivating component for First Nation men and women! In fact, it looks to be a negative component to work motivation. Other motivating components may be more important.
Competence and Professional growth	**Statement of behavior:** • I was able to, after the event, say, "I don't understand this method. This was the method that I was taught. We both would have ended up at the same goal essentially but it was much more complicated for me to do it this way." • I apply that because that's who I am. That's my culture. I apply who I am in my workplace. In order to be successful, I think we all need to have the opportunity to apply your personality into your work **Answer to 'why' question:** • She has an important task to do so it gives her that self-respect, a little bit of boosting. • That freedom to have a flex schedule is something that I love. I know that it helps the rest of the time feel very secure in their position is because they can do the same thing. • That being free to apply my personality and my beliefs and my auto response in my workplace. • Having that sense of accomplishment is very important, to be respected for what I know and what I do is very important for me. Not everybody, I don't think but I think pretty close. • Money is not a huge driving force but the prestige and the position, the title and the position is something that I was absolutely after, but also being able to apply my theories about leadership and management was huge for me in considering this job. • I am so over the moon happy at being to apply my philosophies about life and balance work and family because it's important to me. • I think humility is one of the foundations in theory I guess or culture is being humble in your roles. I think you have to show your confidence • t's like that fake it until you make it thing, whether or not you're truly feeling confident or you have that ingrained confidence to be able to perform well, you need to exude it. • I: When a manager trusts an Indigenous employee, what does that do for them? P: You can apply yourself more freely I felt very strongly that I had to stay at the bar that I had set for myself to prove that I could do this family-work balance still at the level of commitment that I had set.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Applying oneself is an important phrase that frequently occurs. This is evidence that, in order to achieve competence, an individual needs to show who they truly are in the workplace and engage with not only their work, but with those around them. With this, confidence will be fostered. • Confidence is mentioned several times as a precursor to competence. This is evidence that an individual needs to gain crucial feelings of confidence before feelings of competence will fit in. **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:** • An individual should have the opportunity to feel competent in their skills. In order to do so, evidence presented here suggests than an individual must be able to apply themselves into the workplace. This would mean engaging with other employees and, perhaps more importantly, being able to show their own strengths and personality. It appears that, if an individual is able to engage and be themselves in the workplace, that they will be able to feel confident and competent in their job.

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		• One other element of competence is that an individual should not be outright with their feelings if they know they are competent. Rather, they should express humility and let internal confidence fuel their efforts rather than making it explicit (e.g., bragging). This relates to a foundational cultural teaching of always being humble in accomplishment. • Confidence comes before competency. An individual should be confident in their abilities before they feel competent (e.g., they know they can perform the task with ease). • Humility – this traditional teaching states that individuals should strive for individual greatness in their skills and abilities, but that once they achieve their goals they should not be outright in their bragging. Any newly found confidence should be internal, but used to further pursue goals. This may link back to the idea of group harmony, wherein any bragging may cause a disruption to individuals around that person.
Meaning/purpose of work	**Statement of behavior:** • If I come here and sit on Facebook all day, you don't have that same sense of pride because you haven't applied yourself. • I've hopped around from job to job because with my education and experience, I very often get into a frontline position capped off with nowhere to grow within that particular job. I'll do two, three years at one position. If I want to grow further, which is part of my own ambition, if I want to go further, I have to change positions and take on another job or ... **Answer to 'why' question:** • She is so happy that she has absolutely no desire to go anywhere.	**Analysis of concepts & categories (analyzed text is highlighted):** • Application of oneself again appears within progression in the workplace (also appeared under competence category). It appears that part of feeling like an individual is progressing towards a larger goal is applying one's skills and social abilities. Clearly feelings of competence and pride will accompany a sense of progression

	- You're <mark>not just dead weight dragging along and collecting a paycheck</mark>. You want to come to a place where you feel <mark>respected</mark>, where you feel like you <mark>contribute</mark>, and you feel like you're a <mark>part of a team,</mark> so sense of a <mark>belonging,</mark> - You need something to do, <mark>something to do, someone to love and something to believe in</mark>. That's something to do can't just be, for me, waking up in the morning and entering data into a computer for 8 hours and punching in a clock. - It's not <mark>valuable use of my skills</mark>. If I was a data collector and that's what I felt was my strong suit, then absolutely, that would be a perfect job for me. Because I have such a wide variety of skill set, I want to be able to <mark>apply it all</mark>, creativity, engagement, facilitator or leader. This is the perfect job for me. - In order for me to feel successful in my workplace, I need to <mark>apply myself in a meaningful manner.</mark> That gives me a <mark>sense of pride</mark> because I know at the end of the day, I've given my best and I can go home and sleep at night knowing that <mark>I've done my best.</mark> - My sister, for instance, she is a dental therapist, she has absolutely no ambition to be the manager of her department because she loves what she does. - Money is not a huge driving force but <mark>the prestige and the position, the title and the position is something that I was absolutely after,</mark> but also being able to apply my theories about leadership and management was huge for me in considering this job. I am so over the moon happy at being to <mark>apply</mark> my philosophies about life and balance work and family because it's important to me.	**Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement:** - There is evidence presented here that indicates a First Nation employee needs to feel a larger purpose at work. Furthermore, an individual needs to see opportunities and genuinely feel like they are progressing towards a larger purpose or else they won't be as happy at work. - If an individual is able to attend work and leave at the end of the day feeling like they have done their absolute best with regard to their abilities, then he or she will feel that progression towards a larger purpose. It is interpreted that this progression will be accompanied with feelings of pride – an important motivating component for hard work – pride in the sense that an individual is accomplishing something bigger than themselves. - Having a larger purpose – relates to seven generation thinking that is interpreted to be part of Indigenous culture. In this style of thinking about the future, a larger goal is always set for the community that individuals should strive for. It is entirely possible that this translates easily into the workplace. Having a larger goal gives individuals something to get up and go to work for.
Family & community as motivators	- There is an acceptance to that because family is priority. Business is always secondary to family - I am so over the moon happy at being to apply my philosophies about life and balance work and family because it's important to me.	**How motivation influences behavior:** Employees have a responsibility to look after one another in the workplace. This is a primary motivating component for many of the actions they engage in. Specifically, peer support,

	• It's having the stereotypes, wanting to prove that you're not that horrible stereotype. Not only for yourself, it's for the next person that gets hired. It's for my brother that needs to find a job, right. It's to ... • I know if I do a really crap job, the next Indigenous person that walks in that door is going to have the same, whether good or bad, when I leave, that organization is going to assume that I'm part of the norm. If I do a crap job, the next person coming in is going to have to work that much harder to prove themselves against whatever legacy I have left behind. • Balancing work and family, and this is with my staff too, with my staff, if they've got a sick child home, by all means, take a sick day, go home and be with your family because that's important. • We're a secondary family. You spend 8 hours a day with us here so we're quite close but as important as you are to me, therefore, so is your family. That I think is an Indigenous philosophy. • I think that that family responsibility is typical. • I: Right. Family has huge influence on how someone works? P: Absolutely. • Well, it doesn't matter really what you do. If you're a hard worker, so long as you have that balance and you're not neglecting your family, • A hard worker, no matter what you do, whether you're working hard to provide a paycheck or you're a hard working hunter and you go and you provide meet for the community, that's a really dignified role. • I said no, and I came home. I spent two years in Canoe Lake or three years in Mental to balance that, to re-identify who I was. When I came home, but it wasn't until then that my hard work was recognized. Because it was just like, "Oh yeah, what is she doing all over the place?" Because I wasn't communicating with everybody. I was so busy	the specific communication style, support from leadership, and creating an egalitarian work environment may all be motivated by a responsibility to the work community/kinship work network. One other element to this would be making sure an individual is fulfilling their responsibility to their outside family – this comes in the form of allowing for personal days and a flexible schedule. Family and community are everything and those responsibilities must be fulfilled first. This is mirrored in the workplace.
Emotional engagement	• Her and I really connected on that project because she has taken it and she is running with it. She is doing a phenomenal job. She has that sense of pride and it's something that is completely off my desk that I don't have to worry about because I know she is going to do it well. I trust in her. It all happened from a smoke break. • In order for me to feel successful in my workplace, I need to apply myself in a meaningful manner. That gives me a sense of pride because I know at the end of the day, I've given my best and I can go home and sleep at night knowing that I've done my best. • you don't have that same sense of pride because you haven't applied yourself. • I: What role does confidence have for Indigenous employees in the workplace? P: Well, then I guess it adds to pride, right. You have that and it's not pride in a, "Look at me shine," kind of way. It's a very humble pride. • That's also that pride thing again, striving for hard work	**How motivation influences behavior:** **Pride** • An individual wants to feel pride in the work they do. Pride comes from knowing an individual they went to work and applied their skills to the best of their abilities. Therefore, pride is a primary motivating component for hard work! **Improvement of self**

	• I work extra hard to fight the stereotypes but I also am striving for the pat at the back and looking and seeing I've done a job well. • It's having the stereotypes, wanting to prove that you're not that horrible stereotype. Not only for yourself, it's for the next person that gets hired. It's for my brother that needs to find a job, right. It's to ... • She taught me to be proud of my Indigenous self and apply myself with Indigenous culture, not in a meek way but in a strength-based manner which I could do respectfully and strength-based. • That being free to apply my personality and my beliefs and my auto response in my workplace. • It's not valuable use of my skills. If I was a data collector and that's what I felt was my strong suit, then absolutely, that would be a perfect job for me. Because I have such a wide variety of skill set, I want to be able to apply it all, creativity, engagement, facilitator or leader. This is the perfect job for me. • I think we always have a drive to grow.	• Feelings of confidence and competence are motivated by a drive to improve on oneself. Through the improvement of an individual's skills and social relations an individual can feel as though they are constantly improving themselves. It is a drive to grow, as is stated by this participant. This may also link with a desire to always have a larger purpose to work towards in employment – it is another avenue in which an individual can grow.
Work Behavior Regulations: Social regulation of behaviors		
Cultural Model Component	**Participant Description of Component**	**Researcher interpretation of Component**
Kinship Network	• You connect at that level, and then you work better together at that way because you're connected. • If you have a sick relative at home or your wife's family has stresses or if that individual has lots going on in their plate, you can understand a little bit more when you get to business if they're a little bit distracted or in the middle of the meeting, have to take a phone call. • There is an acceptance to that because family is priority. Business is always secondary to family • Normally, in a typical work environment, those things would take precedence over my work day unless it was a board meeting day or something really over the top important. • I think there was very much an expectation of the organization that I was at, that I prioritize my work. I don't find that very typical of Indigenous organizations. • It was like I set the bar so high for myself that I felt as though if I didn't stay at that bar, that I would disappoint my team and the company • I didn't have anybody at home prior to that. I set the bar here and then all of a sudden have a family to be responsible to. I felt very strongly that I had to stay at the bar that I had set for myself to prove that I could do this family-work balance still at the level of commitment that I had set. It wasn't a realistic expectation that I had for myself or my company because they expected me to meet those emergencies. "Hey, your kids are	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** • Work and life cannot and should not be separated. The context that surrounds one's life (e.g., sick family member; sick child; major accomplishment by kinship member) will be brought into the workplace and influence how an individual works. If something unfortunate happens outside of work, a First Nation employee is likely to bring that to work with them. • An individual is not expected to shut out the context that surrounds them and it is up to their fellow employees (through social interaction, egalitarian work environment) to acknowledge and understand that context in order to inform their workplace.

	teenagers. There is no reason why they can't be home by themselves. Go to the communities," and then I'd be gone.	• If an individual is putting their work before their community and family (i.e., spending more time at work and ignoring their responsibilities), they will be socially ostracised in order to reverse this. In contrast, if those responsibilities are being fulfilled and the individual is still working hard, they will be socially praised.
	• Long time. It wasn't healthy for myself and there was a family breakdown.	
	• I would have set the bar here and balanced my family and my work life and I couldn't.	
	• If you work too hard and you're neglecting your family and you're gone, that's not really looked on favorably, if you go beyond that threshold of balance.	
	• Not even just the reason that I came home is the reason I was welcomed to open arms. It was because I was genuinely missed, like the what do you call that, prodigal son thing.	
	• When I came home, but it wasn't until then that my hard work was recognized. Because it was just like, "Oh yeah, what is she doing all over the place?" Because I wasn't communicating with everybody. I was so busy	
Social regulation of employment behavior	• I: How does teasing and laughter and that unique humor style contribute to having effective work? P: Well, it breaks down barriers, develops trust, you get to know each other's families	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** **Trust** • When a boss/manager shows trust in their employees, it has a huge influence on how hard they work, how loyal they are, and how confident/competent they feel.
	• Like with [non-Indigenous boss], we had a big disagreement because I had a strength that I wanted to apply and she had the same, she has the same ability. She just went, "I'm the boss. We're going to do it this way."	
	• She has an important task to do so it gives her that self-respect, a little bit of boosting. I trust her to be able to do it and do it well.	
	• Her and I really connected on that project because she has taken it and she is running with it. She is doing a phenomenal job. She has that sense of pride and it's something that is completely off my desk that I don't have to worry about because I know she is going to do it well. I trust in her. It all happened from a smoke break.	• Trust is shown through handing down of responsibilities in tasks and freedom in doing so.
	• I guess my take on it is you work until that day's work is done. Then you enjoy yourself. Go have a sip with your colleagues, do that stuff, depending on if they already finished their work. If it's not done, then you stay until it's done. It works out in the end as far as hours are concerned and things like that. I found that really strange.	• When an individual is shown trust that they can accomplish a goal without the constant supervision of their boss, they feel skillful and confident that someone trusts that they have the ability to accomplish a goal. Feelings of competence will soon follow. A final consequence of this will be hard work and increased loyalty.
	• That being free to apply my personality and my beliefs and my auto response in my workplace.	
	• I: When a manager trusts an Indigenous employee, what does that do for them? P: You can apply yourself more freely.	
	• When I first got to the city, there was a lot of punch yourself in, make sure your schedule is on there so that I can see where you are everyday.	• Trust needs to be earned, but should be easily given for First Nation employees. A lack of trust has large repercussions on an employees work.
	• After a few months when the work was being done and you could see on my agenda that all my meetings were being met and my reports are coming out consistent to what I said I'm doing, then that pressure was alleviated a little bit. I proved myself.	
	• When I got back, it was like I had to start, refresh all over again. There is a lot of make sure that your appointments are in there because it felt like there was okay, well, she is abusing her freedom.	**Respect**

	• Sharing food is a cultural foundation. If I were to offer you food, it would be really rude, in Indigenous culture, it's really rude to not accept food when it's offered to you. • I always shake hands with the elder whomever the elder is, go get them tea or whatever if they've sat down and haven't got their own coffee yet or if there are snacks provided, make sure that the elder has something to eat. You show that reverence to the elders. • Nobody is keeping track unless you miss a meeting or something which is a huge deal • Even underlying things, like if you hadn't had brought coffee, I would have offered you a coffee or a tea and gone about to make you feel comfortable here because that sharing of ... It's an important thing, right. • It's a way to show respect to your colleagues. • Generally speaking, this is for the last 15 years, I am generally the youngest one at the table. I take it on as my responsibility to make sure that my elders are taken care of. • I: why is it a huge deal if you missed a meeting? P: Because it's disrespectful. If I schedule a meeting with them, so I had to apologize for this morning because I forgot you were coming in. I was here. If I've committed to spending that time with you, and I prioritize myself ... It says in a not formal way or in not an intentional way but it says, "I don't respect your time," or the time that it took you • Respect is a huge deal in First Nations culture and showing each other respect is ... • Having that sense of accomplishment is very important, to be respected for what I know and what I do is very important for me	• Respect is an important traditional teaching and crucial social social regulation of behavior that influences work behaviors. • Everyone wants to feel respected at work, but that only happens if an individual shows respect to others. Showing respect includes several important behaviors including: sharing food, learning about one another's personal lives, respecting elders and the opinion of experienced employees, making one another feel as comfortable as possible in the workplace, and acknowledging one another's time. • Showing respect has several influences on behavior including: 1) making individuals feel comfortable in their environment and, as a result, more likely to engage with one another; 2) increase sense of competence in individuals (causing them to feel pride and work harder) because respect allows an individual to know when they have found where they fit into the larger work social system; and 3) it prioritizes relationship development.
Broader community influence	• I: can describe to me then how Indigenous communities as whole respond to hard workers? Are they praised or are they - P: Yeah. • Well, it doesn't matter really what you do. If you're a hard worker, so long as you have that balance and you're not neglecting your family, • hard worker, no matter what you do, whether you're working hard to provide a paycheck or you're a hard working hunter and you go and you provide meet for the community, that's a really dignified role. • I: was obviously very successful but comes back, how does the community treat them? P: Open arms. • Not even just the reason that I came home is the reason I was welcomed to open arms. It was because I was genuinely missed, like the what do you call that, prodigal son thing.	**How social regulation of behavior influences behavior:** • If an individual gives back to their community and family through work/educational experiences, they will be socially praised by the community. Therefore, this behavior will be encouraged because family is everything to First Nation men and women. • Contrarily, if an individual does not give back to their community in some way they will be socially ostracised.

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	- When I came home, but it wasn't until then that my hard work was recognized. Because it was just like, "Oh yeah, what is she doing all over the place?" Because I wasn't communicating with everybody. I was so busy - everything came very naturally back to me and that balancing family thing was equally important as I came back to myself, it was accepted wholeheartedly, welcome home - There were no questions asked. "What have you been up to?" Then I could talk about all the things that I've done. They're like, "Oh wow, that's pretty cool." - If you work too hard and you're neglecting your family and you're gone, that's not really looked on favorably, if you go beyond that threshold of balance. - Just talk behind their back a bit. I mean, if you're working that hard, you isolate yourself. - I didn't have children at the time but I neglected my family relationships with my brothers, with my mom. It provides a disconnect. I wasn't spending a lot of time in Canoe Lake which is where my culture is born and a lot of my teachings come from there. It just like, "Oh, you're too good for us now. So go do your thing. Whatever."	

Disrupted Cultural Model

Cultural Model Component	Participant Description of Component
Inferiority of skills/abilities by employer	- don't want to just flat out call it racism but I think I make people uncomfortable sometimes in those particular settings because I am well-educated, I am Aboriginal but there are assumptions about Aboriginal communities. When we get into that setting, people are going to assume that I fit the stereotypes of Indigenous person which the negative stereotypes are lazy, don't pull their own wage or uneducated but I'm very hardworking and educated. - When I come about and get into those work situations, I have to break those assumptions first. It's a little bit more work, more effort. I need to be extra professional, extra hardworking, stay late, be the first person there, all those extra effort things that come with being an Indigenous employee in a non-Indigenous workplace. - I guess the barking dog at the back is having those stereotypes, people thinking that I'm going to be a disappointment, the community is thinking, "Oh well, she is probably going to drink too much and not to show up on time or be lazy and not get the work done." Those assumptions is my barking dog at the back. That's the thing that I run from.
Self perceived inferiority of skills/abilities	N/A
Results focused	When you go about it that way, I mean the work still gets done but I think the quality of work is so much better when you're enjoying yourself, right. If you have that connectedness with your co-workers, then it's not quite as dry I guess.
Lack of First Nation specific practices	but I had to go to my supervisor and my supervisor had to go to her manager. She went to her supervisor and went to her manager. The managers had to negotiate. It took six weeks for them to come back to me with a response in the first place if I could smudge in my own office because of those chains of my command. So by that time, I was feeling so offended at being denied my right to practice my religion and my cultural beliefs in my own space. It just festered

Lack of awareness of others	• I don't want to say this inappropriately, there is a desire to be more professional I guess, is to take off of that personability
	• There is a line there when you ... They're in a workplace. There is a desire with non-Aboriginal co-workers to keep it more professional and drier and focus on the work
	• Yeah. I do think an element of it is racism coming in and having those stereotypes and those assumptions about me. Just a tiny bit of an uncomfortableness at having me at the table. You can feel it. You get to the table, everybody, they're talking amongst themselves. I walk in the room and everybody shuts up. Right. There are elements of that when I'm working in non-Aboriginal organizations.
	• It was just the process of getting there though because the people didn't quite believe me when I said I was cooking for them before I left.
Lack of direction towards employment goals	N/A
Lack of confidence	• because of the outward lens looking in assuming that you're going to be a disappointment. That confidence, you need to not only have it for yourself but you need to portray it. It's like that fake it until you make it thing, whether or not you're truly feeling confident or you have that ingrained confidence to be able to perform well, you need to exude it.

Appendix D – First Interviews within-case example.

Interview 1 (John) – Within Case Componential Matrix **Theoretical Category: 3** **Positive codings of text are in blue** **Negative codings of text are in red** **Text in black is considered to be neutral (i.e., not identified as positive or negative)**			

	Moral Codes		
CM manageable code	**Participant description of component**	**Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)**	**Respondent perspective (talking about self)**
Moral Codes of social interaction in the workplace	- and uhh…worked with some really weird people too [laughs]…only weird people take that shift [laughs]… - why put myself through this hassle and... you know... I just moved out and I'm like, "screw this I'm out"... moved to Saskatoon and I started looking for work. - ... their community leaders are...whatever... whoever's in charge is not looking out for them... they are looking out for themselves... they're not looking out for the interest of the people... they should start making connections to people and this and that to try and get their name out there and try to develop resources... our resources right? - this is how it works at the reserve...you know... like if... no one's pushing someone to do something... you know...they're not going to do it... - You know... you have to bug them... you have to... you have to... I don't want to see harass... but you know you gotta just get on top of the case just to get something approved or get something, you know, you need. - and they would just put it on their desk and just sit there and have coffee and talk to their friends... and that's all they do there... the answer a few calls... yeah this is the reserve - whats up? - No ones in there smacking them around and being like, "hey this is a professional environment" [laughs]... you know... get your shit straight... - it's because no ones on top of them...no one's grinding them... no ones trying to get... a outcome for anything... so they're just there just chillin	**Peer support (co-worker to co-worker)** - and uhh…worked with some really weird people too [laughs]…only weird people take that shift [laughs]… - and they would just put it on their desk and just sit there and have coffee and talk to their friends... and that's all they do there... the answer a few calls... yeah this is the reserve - whats up? - they will be like, " oh I want to get high tonight blah blah blah" and friend comes by and they are influenced by their friends and it's just a ripple effect of horse shit… - like higher authority...well I guess the guy that…up there...he really did like me, you know? So like...and now the other guys knew so they respected me too I guess...you know? - Well there is opportunity for them to work...the guys who have connections to the chief or whoever is in power there get the jobs...not the other guys...the other guys are left on the side... - The thing is women can go anywhere and like, you know...like they can fit in...you know? They are not a threat...you know you don't get that...you don't get that vibe from them and that's what people don't like I guess...you know? They have a higher average women at the gas station and here and there...they can go everywhere...a guy...the men they can't really do that...you know they are bigger, they are kind of	**Peer support (co-worker to co-worker)** - why put myself through this hassle and... you know... I just moved out and I'm like, "screw this I'm out"... moved to Saskatoon and I started looking for work. - I liked the environment and these guys pretty much took me in when I needed someone to take me in - they took me in, they treated me good, they kept me around so...I stayed with them. You know...I was like, "yeah these guys are good...they feed me good" [laughs] - yeah everyone turned on me so, like, people were starting to come there and check me out and try and test me and this and that... - I had to, you know, play by their rules...the thing is...I can work hard, like I am not...I thought I was decent...all these other guys can't handle it, you know? Like...I guess the sort of the roughneck approach, you know? I can handle what those kinda guys do, you know? like so...and these are all the guys that are

- they will be like, " oh I want to get high tonight blah blah blah" and friend comes by and they are influenced by their friends and it's just a ripple effect of horse shit…
- I liked the environment and these guys pretty much took me in when I needed someone to take me in
- [So they...trust...responsibility...is what you are thinking?] Yeah…yeah I had a lot of responsibility...like I said, I...built this place riel [laughs]...yeah…
- like higher authority...well I guess the guy that…up there...he really did like me, you know? So like...and now the other guys knew so they respected me too I guess...you know?
- I had to, you know, play by their rules...the thing is...I can work hard, like I am not...I thought I was decent...all these other guys can't handle it, you know? Like...I guess the sort of the roughneck approach, you know? I can handle what those kinda guys do, you know? like so...and these are all the guys that are in there, these guys are drinking, smoking, they are crazy and they are...you know...I was like, "alright, I should fit in pretty good".
- you know...and over there...there is no one to guide you...no one to talk to...or anything. You know?
- Well there is opportunity for them to work...the guys who have connections to the chief or whoever is in power there get the jobs...not the other guys...the other guys are left on the side...
- The thing is women can go anywhere and like, you know...like they can fit in...you know? They are not a threat...you know you don't get that...you don't get that vibe from them and that's what people don't like I guess...you know? They have a higher average women at the gas station and here and there...they can go everywhere...a guy...the men they can't really do that...you know they are bigger, they are kind of intimidating, you know? That is the mentality there, you know?
- Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there…
- Well it is more lackluster is their way...however they feel comfortable at their position...you know?

intimidating, you know? That is the mentality there, you know?

==Researcher interpretation of above text:==
It may be interpreted that peer-to-peer support within the workplace is casual, laid-back, and may create a 'relaxed environment' where employees feel comfortable. Key components that create an ideal social interaction between co-workers may include respect, a lack of intimidation, and/or a positive influence (e.g., working towards a common goal). When social interaction between co-workers is not facilitated it may be because some individuals do not fit the mold of the workplace and they are, therefore, deemed 'weird'.

Support from leadership (upper management to employee)
- ... their community leaders are...whatever... whoever's in charge is not looking out for them... they are looking out for themselves... they're not looking out for the interest of the people... they should start making connections to people and this and that to try and get their name out there and try to develop resources... our resources right?
- this is how it works at the reserve...you know... like if... no one's pushing someone to do something... you know...they're not going to do it...
- [So they...trust...responsibility...is what you are thinking?] Yeah…yeah I had a lot of responsibility...like I said, I...built this place riel [laughs]...yeah…
- you know...and over there...there is no one to guide you...no one to talk to...or anything. You know?

==Researcher interpretation of above text:==
Social support from leadership is coming in the form of handing down responsibility and providing guidance for workers. It may be interpreted from the previous passages that, when an employee gains responsibilities handed down from upper management, he or she interprets that as a form of social support that creates satisfaction with their work task. Additionally, when upper management are able to provide guidance (e.g., offer advice, offer strategies

in there, these guys are drinking, smoking, they are crazy and they are...you know...I was like, "alright, I should fit in pretty good".

Support from leadership (upper management to employee)
- No data

Communication style
- No data

Lack of harassment
- why put myself through this hassle and... you know... I just moved out and I'm like, "screw this I'm out"... moved to Saskatoon and I started looking for work.

==Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:==
It can be interpreted that passages from the respondent perspective provide further evidence for the interpretations seen in the informant perspective. Namely, that respect and an inclusive environment is important for social interaction within the workplace. It should be noted, however, that this participant is only referring to male-based workplaces and it is possible that these rules may only apply to these types of workplaces instead of places like an office. A direct style of communication that is not authoritarian is desired for this participant. It is possible that a male 'ideal' style of social interaction within the workplace is one that can be thought of as 'roughneck' or overly masculine.

for completion) it may also be interpreted as a form of social support. Contrarily, when upper management are perceived as 'only looking out for themselves' there is a perception that social support is lacking.

Communication style
- You know... you have to bug them... you have to... you have to... I don't want to see harass... but you know you gotta just get on top of the case just to get something approved or get something, you know, you need.
- No ones in there smacking them around and being like, "hey this is a professional environment" [laughs]... you know... get your shit straight...
- it's because no ones on top of them...no one's grinding them... no ones trying to get... a outcome for anything... so they're just there just chillin
- Like...I guess the sort of the roughneck approach, you know? I can handle what those kinda guys do, you know?

Researcher interpretation of above text:
It may be interpreted that, because of the negative connotations given to these passages, First Nation men and women do not appreciate an authoritarian style of communication. It is entirely possible that they may respond to it (e.g., work harder), but respect for the 'authoritarian figure' may be lost in the process. That being said, a very interesting parallel may be drawn between an authoritarian style of communication and a 'direct' or 'roughneck' style of communication. The difference between these being that a direct communication style would not be authoritarian in nature (e.g., "you there, go do this now because it needs to be done in 15 minutes) but simply telling it how it is (e.g., we need to go do this because it needs to be done soon, come with me to do it).

Lack of harassment
- Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to

<div style="color:red">their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there…</div>

<div style="color:blue">- Well it is more lackluster is their way...however they feel comfortable at their position...you know?</div>

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>
Similar to the previous interpretation regarding communication style, it may be interpreted that harassment from upper management or from fellow employees regarding job tasks is not acceptable. This harassment may come in the form of constant nagging, a harsh style of management, and/or not treating employees as contributors but as tools to get the job done. It is important to think about the approach a manager must take when interacting with First Nation men and women so their actions are not seen as harassment. Particularly, an individual should view and treat employees as important contributors to a job task and not just as a tool to accomplish the task.

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of social interaction in the workplace:
- they should start making connections to people and this and that to try and get their name out there and try to develop resources... our resources right?
- if... no one's pushing someone to do something... you know...they're not going to do it...
- you have to bug them...
- you gotta just get on top of the case
- No ones in there smacking them around
- no ones on top of them...no one's grinding them...
- it's just a ripple effect of horse shit…
- I had to, you know, play by their rules...
- I guess the sort of the roughneck approach, you know
- I can handle what those kinda guys do, you know
- there is no one to guide you...
- the other guys are left on the side...
- you don't get that vibe from them and that's what people don't like I guess...you know?
- okay we are going to bust these guys' balls
- Well it is more lackluster is their way...however they feel comfortable at their position...

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>
Within the metaphorical passages for social interaction, there appears to be many instances where physicality is involved. Passages such as 'bust these guys' balls' or 'smacking them around' or even 'no one's pushing someone' are instances of this. It is interpreted that these metaphors link to the idea of masculinity. As was interpreted in above categories, masculinity was a pervasive theme on how work is supposed to run for this interviewee. The fact that male genitalia is referred to in the metaphors may be a reinforcement of a desired-masculine way of social interaction. Additionally, there are metaphorical references to work social interaction as being a game that is played by workers. In particular, phrases such as 'I had to play by their rules' or 'the other guys are left on the side' are evidence for this. It may be possible that work interaction may be perceived as a 'game' that is played by members of the workplace.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Moral codes regarding the workplace and the broader community	- You've gotta get one guy in there, that is part of the community, that has experience from the outside or bigger city, knows how they roll...and throw him in there and be like, "hey, you guys blah blah blah blah"....	**Organizational responsibilities to their community** - You've gotta get one guy in there, that is part of the community, that has experience from the outside or bigger city, knows how they roll...and throw him in there and be like, "hey, you guys blah blah blah blah".... **Researcher interpretation of above text:** While evidence for this category is limited, it is possible to interpret that an organization does have the responsibility to hire the correct employees. This person should be from the community and, therefore, has intimate knowledge of its structure and peoples. Additionally, they should also be qualified so the chance of helping the organization and, to a lesser extent, the community can be maximized.	**Personal responsibilities to engage and connect community** - No data **Personal responsibilities to make community better** - No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** No interpretation due to lack of data

Metaphors used to describe moral codes regarding the workplace and the broader community:
- that has experience from the outside or bigger city, knows how they roll...and throw him in there

Researcher interpretation of above text:
No interpretation due to lack of data.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Moral codes of decision making in the workplace	- an interview too, I think there was 7 people interviewing me there... There was like the principal something of education there... and there was a bunch of people there asking me questions - ... We have to do more work in order to help these guys? Who are these guys to us? You know, maybe they have bad relations to them... maybe... that's how it is...that's the mentality... maybe, "oh why would I help him... he is a whatever last name"...you know? - Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there…	**Egalitarian nature of leadership** - an interview too, I think there was 7 people interviewing me there... There was like the principal something of education there... and there was a bunch of people there asking me questions - Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there… **Researcher interpretation of above text:** Regarding decision making in the workplace, it may be interpreted that the desired process for First Nation men	**Egalitarian nature of leadership** - No data **Egalitarian nature of workplace environment (co-worker to co-worker or co-worker to boss; general environment)** **-** No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** No interpretation due to lack of data

- Well it is more lackluster is their way...however they feel comfortable at their position...you know?	and women is one that is egalitarian in nature. The example given for this category surrounds a hiring committee of seven individuals, something that the interviewee said was standard. This was seen as a positive because seven individuals (as opposed to one) are tasked with making an important decision about hiring someone for their workplace. Involving more people in decisions appears to be a desired moral code. Additionally, another example is given where a single individual tried to make decisions on their own and took an authoritarian approach to do so. This did not end well, as the employees did not respect that decision making process. **Egalitarian nature of workplace environment (co-worker to co-worker or co-worker to boss; general environment)** - ... We have to do more work in order to help these guys? Who are these guys to us? You know, maybe they have bad relations to them... maybe... that's how it is...that's the mentality... maybe, "oh why would I help him... he is a whatever last name"...you know? - Well it is more lackluster is their way...however they feel comfortable at their position...you know? ==**Researcher interpretation of above text:**== Decision making within the workplace is not facilitated when personal differences are not set aside when thinking about making a decision. It is clear that this individual has experienced times where he saw how old grudges can hinder the decision making process and, possibly, cause the wrong decision to be made. This may relate to a traditional teaching where the community (i.e., workplace) comes before yourself.	

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of decision making in the workplace:
- okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...
- Well it is more lackluster is their way...however they feel comfortable at their position...

==**Researcher interpretation of above text:**==
- No interpretation due to lack of data.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)

Moral codes of workplace roles and responsibilities for organizations & employees to strive for	- you want to impress them so every day I worked hard and I didn't think anything of it - yeah, it was new it was exciting... I was young... I was ready for it... I was... you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult [laughs] - well they... the interview was like you know, "one of our aspects is professionalism and what do you think of that?" - Anything... anything... you know get the people their tickets...you know, I went in there and I was like, "there is like nothing here"... - You know... you have to bug them... you have to... you have to... I don't want to see harass... but you know you gotta just get on top of the case just to get something approved or get something, you know, you need. - even in the workforce I see a lot of irresponsibility too... - I was a beast...I was a hard worker...every day I came in there and knew people listed to me, you know? I took control...I was a foreman too...like they would give me guys and get everything done...and I got everything done you know? - they took me in, they treated me good, they kept me around so...I stayed with them. You know...I was like, "yeah these guys are good...they feed me good" [laughs] - I was just shredded cause I worked hard...it was summer everyday, and I loved it. You know, I was like, "this is awesome"...you know? And they liked it...they got everything done that they need to get done and...yeah...and I never gave any hassle or trouble or anything like that. - because I kinda like that job. You go to the camp, you get fed really good, you make good money and...and yeah...it was good...it was good work - so you have to hand in sheets and you have to schedule in for all of this stuff and all of these appointments and...it was really strict...like they...yeah...you have to be on top of all your stuff and I was like, "okay...for six hundred dollars a month I'd rather work"... - worked out there...I was cut up, bruised up, sweaty...boss was like... - So after the day the guy was like, "how was your first day" and I am like, "I'm sweaty, I'm bruised, I'm beaten...I call that a good days work" [laughs]...	**Desired organizational & leadership responsibilities to employees** - well they... the interview was like you know, "one of our aspects is professionalism and what do you think of that?" - Anything... anything... you know get the people their tickets [trade tickets]...you know, I went in there and I was like, "there is like nothing here"... - because I kinda like that job. You go to the camp, you get fed really good, you make good money and...and yeah...it was good...it was good work - so you have to hand in sheets and you have to schedule in for all of this stuff and all of these appointments and...it was really strict...like they...yeah...you have to be on top of all your stuff and I was like, "okay...for six hundred dollars a month I'd rather work"... - like they started me at thirteen dollars and hour and this is really the worst work you do and it's just...like...you are out of town and getting paid thirteen dollars? Like you should get some sort of living, you know? That's when I was like this is a sketchy job when I applied **Researcher interpretation of above text:** There are two main expectations that are imposed upon organizations by employees. The first is that an organization should provide for employees while they are working for them. This goes beyond pay, but also includes benefits and living quarters/food when necessary. It is possible that, by providing employees with the necessary material support, it will help to facilitate a positive environment and further perceived support from leadership. Additionally, training opportunities and educational experiences are expected to be available for employees. Finally, a strict way of implementing operating procedures (e.g., constant check-ins) are seen as negative. It is possible that it is perceived as the organization not trusting their employees. Therefore, one responsibility that is expected from organizations is a genuine trust in their employees. **Desired employee responsibilities to organization & leadership** - I don't know, a professional environment...other things were like cooking, labor... a lot of labor [laughs]so you don't really need to talk, you don't really need to present	**Desired organizational responsibilities to employees** - they took me in, they treated me good, they kept me around so...I stayed with them. You know...I was like, "yeah these guys are good...they feed me good" [laughs] **Desired employee responsibilities to organization** - you want to impress them so every day I worked hard and I didn't think anything of it - yeah, it was new it was exciting... I was young... I was ready for it... I was... you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult [laughs] - I was a beast...I was a hard worker...every day I came in there and knew people listed to me, you know? I took control...I was a foreman too...like they would give me guys and get everything done...and I got everything done you know? - I was just shredded cause I worked hard...it was summer everyday, and I loved it. You know, I was like, "this is awesome"...you know? And they liked it...they got everything done that they need to get done and...yeah...and I never gave any hassle or trouble or anything like that. - worked out there...I was cut up, bruised up, sweaty...boss was like... - So after the day the guy was like, "how was your first day" and I am like, "I'm sweaty, I'm bruised, I'm beaten...I call that a good days work" [laughs]...

- like they started me at thirteen dollars and hour and this is really the worst work you do and it's just...like...you are out of town and getting paid thirteen dollars? Like you should get some sort of living, you know? That's when I was like this is a sketchy job when I applied - pretty much you're a bush guy...you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit...you gotta, you know...and now you're going to be working at a gas station...they don't want...they aren't going to go down to that level...that's their pride too...you know? It's...yeah… - Like they hired a few Native guys and they busted their balls and they kept them around for a while you know?	yourself... you don't really need to look a certain way... you can just go to work whatever you know? - You know... you have to bug them... you have to... you have to... I don't want to see harass... but you know you gotta just get on top of the case just to get something approved or get something, you know, you need. - even in the workforce I see a lot of irresponsibility too... - pretty much you're a bush guy...you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit...you gotta, you know...and now you're going to be working at a gas station...they don't want...they aren't going to go down to that level...that's their pride too...you know? It's...yeah… - Like they hired a few Native guys and they busted their balls and they kept them around for a while you know? **Researcher interpretation of above text:** Working hard appears to be the key responsibility of employees. This was described as 'busting balls' and 'being-strong and fit'. The evidence presented here allows the researcher to make the interpretation that this is a male-dominated ideal of a responsibility owed to organizations. Masculinity has a large influence on the moral codes surrounding the components employees 'owe' organizations. Particularly, if an employee is hired by an organization than he or she should give it their all and work as hard as they can on behalf of that organization. It is interpreted that this ideal would be reinforced if the proper supports are fulfilled from the organization (see above).	**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** Once again, the ideal of working hard or 'giving it your all' when in the workplace is central within respondent passages and further reinforces the interpretations made from the informant perspective. A masculine dominated ideal of an employee's responsibilities to an organization is at the forefront of the evidence. In particular, respect, taking control, pride in completing tasks, and being physically bruised and beaten to show how hard you worked are important elements to this masculine ideal.

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of workplace roles and responsibilities for organizations & employees to strive for:
- you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult
- you have to bug them...
- but you know you gotta just get on top of the case
- I was a beast...I was a hard worker...
- I was just shredded cause I worked hard...
- I never gave any hassle or trouble
- you have to be on top of all your stuff
- I was like this is a sketchy job when I applied
- pretty much you're a bush guy...you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit...
- they don't want...they aren't going to go down to that level
- and they busted their balls and they kept them around for a while you know?

Researcher interpretation of above text:

Once again, the theme of masculinity is pervasive when considering metaphorical passages used to describe responsibilities employee's own to their organization. Strong physical language was used to describe what hard work meant for an organization (e.g., I was a beast; you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit; I was just shredded). It may be interpreted that strong, physical work is expected from employees and if you're not doing this type of work, you may not be working hard (according to this interviewee).

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Moral codes of leadership (interpreted as qualities associated with a leader – commonly referred to as boss, manager, or upper management)	- My dad got the like...Farm job in the summer and then he just brought me there to work with him - I would get hung up on by everybody I would talk to... And I stayed there for about an hour and I just left [laughs] - an interview too, I think there was 7 people interviewing me there... There was like the principal something of education there... and there was a bunch of people there asking me questions - ... their community leaders are...whatever... whoever's in charge is not looking out for them... they are looking out for themselves... they're not looking out for the interest of the people... they should start making connections to people and this and that to try and get their name out there and try to develop resources... our resources right? - this is how it works at the reserve...you know... like if... no one's pushing someone to do something... you know...they're not going to do it... - You know... you have to bug them... you have to... you have to... I don't want to see harass... but you know you gotta just get on top of the case just to get something approved or get something, you know, you need. - ... We have to do more work in order to help these guys? Who are these guys to us? You know, maybe they have bad relations to them... maybe... that's how it is...that's the mentality... maybe, "oh why would I help him... he is a whatever last name"...you know? - it's because no ones on top of them...no one's grinding them... no ones trying to get... a outcome for anything... so they're just there just chillin - The women are... and women can't bring these kids to work And be like be responsible for this and this and this... you know... its... it's too much for a woman To be raised... they need a real leader...you know... and yeah. - there is a few you can find good strong men but... and you know they are leading their community right - its obviously the people I met...who interacted with me,	**Decision making (i.e., ability to make decisions and corresponding employee judgement of decisions)** - No data **Role Model Attitude** - My dad got the like...Farm job in the summer and then he just brought me there to work with him - The women are... and women can't bring these kids to work And be like be responsible for this and this and this... you know... its... it's too much for a woman To be raised... they need a real leader...you know... and yeah. - there is a few you can find good strong men but... and you know they are leading their community right - its obviously the people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you, makes you think a different way and makes you realize a lot of stuff in your life. **Researcher interpretation of above text:** It appears as though a strong role model attitude and behavior set is desired in workplace leadership. It is desired that this role model attitude will allow employees to learn and progress their skills with a high degree of guidance. Additionally, a masculine ideal that this role model should be a male figure is seen here. This interpretation should be taken with caution, as there is a clear masculine bias present within this interview. That being said, it is clear to this participant that one desired quality of leadership is a male role model that provides practical guidance. **Desired Communication style** - this is how it works at the reserve...you know... like if... no one's pushing someone to do something... you know...they're not going to do it... - You know... you have to bug them... you have to... you have to... I don't want to see harass... but you know you	**Decision making (i.e., ability to make decisions and corresponding employee judgement of decisions)** - No data **Role Model Attitude** - so one of my dad's best friends...he took me under his wing, you know? And he just...you know he guided me through everything **Desired Communication style** - I would get hung up on by everybody I would talk to... And I stayed there for about an hour and I just left [laughs] **Desired Egalitarian attitude** - No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** While limited evidence is presented within the respondent perspective, it does provide more evidence that a role model should be a male figure and should constantly be available to work with an employee to guide them through their tasks.

who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you, makes you think a different way and makes you realize a lot of stuff in your life.
- You've gotta get one guy in there, that is part of the community, that has experience from the outside or bigger city, knows how they roll...and throw him in there and be like, "hey, you guys blah blah blah blah"....
- Well there is opportunity for them to work...the guys who have connections to the chief or whoever is in power there get the jobs...not the other guys...the other guys are left on the side...
- [The Chief? Okay...so why is he that way?] Well he isolates himself from everybody...and...the thing is I think he just does his own thing...you know, he makes money and he doesn't...you know...he just keeps to...he keeps to himself…
- Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there…

gotta just get on top of the case just to get something approved or get something, you know, you need.
- it's because no ones on top of them...no one's grinding them... no ones trying to get... a outcome for anything... so they're just there just chillin
- Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there…

Researcher interpretation of above text:
Communication stemming from leadership should not be done in an authoritarian manner. It is important to note, however, that it is desired that leadership communicate with employees in a way where there is a strong tone associated with it (i.e., pushing employees toward tasks) but the line is drawn when this strong tone turns harsh or authoritative. There appears to be a fine line between communication styles that First Nation men and women respond to. This reinforces the idea that a strong, but fair, leadership style is desired. It is also entirely possible that this applies to the male ideal of leadership as well.

Desired Egalitarian attitude
- an interview too, I think there was 7 people interviewing me there... There was like the principal something of education there... and there was a bunch of people there asking me questions
- ... their community leaders are...whatever... whoever's in charge is not looking out for them... they are looking out for themselves... they're not looking out for the interest of the people... they should start making connections to people and this and that to try and get their name out there and try to develop resources... our resources right?
- ... We have to do more work in order to help these guys? Who are these guys to us? You know, maybe they have bad relations to them... maybe... that's how it is...that's the mentality... maybe, "oh why would I help him... he is a whatever last name"...you know?
- You've gotta get one guy in there, that is part of the community, that has experience from the outside or

bigger city, knows how they roll...and throw him in there and be like, "hey, you guys blah blah blah blah"....
- Well there is opportunity for them to work...the guys who have connections to the chief or whoever is in power there get the jobs...not the other guys...the other guys are left on the side...
- [The Chief? Okay...so why is he that way?] Well he isolates himself from everybody...and...the thing is I think he just does his own thing...you know, he makes money and he doesn't...you know...he just keeps to...he keeps to himself…

Researcher interpretation of above text:
When a leader puts themselves before his or her employees, there is a loss of respect for that leader. Therefore, a certain degree of selflessness is expected from leadership that leads to an egalitarian environment in the workplace. Evidence for this comes in hiring practices (e.g., having seven individuals make the decision), as well as negative connotations when community and work leadership hire strictly family members or 'stick to themselves' within their environment. When someone is appointed a leader in the community or workplace, it is clear that they must think of those they are responsible for before they take care of their own personal matters (e.g., finances, hiring family members). An isolation of a leader will lead to a disrespect of that individual and violate the morale code of an egalitarian leadership attitude.

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of leadership (interpreted as qualities associated with a leader – commonly referred to as boss, manager, or upper management):
- I would get hung up on by everybody
- whoever's in charge is not looking out for them...
- should start making connections to people and this and that
- get their name out there and try to develop resources
- like if... no one's pushing someone to do something...
- you have to bug them
- but you know you gotta just get on top of the case
- no ones on top of them...no one's grinding them...
- so they're just there just chillin
- you can find good strong men but...
- people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you,
- knows how they roll...and throw him in there
- the other guys are left on the side...
- he isolates himself from everybody...

- ...he keeps to himself…
- okay we are going to bust these guys' balls
- but you start busting their balls and they are like,

Researcher interpretation of above text:
There is a strong physical element to the metaphors used to describe desired qualities in leadership. These particular metaphors are describing communicative styles, which have to be direct but not harsh according to these passages and previous interpretations. The phrase 'no one's grinding them' and 'no one's pushing someone' are excellent examples of communicative styles that may not be desirable for First Nation employees. Grinding implies that it is a constant and harsh struggle with lots of resistance. Additionally, if there is a 'push' to do anything then it is possible there is more resistance to doing a task.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Moral codes of work & task progression and advancement	- I was sitting there I was reading a thing on the computer to someone, I would get hung up on by everybody I would talk to... And I stayed there for about an hour and I just left [laughs] - I was dishwashing and then they assigned me…well I was still dishwashing and they were trying to move me up I guess so I was doing dishwashing and I was a prep cook - And then they started training me on…yeah…the deep fryer…so I got moved up a little bit. - yeah, it was new it was exciting... I was young... I was ready for it... I was... you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult [laughs] - so I looked at it and I'm like, "okay I can work with that"... so every day I would come in and add in books to the system and yeah… - and the guys there have nothing else to do... what do they do?... they don't work...you know... they collect a little check every two weeks... you know... what's that check? 100 and some dollars? That's the welfare they give you out there... you know...and it's... it's a terrible environment... terrible living area - Anything... anything... you know get the people their tickets [trade tickets]...you know, I went in there and I was like, "there is like nothing here"... - [so what's motivating you to...stay at this construction job for three years? And stay in minus 50 weather?] Well at that time...there...they were setting me up for school..and...just a month before that I was supposed to go into my apprenticeship...well I was already an apprentice but I was going to start school - how many years it took me from that position to this position I realized school is the best thing that happened	**Skill building & competence** - Anything... anything... you know get the people their tickets [trade tickets]...you know, I went in there and I was like, "there is like nothing here"... - [so what's motivating you to...stay at this construction job for three years? And stay in minus 50 weather?] Well at that time...there...they were setting me up for school…and...just a month before that I was supposed to go into my apprenticeship...well I was already an apprentice but I was going to start school **Researcher interpretation of above text:** Through passages such as these, it may be interpreted that employees desire the opportunity to advance their workplace skills and build their competence within the workplace (i.e., make themselves more proficient at their jobs). It should be noted that evidence presented here reflect the idea that skill building opportunities should be facilitated by the employer and should not necessarily be solely the employees responsibility. Additionally, these skill building opportunities provide extra motivation to stay with an organization and may provide a sense of loyalty and responsibility to the organization on behalf of the employee. **Transition of workplace roles** - No data **Perceived lack of purpose or progression in workplace** - and the guys there have nothing else to do... what do they do?... they don't work...you know... they collect a little check every two weeks... you know... what's that	**Skill building & competence** - And then they started training me on…yeah…the deep fryer…so I got moved up a little bit. - I applied for a TA job [on reserve]... opening and it was pretty intense because it was my first professional like job - yeah, it was new it was exciting... I was young... I was ready for it... I was... you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult [laughs] - so I looked at it and I'm like, "okay I can work with that"... so every day I would come in and add in books to the system and yeah… - how many years it took me from that position to this position I realized school is the best thing that happened to me...you know? And I regret not completing it in a mature and responsible way, but if I could I would...and now I am back here...I am not trying to prove anything, I know I can do this...I know the commitment level it takes... **Transition of workplace roles** - I was dishwashing and then they assigned me…well I was still dishwashing and they were trying to

to me...you know? And I regret not completing it in a mature and responsible way, but if I could I would...and now I am back here...I am not trying to prove anything, I know I can do this...I know the commitment level it takes... - You know? So those guys just stay at home and live that...that...that...in that circle, in that route...and it's not leading to anywhere...it hasn't been leading to anywhere for how long, you know?	check? 100 and some dollars? That's the welfare they give you out there... you know...and it's... it's a terrible environment... terrible living area - You know? So those guys just stay at home and live that...that...that...in that circle, in that route...and it's not leading to anywhere...it hasn't been leading to anywhere for how long, you know? **Researcher interpretation of above text:** Without a purpose in the workplace, or life in general, it appears that individuals get stuck in a cycle of unmotivated action. With regards to the workplace, if there is no perceived purpose to the job task or progression present then the outcome of work may simply turn into a 'paycheck' and nothing else. Consequently, well-being may decline. It may be interpreted that, without purpose, an employee may not feel a need to stay at their current job.	move me up I guess so I was doing dishwashing and I was a prep cook **Perceived lack of purpose or progression in workplace** - I was sitting there I was reading a thing on the computer to someone, I would get hung up on by everybody I would talk to... And I stayed there for about an hour and I just left [laughs] **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** There are several pieces of evidence present within the respondent perspective that lends to the idea that First Nation employees desire skill building opportunities that will lead to competence in their tasks. Within this interview, this particular interviewee valued the benefits of education and new adventures within the workplace (i.e., library job). Within his words, it is interpreted that he felt a sense of pride when describing the competence he gained when he felt like he did a good job, gained confidence in his abilities, and was able to attend skill-building activities. Additionally, a small amount of evidence was presented that indicates that a lack of purpose and progression within the workplace (i.e., getting hung up on by everyone) will cause an employee to leave.

Metaphors used to describe Moral codes of work & task progression and advancement:
- I would get hung up on by everybody I would talk to...
- they were trying to move me up I guess
- …so I got moved up a little bit.
- know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult
- how many years it took me from that position to this position I realized school is the best thing that happened to me...
- So those guys just stay at home and live that...that...that...in that circle, in that route...and it's not leading to anywhere...

Researcher interpretation of above text:

There are several references to a 'journey' within these metaphorical passages (e.g., trying to move me up; position to this position; in that circle, in that route; not leading anywhere). Overall, passages that described an acquisition of skills or advancement of career were given a positive tone. In contrast, when the 'journey' was stalled or stopped then the metaphors turned negative. Therefore, it is possible to interpret that a constant progression is desired for First Nation men and women.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Moral codes of competence & mastery	- I worked hard... I didn't want to you know... Look like a whatever in front of them [laughs] [look like what? You can say it's alright]…look like a pussy - …I had my licence, physically fit, I was young…I was twenty one…I think I was twenty one…twenty one years old. - but before that my mom was a teacher there... well she was a teacher there so she was able to prep me pretty good on the interview... - yeah, it was new it was exciting... I was young... I was ready for it... I was... you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult [laughs] - [So they...trust...responsibility...is what you are thinking?] Yeah…yeah I had a lot of responsibility...like I said, I...built this place riel [laughs]...yeah… - I was pretty much the 'everything' guy...handyman...I would go...I would build...we would fix up the cabins, you know? Put propane in them...if there was plumbing needed to be done we would do that...if there was landscaping that gotta be done, we would do landscaping...gotta throw garbage, we would throw the garbage...yeah, it was pretty awesome... - I was just shredded cause I worked hard...it was summer everyday, and I loved it. You know, I was like, "this is awesome"...you know? And they liked it...they got everything done that they need to get done and...yeah...and I never gave any hassle or trouble or anything like that. - I tried looking for work for the longest time and...I just...the thing is I have skills, like I can...you know...I can hang in there with the big dogs or, you know, be a grunt... **-** the thing is they see me and I'm...everyday I'm there, I'm there early...earliest...you know I had to prove myself, you know?	**Competence** - but before that my mom was a teacher there... well she was a teacher there so she was able to prep me pretty good on the interview... **Researcher interpretation of above text:** No interpretation due to lack of data – moved to respondent perspective. **Mastery** - No data	**Competence** - I worked hard... I didn't want to you know... Look like a whatever in front of them [laughs] [look like what? You can say it's alright]…look like a pussy - …I had my licence, physically fit, I was young…I was twenty one…I think I was twenty one…twenty one years old. - yeah, it was new it was exciting... I was young... I was ready for it... I was... you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult [laughs] - I was a beast...I was a hard worker...every day I came in there and knew people listed to me, you know? I took control...I was a foreman too...like they would give me guys and get everything done...and I got everything done you know? - [So they...trust...responsibility...is what you are thinking?] Yeah…yeah I had a lot of responsibility...like I said, I...built this place riel [laughs]...yeah… - I was pretty much the 'everything' guy...handyman...I would go...I would build...we would fix up the cabins, you know? Put propane in them...if there was plumbing needed to be done we would do that...if there was landscaping that gotta be done, we would do landscaping...gotta throw garbage, we would throw the

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garbage...yeah, it was pretty awesome...

- I was just shredded cause I worked hard...it was summer everyday, and I loved it. You know, I was like, "this is awesome"...you know? And they liked it...they got everything done that they need to get done and...yeah...and I never gave any hassle or trouble or anything like that.

- I tried looking for work for the longest time and...I just...the thing is I have skills, like I can...you know...I can hang in there with the big dogs or, you know, be a grunt...

- the thing is they see me and I'm...everyday I'm there, I'm there early...earliest...you know I had to prove myself, you know?

Mastery
- No data

<mark>Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:</mark>
There is strong evidence presented here of a strong relationship between working hard, masculinity, and competence. As is described above, an employee should work as hard as they possibly can for their organization because it is the duty of a 'real man'. Within this is strong language that can be interpreted as belonging to the realm of masculinity. Working hard is part of a man's duty regardless of whether he is in the workplace or not. With working hard comes respect and social belonging. With these components comes a strong sense of personal satisfaction that can be interpreted as a feeling of

			competence at work and, to a lesser extent, in being a 'man'. Therefore, the proposed relationship is: 1) work hard; 2) gain respect and social belonging from fellow colleagues; 3) personal fulfillment in achieving what it means to 'be a man'; and 4) feel competent in work and life.

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of competence and mastery:
- I didn't want to you know... Look like a whatever in front of them [laughs] [look like what? You can say it's alright]…look like a pussy
- you know I picked up things pretty quick, and it's not that difficult
- I was pretty much the 'everything' guy...handyman
- I was just shredded cause I worked hard...
- I never gave any hassle or trouble or anything like that.
- I can hang in there with the big dogs or, you know, be a grunt...

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>
Competence may relate to the physicality of the work task or workers themselves. Masculinity is also perceived to play a role in competence. This may be claimed from a few passages including the phrase 'I don't want to look like a pussy' (i.e., a hyper-masculine statement of hard-work qualities) or 'I was the 'everything guy…handyman'. To this interviewee, competence relates to hard work, masculinity, and being flexible in work tasks.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Moral codes of self-awareness in the workplace	- I worked hard... I didn't want to you know... Look like a whatever in front of them [laughs] [look like what? You can say it's alright]…look like a pussy - And then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so - so I just gave them whatever I knew and taught them whatever I could teach them at that time. - Well, the work ethic yeah...it was built into me...like I was always a grinder you know? Like yeah… - like higher authority...well I guess the guy that…up there...he really did like me, you know? So like...and now the other guys knew so they respected me too I guess...you know? - I had to, you know, play by their rules...the thing is...I can work hard, like I am not...I thought I was decent...all these other guys can't handle it, you know? Like...I guess the sort of the roughneck approach, you know? I can handle what those kinda guys do, you know? like so...and these are all the guys that are in there, these	**Aware of self** - No data **Aware of others** - No data	**Aware of self** - I worked hard... I didn't want to you know... Look like a whatever in front of them [laughs] [look like what? You can say it's alright]…look like a pussy - Well, the work ethic yeah...it was built into me...like I was always a grinder you know? Like yeah… **Aware of others** - And then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so - so I just gave them whatever I knew and taught them whatever I could teach them at that time.

guys are drinking, smoking, they are crazy and they are...you know...I was like, "alright, I should fit in pretty good".		- like higher authority...well I guess the guy that…up there...he really did like me, you know? So like...and now the other guys knew so they respected me too I guess...you know? - I had to, you know, play by their rules...the thing is...I can work hard, like I am not...I thought I was decent...all these other guys can't handle it, you know? Like...I guess the sort of the roughneck approach, you know? I can handle what those kinda guys do, you know? like so...and these are all the guys that are in there, these guys are drinking, smoking, they are crazy and they are...you know...I was like, "alright, I should fit in pretty good". **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** Within the respondent perspective, further evidence is presented that shows the importance of working hard to achieve a masculine ideal of job completion. Within this section, however, is strong evidence that being 'aware of others' or being aware of the impacts work can have for family and other colleagues is important for an individual to consider when progressing or choosing their career path. Additionally, being aware of how your colleagues perceive you within the workplace appears to be an important element of being aware of others. In particular, this individual describes the importance of gaining respect among his colleagues and bosses. In order to gain respect of his colleagues, he had to receive responsibilities from his leadership (and to a lesser extent become a

			leader in some form) as well as participate within the existing culture at his job (i.e., a roughneck approach). Without this awareness, his job satisfaction would have suffered and he would not have been accepted within the workplace because he would not have been aware of his actions within the workplace.

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of self-awareness in the workplace:
- I didn't want to you know... Look like a whatever in front of them [laughs] [look like what? You can say it's alright]…look like a pussy
- then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...
- the work ethic yeah...it was built into me...like I was always a grinder you know?
- I had to, you know, play by their rules...
- Like...I guess the sort of the roughneck approach, you know? I can handle what those kinda guys do, you know?

Researcher interpretation of above text:
No interpretation offered – metaphors are similar to above interpretation categories.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Moral Codes of work independence	- I have my own space... you know... my own work area and... yeah. - women are usually the ones that are actually doing stuff...you know...like...working and trying to find an opportunity because they have kids and they have a responsibility to the kids now...so they try to set something up for themselves…	**Independence in the workplace** - No data **Achieving independence in order to serve the community or family** - women are usually the ones that are actually doing stuff...you know...like...working and trying to find an opportunity because they have kids and they have a responsibility to the kids now...so they try to set something up for themselves… **Researcher interpretation of above text:** It may be interpreted that achieving independence in the workplace (i.e., forging your own path) may be seen as a necessary component to provide for your family. Therefore, it is independence to a certain degree. It is achieving independence in order to help support others.	**Independence in the workplace** - I have my own space... you know... my own work area and... yeah. **Achieving independence in order to serve the community or family** - No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** Limited evidence is presented, but it appears as though having a dedicated space for employees' increases satisfaction with the job.

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of work independence:
- I have my own space...

Researcher interpretation of above text:

No interpretation due to lack of data

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Morale codes of money & status	- you gotta start...and like...putting your money in places like Saskatoon...like developing properties and business here...like you see Cree-way and Fire Creek...who owns those? People who are owning them are doing pretty good, you know? So you gotta start putting your money where...you know...where you can get a return or some sort of...I'm not...you know...I am not an expert, but I do see the ways and in order...to I don't know make some sort of money...I don't know...but they gotta...I don't know... - you think males want to go and try to be a teacher? These guys didn't grow up like that, you know. Right...Do you know of anyone on reserve that is rich? - Like rich rich? [Has a truck, you know...big jacked up truck...has a nice house...those kind of things...is there anyone like that that you know?] Yeah, the chief, Delbert. [The Chief? Okay...so why is he that way?] Well he isolates himself from everybody...and...the thing is I think he just does his own thing...you know, he makes money and he doesn't...you know...he just keeps to...he keeps to himself…	**Correct use of money (includes desired amount of money)** - you gotta start...and like...putting your money in places like Saskatoon...like developing properties and business here...like you see Cree-way and Fire Creek...who owns those? People who are owning them are doing pretty good, you know? So you gotta start putting your money where...you know...where you can get a return or some sort of...I'm not...you know...I am not an expert, but I do see the ways and in order...to I don't know make some sort of money...I don't know...but they gotta...I don't know... - Like rich rich? [Has a truck, you know...big jacked up truck...has a nice house...those kind of things...is there anyone like that that you know?] Yeah, the chief, Delbert. [The Chief? Okay...so why is he that way?] Well he isolates himself from everybody...and...the thing is I think he just does his own thing...you know, he makes money and he doesn't...you know...he just keeps to...he keeps to himself… ==Researcher interpretation of above text:== The two passages presented here are clear evidence for the perceived correct use of finances. Namely, individuals with the control of community/work finances should be benefitting the community (e.g., further investment) and not focusing on benefits for themselves (e.g., new vehicle). It is a moral code to use money to benefit those around you instead of only focusing on benefitting yourself. **Correct use of status** - you think males want to go and try to be a teacher? These guys didn't grow up like that, you know. ==Researcher interpretation of above text:== No interpretation due to lack of data.	**Correct use of money (includes desired amount of money)** - No data **Correct use of status** - No data

Metaphors used to describe moral codes of money and status:

- start...and like...putting your money in places like Saskatoon.
- developing properties and business here...
- So you gotta start putting your money where...you know...where you can get a return or some sort of.
- Well he isolates himself from everybody...

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>

The idea of investment of money to benefit the community is present within these passages. In particular, phrases such as 'developing properties' or 'getting a return' may be attributed to this. When one looks at the category being interpreted (i.e., correct use of money), it may be interpreted that the correct use of money should be to use it in such a way that it benefits the community of the whole. When the person with the finances is 'isolated', it is perceived as negative. Isolation is nearly opposite of community.

Overall content of moral code component (researcher description):

Written summary of CM manageable code:

Moral Codes of social interaction in the workplace

It may be interpreted that peer-to-peer support within the workplace is casual, laid-back, and may create a 'relaxed environment' where employees feel comfortable. Key components that create an ideal social interaction between co-workers may include respect, a lack of intimidation, and/or a positive influence (e.g., working towards a common goal). When social interaction between co-workers is not facilitated it may be because some individuals do not fit the mold of the workplace and they are, therefore, deemed 'weird'.

Social support from leadership is coming in the form of handing down responsibility and providing guidance for workers. It may be interpreted from the previous passages that, when an employee gains responsibilities handed down from upper management, he or she interprets that as a form of social support that creates satisfaction with their work task. Additionally, when upper management are able to provide guidance (e.g., offer advice, offer strategies for completion) it may also be interpreted as a form of social support. Contrarily, when upper management are perceived as 'only looking out for themselves' there is a perception that social support is lacking.

It may be interpreted that, because of the negative connotations given to these passages, First Nation men and women do not appreciate an authoritarian style of communication. It is entirely possible that they may respond to it (e.g., work harder), but respect for the 'authoritarian figure' may be lost in the process. That being said, a very interesting parallel may be drawn between an authoritarian style of communication and a 'direct' or 'roughneck' style of communication. The difference between these being that a direct communication style would not be authoritarian in nature (e.g., "you there, go do this now because it needs to be done in 15 minutes) but simply telling it how it is (e.g., we need to go do this because it needs to be done soon, come with me to do it).

Similar to the previous interpretation regarding communication style, it may be interpreted that harassment from upper management or from fellow employees regarding job tasks is not acceptable. This harassment may come in the form of constant nagging, a harsh style of management, and/or not treating employees as contributors but as tools to

get the job done. It is important to think about the approach a manager must take when interacting with First Nation men and women so their actions are not seen as harassment. Particularly, an individual should view and treat employees as important contributors to a job task and not just as a tool to accomplish the task.

Within the metaphorical passages for social interaction, there appears to be many instances where physicality is involved. Passages such as 'bust these guys' balls' or 'smacking them around' or even 'no one's pushing someone' are instances of this. It is interpreted that these metaphors link to the idea of masculinity. As was interpreted in above categories, masculinity was a pervasive theme on how work is supposed to run for this interviewee. The fact that male genitalia is referred to in the metaphors may be a reinforcement of a desired-masculine way of social interaction. Additionally, there are metaphorical references to work social interaction as being a game that is played by workers. In particular, phrases such as 'I had to play by their rules' or 'the other guys are left on the side' are evidence for this. It may be possible that work interaction may be perceived as a 'game' that is played by members of the workplace.

It can be interpreted that passages from the respondent perspective provide further evidence for the interpretations seen in the informant perspective. Namely, that respect and an inclusive environment is important for social interaction within the workplace. It should be noted, however, that this participant is only referring to male-based workplaces and it is possible that these rules may only apply to these types of workplaces instead of places like an office. A direct style of communication that is not authoritarian is desired for this participant. It is possible that a male 'ideal' style of social interaction within the workplace is one that can be thought of as 'roughneck' or overly masculine.

Moral codes regarding the workplace and the broader community

While evidence for this category is limited, it is possible to interpret that an organization does have the responsibility to hire the correct employees. This person should be from the community and, therefore, has intimate knowledge of its structure and peoples. Additionally, they should also be qualified so the chance of helping the organization and, to a lesser extent, the community can be maximized.

Moral codes of decision making in the workplace

Regarding decision making in the workplace, it may be interpreted that the desired process for First Nation men and women is one that is egalitarian in nature. The example given for this category surrounds a hiring committee of seven individuals, something that the interviewee said was standard. This was seen as a positive because seven individuals (as opposed to one) are tasked with making an important decision about hiring someone for their workplace. Involving more people in decisions appears to be a desired moral code. Additionally, another example is given where a single individual tried to make decisions on their own and took an authoritarian approach to do so. This did not end well, as the employees did not respect that decision making process.

Decision making within the workplace is not facilitated when personal differences are not set aside when thinking about making a decision. It is clear that this individual has experienced times where he saw how old grudges can hinder the decision making process and, possibly, cause the wrong decision to be made. This may relate to a traditional teaching where the community (i.e., workplace) comes before yourself.

Moral codes of workplace roles and responsibilities for organizations & employees to strive for

There are two main expectations that are imposed upon organizations by employees. The first is that an organization should provide for employees while they are working for them. This goes beyond pay, but also includes benefits and living quarters/food when necessary. It is possible that, by providing employees with the necessary material support, it will help to facilitate a positive environment and further perceived support from leadership. Additionally, training opportunities and educational experiences are expected to be available for employees. Finally, a strict way of implementing operating procedures (e.g., constant check-ins) are seen as negative. It is possible that it is perceived as the organization not trusting their employees. Therefore, one responsibility that is expected from organizations is a genuine trust in their employees.

Working hard appears to be the key responsibility of employees. This was described as 'busting balls' and 'being-strong and fit'. The evidence presented here allows the researcher to make the interpretation that this is a male-dominated ideal of a responsibility owed to organizations. Masculinity has a large influence on the moral codes surrounding the components employees 'owe' organizations. Particularly, if an employee is hired by an organization than he or she should give it their all and work as hard as they can on behalf of that organization. It is interpreted that this ideal would be reinforced if the proper supports are fulfilled from the organization (see above).

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: Once again, the ideal of working hard or 'giving it your all' when in the workplace is central within respondent passages and further reinforces the interpretations made from the informant perspective. A masculine dominated ideal of an employee's responsibilities to an organization is at the forefront of the evidence. In particular, respect, taking control, pride in completing tasks, and being physically bruised and beaten to show how hard you worked are important elements to this masculine ideal.

Once again, the theme of masculinity is pervasive when considering metaphorical passages used to describe responsibilities employee's own to their organization. Strong physical language was used to describe what hard work meant for an organization (e.g., I was a beast; you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit; I was just shredded). It may be interpreted that strong, physical work is expected from employees and if you're not doing this type of work, you may not be working hard (according to this interviewee).

Moral codes of leadership (interpreted as qualities associated with a leader – commonly referred to as boss, manager, or upper management)

It appears as though a strong role model attitude and behavior set is desired in workplace leadership. It is desired that this role model attitude will allow employees to learn and progress their skills with a high degree of guidance. Additionally, a masculine ideal that this role model should be a male figure is seen here. This interpretation should be taken with caution, as there is a clear masculine bias present within this interview. That being said, it is clear to this participant that one desired quality of leadership is a male role model that provides practical guidance.

Communication stemming from leadership should not be done in an authoritarian manner. It is important to note, however, that it is desired that leadership communicate with employees in a way where there is a strong tone associated with it (i.e., pushing employees toward tasks) but the line is drawn when this strong tone turns harsh or authoritative. There appears to be a fine line between communication styles that First Nation men and women respond to. This reinforces the idea that a strong, but fair, leadership style is desired. It is also entirely possible that this applies to the male ideal of leadership as well.

When a leader puts themselves before his or her employees, there is a loss of respect for that leader. Therefore, a certain degree of selflessness is expected from leadership that leads to an egalitarian environment in the workplace. Evidence for this comes in hiring practices (e.g., having seven individuals make the decision), as well as negative connotations when community and work leadership hire strictly family members or 'stick to themselves' within their environment. When someone is appointed a leader in the community or workplace, it is clear that they must think of those they are responsible for before they take care of their own personal matters (e.g., finances, hiring family members). An isolation of a leader will lead to a disrespect of that individual and violate the morale code of an egalitarian leadership attitude.

There is a strong physical element to the metaphors used to describe desired qualities in leadership. These particular metaphors are describing communicative styles, which have to be direct but not harsh according to these passages and previous interpretations. The phrase 'no one's grinding them' and 'no one's pushing someone' are excellent examples of communicative styles that may not be desirable for First Nation employees. Grinding implies that it is a constant and harsh struggle with lots of resistance. Additionally, if there is a 'push' to do anything then it is possible there is more resistance to doing a task.

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: While limited evidence is presented within the respondent perspective, it does provide more evidence that a role model should be a male figure and should constantly be available to work with an employee to guide them through their tasks.

Moral codes of work & task progression and advancement

Through passages such as these, it may be interpreted that employees desire the opportunity to advance their workplace skills and build their competence within the workplace (i.e., make themselves more proficient at their jobs). It should be noted that evidence presented here reflect the idea that skill building opportunities should be facilitated by the employer and should not necessarily be solely the employees responsibility. Additionally, these skill building opportunities provide extra motivation to stay with an organization and may provide a sense of loyalty and responsibility to the organization on behalf of the employee.

Without a purpose in the workplace, or life in general, it appears that individuals get stuck in a cycle of unmotivated action. With regards to the workplace, if there is no perceived purpose to the job task or progression present then the outcome of work may simply turn into a 'paycheck' and nothing else. Consequently, well-being may decline. It may be interpreted that, without purpose, an employee may not feel a need to stay at their current job.

There are several references to a 'journey' within these metaphorical passages (e.g., trying to move me up; position to this position; in that circle, in that route; not leading anywhere). Overall, passages that described an acquisition of skills or advancement of career were given a positive tone. In contrast, when the 'journey' was stalled or stopped then the metaphors turned negative. Therefore, it is possible to interpret that a constant progression is desired for First Nation men and women.

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: There are several pieces of evidence present within the respondent perspective that lends to the idea that First Nation employees desire skill building opportunities that will lead to competence in their tasks. Within this interview, this particular interviewee valued the benefits of

education and new adventures within the workplace (i.e., library job). Within his words, it is interpreted that he felt a sense of pride when describing the competence he gained when he felt like he did a good job, gained confidence in his abilities, and was able to attend skill-building activities. Additionally, a small amount of evidence was presented that indicates that a lack of purpose and progression within the workplace (i.e., getting hung up on by everyone) will cause an employee to leave.

Moral codes of competence & mastery

There is strong evidence presented here of a strong relationship between working hard, masculinity, and competence. As is described above, an employee should work as hard as they possibly can for their organization because it is the duty of a 'real man'. Within this is strong language that can be interpreted as belonging to the realm of masculinity. Working hard is part of a man's duty regardless of whether he is in the workplace or not. With working hard comes respect and social belonging. With these components comes a strong sense of personal satisfaction that can be interpreted as a feeling of competence at work and, to a lesser extent, in being a 'man'. Therefore, the proposed relationship is: 1) work hard; 2) gain respect and social belonging from fellow colleagues; 3) personal fulfillment in achieving what it means to 'be a man'; and 4) feel competent in work and life.

Competence may relate to the physicality of the work task or workers themselves. Masculinity is also perceived to play a role in competence. This may be claimed from a few passages including the phrase 'I don't want to look like a pussy' (i.e., a hyper-masculine statement of hard-work qualities) or 'I was the 'everything guy…handyman'. To this interviewee, competence relates to hard work, masculinity, and being flexible in work tasks.

Moral codes of self-awareness in the workplace

Within the respondent perspective, further evidence is presented that shows the importance of working hard to achieve a masculine ideal of job completion. Within this section, however, is strong evidence that being 'aware of others' or being aware of the impacts work can have for family and other colleagues is important for an individual to consider when progressing or choosing their career path. Additionally, being aware of how your colleagues perceive you within the workplace appears to be an important element of being aware of others. In particular, this individual describes the importance of gaining respect among his colleagues and bosses. In order to gain respect of his colleagues, he had to receive responsibilities from his leadership (and to a lesser extent become a leader in some form) as well as participate within the existing culture at his job (i.e., a roughneck approach). Without this awareness, his job satisfaction would have suffered and he would not have been accepted within the workplace because he would not have been aware of his actions within the workplace.

Moral Codes of work independence

It may be interpreted that achieving independence in the workplace (i.e., forging your own path) may be seen as a necessary component to provide for your family. Therefore, it is independence to a certain degree. It is achieving independence in order to help support others.

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: Limited evidence is presented, but it appears as though having a dedicated space for employees' increases satisfaction with the job.

Morale codes of money & status

The two passages presented here are clear evidence for the perceived correct use of finances. Namely, individuals with the control of community/work finances should be benefitting the community (e.g., further investment) and not focusing on benefits for themselves (e.g., new vehicle). It is a moral code to use money to benefit those around you instead of only focusing on benefitting yourself.

The idea of investment of money to benefit the community is present within these passages. In particular, phrases such as 'developing properties' or 'getting a return' may be attributed to this. When one looks at the category being interpreted (i.e., correct use of money), it may be interpreted that the correct use of money should be to use it in such a way that it benefits the community of the whole. When the person with the finances is 'isolated', it is perceived as negative. Isolation is nearly opposite of community.

Repertoires of Behavior

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Repertoires of behavior of social support in the workplace	- its obviously the people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you, makes you think a different way and makes you realize a lot of stuff in your life. - yeah everyone turned on me so, like, people were starting to come there and check me out and try and test me and this and that...	**Peer support (co-worker to co-worker)** - its obviously the people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you, makes you think a different way and makes you realize a lot of stuff in your life. **Researcher interpretation of above text:** The specific communication behaviors are limited within this section, but this passage does indicate that the style of peer support desired is that of a role model from multiple individuals. Specifically, certain stories or behaviors (i.e., leading by example) at work has the perception of being supportive to one another in the workplace. **Support from leadership (upper management to employee)** - No data **Communication Style** - No data	**Peer support (co-worker to co-worker)** - yeah everyone turned on me so, like, people were starting to come there and check me out and try and test me and this and that... **Support from leadership (upper management to employee)** - No data **Communication Style** - No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** While the informant perspective has some indication of positive peer support, there is evidence of what a lack of support may look like. This would involve 'testing' one another's character or manhood which leads to the perception that they are not fully accepted or supported within the workplace. This led to the perception of 'being turned on' which negatively effects sociability.

Metaphors used to describe repertoires of behavior of social support in the workplace:
- the people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you,
- yeah everyone turned on me so, like, people were starting to come there and check me out and try and test me

Researcher interpretation of above text:
With regard to social support within the workplace, it is interesting to see two contrasting metaphorical statements. In particular, desired social support comes in the form of mentorship (i.e., passed stuff along, rubs off on you) where undesirable social support comes from a lack of trust and isolation (i.e., everyone turned on me).

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)

Repertoires of behavior-communication in the workplace		**Welcoming and genuine** - No data **Story telling** - No data	**Welcoming and genuine** - No data **Story telling** - No data

Metaphors used to describe repertoires of behavior- communication in the workplace:
- No metaphors identified

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Cultural specific repertoires of behavior in the workplace		**First Nation specific practices in the workplace** - No data **Vacation & time off** - No data	**First Nation specific practices in the workplace** - No data **Vacation & time off** - No data

Metaphors used to describe Cultural specific repertoires of behavior in the workplace:
- No metaphors identified

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Repertoires of behavior of non-social behavior (e.g., dress, time, scheduling)	- And at that time I was making $6 an hour... Working 8 to 10 hour days...[So that's a lot of hours... Yeah]…yeah... For a little kid... - an interview too, I think there was 7 people interviewing me there... There was like the principal something of education there... and there was a bunch of people there asking me questions - I have my own space... you know... my own work area and... yeah. - he was not even, like he come into work...it was cold out, he was not even geared up or anything but he would come in and do all the labour and they worked hard for their money...I guess they needed it... - You gotta call them every day to figure out how far they got into it...into my letter or into my thing I need back, you know? It's ridiculous...but yeah...it's their job to do that but...like...after a week nothing has been done	**Appearance of employees** - you don't really need to present yourself... you don't really need to look a certain way... you can just go to work whatever you know? Like say I am a dishwasher... I wear baggy jeans and whatever [laughs]... backwards hat, washing dishes all day...you know and this is... I had to wear, you know, dress professional. **Researcher interpretation of above text:** There is a clear delineation between the appearance of employees within 'professional' jobs and other types of job. To clarify, the context of this interview spoke to the idea that professional jobs were one that did not involve manual labor. When individuals are working in a 'manual labor' related job they may dress as the please (i.e., comfy clothes). Appearance is not the foremost concern. In contrast, when the work environment is	**Appearance of employees** - No data **Scheduling** - And at that time I was making $6 an hour... Working 8 to 10 hour days...[So that's a lot of hours... Yeah]…yeah... For a little kid... **Office/workplace equipment** - No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** No interpretation due to lack of data.

and they are, "oh I haven't...I'll look at it right now"...okay...then you call back tomorrow, "have you looked at it"..."oh yeah I just looked at it
- because no one else is going to go in there and tell them what to do...you know? Cause their family is in power...it's just how it is in the reserve...you have your...say I'm the chief...I am going to hire all my family and whatever position they want...like oh your nephew needs a job? Okay, let's see...call the guy...is any openings? Okay, put him in there...you know? So you got him in there and he doesn't have the training, he doesn't have anything needed so he is just there chilling and...trying to get maybe some work done...you know? And...since he...since that's his department...his area and office...you know...

perceived as 'professional', an employee's appearance does matter. While it is not clear what 'dressing professional' means, it is clear that it is different from how an individual would dress for a manual labor job.

Scheduling & hiring practices
- an interview too, I think there was 7 people interviewing me there... There was like the principal something of education there... and there was a bunch of people there asking me questions
- You gotta call them every day to figure out how far they got into it...into my letter or into my thing I need back, you know? It's ridiculous...but yeah...it's their job to do that but...like...after a week nothing has been done and they are, "oh I haven't...I'll look at it right now"...okay...then you call back tomorrow, "have you looked at it"..."oh yeah I just looked at it
- because no one else is going to go in there and tell them what to do...you know? Cause their family is in power...it's just how it is in the reserve...you have your...say I'm the chief...I am going to hire all my family and whatever position they want...like oh your nephew needs a job? Okay, let's see...call the guy...is any openings? Okay, put him in there...you know? So you got him in there and he doesn't have the training, he doesn't have anything needed so he is just there chilling and...trying to get maybe some work done...you know? And...since he...since that's his department...his area and office...you know...

Researcher interpretation of above text:
In terms of hiring practices, it appears that 'hiring by committee' is the ideal way to conduct operations for First Nation organizations. This may help to prevent individuals from only hiring their family members (according to evidence presented here regarding powerful individuals in the workplace). It is not seen as positive to hire only your family members and not consider others for the position. This creates the perception of looking out for yourself and not for the betterment of the organization. Additionally, not hiring an individual that is capable or has the appropriate training for a job is negatively viewed.

Regarding scheduling and time management, it appears that an easy-going approach is adopted by First Nation men and women when working in First Nation organizations. While this individual may not have appreciated it, it is interpreted that a lack of strict adherence to a strict schedule or time is not closely followed. Rather, an easy going approach to work is desired. This may link with the idea of the importance of socialization in the workplace and less focus on solely productivity.

Office/workplace equipment
- I have my own space... you know... my own work area and... yeah.
- he was not even, like he come into work...it was cold out, he was not even geared up or anything but he would come in and do all the labour and they worked hard for their money...I guess they needed it...

Researcher interpretation of above text:
It appears that First Nation men and women receive all of their necessary equipment to do their task from the organization and do not necessarily have to get it for themselves. This may be claimed because numerous employees would show up for temporary work without proper equipment. Additionally, when working on the reserve, a personal work space and gear was provided for the employee.

Metaphors used to describe Repertoires of behavior of non-social behavior (e.g., dress, time, scheduling):
- I have my own space... you know... my own work area
- Cause their family is in power...

Researcher interpretation of above text:
No interpretation due to lack of data.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Repertoires of behavior – Behaviors that lend to the creation	- My dad got the like...Farm job in the summer and then he just brought me there to work with him - but before that my mom was a teacher there... well she was a teacher there so she was able to prep me pretty good on the interview...	**Learning from adults** - My dad got the like...Farm job in the summer and then he just brought me there to work with him	**Learning from adults** - No data **Responsibilities handed to lower-level employees**

| of work roles and role transition | - The women are... and women can't bring these kids to work And be like be responsible for this and this and this... you know... its... it's too much for a woman To be raised... they need a real leader...you know... and yeah.
- the thing is it passes down like...you know... like you pass shit down to your kids...like..like everything else...
- its obviously the people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you, makes you think a different way and makes you realize a lot of stuff in your life.
- I was doing exactly what my dad did
- like a foreman...a foreman has access...they give you guys and are like, "hey...get this done"...you know? "Get this done, Red" ...and I'm like, "yeah sure" and I got it done.
- so one of my dad's best friends...he took me under his wing, you know? And he just...you know he guided me through everything | - but before that my mom was a teacher there... well she was a teacher there so she was able to prep me pretty good on the interview...
- The women are... and women can't bring these kids to work And be like be responsible for this and this and this... you know... its... it's too much for a woman To be raised... they need a real leader...you know... and yeah.
- the thing is it passes down like...you know... like you pass shit down to your kids...like..like everything else...
- its obviously the people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you, makes you think a different way and makes you realize a lot of stuff in your life.
- I was doing exactly what my dad did
- Well, the work ethic yeah...it was built into me...like I was always a grinder you know? Like yeah…
- so one of my dad's best friends...he took me under his wing, you know? And he just...you know he guided me through everything

<mark>**Researcher interpretation of above text:**</mark>
The role of adults or role models in workplace socialization appears to be large for First Nation men and women. Stemming especially from immediate family, the above passages demonstrate the importance of having a guiding figure within your life so you may achieve success and 'fit in' within the workplace. It appears as though this socialization process happens early in childhood, or when an individual is perceived to be of working age, and does not stop. This continual guidance is perceived as necessary to build the foundation of work habits (e.g., work ethic) and provide experience to acculturate individuals within the appropriate First Nation centered work world. Once again, it may be interpreted that this interviewee believes that men play a larger role in this work socialization then women, especially when women are working on their own.

Responsibilities handed to lower-level employees
- so I looked at it and I'm like, "okay I can work with that"... so every day I would come in and add in books to the system and yeah…
- like a foreman...a foreman has access...they give you guys and are like, "hey...get this done"...you know? "Get | - No data

<mark>**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**</mark>
No interpretation due to lack of data. |

this done, Red" ...and I'm like, "yeah sure" and I got it done.

When an individual receives responsibilities from upper management (e.g., egalitarian share of workload and trust for employees), it is seen as one behavior that can help employees become socialized within the workplace and/or transition work roles. It is appreciated when an individual is handed these responsibilities and told 'do the best you can do' rather than being shown exactly how to do it. In this, the employee respects the leader and the leader shows their trust in employees. Both lend to the creation of work roles/socialization and transition from role to role.

Metaphors used to describe Repertoires of behavior – Behaviors that lend to the creation of work roles and role transition:
- the thing is it passes down like...you know... like you pass shit down to your kids...
- its obviously the people I met...who interacted with me, who passed stuff along...and rubs off on you,
- so one of my dad's best friends...he took me under his wing, you know? And he just...you know he guided me through everything

Researcher interpretation of above text:
The idea of mentorship is pervasive within these metaphorical statements regarding 'creating roles for work'. It is likely that individuals learn work roles, and prepare for new roles, from more experienced employees or adult figures within their lives. Each of these three metaphorical statements are positive statements regarding the benefits of role modelling. In particular, they provide evidence of a direct influence in which more experienced members of the workforce influence the behavior –through leading by example- of newer members.

CM manageable code	Participant description of component	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Repertoires of behavior with money & status	- you gotta start...and like...putting your money in places like Saskatoon...like developing properties and business here...like you see Cree-way and Fire Creek...who owns those? People who are owning them are doing pretty good, you know? So you gotta start putting your money where...you know...where you can get a return or some sort of...I'm not...you know...I am not an expert, but I do see the ways and in order...to I don't know make some sort of money...I don't know...but they gotta...I don't know...	**Community control of money** - you gotta start...and like...putting your money in places like Saskatoon...like developing properties and business here...like you see Cree-way and Fire Creek...who owns those? People who are owning them are doing pretty good, you know? So you gotta start putting your money where...you know...where you can get a return or some sort of...I'm not...you know...I am not an expert, but I do see the ways and in order...to I don't know make some sort of money...I don't know...but they gotta...I don't know... **Researcher interpretation of above text:** Investment into the well-being of the community appears to be one desired behavior with money. In this case, it	**Community control of money** - No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** No interpretation due to lack of data.

| | | was investment outside of the community in business to help sustain an organization's home community. This finding may not be common across interviewees, but is interesting because it claims that money should flow outside of the community so long as it directly benefits the community. | |

Metaphors to describe repertoires of behaviour with money & status:
- putting your money in places like Saskatoon...like developing properties and business here..
- you gotta start putting your money where...you know...where you can get a return or some sort of...

<mark>**Researcher interpretation of above text:**</mark>
No interpretation due to similarity to above metaphors.

Overall content of the repertoires of behavior component (researcher description):

Written summary of manageable code:

Repertoires of behavior of social support in the workplace
The specific communication behaviors are limited within this section, but this passage does indicate that the style of peer support desired is that of a role model from multiple individuals. Specifically, certain stories or behaviors (i.e., leading by example) at work has the perception of being supportive to one another in the workplace.

With regard to social support within the workplace, it is interesting to see two contrasting metaphorical statements. In particular, desired social support comes in the form of mentorship (i.e., passed stuff along, rubs off on you) where undesirable social support comes from a lack of trust and isolation (i.e., everyone turned on me).

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: While the informant perspective has some indication of positive peer support, there is evidence of what a lack of support may look like. This would involve 'testing' one another's character or manhood which leads to the perception that they are not fully accepted or supported within the workplace. This led to the perception of 'being turned on' which negatively effects sociability.

Repertoires of behavior- communication in the workplace
No interpretation due to lack of data.

Cultural specific repertoires of behavior in the workplace
No interpretation due to lack of data.

Repertoires of behavior of non-social behavior (e.g., dress, time, scheduling)
There is a clear delineation between the appearance of employees within 'professional' jobs and other types of job. To clarify, the context of this interview spoke to the idea that professional jobs were one that did not involve manual labor. When individuals are working in a 'manual labor' related job they may dress as the please (i.e., comfy clothes). Appearance is not the foremost concern. In contrast, when the work environment is perceived as 'professional', an employee's appearance does matter. While it is not clear what 'dressing professional' means, it is clear that it is different from how an individual would dress for a manual labor job.

In terms of hiring practices, it appears that 'hiring by committee' is the ideal way to conduct operations for First Nation organizations. This may help to prevent individuals from only hiring their family members (according to evidence presented here regarding powerful individuals in the workplace). It is not seen as positive to hire only your

family members and not consider others for the position. This creates the perception of looking out for yourself and not for the betterment of the organization. Additionally, not hiring an individual that is capable or has the appropriate training for a job is negatively viewed.

Regarding scheduling and time management, it appears that an easy-going approach is adopted by First Nation men and women when working in First Nation organizations. While this individual may not have appreciated it, it is interpreted that a lack of strict adherence to a strict schedule or time is not closely followed. Rather, an easy going approach to work is desired. This may link with the idea of the importance of socialization in the workplace and less focus on solely productivity.

It appears that First Nation men and women receive all of their necessary equipment to do their task from the organization and do not necessarily have to get it for themselves. This may be claimed because numerous employees would show up for temporary work without proper equipment. Additionally, when working on the reserve, a personal work space and gear was provided for the employee.

Repertoires of behavior – Behaviors that lend to the creation of work roles and role transition

The role of adults or role models in workplace socialization appears to be large for First Nation men and women. Stemming especially from immediate family, the above passages demonstrate the importance of having a guiding figure within your life so you may achieve success and 'fit in' within the workplace. It appears as though this socialization process happens early in childhood, or when an individual is perceived to be of working age, and does not stop. This continual guidance is perceived as necessary to build the foundation of work habits (e.g., work ethic) and provide experience to acculturate individuals within the appropriate First Nation centered work world. Once again, it may be interpreted that this interviewee believes that men play a larger role in this work socialization then women, especially when women are working on their own.

When an individual receives responsibilities from upper management (e.g., egalitarian share of workload and trust for employees), it is seen as one behavior that can help employees become socialized within the workplace and/or transition work roles. It is appreciated when an individual is handed these responsibilities and told 'do the best you can do' rather than being shown exactly how to do it. In this, the employee respects the leader and the leader shows their trust in employees. Both lend to the creation of work roles/socialization and transition from role to role.

The idea of mentorship is pervasive within these metaphorical statements regarding 'creating roles for work'. It is likely that individuals learn work roles, and prepare for new roles, from more experienced employees or adult figures within their lives. Each of these three metaphorical statements are positive statements regarding the benefits of role modelling. In particular, they provide evidence of a direct influence in which more experienced members of the workforce influence the behavior –through leading by example- of newer members.

Repertoires of behavior with money & status

Investment into the well-being of the community appears to be one desired behavior with money. In this case, it was investment outside of the community in business to help sustain an organization's home community. This finding may not be common across interviewees, but is interesting because it claims that money should flow outside of the community so long as it directly benefits the community.

First Nation Community Sanctions			
CM manageable codes	**Participant description of manageable code**	**Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)**	**Respondent perspective (talking about self)**
First Nation sanctions – regulations of	- ... you know they just hired them because maybe they are relatives... that's how it is... say if someone...say,	Community sanctions against those who do not benefit community through employment	Community sanctions against those who do not benefit community through employment

behavior caused by those with money and status (includes non-status reaction to regulations)	okay... if you're the leader of the... your whatever... you're going to hire your friends, your community - ... governments going to give you money... you know you get money and... you're like, "okay I can pay all my family... they are good...you know and... that's all we gotta do"... - ...I remember when he was telling...my mom told me stories, you know? She said her family put sugar in his gas tank...they would take out his tires...cause they would come by...ask them for five bucks, he wouldn't give it to them...but no he would give it to them and give it to them until he didn't have money...and they would come by still, you know? And ask for money. And he'd be like, "yeah I don't have money this time" and they would mess with him, they would F with him, you know? [laughs] - No...if there was work, yeah I guess we'd be talking about it...but if you're there they aren't talking about it...the thing is...a lot of the people are uneducated...the people who are in power right now like it that way...you know, keep them there...these guys won't do anything to us and we will still be in power...still do everything our way...we don't have to do anything over zealous...we don't go over zealous for anything because everything flowing this way...who is going to come in here and change everything for them? No one...you know? - Well there is opportunity for them to work...the guys who have connections to the chief or whoever is in power there get the jobs...not the other guys...the other guys are left on the side... - pretty much you're a bush guy...you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit...you gotta, you know...and now you're going to be working at a gas station...they don't want...they aren't going to go down to that level...that's their pride too...you know? It's...yeah… - [Right...and does the community appreciate that?] Well...the community doesn't really know anything...you know? They don't know what a good thing or a bad thing is...you know? If there is a good thing in front of them they will probably hate it because it is new to them - because no one else is going to go in there and tell them what to do...you know? Cause their family is in power...it's just how it is in the reserve...you have	- ...I remember when he was telling...my mom told me stories, you know? She said her family put sugar in his gas tank...they would take out his tires...cause they would come by...ask them for five bucks, he wouldn't give it to them...but no he would give it to them and give it to them until he didn't have money...and they would come by still, you know? And ask for money. And he'd be like, "yeah I don't have money this time" and they would mess with him, they would F with him, you know? [laughs] **Researcher interpretation of above text:** This example shows the type of social sanctions that individuals are willing to put towards those who are not benefiting them through their employment. The sharing of money seems to be key for those community members who are not employed. This example shows the length people are willing to go in order to reinforce this social sanction (i.e., harass material belongings of employed). It is interpreted that, if an individual is not sharing their employment benefits with members of the community, then they will be socially punished for it. **Employment Politics on Reservations** - ... you know they just hired them because maybe they are relatives... that's how it is... say if someone...say, okay... if you're the leader of the... your whatever... you're going to hire your friends, your community - ... governments going to give you money... you know you get money and... you're like, "okay I can pay all my family... they are good...you know and... that's all we gotta do"... - No...if there was work, yeah I guess we'd be talking about it...but if you're there they aren't talking about it...the thing is...a lot of the people are uneducated...the people who are in power right now like it that way...you know, keep them there...these guys won't do anything to us and we will still be in power...still do everything our way...we don't have to do anything over zealous...we don't go over zealous for anything because everything flowing this way...who is going to come in here and change everything for them? No one...you know? - Well there is opportunity for them to work...the guys who have connections to the chief or whoever is in	- No data **Employment Politics on Reservations** - No data <mark>**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**</mark> No interpretation due to lack of data	234

your...say I'm the chief...I am going to hire all my family and whatever position they want...like oh your nephew needs a job? Okay, let's see...call the guy...is any openings? Okay, put him in there...you know? So you got him in there and he doesn't have the training, he doesn't have anything needed so he is just there chilling and...trying to get maybe some work done...you know? And...since he...since that's his department...his area and office...you know...

power there get the jobs...not the other guys...the other guys are left on the side...
- pretty much you're a bush guy...you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit...you gotta, you know...and now you're going to be working at a gas station...they don't want...they aren't going to go down to that level...that's their pride too...you know? It's...yeah…
- [Right...and does the community appreciate that?] Well...the community doesn't really know anything...you know? They don't know what a good thing or a bad thing is...you know? If there is a good thing in front of them they will probably hate it because it is new to them
- because no one else is going to go in there and tell them what to do...you know? Cause their family is in power...it's just how it is in the reserve...you have your...say I'm the chief...I am going to hire all my family and whatever position they want...like oh your nephew needs a job? Okay, let's see...call the guy...is any openings? Okay, put him in there...you know? So you got him in there and he doesn't have the training, he doesn't have anything needed so he is just there chilling and...trying to get maybe some work done...you know? And...since he...since that's his department...his area and office...you know...

==Researcher interpretation of above text:==
Employment attitudes and practices on reservations appear to be dictated by power and status. What is meant by power and status is those who hold the power in terms of deciding who gets fired and where the money goes. It is interpreted that those in power are able to dictate who does and does not get jobs on reservations and this is not appreciated by those not in power. It is assumed this is because it does not represent an egalitarian environment and, overall, it does not benefit all in the community. In terms of social sanctions, if individuals do wrong by those who are in power, then chances are they will not receive help or a job from them. This would have huge implications on behavior and could go one of two ways: 1) the community respects those in power on the surface to receive help; and 2) the community rebels against this ideal. Judging from the above passages, it may be possible to argue that the community rebels against those in power for displaying this behavior. Due to the second reason, those

		in power are very careful about how they go about employment and election processes so they can retain power.	

Metaphors used to describe First Nation sanctions – regulations of behavior caused by those with money and status (includes non-status reaction to regulations):
- still do everything our way...we don't have to do anything over zealous...we don't go over zealous for anything because everything flowing this way...who is going to come in here and change everything for them? No one...
- pretty much you're a bush guy...you gotta be strong, you gotta be fit...you gotta, you know

<mark>**Researcher interpretation of above text:**</mark>
No interpretation due to similarities to other categories.

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
First Nation sanctions – positive and negative social pressure towards those who are unemployed	- Well those people kind of keep to themselves...you know, like there is certain areas...like there is a teacher area...like just specifically teachers live in that area and everyone is just scattered all over the place...and the thing is...they just...people who work kind of keep to themselves...the other people, you know...they are just ignored… - [Umm...okay...so unemployment is common then?] Oh yeah...it's huge. [Cause I guess my question would be like, how is someone treated when they are unemployed when they are on the reserve?] Well, just welfare...hopefully they give you a house…[Okay, it's not a big deal right? Or is it a big deal?] No...there is a lot of people that is unemployed so...yeah…[It's kind of the norm?] Yeah…	**Community support for unemployed** - Well those people kind of keep to themselves...you know, like there is certain areas...like there is a teacher area...like just specifically teachers live in that area and everyone is just scattered all over the place...and the thing is...they just...people who work kind of keep to themselves...the other people, you know...they are just ignored… - [Umm...okay...so unemployment is common then?] Oh yeah...it's huge. [Cause I guess my question would be like, how is someone treated when they are unemployed when they are on the reserve?] Well, just welfare...hopefully they give you a house…[Okay, it's not a big deal right? Or is it a big deal?] No...there is a lot of people that is unemployed so...yeah…[It's kind of the norm?] Yeah… <mark>**Researcher interpretation of above text:**</mark> There appears to be a segregation between those who are employed and those who are not employed. This is especially true for individuals who come to work but do not belong to the community (i.e., are outsiders). Those who have jobs want to keep to themselves and, it may be interpreted, do not want to interact with those who do not have jobs. This may be because of the negativity shown to those who do not benefit the community through employment (see above). It may be safe to assume that the working population on reservations are small, which would mean that the norm would be to be unemployed. Thus, it may be concluded that the	**Community support for unemployed** - No data <mark>**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**</mark> No interpretation due to lack of data.

		unemployed on reservations do not receive much in terms of social pressure because of two reasons: 1) those with jobs separate themselves from the rest of the community; and 2) the majority of people are unemployed and, therefore, are able to sway social sanctions easier and would ideally have negative sanctions pointed away from themselves.	

Metaphors used to describe First Nation sanctions – positive and negative social pressure towards those who are unemployed:
- Well those people kind of keep to themselves...
- ...like just specifically teachers live in that area and everyone is just scattered all over the place

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>
These two visual descriptions of social sanctions towards those who are employed but are outsiders are interesting in the sense that portray a separation between the two groups. There is no sense of community when there is a division between outsiders and those who do not work.

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
First Nation sanctions – positive and negative social pressure towards those who are employed	- and uhh…worked with some really weird people too [laughs]…only weird people take that shift [laughs]… - Yeah, he brought me to the lake and he was with all his boys there and...they are just undermining me...and all this other stuff, you know? They were saying, "oh blah blah blah, who are you? You're a piece of shit...whatever" and all this stuff, you know? - so you have to hand in sheets and you have to schedule in for all of this stuff and all of these appointments and...it was really strict...like they...yeah...you have to be on top of all your stuff and I was like, "okay...for six hundred dollars a month I'd rather work"... - Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there…	**Negativity directed towards those leaving the reserve for work** - Yeah, he brought me to the lake and he was with all his boys there and...they are just undermining me...and all this other stuff, you know? They were saying, "oh blah blah blah, who are you? You're a piece of shit...whatever" and all this stuff, you know? <mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark> The context of this interview involved this interviewee leaving the reservation for work in his teenage years. When he was reunited with some of his family and friends it was a negative experience. There is no direct evidence that this negative experience was due to him leaving but it is inferred. Together, as a group, these individuals ridiculed him and undermined him. One reason for this may be because he left the community because it was of benefit to him. Alternatively, there could be a sense of jealousy from those who stayed. **Trust for employees – positive social sanction in the workplace** - so you have to hand in sheets and you have to schedule in for all of this stuff and all of these appointments and...it was really strict...like they...yeah...you have to be on top of all your stuff and I was like, "okay...for six hundred dollars a month I'd rather work"...	**Negativity put towards those leaving the reserve for work** - No data **Trust for employees – positive social sanction in the workplace** - and uhh…worked with some really weird people too [laughs]…only weird people take that shift [laughs]… <mark>Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:</mark> No interpretation due to lack of data.

| | | - Yeah, just say someone came in there and tried changing...tried to help them...just like, okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like, "oh we are not used to this"...they are used to their way of working you know, and they will hate you...and they will probably try to do something to you there…

 Researcher interpretation of above text:
 With a lack of trust comes negative social repercussions. When trust is not shown towards employees, there will be a lack of respect shown to upper management. This will influence employment behaviors because, with a lack of respect for the organization/boss, there will be lower job satisfaction, lower loyalty to the organization, and the environment may become toxic. | |

Metaphors used to describe First Nation sanctions – positive and negative social pressure towards those who are employed:
- Yeah, he brought me to the lake and he was with all his boys there and...they are just undermining me...
- You're a piece of shit...whatever" and all this stuff, you know?
- you have to be on top of all your stuff
- okay we are going to bust these guys' balls but then they will thank me...but you start busting their balls and they are like,

Researcher interpretation of above text:
Towards those who leave the community for work, there appears to be visual descriptions of an active effort to verbally 'undermine' their character. As a result of being employed (and outside of the community) individuals may socially sanction them. The idea of 'undermining' resembles the idea that a group of individuals are trying to crumble one's character or personality.

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
First Nation sanctions – the influence of kinship networks on employment on and off reservations	- when you get home your still in like…you just worked a lot and you're kind of wired still. And everyone…like you want to go to sleep but when you get at home everyone is just getting up and getting ready and…this and that…and you just feel like a zombie - I didn't like it at all…like I couldn't function right and my days were all messed up and…social life was all messed up because of that too… - Uhhh…I kind of got in an argument…things weren't going my way…I was just…everything was shitty and…and you know, I was just like, "I am gonna go stay with my mom" and…and there should be job opportunities out here you know…	**Importance of community network on employment** - when you get home your still in like…you just worked a lot and you're kind of wired still. And everyone…like you want to go to sleep but when you get at home everyone is just getting up and getting ready and…this and that…and you just feel like a zombie - I didn't like it at all…like I couldn't function right and my days were all messed up and…social life was all messed up because of that too… - Uhhh…I kind of got in an argument…things weren't going my way…I was just…everything was shitty and…and you know, I was just like, "I am gonna go stay with my mom" and…and there should be job opportunities out here you know…	**Importance of community network on employment** - I was talking to my sister and she's like...she was like her boyfriend is working in Saskatchewan right now, and I was like, "oh okay"...and...what happened with that...okay and she was like...her boyfriend Dave is working in Saskatchewan right now and if you would like a job he could probably set you up - so I talked to him and he's like, "yeah if you want a job I can see

- but before that my mom was a teacher there... well she was a teacher there so she was able to prep me pretty good on the interview...
- you know they just hired them because maybe they are relatives... that's how it is... say if someone...say, okay... if you're the leader of the... your whatever... you're going to hire your friends, your community
- And then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so
- so I just gave them whatever I knew and taught them whatever I could teach them at that time.
- like how to help them...how to build their mind up...how to make them think and, you know? This and that. And how to help the family, you know? I was like, "what the hell do I do?" [laughs]
- so one of my dad's best friends...he took me under his wing, you know? And he just...you know he guided me through everything
- I was talking to my sister and she's like...she was like her boyfriend is working in Saskatchewan right now, and I was like, "oh okay"...and...what happened with that...okay and she was like...her boyfriend Dave is working in Saskatchewan right now and if you would like a job he could probably set you up
- so I talked to him and he's like, "yeah if you want a job I can see what I can do"...and got me hooked up with the right guys and I got a job.
- women are usually the ones that are actually doing stuff...you know...like...working and trying to find an opportunity because they have kids and they have a responsibility to the kids now...so they try to set something up for themselves…
- it's hard to go into a reserve and try to change shit because, you know, if you let that mentality go through...you know...if you don't make an example of that person than it is going to keep going...and usually the director of operations, you get a women...they women are not that, you know, bam, slap you in the face, get that shit done...you know? So they get all these women that are educated and supposed to be our leaders because they men are not there, you know, they use women...they are supposed to be our director of operations but they can't really perform at that certain extent, you know? They are in a community, small

- but before that my mom was a teacher there... well she was a teacher there so she was able to prep me pretty good on the interview...
- you know they just hired them because maybe they are relatives... that's how it is... say if someone...say, okay... if you're the leader of the... your whatever... you're going to hire your friends, your community
- so one of my dad's best friends...he took me under his wing, you know? And he just...you know he guided me through everything
- it's hard to go into a reserve and try to change shit because, you know, if you let that mentality go through...you know...if you don't make an example of that person than it is going to keep going...and usually the director of operations, you get a women...they women are not that, you know, bam, slap you in the face, get that shit done...you know? So they get all these women that are educated and supposed to be our leaders because they men are not there, you know, they use women...they are supposed to be our director of operations but they can't really perform at that certain extent, you know? They are in a community, small community...all these people...if you piss one off they are going to go against you...like what makes you think, you know, why would you want to do that? So you just do your work and just continue with whatever you can do...you know?
- and if you're just a new person that they hired for the community that you haven't experienced before and...you know you don't want that ripple effect of harassment of this and that...people would try to find out where you live...out there...they have guns, they will shoot you [laughs]

An individual's immediate family structure has a large influence on employment practices. Similarly to the before theme of role models, an individual's parents/grandparents (may be extended to family in general for First Nation men and women) are the first ones to influence an individual's employment behaviour through socialization. Once again, this socialization continues through childhood and into adulthood through various non-family role models. This support provided through socialization appears to be a key component in

what I can do"...and got me hooked up with the right guys and I got a job.

Providing for community/kinship network through work
- so I just gave them whatever I knew and taught them whatever I could teach them at that time.
- like how to help them...how to build their mind up...how to make them think and, you know? This and that. And how to help the family, you know? I was like, "what the hell do I do?" [laughs]
- And then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so

While the informant perspective provided evidence of the importance of role models in the community on employment, the respondent perspective gives some indications of a direct correlation on having family living in the non-Aboriginal world and their use in being able to find other family members employment. It appears that gaining access to employment is easier if an individual's family is established within the non-Aboriginal world. This may be in terms of social support and practical job connections. Additionally, one influence that the community/kinship network has on employment is that individuals feel an innate need to work so they can provide resources to support whoever they need to.

community...all these people...if you piss one off they are going to go against you...like what makes you think, you know, why would you want to do that? So you just do your work and just continue with whatever you can do...you know?

- and if you're just a new person that they hired for the community that you haven't experienced before and...you know you don't want that ripple effect of harassment of this and that...people would try to find out where you live...out there...they have guns, they will shoot you [laughs]

creating competence and starting employees along the path of mastery of their career. Being able to know what is right and what is wrong within the workplace is something that this socialization is likely doing, which helps introduce someone to First Nation work practices.

In terms of the community, there are strong social sanctions that influence employment behaviour. Namely, this comes in the form of respect and likeability of a given member of the community. If an individual is not respected within the community/workplace then he or she will have a much harder time finding a job on the reservation when compared to someone who is admired in the community. This would include the non-welcoming nature of the community towards outsiders to the community.

Providing for community/kinship network through work
- women are usually the ones that are actually doing stuff...you know...like...working and trying to find an opportunity because they have kids and they have a responsibility to the kids now...so they try to set something up for themselves…

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>
It appears as though one of the main reasons women decide to enter the workplace is because they must to be able to provide for their family. According to this passage, it is not necessarily because they want to but because they feel they have to. They take on the responsibility of providing for their children and they do so by seeking employment.

Metaphors used to describe First Nation sanctions – the influence of kinship networks on employment on and off reservations:
- you just worked a lot and you're kind of wired still.
- like you want to go to sleep but when you get at home everyone is just getting up and getting ready and…this and that…and you just feel like a zombie
- my days were all messed up and…social life was all messed up because of that too…
- I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so
- like how to help them...how to build their mind up...how to make them think and, you know?
- one of my dad's best friends...he took me under his wing, you know? And he just...you know he guided me through everything
- if you would like a job he could probably set you up
- got me hooked up with the right guys and I got a job.
- you know you don't want that ripple effect of harassment of this and that...

Researcher interpretation of above text:

The importance of family/kinship networks may be demonstrated again within these metaphorical descriptions. In particular, it is possible that the support a family network provides can give an individual purpose and motivation to continue work, as is demonstrated when social interaction is not present and this interviewee comparing that to feeling like a 'zombie'. Additionally, finding a support network can be attributed to joining a system (e.g., got me hooked up).

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
First Nation community sanctions – outside influences on positive and negative social pressure (e.g., Indian affairs)	- ... We have to do more work in order to help these guys? Who are these guys to us? You know, maybe they have bad relations to them... maybe... that's how it is...that's the mentality... maybe, "oh why would I help him... he is a whatever last name"...you know?	**Employment structure today vs. traditional employment structure** - ... We have to do more work in order to help these guys? Who are these guys to us? You know, maybe they have bad relations to them... maybe... that's how it is...that's the mentality... maybe, "oh why would I help him... he is a whatever last name"...you know? **Researcher interpretation of above text:** The negative influences that outside electoral practices are having on modern reservations (i.e., Indian affairs Chief election system) are creating undesirable changes on the employment system. Before any influences it is possible that an individual's last name or family members would have less influence on work than it does not. Furthermore, it may be assumed that community membership was more important than family membership in terms of work tasks and resource allocation. However, it is not the same as it was before due to the desire to keep power.	**Employment structure today vs. traditional employment structure** - No data **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** No interpretation due to the lack of data.

Metaphors used to describe First Nation community sanctions – outside influences on positive and negative social pressure (e.g., Indian affairs):
- No metaphors identified

Overall content of the repertoires of behavior component (researcher description):

Written summary of manageable code:

First Nation sanctions – regulations of behavior caused by those with money and status (includes non-status reaction to regulations)
This example shows the type of social sanctions that individuals are willing to put towards those who are not benefiting them through their employment. The sharing of money seems to be key for those community members who are not employed. This example shows the length people are willing to go in order to reinforce this social sanction (i.e., harass material belongings of employed). It is interpreted that, if an individual is not sharing their employment benefits with members of the community, then they will be socially punished for it.

Employment attitudes and practices on reservations appear to be dictated by power and status. What is meant by power and status is those who hold the power in terms of deciding who gets fired and where the money goes. It is interpreted that those in power are able to dictate who does and does not get jobs on reservations and this is not appreciated by those not in power. It is assumed this is because it does not represent an egalitarian environment and, overall, it does not benefit all in the community. In terms of social sanctions, if individuals do wrong by those who are in power, then chances are they will not receive help or a job from them. This would have huge implications on behavior and could go one of two ways: 1) the community respects those in power on the surface to receive help; and 2) the community rebels against this ideal. Judging from the above passages, it may be possible to argue that the community rebels against those in power for displaying this behavior. Due to the second reason, those in power are very careful about how they go about employment and election processes so they can retain power.

First Nation sanctions – positive and negative social pressure towards those who are unemployed

There appears to be a segregation between those who are employed and those who are not employed. This is especially true for individuals who come to work but do not belong to the community (i.e., are outsiders). Those who have jobs want to keep to themselves and, it may be interpreted, do not want to interact with those who do not have jobs. This may be because of the negativity shown to those who do not benefit the community through employment (see above). It may be safe to assume that the working population on reservations are small, which would mean that the norm would be to be unemployed. Thus, it may be concluded that the unemployed on reservations do not receive much in terms of social pressure because of two reasons: 1) those with jobs separate themselves from the rest of the community; and 2) the majority of people are unemployed and, therefore, are able to sway social sanctions easier and would ideally have negative sanctions pointed away from themselves.

The visual nature of metaphorical descriptions of social sanctions towards those who are employed but are outsiders are interesting in the sense that portray a separation between the two groups. There is no sense of community when there is a division between outsiders and those who do not work.

First Nation sanctions – positive and negative social pressure towards those who are employed

The context of this interview involved this interviewee leaving the reservation for work in his teenage years. When he was reunited with some of his family and friends it was a negative experience. There is no direct evidence that this negative experience was due to him leaving but it is inferred. Together, as a group, these individuals ridiculed him and undermined him. One reason for this may be because he left the community because it was of benefit to him. Alternatively, there could be a sense of jealousy from those who stayed.

With a lack of trust comes negative social repercussions. When trust is not shown towards employees, there will be a lack of respect shown to upper management. This will influence employment behaviors because, with a lack of respect for the organization/boss, there will be lower job satisfaction, lower loyalty to the organization, and the environment may become toxic.

Towards those who leave the community for work, there appears to be visual descriptions of an active effort to verbally 'undermine' their character. As a result of being employed (and outside of the community) individuals may socially sanction them. The idea of 'undermining' resembles the idea that a group of individuals are trying to crumble one's character or personality.

First Nation sanctions – the influence of kinship networks on employment on and off reservations

An individual's immediate family structure has a large influence on employment practices. Similarly to the before theme of role models, an individual's parents/grandparents (may be extended to family in general for First Nation men and women) are the first ones to influence an individual's employment behaviour through socialization. Once again, this socialization continues through childhood and into adulthood through various non-family role models. This support provided through socialization appears to be a key component in creating competence and starting employees along the path of mastery of their career. Being able to know what is right and what is wrong within the workplace is something that this socialization is likely doing, which helps introduce someone to First Nation work practices.

In terms of the community, there are strong social sanctions that influence employment behaviour. Namely, this comes in the form of respect and likeability of a given member of the community. If an individual is not respected within the community/workplace then he or she will have a much harder time finding a job on the reservation when compared to someone who is admired in the community. This would include the non-welcoming nature of the community towards outsiders to the community.

It appears as though one of the main reasons women decide to enter the workplace is because they must to be able to provide for their family. According to this passage, it is not necessarily because they want to but because they feel they have to. They take on the responsibility of providing for their children and they do so by seeking employment.

The importance of family/kinship networks may be demonstrated again within these metaphorical descriptions. In particular, it is possible that the support a family network provides can give an individual purpose and motivation to continue work, as is demonstrated when social interaction is not present and this interviewee comparing that to feeling like a 'zombie'. Additionally, finding a support network can be attributed to joining a system (e.g., got me hooked up).

While the informant perspective provided evidence of the importance of role models in the community on employment, the respondent perspective gives some indications of a direct correlation on having family living in the non-Aboriginal world and their use in being able to find other family members employment. It appears that gaining access to employment is easier if an individual's family is established within the non-Aboriginal world. This may be in terms of social support and practical job connections. Additionally, one influence that the community/kinship network has on employment is that individuals feel an innate need to work so they can provide resources to support whoever they need to.

First Nation community sanctions – outside influences on positive and negative social pressure (e.g., Indian affairs)
The negative influences that outside electoral practices are having on modern reservations (i.e., Indian affairs Chief election system) are creating undesirable changes on the employment system. Before any influences it is possible that an individual's last name or family members would have less influence on work than it does not. Furthermore, it may be assumed that community membership was more important than family membership in terms of work tasks and resource allocation. However, it is not the same as it was before due to the desire to keep power.

Motivations for Work			
CM manageable codes	**Participant description of manageable code**	**Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)**	**Respondent perspective (talking about self)**
Motivations for work – Purpose of Work (why a person should work)	- For a little kid... Yeah... and to save up for $1,000 computer at age 12 is a big deal I thought [laughs] - we work all day and I was getting paid every week so I was like, "yeah sweet" - I was looking up jobs and...I was looking for camp work, you know? I'm like, "I gotta get something, somewhere, something that can take me out" - I needed the money...and I needed...yeah...I needed to survive… [laughs]...So I was like okay I gotta do this. So after the day the guy was like, "how was your first day" and I am like, "I'm sweaty, I'm bruised, I'm beaten...I call that a good days work" [laughs]... - you know I have been re-tracing everything I've been through and you've gotta learn from your mistakes you know? And you have to grow from them, you know?	**Money** - No data **Improvement of Self** - No data	**Money** - For a little kid... Yeah... and to save up for $1,000 computer at age 12 is a big deal I thought [laughs] - I needed the money...and I needed...yeah...I needed to survive… [laughs]...So I was like okay I gotta do this. So after the day the guy was like, "how was your first day" and I am like, "I'm sweaty, I'm bruised, I'm beaten...I call that a good days work" [laughs]... - we work all day and I was getting paid every week so I was like, "yeah sweet" **Improvement of Self**

			- I was looking up jobs and...I was looking for camp work, you know? I'm like, "I gotta get something, somewhere, something that can take me out" - you know I have been re-tracing everything I've been through and you've gotta learn from your mistakes you know? And you have to grow from them, you know? **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** Money is a large influence on individual's motivation for pursuing employment. It should be noted, however, that this individual made clear that money was a motivation for working because it was an absolute necessity to live. This is in contrast to using money as a motivation to possess material things (e.g., new vehicle). Money is a motivator for work because it is a necessity, not because of its material associations. An additional motivational component for work may be the improvement of one's self. While evidence for this is relatively weak in the current interview, these two passages lend to the idea that work is something that can be used to refine personal skills, learn practical and life lessons, and/or to be used as a self-reflection tool.

Metaphors used to describe Motivations for work – Purpose of Work (why a person should work):

- I have been re-tracing everything I've been through and you've gotta learn from your mistakes you know?

Researcher interpretation of above text:

The idea of 're-tracing' one's steps and attempting to learn from them gives a visual impression of an individual reflecting upon their life 'map' where they can see the journey they have taken. When one is able to reflect upon this, it is possible they can use it to improve upon themselves (i.e., learn from their mistakes).

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Motivations for work – Goals of work (the end goals of work)	- For a little kid... Yeah... and to save up for $1,000 computer at age 12 is a big deal I thought [laughs] - I was paying rent, I was...I was paying their rent, I was making sure they lived comfortably...and I was...everything...gas...insurance…[laughs] you know? - And then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so - ...I looked for...like a few years into the future and said, "I am going to bring this whole family together"	**Material goals of work** - No data **Community goals of work** - No data	**Material goals of work** - For a little kid... Yeah... and to save up for $1,000 computer at age 12 is a big deal I thought [laughs] **Community goals of work** - I was paying rent, I was...I was paying their rent, I was making sure they lived comfortably...and I was, everything., gas...insurance, [laughs] you know? - And then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so - ...I looked for...like a few years into the future and said, "I am going to bring this whole family together" ==**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**== Similarly to the previous theme of kinship influences on work, it appears that a large motivation for work is to provide for one's community and family. Once again, this may stem from an innate need to provide but may also stem from a practical necessity. When work is hard to find for First Nation men and women, it is entirely possible that the working individual is motivated to keep working hard to provide for their family. Once again, this participant related the fact that he had to provide for his entire family to the idea of 'being a man' and associated it with a taken-for-granted responsibility as a 'head of the house'.

Metaphors used to describe motivations for work – Goals of work (the end goals of work):
- then I am stuck like...I am stuck with the thing in...like...like...like I was raised a man...once the man dies and...another man has to take over so

No interpretation due to lack of data.

Overall content of the motivations for work component (researcher description):

Written summary of manageable code:

Motivations for work – Purpose of Work (why a person should work
Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: Money is a large influence on individual's motivation for pursuing employment. It should be noted, however, that this individual made clear that money was a motivation for working because it was an absolute necessity to live. This is in contrast to using money as a motivation to possess material things (e.g., new vehicle). Money is a motivator for work because it is a necessity, not because of its material associations.

An additional motivational component for work may be the improvement of one's self. While evidence for this is relatively weak in the current interview, these two passages lend to the idea that work is something that can be used to refine personal skills, learn practical and life lessons, and/or to be used as a self-reflection tool.

The idea of 're-tracing' one's steps and attempting to learn from them gives a visual impression of an individual reflecting upon their life 'map' where they can see the journey they have taken. When one is able to reflect upon this, it is possible they can use it to improve upon themselves (i.e., learn from their mistakes).

Motivations for work – Goals of work (the end goals of work)
Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: Similarly to the previous theme of kinship influences on work, it appears that a large motivation for work is to provide for one's community and family. Once again, this may stem from an innate need to provide but may also stem from a practical necessity. When work is hard to find for First Nation men and women, it is entirely possible that the working individual is motivated to keep working hard to provide for their family. Once again, this participant related the fact that he had to provide for his entire family to the idea of 'being a man' and associated it with a taken-for-granted responsibility as a 'head of the house'.

Perceived Work Barriers in non-Aboriginal Workplaces: Undesirable Employment Conditions in a non-Aboriginal Setting			
CM manageable code	**Participant description of manageable code**	**Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)**	**Respondent perspective (talking about self)**
Perceived work barriers – no opportunity to progress	- and the guys there have nothing else to do... what do they do?... they don't work...you know... they collect a little check every two weeks... you know... what's that check? 100 and some dollars? That's the welfare they give you out there... you know...and it's... it's a terrible environment... terrible living area - I never thought about school, you know? I was like, "well I could...I did and I didn't" and I thought it was too far out of reach for me...you know?	**Designated Positions (i.e., positions specified for First Nation men and women)** - No data **First Nation employees in management positions (includes token positions)** - No data **Lack of confidence or skills**	**Designated Positions (i.e., positions specified for First Nation men and women)** - No data **First Nation employees in management positions (includes token positions)** - No data

- ...No I think that I got lucky at the time...that was when I was twenty-two...that was about seven-eight years ago and at that time, they needed workers everywhere...you know? Like I remember the population wasn't...it was before the boom... - so there wasn't that many workers here...they just...they got what they got and they work with it, you know? At that time...and...at this time when I came in that's when the boom started happening...	- No data **Lack of direction towards employment goals (including educational goals for one's employment field)** - and the guys there have nothing else to do... what do they do?... they don't work...you know... they collect a little check every two weeks... you know... what's that check? 100 and some dollars? That's the welfare they give you out there... you know...and it's... it's a terrible environment... terrible living area <mark>**Researcher interpretation of above text:**</mark> A lack of purpose in employment, and to an extent, in life in general may be detrimental to the well-being of employees and seen as a barrier to employment. To not have a purpose or direction towards an employment goal (including training) can very well be a barrier for First Nation men and women. Providing a purpose, direction, or goal for an individual can lessen this barrier.	**Lack of confidence or skills** - I never thought about school, you know? I was like, "well I could...I did and I didn't" and I thought it was too far out of reach for me...you know? - I didn't know the commitment level to succeed at this level, I'd never operated at this [laughs]... you know, so...and its been how many years so...I was so out of my element, you know? - ...No I think that I got lucky at the time...that was when I was twenty-two...that was about seven-eight years ago and at that time, they needed workers everywhere...you know? Like I remember the population wasn't...it was before the boom... - so there wasn't that many workers here...they just...they got what they got and they work with it, you know? At that time...and...at this time when I came in that's when the boom started happening... **Lack of direction towards employment goals (including educational goals for one's employment field)** - No data <mark>**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**</mark> There appears to be a degree of self-doubt that leads to a lack of confidence in an individual's employment skills. It is interpreted that this can be a barrier for employment. This individual attributes getting a job to 'being lucky' or 'being to far out of reach'

			for him. This can be interpreted as the interviewee not having a large amount of self-confidence that is affecting employment practices. The origins of this self-doubt should be explored further, but it is possible that it is a result of stereotype threat and the general attitude among some First Nation men and women.

Metaphors used to describe perceived work barriers – no opportunity to progress:
- and I thought it was too far out of reach for me...you know?
- they collect a little check every two weeks... you know... what's that check? 100 and some dollars?
- ...No I think that I got lucky at the time

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>
The idea of progression being 'too far out of reach' is an interesting visual description of a possible struggle to achieve goals. It gives off the impression that an individual is reaching their arm out as far as possible and still are not able to reach what they are going for. This must be a difficult reality to grasp.

CM manageable code	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Perceived work barriers – non-Aboriginal taken-for-grantedness		**Lack of awareness of others (lack of awareness of other employees)** - No data **Lack of recognition of First Nation work specific cultural practices (includes scheduling, time concepts)** - No data **Opportunities to challenge taken-for-grantedness in workplace** - No data **Results focused [solely results focused – a focus on the product]** - No data	**Lack of awareness of others (lack of awareness of other employees)** - No data **Lack of recognition of First Nation work specific cultural practices (includes scheduling, time concepts)** - No data **Opportunities to challenge taken-for-grantedness in workplace** - No data **Results focused [solely results focused – a focus on the product]** - No data <mark>**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**</mark>

			No interpretation due to the lack of data.

Metaphors used to describe perceived work barriers – non-Aboriginal taken-for-grantedness:
- No metaphors identified

CM manageable code	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Perceived work barriers – Workplace discrimination	- when I got that job I didn't use my name...I used 'Ray'...cause like, you know...I need a chance to get a job...I am not using Redmen [laughs]...it would have given me no chance to get a job… - Well...okay...say Redmen Wapass is applying for a job...it doesn't matter how many credentials I got or whatever...or how...is my background...they are going to look at that and, "holy I am not hiring this guy, is he from jail or what?"...like who is this Redmen guy? IP leader or? - Well look at the name...Redmen...do you see? Do you want someone...to come by and...that's named Redmen for a job interview? To represent your company and doesn't matter how many references I give him...cause I've been doing that for many years and I got to the point where I thought, "Okay, this is not getting me anywhere"...I gotta use...I used Ray...Raymond for short, you know? - cause I used Redmen first and was not happening for me...I'm like I can't be around homeless for how many weeks, you know? I gotta get out of here...so I used Ray and...yeah. - ...but now you're in a professional environment, you gotta have a decent name...you know?	**Discriminatory attitudes faced by First Nation employees** - Well...okay...say Redmen Wapass is applying for a job...it doesn't matter how many credentials I got or whatever...or how...is my background...they are going to look at that and, "holy I am not hiring this guy, is he from jail or what?"...like who is this Redmen guy? IP leader or? <mark>**Researcher interpretation of above text:**</mark> This is clear evidence of discrimination directed towards First Nation men and women. This interviewee had to use a different name on his applications just to be considered in the workplace. Non-Aboriginal organizations would not call him back for an interview if he used his given name. No matter how skilled of a worker he was, he couldn't secure a job because of his name. **Guilt** - No data **Responsibilities of being the 'representative' for one's community and race** - No data **Refusal of open discussions of oppression** - No data	**Discriminatory attitudes faced by First Nation employees** - when I got that job I didn't use my name...I used 'Ray'...cause like, you know...I need a chance to get a job...I am not using Redmen [laughs]...it would have given me no chance to get a job… - Well look at the name...Redmen...do you see? Do you want someone...to come by and...that's named Redmen for a job interview? To represent your company and doesn't matter how many references I give him...cause I've been doing that for many years and I got to the point where I thought, "Okay, this is not getting me anywhere"...I gotta use...I used Ray...Raymond for short, you know? - cause I used Redmen first and was not happening for me...I'm like I can't be around homeless for how many weeks, you know? I gotta get out of here...so I used Ray and...yeah. - ...but now you're in a professional environment, you gotta have a decent name...you know? **Guilt** - No data **Responsibilities of being the 'representative' for one's community and race** - No data

			Refusal of open discussions of oppression - No data
			<mark>**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**</mark> Further supporting what was stated in the informant perspective, the evidence presented in the respondent perspective reinforces discriminatory attitudes when hiring First Nation men and women. This individual believes that his name was the reason he was not getting job interviews in non-Aboriginal organizations. He has good reason to believe so because as soon as he switched his name to Ray from Redman, he started receiving calls for job interviews. This is clear evidence that non-Aboriginal organizations are not excited to hire First Nation men and women and are screening them at the resume stage. This is a massive barrier for First Nation men and women. Additionally, it is not really one they can do anything about as changing one's name is a drastic measure that most people won't take.

Metaphors used to describe Perceived work barriers – Workplace discrimination:
- No metaphors identified.

CM manageable code	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Perceived work barriers – non-Aboriginal perceived work inferiority of	- I never thought about school, you know? I was like, "well I could...I did and I didn't" and I thought it was too far out of reach for me...you know? - I didn't know the commitment level to succeed at this level, I'd never operated at this [laughs]... you know, so...and its been how many years so...I was so out of my element, you know?	**Perceptions of First Nation employees being taken-advantage-of** - No data **Inferiority of employment skills and abilities by employers** - No data	**Perceptions of First Nation employees being taken-advantage-of** - No data **Inferiority of employment skills and abilities by employers**

| First Nation employees | - ...No I think that I got lucky at the time...that was when I was twenty-two...that was about seven-eight years ago and at that time, they needed workers everywhere...you know? Like I remember the population wasn't...it was before the boom...
- so there wasn't that many workers here...they just...they got what they got and they work with it, you know? At that time...and...at this time when I came in that's when the boom started happening...
- "we didn't know you were Native" [laughs]...and they were shocked when I told them that
- Yeah [laughs]...they didn't think I was Native! So...that was a benefit for me…
- plus my name too, like you see Redmen...like...people's mentalities is like, "who is this guy...we've dealt with these kind", you know, same blah blah blah...you know, we don't need this horse shit right now...we need professionals [laughs], you know
...but now you're in a professional environment, you gotta have a decent name...you know? | **Inferiority of employment skills and abilities by First Nation men and women (self-doubt)**
- No data | - the thing is they see me and I'm...everyday I'm there, I'm there early...earliest...you know I had to prove myself, you know?

Inferiority of employment skills and abilities by First Nation men and women (self-doubt)
- I didn't know the commitment level to succeed at this level, I'd never operated at this [laughs]... you know, so...and its been how many years so...I was so out of my element, you know?
- I never thought about school, you know? I was like, "well I could...I did and I didn't" and I thought it was too far out of reach for me...you know?
- ...No I think that I got lucky at the time...that was when I was twenty-two...that was about seven-eight years ago and at that time, they needed workers everywhere...you know? Like I remember the population wasn't...it was before the boom...
- so there wasn't that many workers here...they just...they got what they got and they work with it, you know? At that time...and...at this time when I came in that's when the boom started happening...
- Yeah [laughs]...they didn't think I was Native! So...that was a benefit for me…
- "we didn't know you were Native" [laughs]...and they were shocked when I told them that
- plus my name too, like you see Redmen...like...people's mentalities is like, "who is this guy...we've dealt with these kind", you know, same blah blah blah...you know, we don't need this horse shit right now...we |

			need professionals [laughs], you know
			Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective: Within the respondent perspective, there was clear evidence of a perceived inferiority of the interviewees employment skills. As is presented above, the interviewee frequently attributes to getting a job to outside influences and not to his own skills. Saying he was 'lucky' to get a job because of current economic circumstances or consistently blaming the reason why he couldn't find work on an inferiority of his own skills (e.g., I was so out of my element). Additionally, he explicitly states that when employers perceived him as being non-Aboriginal it was a benefit from him. Therefore, he is denying his indigeneity because he perceives it to be of benefit for him. This is an incredibly powerful quote because it reflects colonial attitudes that have been perpetuated and reinforced within him. Thinking that being non-Aboriginal is of benefit to him when seeking employment is a clear indication of a perceived self-inferiority of employment skills and, to a lesser extent, of being Indigenous. It is assumed that this perceived inferiority stems from stereotype threat or an outside influence that has undercurrents telling First Nation men and women that they are not good enough. Additionally, it could be perpetuated by the environment in First Nation community where some important elements of self-esteem and culture

			have been taken away by colonialist attitudes.

Metaphors used to describe Perceived work barriers – non-Aboriginal perceived work inferiority of First Nation employees:

- and I thought it was too far out of reach for me...you know?

- I didn't know the commitment level to succeed at this level, I'd never operated at this

- I was so out of my element, you know?

- ...No I think that I got lucky at the time...

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>

Once again, the idea of being 'out of one's element' of something being 'too far out of reach' implies that these descriptions can be interpreted as a perceived self-inferiority. Not feeling comfortable or perceiving that one does not belong in an environment (i.e., out of one's element).

Overall content of perceived work barriers component (researcher description):

Written summary of manageable code:

Perceived work barriers – no opportunity to progress

A lack of purpose in employment, and to an extent, in life in general may be detrimental to the well-being of employees and seen as a barrier to employment. To not have a purpose or direction towards an employment goal (including training) can very well be a barrier for First Nation men and women. Providing a purpose, direction, or goal for an individual can lessen this barrier.

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: There appears to be a degree of self-doubt that leads to a lack of confidence in an individual's employment skills. It is interpreted that this can be a barrier for employment. This individual attributes getting a job to 'being lucky' or 'being to far out of reach' for him. This can be interpreted as the interviewee not having a large amount of self-confidence that is affecting employment practices. The origins of this self-doubt should be explored further, but it is possible that it is a result of stereotype threat and the general attitude among some First Nation men and women.
The idea of progression being 'too far out of reach' is an interesting visual description of a possible struggle to achieve goals. It gives off the impression that an individual is reaching their arm out as far as possible and still are not able to reach what they are going for. This must be a difficult reality to grasp.

Perceived work barriers – non-Aboriginal taken-for-grantedness

No interpretation due to the lack of data.

Perceived work barriers – Workplace discrimination

This is clear evidence of discrimination directed towards First Nation men and women. This interviewee had to use a different name on his applications just to be considered in the workplace. Non-Aboriginal organizations would not call him back for an interview if he used his given name. No matter how skilled of a worker he was, he couldn't secure a job because of his name.

Further supporting what was stated in the informant perspective, the evidence presented in the respondent perspective reinforces discriminatory attitudes when hiring First Nation men and women. This individual believes that his name was the reason he was not getting job interviews in non-Aboriginal organizations. He has good reason to believe so because as soon as he switched his name to Ray from Redman, he started receiving calls for job interviews. This is clear evidence that non-Aboriginal organizations are not excited to hire First Nation men and women and are screening them at the resume stage. This is a massive barrier for First Nation men and women. Additionally, it is not really one they can do anything about as changing one's name is a drastic measure that most people won't take.

Perceived work barriers – non-Aboriginal perceived work inferiority of First Nation employees

Within the respondent perspective, there was clear evidence of a perceived inferiority of the interviewee's employment skills. As is presented above, the interviewee frequently attributes to getting a job to outside influences and not to his own skills. Saying he was 'lucky' to get a job because of current economic circumstances or consistently blaming the reason why he couldn't find work on an inferiority of his own skills (e.g., I was so out of my element). Additionally, he explicitly states that when employers perceived him as being non-Aboriginal it was a benefit from him. Therefore, he is denying his indigeneity because he perceives it to be of benefit for him. This is an incredibly powerful quote because it reflects colonial attitudes that have been perpetuated and reinforced within him. Thinking that being non-Aboriginal is of benefit to him when seeking employment is a clear indication of a perceived self-inferiority of employment skills and, to a lesser extent, of being Indigenous. It is assumed that this perceived inferiority stems from stereotype threat or an outside influence that has undercurrents telling First Nation men and women that they are not good enough. Additionally, it could be perpetuated by the environment in First Nation community where some important elements of self-esteem and culture have been taken away by colonialist attitudes.

Once again, the idea of being 'out of one's element' of something being 'too far out of reach' implies that these descriptions can be interpreted as a perceived self-inferiority. Not feeling comfortable or perceiving that one does not belong in an environment (i.e., out of one's element).

Living in Two Worlds and its Effects on Employment

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Living in two worlds – Social differences	- there's the jealousy level at the reserve is just insane like if someone doesn't like your family or doesn't like... - and they look at you... and you know...it just... it's a small community environment, small mentality environment so... everyone's at each other for something... you know... - And then once you fight just to defend yourself...all these guys have families... and all of them have cousins, and all of them have that and that...you know... and I'm there by myself...I was, you know - and these guys were just tailing me...and I was like, "oh my god"...you know... and…. like that mentality and they Shot at my vehicle too.	**Sociocultural system differences** - No data **Feeling of community** - there's the jealousy level at the reserve is just insane like if someone doesn't like your family or doesn't like... - and they look at you... and you know...it just... it's a small community environment, small mentality environment so... everyone's at each other for something... you know... **Researcher interpretation of above text:** Contrary to popular opinion, this individual does not believe that there is a feeling of welcoming within this First Nation community. It appears to be relatively hostile, especially when someone acts against the grain of behavior. It should be noted, however, that he was an outsider to this community and was not born within it.	**Sociocultural system differences** - No data **Feeling of community** - And then once you fight just to defend yourself...all these guys have families... and all of them have cousins, and all of them have that and that...you know... and I'm there by myself...I was, you know - and these guys were just tailing me...and I was like, "oh my god"...you know... and…. like that mentality and they shot at my vehicle too. **Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:** Respondent perspective reinforces the interpretations made in the informant perspective.

Metaphors used to describe Living in two worlds – Social differences:
- the jealousy level at the reserve is just insane
- And then once you fight just to defend yourself...

Researcher interpretation of above text:

No interpretation due to lack of data.

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Living in two worlds – Material differences		**Housing** - No data	**Housing** - No data

Metaphors used to describe Living in two worlds – Material differences
- No metaphors identified

Overall content of living in two worlds component (researcher description):

Written summary of manageable code:

Living in two worlds – Social differences

Contrary to popular opinion, this individual does not believe that there is a feeling of welcoming within this First Nation community. It appears to be relatively hostile, especially when someone acts against the grain of behavior. It should be noted, however, that he was an outsider to this community and was not born within it.

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: Respondent perspective reinforces the interpretations made in the informant perspective.

Living in two worlds – Material differences

No interpretation due to lack of data.

Work Realities on Modern Reservations

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Work realities – number and types of jobs on reservations	- Yeah like that was only for maybe a week or so then I started doing it full time when since I was 11... Or no 12... 12 years old and yeah... I would work all my summers and yeah... - at first there was nothing…I stayed about, lets say…three months and I couldn't find anything but I was at the place…well I was in a reserve…like applying for a job everyday and they were seeing if anything was open that I could get here and there	**Number of jobs** - so after a few months, finally got lucky [gained employment] and yeah… - there's no opportunity... there's no work out there **Researcher interpretation of above text:** Evidence is limited, but it is reflected here that there are very few employment opportunities on reservations. This is similar to the popular belief.	**Number of jobs** - at first there was nothing…I stayed about, lets say…three months and I couldn't find anything but I was at the place…well I was in a reserve…like applying for a job everyday and they were seeing if anything was open that I could get here and there

	- and I was just looking for work…you know and out there there is not that much to do out there…so… - I applied for a TA job [on reserve]... opening and it was pretty intense because it was my first professional like job - there's no opportunity... there's no work out there - There is a lot of, you know, like there is a health department there...there is education there...you think males want to go and try to be a teacher? These guys didn't grow up like that, you know. Like, there is a lot of like...administrative jobs there...you know, there is band office...there is lots of health and...like men I think there is public works but there is only a few jobs in there and...I don't know any other departments there are but...yeah…	**Types of jobs** - There is a lot of, you know, like there is a health department there...there is education there...you think males want to go and try to be a teacher? These guys didn't grow up like that, you know. Like, there is a lot of like...administrative jobs there...you know, there is band office...there is lots of health and...like men I think there is public works but there is only a few jobs in there and...I don't know any other departments there are but...yeah… ==**Researcher interpretation of above text:**== There does not appear to be many manual labor jobs present on the reservations. Instead, there are more office or administration jobs that may require a different skill set. As is demonstrated here, the interviewee reinforces this idea by claiming males don't want to become teachers.	- and I was just looking for work…you know and out there there is not that much to do out there…so… **Types of jobs** - Yeah like that was only for maybe a week or so then I started doing it full time when since I was 11... Or no 12... 12 years old and yeah... I would work all my summers and yeah... - I applied for a TA job [on reserve]... opening and it was pretty intense because it was my first professional like job ==**Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:**== The respondent perspective reinforces the idea that there are very few jobs on reservations and finding work is very difficult. Additionally, the majority of jobs (still a small number) are more administrative when compared to manual labor

Metaphors used to describe Work realities – number and types of jobs on reservations:
- No metaphors identified

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)
Work realities-Unemployment and perceptions of welfare		**Attempts to leave community for work** - No data	**Attempts to leave community for work** - No data

Metaphors used to describe Work realities- Unemployment and perceptions of welfare:
- No metaphors identified

CM manageable codes	Participant description of manageable code	Informant perspective (divided by relevant components)	Respondent perspective (talking about self)

| Other realities on reservations effecting employment | - Uhhh…I kind of got in an argument…things weren't going my way…I was just…everything was shitty and…and you know, I was just like, "I am gonna go stay with my mom" and…and there should be job opportunities out here you know…
- And then once you fight just to defend yourself...all these guys have families... and all of them have cousins, and all of them have that and that...you know... and I'm there by myself...I was, you know
- you know... it's about everything that's going on in their life... it's a lot of addictions… when you're talking about natives there's a lot of alcohol, pills, drugs... you name it. it's in there...you know... and yeah that's what it is...
- I was looking up jobs and...I was looking for camp work, you know? I'm like, "I gotta get something, somewhere, something that can take me out"
- you can barely breathe in there, and it was covered in the whatever…the silage...and its really irritating smell...they didn't give you a mask...you are in there and you are doing the work and whatever...you know, just shovelling shit out, you know...and it was really...really like I said...first hour or two these guys couldn't handle it and I was like, "I need this"...so I just stuck through it.
- I needed the money...and I needed...yeah...I needed to survive… [laughs]...So I was like okay I gotta do this. So after the day the guy was like, "how was your first day" and I am like, "I'm sweaty, I'm bruised, I'm beaten...I call that a good days work" [laughs]...
- the thing is there is not much opportunity for work or career or anything because not many people are looking out to that...you know? | **Perceptions of the benefits of work**
- No data

The need for work
- the thing is there is not much opportunity for work or career or anything because not many people are looking out to that...you know?

==Researcher interpretation of above text:==
Once again, limited evidence that there are very few jobs on the reservation.

Perceived lack of skill-building opportunities
- No data

Other components for not being able to work
- Uhhh…I kind of got in an argument…things weren't going my way…I was just…everything was shitty and…and you know, I was just like, "I am gonna go stay with my mom" and…and there should be job opportunities out here you know…
- And then once you fight just to defend yourself...all these guys have families... and all of them have cousins, and all of them have that and that...you know... and I'm there by myself...I was, you know
- you know... it's about everything that's going on in their life... it's a lot of addictions… when you're talking about natives there's a lot of alcohol, pills, drugs... you name it. it's in there...you know... and yeah that's what it is...

==Researcher interpretation of above text:==
This interviewee provided evidence that work is not separate from life. In particular, he claims that his home community has a relatively toxic environment where grudges are held and substance abuse is present. Therefore, this environment is preventing some individuals from pursuing work. | **Perceptions of the benefits of work**
- No data

The need for work
- I was looking up jobs and...I was looking for camp work, you know? I'm like, "I gotta get something, somewhere, something that can take me out"
- you can barely breathe in there, and it was covered in the whatever…the silage...and its really irritating smell...they didn't give you a mask...you are in there and you are doing the work and whatever...you know, just shovelling shit out, you know...and it was really...really like I said...first hour or two these guys couldn't handle it and I was like, "I need this"...so I just stuck through it.
- I needed the money...and I needed...yeah...I needed to survive… [laughs]...So I was like okay I gotta do this. So after the day the guy was like, "how was your first day" and I am like, "I'm sweaty, I'm bruised, I'm beaten...I call that a good days work" [laughs]...

Perceived lack of skill-building opportunities
- No data

Other components for not being able to work
- and these guys were just tailing me...and I was like, "oh my god"...you know... and…. like that mentality and they Shot at my vehicle too.

==Researcher interpretation of the similarities and differences from Informant perspective:== |

			Passages presented in the respondent perspective is reflective of the idea that there is an inherent need to work. This need stems from a pure survival standpoint, as money is needed to support family and self. This person was willing to go through undesirable work conditions just so he could work and gain access to a paycheck. This speaks to the very limited job numbers on the reservation, as individuals are willing to go to great lengths and work in terrible conditions so they can live.

Metaphors used to describe Other realities on reservations effecting employment:
- I was just…everything was shitty and…
- And then once you fight just to defend yourself...

<mark>Researcher interpretation of above text:</mark>
No interpretation due to lack of data.

Overall content of work realities manageable code (researcher description):

Written summary of manageable code:

Work realities – number and types of jobs on reservations
Evidence is limited, but it is reflected here that there are very few employment opportunities on reservations. This is similar to the popular belief.

There does not appear to be many manual labor jobs present on the reservations. Instead, there are more office or administration jobs that may require a different skill set. As is demonstrated here, the interviewee reinforces this idea by claiming males don't want to become teachers.

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: The respondent perspective reinforces the idea that there are very few jobs on reservations and finding work is very difficult. Additionally, the majority of jobs (still a small number) are more administrative when compared to manual labor

Work realities- Unemployment and perceptions of welfare

No interpretation due to lack of data

Other realities on reservations effecting employment
This interviewee provided evidence that work is not separate from life. In particular, he claims that his home community has a relatively toxic environment where grudges are held and substance abuse is present. Therefore, this environment is preventing some individuals from pursuing work.

Similarities and differences from Informant perspective: Passages presented in the respondent perspective is reflective of the idea that there is an inherent need to work. This need stems from a pure survival standpoint, as money is needed to support family and self. This person was willing to go through undesirable work conditions just so he

could work and gain access to a paycheck. This speaks to the very limited job numbers on the reservation, as individuals are willing to go to great lengths and work in terrible conditions so they can live.

Discrimination Faced by First Nation Men and Women Before and After Transition from North	
Discriminatio n faced by First Nation men and women	- when I got that job I didn't use my name...I used 'Ray'...cause like, you know...I need a chance to get a job...I am not using Redmen [laughs]...it would have given me no chance to get a job… - Well...okay...say Redmen Wapass is applying for a job...it doesn't matter how many credentials I got or whatever...or how...is my background...they are going to look at that and, "holy I am not hiring this guy, is he from jail or what?"...like who is this Redmen guy? IP leader or? - Well look at the name...Redmen...do you see? Do you want someone...to come by and...that's named Redmen for a job interview? To represent your company and doesn't matter how many references I give him...cause I've been doing that for many years and I got to the point where I thought, "Okay, this is not getting me anywhere"...I gotta use...I used Ray...Raymond for short, you know? - cause I used Redmen first and was not happening for me...I'm like I can't be around homeless for how many weeks, you know? I gotta get out of here...so I used Ray and...yeah. - Yeah [laughs]...they didn't think I was Native! So...that was a benefit for me… - plus my name too, like you see Redmen...like...people's mentalities is like, "who is this guy...we've dealt with these kind", you know, same blah blah blah...you know, we don't need this horse shit right now...we need professionals [laughs], you know Oh yeah, it is total discrimination. That's how it is in the workforce…I'm in construction, that's how it is. I worked at Potashcorp too...I worked at a lot of companies because after...after yeah I came back...yeah…[laughs], like I came back to Saskatoon after the season was done and I had a really really hard job getting a job again because I tried using Redmen... - I am having a rough time...because I went back to Redmen...and at that time I was desperate so I had to...you know...throw...throw some people off...it was not my intention [laughs]...because I was hopeless, I was desperate

Overall content of discrimination manageable code (researcher description):

Written summary of manageable code: The evidence presented in this section is of pervasive stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination as described by the interviewee. It includes both personal experiences as well as the experiences First Nation men and women face in general. While the entire conversation was focused on the topic of employment, the category of discrimination consistently emerged throughout. It is apparent to the researcher that it cannot be ignored because it is likely it is tied in directly with working and living in non-Aboriginal settings. It is safe to assume that the majority of individuals spend a large portion of their time at work meaning it is an important element of their life. Consequently, work attitudes, well-being, and satisfaction will be affected not only by work settings but also by life outside of work. It is clear to the researcher that life outside of work and within work contexts is not discrimination free. Evidence for both explicit and implicit discrimination is presented within the words of the interviewee. When one takes this component into consideration with the others (e.g., living in two worlds, morale codes of work), it is interpreted that the discrimination faced by First Nation men and women will make employment more difficult. Essentially, it is one large barrier that exists which is helping to suffocate the well-being of First Nation employees. Additionally, this type of discrimination is assumed to be absent within First Nation communities which makes it harder for individuals to face when they decide to leave.

Appendix E – Combined Between-case Matrix

Combined Between-Case Matrix		
Horizontal Relationships (Co-worker to Co-worker)		
Nature of relationships among co-workers; Sources and resolutions of conflicts		
Inference of moral codes	SAM	• Informal talk is the preferred method of showing peer support in the workplace. It is interpreted that, through informal talk (e.g., smoke breaks, teasing) that an individual can engage in relationship building. Relationship building is the primary

and rules of behavioral engagement based on concepts, categories, and content:		focus among colleagues. Essentially, a deep and personal relationship must exist for peer support to be facilitated (interconnectedness). • Work and outside life cannot be separated – a person brings their 'outside life' context with them to work. Individuals should be able to recognize these circumstances and act appropriately. Through informal talk (i.e., smoke breaks) and individual is able to determine and understand whether or not a person needs more or less social support during the day. • An individual will not jeopardize the harmonized system of peer support in the workplace (respect). The social well-being of the group will supersede the individual's personal problems. That being said, an individual's personal problems may be addressed through the friendships and informal talk they engage in at the workplace. This is another form of social support – not jeopardizing the harmony of the larger group unless an individual prompts you to express personal problems.
	SARAH	• Relationships above all – every social interaction within the workplace is placed within the context of establishing personal relationships with your peers. Relationship building establishes a closeness and sense of context between co-workers and facilitates respect between co-workers. It is done for the comfort all of within the workplace and not necessarily to improve work outcomes (i.e., a person-centered approach). Work is more enjoyable as a result, as co-workers understand each other's actions and thoughts (i.e., personal relationships provide context). It is referred to as humility – or understanding where everyone is coming from and why they are doing what they are doing at work. • Peer support extends beyond the workplace. In order to establish a relationship with someone else, a person must get to know another individual on a personal level. This includes discussions about family, problems, and life outside of work. It allows for the desired connectivity between people on a much deeper level. • All workers should try their best to fit in with the group. This means avoiding disturbing the balance of group relations. The group's overall well-being is important. Social isolation is detrimental to peer support – avoid at all costs. • Respect, a key teaching in Indigenous culture, is shown through the establishment of deep interpersonal relationships. • Fitting in with a group of people causes a person to understand their place (i.e., how they fit in) in a work environment. It allows the establishment of a larger purpose (i.e., to know one's roles in the group) and feelings of comfort (i.e., eliminating uncertainty; gaining the acceptance of peers)
	WILLIAM	• Getting to know one another on a deep and personal level is the first and foremost goal for First Nation employees. Relationship building is above all and supersedes talking or focusing on work alone. Rather, relationship building and peer support is seen to enhance well-being and efficiency at work because it provides important context. Relationship building provides *common* understanding between individuals which provides important context as to why work is, or isn't, being accomplished. • The nature of relationship building is informal and any associated actions (e.g., talking in a circle) comes *before* work even starts. It is seen as a crucial part of the day. • Work and 'outside' life should not be separated. Rather, talking about one's life outside of work can be seen as a facilitator to peer support in the workplace. • Being able to 'ground' oneself in the context of spirituality is seen as important to peer support because it provides context for others. Figuring out how you fit into the workplace is part of grounding and it helps to facilitate peer support (i.e., it provides context for those around you) because it allows for easier relationship building. • Showing social support is seen as necessary and a part of being human (see keywords for further explanation on humanity). To show social support is to fit in with the ideal of being an honorable person. • Relationship building leads to flexibility and trust – two important elements of work for First Nation employees.

		• Humility is one underlying principle to peer support. Humility is a key teaching in Indigenous culture, as individuals are taught to be humble and understanding of others. Humility can only happen if an individual knows another individual on a deep and personal level. One goal of peer support in this manner to is to coincide with the teaching of humility. • Efficient work is caused by relationship building. It is only after an employee gets to know another on a deep, personal level that they may understand how another employee fits within the work system. Consequently, they then may be able to identify who they should go to for task help, advice, etc.
	ANN	• Relationship building among colleagues appears to be the foremost purpose in peer support behaviors and moral codes. It is expected that individuals will get to know one another in the workplace on a deep, personal level. This is done through several acts of peer support like eating lunch together, engaging in informal conversations/activities, and sharing personal lives with one another (i.e., accepting that the context which surrounds an individual in their outside lives will inevitably be brought into the workplace; accept this instead of reject it). • The purpose of this relationship building is to provide an environment where friendships are fostered, individuals feel *comfortable* to work and be themselves relatively free of judgement. Overall, it is interpreted that, by showing social support for peers, it will create a welcoming environment at work. This environment will create an inherent enjoyment at work, which will make tasks more enjoyable and encourage hard work. • The underlying purpose of showing peer support within the workplace is to *connect* with one another and eliminate any barriers for efficient work. It may be interpreted that First Nation employees believe that, through a welcoming and peer-supportive environment, an individual will become a better worker (providing they engage in that environment) • One other purpose for peer support is to create an environment where individual employees engage with the people around them. The purpose behind this desired engagement is to provide context of your own individual life for those around you. This context will add crucial information for others to know what to – or what not to – talk about with you and *how* to engage back with you. Additionally, this engagement will help an individual find out where they fit among everyone, and who they are within the work system. It helps them to ground themselves in the workplace, which adds to their comfort level. • Interconnectedness – the goal of peer support among employees to connect one another into a cohesive and collaborative work system that is open, free, collaborative, welcoming, and comfortable for all to work in. Having such an environment will foster efficient hard work from First Nation employees. • Relationship building – Individuals at work are treated like a second family. This means that there will be a drive from an individual to get to know them on a deeply personal level because, as per traditional teachings, family is everything. Family is important and, if work colleagues are treated like family, a relationship must exist that fosters context building and ultimately allows individuals to look out for one another's well-being.

<mark>Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:</mark>
- Relationship building is the primary purpose of the nature of relationships between co-workers. They are treated as a second family – or a work community. Relationship building means creating a deep, personal connection with your co-workers.
- The focus on relationship building creates a welcoming, comfortable, and egalitarian work environment – an ideal that is also reflected within the broader community.
- Informal talk is the primary facilitator to relationship building. Talking informally (i.e., teasing, humor, jokes) allows for personal details to emerge. The sharing of personal details connects individuals and provides the 'context' that surrounds any given individual. This context provides understanding for others (i.e., whether or not a task gets completed.

- Work and life are never separated – it is encouraged to talk about one's home life in order to help build relationships at work. It facilitates informal communication and allows others to understand you.
- Ultimately, it is believed that relationship building at works eliminates barriers preventing efficiency, hard work, and loyalty to co-workers. It is not a focus on work, but on relationships. However, these relationships lead to an efficient work system.
- An individual should ground themselves within the workplace (sometimes done through spirituality) so they can figure out their roles, responsibilities, and their place in the larger work social system. This individual grounding contributes to the context that surrounds you, which facilitates relationship building among co-workers.
- Respect drives relationship building – an individual should respect the context in which others are operating in (e.g., problems at home; why or why not they are accomplishing work tasks). This creates understanding between individuals and leads to the concept of humility (i.e., we all make mistakes). Humility and understanding leads to further social support and relationship building between individuals. Ultimately, this creates an efficient work system.

Vertical Relationships: Bottom-up and top-down
Nature of relationships; Leadership style; Sources and resolutions of conflicts

| **Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on concepts, categories, and content:** | SAM | A hierarchical and dictatorship leadership style appears to be counterproductive for First Nation employees. A boss who is giving orders, rather than working with employees to accomplish tasks, is not respected. As a result, individuals are going to be less likely to work hard for that individual and the entire workplace will suffer. A collaborative, free, and flexible leadership style facilitates a more productive, hardworking, and loyal work group. It appears to be the responsibility of the leader in the workplace to be a Sheppard for the entire workplace. It is their responsibility to 'set the tone' for the workplace (i.e., a collaborative, free, and trust filled environment) and their employees will pick up on that and reinforce that tone. When an appropriate tone is set by the boss, it is perceived as a show of social support. Another way to show social support in the workplace is to work *with* your employees with the goal of making everyone better. It is assumed by making everyone better that the entirety of the workplace will run efficiently and productively. When employees interpret that a boss's true intentions are to facilitate employee skill building, social interaction, and well-being than it is perceived as a high show of social support. Interconnectedness – the preference of a free, fluid, and collaborative environment speaks to the desire for everything to work as a system, or to be interconnected. If work is perceived like this, it is much more supportive because individuals have the ability to make mistakes while being assured others will help them in the workplace. Instead, a hierarchical system is the opposite of this, and if one individual makes a mistake it will be interpreted that the boss will not tolerate it and, thus, there will be less perceived social support. |
| | SARAH | Avoid direct conflicts and preserve relationships within and outside the workplace above all. This has a higher priority than task completion and/or quality of work. Showing appreciation, trust, and respect towards your employees is a vital form of social support – employees are looking for a boss's appreciation, trust, and respect. |

		• Do not separate yourself from your employees – support one another as equals through the development of interpersonal relationships • A top-down approach to leadership will not work because it is the opposite of collaboration. A top-down approach will not work because employees will not feel trusted to do their job, comfortable in their environment, socially supported, or feel competent in their own abilities • Enforcing a hierarchical leadership style is contradictory to what employees desire; a hierarchical support style eliminates interpersonal relationship building. • A boss can utilize the development of deep interpersonal relationships to provide context to an employee's work actions (e.g., an employee shows up late because a family member is sick). Without this support from leadership, no context can be provided and misunderstandings occur. Relationships above all! • Social support in the workplace starts with the boss. If the boss is not socially supportive and does not actively facilitate interpersonal relationship building, there may be a low chance of employees doing so.
	WILLIAM	• Facilitating a great experience for employees is the first duty of a manager or leaders. This means being able to provide everything an employee needs to be successful – but this does not only stay within the work realm. Once again, the concept of relationship building element is the key facilitating step that allows a manager to support their employees. It allows a manager to identify strengths and weaknesses (which allows for efficient task completion) as well as an air of understanding. This context of understanding allows a manager to interpret why or why not an employee is accomplishing their goals. • Fluidity, flexibility, and collaboration are the key elements to leading a group of First Nation employees. A rigid, top-down, approach will be counter productive because it eliminates the relationship building aspect of the workplace that is important to First Nation employees. • Supporting employees includes providing every possible resource so they may further their skills. If an employee fails at a task, it is not punished or ostracised. Instead, it is seen as an opportunity for the manager to help the employee improve themselves for the future (e.g., provide training opportunity) • Interconnectedness is the underlying purpose for this management style. A workplace that is connected, has deep relationships, and is collaborative is an efficient and more *human* way of working. Relationships and connectedness between people are first and foremost – efficient work will inevitably follow.
	ANN	• Establishing relationship building between employees and managers appears to be at the center of reasoning for the existence of social support form leadership. This relationship building between the two parties allows for several important outcomes including: 1) trust to be established and shown; this encourages hard work; 2) effective communication to identify weaknesses and strengths to create an efficient task completion process; and 3) fostering confidence and competence within employees to show them that they are a valued member of the team – fostering pride and inevitably making them work harder. • A top-down approach to leadership is not efficient for First Nation employees. Evidence presented here implies that a collaborative and equal environment is ideal for First Nation employees well-being and a healthy workplace environment. • Active listening is an important behavior that management must engage in with their employees. It creates understanding between individuals and allows a manager to identify how a task may be completed efficiently (i.e., by playing to strengths). • Interconnectedness is driving the support process from leadership. Evidently, it is expected that First Nation employees will have a socially supportive boss. The purpose for this is to create a cohesive, collaborative, welcoming, and very efficient

		workplace! Social support (e.g., active listening, constant communication, collaborative attitude) fosters the identification of personal strengths and weaknesses which can be used to accomplish goals in an effective manner. This only happens when management treats themselves as equal and gets to know their employees the same way employee to employee interaction takes place. It is participation with employees on social support instead of remaining distant and creating a divide. That does not appear to be Indigenous philosophy. • If work is a second family, it is up to the leadership of the workplace to foster ideal Indigenous philosophies in the workplace (e.g., relationship building, support among colleagues). It is up to them to create and maintain this environment.

highlighted

==Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:==

- Relationship building drives the nature of relationships between leaders and co-workers, as well as their leadership style. Conflicts are caused when a manager does not preserve relationships above everything else.
- Informal communication is present to facilitate relationship building, but a manager primarily utilizes active listening, logical support (e.g., training opportunities – making sure everyone is advancing), constant communication (and a lack of separation towards employees), by showing trust towards their employees (e.g. handing down responsibilities) and trusting they will accomplish the set goals using their own strength.
- A boss must understand the context that surrounds employees, hence the focus on relationship building. Work and life are never separated. Therefore, employees will bring problems with them to work (e.g., sick child) and it will affect how they engage with others and tasks. It is up to the manager to build that relationship so they can understand *why* or *why not* a behavior is executed. Informal talk is one way in which this is done
- A top-down or hierarchical approach is not efficient because it divides leadership from employee and there is a lack of relationship building. A collaborative, flexible, and free workplace is efficient for the opposite reasons. This is the ideal leadership style for First Nation employees. It encourages the discovery of employee strengths and weaknesses – which can be utilized to show social support for employees (i.e., play to their strengths - facilitate feelings of confidence/competence) and create a more efficient task completion process (i.e., everyone is working at their strengths.
- A manager's role and responsibility is to make sure everyone is comfortable, engaging in the workplace, and are able to freely go about their work. This set of circumstances are the key to hard work by employees; a manager is the key to creating this environment – it all starts with them! They are the key to interconnectedness of all in the workplace, respect between employees, and creating an egalitarian environment.

Additional Cultural Model Components

General communication style in workplace

Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on concepts, categories,	SAM	• It appears to be acceptable to engage in a rough style of communication – especially in male dominated manual labor jobs. This would involve lots of teasing, ripping on one another, humor, and joking. Individuals who fit in are able to engage in this communication style effectively (i.e., are witty and fast) but those who cannot may not fit in. They may not be teased or joke with, but that is an indication that they are not fitting in with the larger work group. • This style of communication is not meant to anger, ostracise individuals, or cause conflict – it is the opposite of that and is meant to facilitate deep and personal relationship building. The only time a person is socially ostracised is when they do not engage in this rough communication style (i.e., they can't take a joke; they anger easy) • There is a split between how an individual should interact with the manager and how they should interact with another colleague. Specifically, an individual should avoid the large degree of teasing and humor with a boss as is demonstrated with

and content:		other employees. It may not be seen as appropriate. That being said, the focus still appears to be on informal talks (e.g., smoke breaks) as well as on relationship building. • The reason for informal talk (e.g., smoke breaks, teasing, etc.) is to determine the context of individuals in the workplace (i.e., the baggage they bring to the situation) as well as to determine whether or not they can *handle* the rough communication style. If an individual had a bad experience the night before, then individuals might not tease him that particular day. It boils down to understanding, context, and compassion. This would not happen if the reason behind informal talk was not relationship building. • Business talk is allowed, but is preferred to be done in an informal style. In fact, evidence presented here suggests that business decisions, task completions, etc. are more effective when communication is informal. • Those who cause drama in the workplace are socially ostracised. • Relationship building – the primary reason as to why individuals engage in this informal, and rough, communication style is to get to know one another on a personal level. Teasing, humor, and informal conversations over smoking allows for personal details to emerge – which are crucial to really get to know someone. • Interconnectedness - this informal speech allows those who will fit in with the group and those who do not to be separated. It is evident who will and who will not by how they engage at work. It is possible that this style of communication is used as a tool to facilitate a maximum level of interconnectedness at work.
	SARAH	• Communication between employees should consist of teasing, humor, and genuine conversation • All communication should be aimed at relationship building and connecting with one another first and foremost (business may follow afterwards). • Informal communication is preferred over formal communication – it is more personal and engaging • It is desirable not to separate work from home life in conversation. It is acceptable to talk about one's family, problems, or anything else not related to work because it informs how work will be carried out. • Communication is the foundation to interpersonal relationship building, creating an egalitarian work environment, and allowing employees to feel comfortable in their positions. This style of communication is different from non-Indigenous settings but has the effects of facilitating deep interpersonal relationship building. It also allows employees to discover the context or 'baggage' that everyone brings to work with them so they may be socially supportive towards them. • Engaging in behaviors such as talking circles in the morning or coffee breaks with the aim of relationship building allow the tone for the day to be set – it provides context for where everyone is at and allows the group to figure out how to interact with one another.
	WILLIAM	• Informal communication is preferred over formal communication because it facilitates relationship building • A more 'personal' and engaging style of communicating at work is desired. This includes talking about emotions, feelings, and having genuine conversations with one another. • It is interpreted that a group at work sees themselves as a community – and the same principles governing the broader community (e.g., family first; relationship building; giving back to community) is mirrored within work settings. Work is a smaller version of community. Due to this assumption, people don't treat each other as co-workers only but as family members. Thus, individuals talk to one another like they are family (i.e., family orientated relationship)

		• Communication is the key to humility. This relationship-based communication style facilitates the key teaching of humility – or understanding where everyone is coming from. This contextual information is gathered through informal talk and used closely to inform work decisions, tasks, etc. • Community-minded individuals are another underlying purpose as to why this communication style is perpetuated. Individuals want to create a sense of community within their work setting, so they communicate in the same manner with their co-workers as they would the rest of the community (including family).
	ANN	• A divide between informal talk and then more formal acting in board meetings. • Informal communication is key for First Nation men and women at work. Evidence points out that this is the preferred method of communication. This involves teasing, humor, and laughter. Additionally, the type of informal talk is focused on getting to know one another personally. It is anticipated that this style of communication creates a more enjoyable workplace because individuals feel closer to each other. When individuals get to know one another, work is easier and more enjoyable. Trust is developed – which is a key social sanction for First Nation employees. • It is much easier to establish the context of those around you when you are able to engage in informal communication style. This is because personal details are more likely to emerge from teasing and humor than any other type of formal communication. • Conflict appears to be avoided through direct face-to-face communication. This appears to be the preferred style for First Nation employees. • There is a divide in communication style when in a board room setting as compared to not. Informal communication dominates the conversation until the moment the board meeting begins, then it switches to a formal style. Similarly, informal begins when the board meeting is complete. This may be due to non-Indigenous processes (i.e., a board meeting) interfering with an Indigenous practice. • Relationship building – the entire purpose of this style of communication is to facilitate relationship building between individuals. It creates an easier and more comfortable way to talk to one another. It is entirely possible that this is the way communication between Indigenous peoples has been taking place for a long time– which would explain why it is so prevalent and comfortable for them.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:
- Informal communication is preferred among employees and managers. This is because it eases conversation so relationship building takes place, creates a more comfortable environment where individuals can freely express themselves, and facilitates connectedness (i.e., the understanding of context) between all in the workplace.
- Informal communication acts include teasing, humor (e.g., jokes), laughter but also involve deeper practices like genuine conversations, shows of emotions, creating a sense of community within the workplace, and talking to one another about outside life (e.g., family; community). It is the foundation that creates an understanding, respect, and humility between individuals and, ultimately, facilitates relationship building and interconnectedness.
- Work is a second family, meaning co-workers treat each other as brothers and sisters. This creates the drive to communicate with one another like they are family (i.e., get to know them on a deep, personal level) using informal communication.
- Individuals who do not engage in this informal communication are not easily accepted into the group, as communication is harder between two individuals because the focus is not on getting to know another individual on a personal level (i.e., it may be on work).
- Informal communication allows individuals to assess what another individual is brining with them to the workplace and adjust their level of social support accordingly.

		• Relationship building through informal communication happens before work related communication. Once relationships are established, informal communication takes place in acts such as daily circle talks, coffee breaks, smoke breaks, eating together at lunch. All of these acts are vital for understanding context, further relationship building, and the ultimate efficiency of the workplace.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3" style="background:#29ABE2;text-align:center">First Nation Specific Practices</td></tr>
<tr>
<td rowspan="4"><u>Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on concepts, categories, and content:</u></td>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>
• Spirituality is presented here with limited evidence – smudging appears to be one way in which individuals can practice their faith at work.
• The focus is not on work – individuals immediately engage in informal conversation when entering the workplace in the morning because they want to see how each other's nights were. This will help set the tone for the day, provide context, and build relationships. Work is not the primary focus. Relationships are!
• Relationship building – informal talk and focus on context immediately in the morning. In addition, grounding oneself spiritually in the workplace provides additional context for others.
</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARAH</td>
<td>
• Time-orientation is not as important as grounding one-self (e.g., smudging), relationship building, community, and/or one's lived experience.
• Polychronic time – time is not the major focus dictating behavior.
</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILLIAM</td>
<td>
• Family is not considered only to be immediate family – cousins are considered to be brothers and the entirety of the kinship system is family.
• Ceremonial, or spiritual time, is seen as necessary for First Nation employees. It offers individuals an opportunity to become grounded and take a break from any stress work may cause. Taking time for oneself to reflect, meditate, and make yourself healthy and balanced again may be interpreted as a First Nation specific component that is not practiced in on-Indigenous settings.
• A flexible schedule is preferred among First Nation employees because it allows for community, family, and kinship responsibilities to be fulfilled. Work should not get in the way of those primary duties. The example of individuals leaving the workplace to help elders within the community only serves to back this up.
• It is important to make note of the words 'we just do it in a different way…still have those end goals in mind'. First Nation communities have the same end goals as non-Indigenous communities; they just operate in a different system - a more human-centered system.
</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANN</td>
<td>
• Having a free, open, and flexible schedule may be desirable for First Nation employees because it gives them the opportunity to practice other responsibilities (e.g., responsibilities to family). Additionally, have a flexible schedule in place can help employees feel trust from management and feel more competent in their skills/job. This also applies to the concept of time – which is less important than task completion.
• Work is not the primary concern of life – it may be seen as a facilitator to practice other, more valuable, concerns like relationship building and responsibility to community.
</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="3"><mark>Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:</mark>
• Spirituality in the workplace is important for individual grounding and allows an individual to understand their roles/responsibilities in the larger work system.</td>
</tr>
</table>

		• A free, open, and flexible schedule allows individual to fulfill community responsibilities without jeopardizing their work community. Work is secondary to community well-being (it may be seen as something that facilitates more valuable concerns like relationship building and community). When an individual operates within this schedule, they feel trusted and more competence in their position. Increases in confidence follow.
		Decision making in the workplace
Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on concepts, categories, and content:	SAM	• Informal decision making may be preferred over formal decision making. This links closely to the informal communication style theorized earlier. It may be easier to make work-related decisions in an informal manner because it is more comfortable for First Nation employees to do so. • A collaborative and non-dictatorship style of decision making is much preferred (similar to the style of leadership discussed earlier). If this is not the case, the may be deemed 'incompetent'. • Individuals do not appreciate being suppressed in the workplace. Not allowing them to participate in decisions, or not making them feel like they are an important part of the process, is not an ideal way of decision making. • Social support interpretations play a role in decision making as well. It is interpreted here that, by engaging in informal decision making processes, it is less likely that an individual will 'show up' their leadership and create a rift between them. It is a relationship focused element once again. It is not acceptable to jeopardize the harmony of the group. • Egalitarian purpose – it appears that this style of decision making is underlined by a comforting and 'equal' environment that encourages all to be part of the decision making process.
	SARAH	• Decisions must be made with the consultation of all in the workplace in order for the buy-in of employees. • Decision making, and resulting consequences, are the responsibility of all and not only a select few. • Decision making should be done in such a way that everyone feels like they are contributing and part of the decision making process. • Collaboration is key in decision making. If there is collaboration, there is greater buy-in from employees and efficiency in task completion • A lack of collaboration may be seen as a lack of trust on the part of the employee. If this is perceived, and individual will not feel comfortable or competent in their workplace. • The success of the decision relies on a collaborative attitude. With no collaboration there will be a lesser chance of success.
	WILLIAM	• A top-down approach to decision making will not work in First Nation communities. It is certainly not as effective as an approach where all get a say in the process and have the real potential to influence the outcome. Essentially, the key to decision making in First Nation workplaces is collaboration. • With collaboration comes elements of relationship building (i.e., strengths and weaknesses of other employees identified and used; communication style) and feelings of competence. If an employee feels like they are a critical part to the decision making process, he or she will feel trust and pride. Ultimately, this will only serve to increase feelings of competence and hard work! • This style of decision making is more efficient for First Nation employees because an individual will be able to work according to their strengths, a manager will be able to understand the context that surrounds an employee, and there will be less mistakes in the efficient allocation of tasks.

		• Everyone is working towards a common goal: to improve the environment and people around them (creating a sustainable and healthy community). There is an internal drive to always better the situation or context around you. This idea will drive a great many things (i.e., communication style, peer support, etc.) but is key for decision making. If everyone is not benefitting in some way, then it is not a good decision and probably won't be respected.
	ANN	• A collaborative and, more importantly, equal decision making process is ideal for First Nation employees. When individuals are given the chance to contribute, be part of the process, and be able to provide their input the decision is the best for all. This may link to a traditional teaching where the community's (in this case the work community) well-being is put before individual well-being. • A collaborative style of decision making is facilitated by the informal communication style consequence (and to a lesser extend the peer support process) of being able to identify strengths and weaknesses in individuals. A collaborative decision making process will take strengths/weaknesses into account for efficiency and support but it is not possible without the relationship building element that precedes it. • A decision making process that involves individuals at all stages can facilitate competence through trust. With this, comes feelings of pride that an individual can contribute to something that is bigger than themselves. • Community minded – all have a say in the decision making process so the decision is best for the group and not just an individual. • Relationship building – the collaborative decision making style will help to build relationships as no one will feel like they are left out. Feeling left out is interpreted as a sign that an individual is not trusted or competent and will diminish their confidence to do a good job. A collaborative and team based approach to decision making helps to prevent those negative feelings.

==Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:==
- Decision making should be collaborative and not at all top-down. Everyone needs to be an equal part of the decision. It is not enough to only involve them, but they must feel like they are a valued part of the decision making process and are actively contributing to the team. Individuals feel pride when this happens – pride that they are working towards something bigger than them. Future hard work increases as a result.
- Everyone should be working towards a common goal
- A lack of a collaborative decision making process implies a lack of trust, respect, and social support between individuals. When individuals are not involved, they feel as though they are not competent enough to be perceived as being able to contribute. Pride suffers as a result and future hard work is less likely.
- This style of decision making links directly to the nature of relationships between leaders/employees and between co-workers. Through these mediums, individual strengths/weaknesses are identified and utilized. An individual's context is revealed and they are better understood in terms of how they fit into the larger work system. All of this would not happen without social support in the workplace and an overall egalitarian environment.
- Collaborative decision making processes that rely on individual strengths, informal communication, and understanding between individuals create better buy-in from employees and a better likelihood for a successful decision (less mistakes are made).
- Leadership style directly links with this type of decision making.

		Overall nature of work environment
Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on concepts, categories, and content:	SAM	• A First Nation employee can immediately sense the type of work environment they are walking into. They prefer an egalitarian, free, and comfortable environment. As mentioned earlier, if the manager has not set the precedent for this type of environment, an employee can tell and will not enjoy his or her experience. Chances are that they may leave and seek a better work environment. An egalitarian work environment creates a feeling of well-being within employees. Feelings of well-being is facilitated by the sense or feel of the work environment • Part of an egalitarian work environment is being able to have freedom at work. This would include receiving trust from a manager or employees and being able to express your strengths in the way you want. It is interpreted that this would only help to facilitate efficient work, make employees comfortable, make employees feel competent, and help them engage socially (due to being comfortable). Being awarded 'freedom' in the workplace is an important element of an egalitarian work environment. • Work should not be a competition; it should be a collaborative effort. • Interconnectedness – individuals want to feel as if they are equal and positive contributors within their work environment. This is driven by a sense of interconnectedness, wherein an individual wants to fit in and contribute to a system where they are valued.
	SARAH	• The ultimate goal of all social interaction (verbal and non-verbal) including supportive behaviors, communication, relationship building, and collaborative decision making is to create an egalitarian community at work. Everyone is valued for their contribution (both personal and work related), respected as an individual and an important part of the group, and trusted. • A comforting workplace is an egalitarian workplace. Engage in informal communication, relationship building, collaborative decision making/teamwork, and show social support to create a comforting environment. • An environment that is welcoming, comforting, and egalitarian is seen as the ideal – and only real option – for First Nation employees. • The foundation of almost all other components! The underlying purpose of creating an egalitarian environment drives the focus on relationships (interconnectedness), which drives the unique – and informal – communication style focused on relationships, which can lead to collaborative attitudes at work. This can lead to competence, trust, responsibility, efficient task completion, comfort, pride, and hard work! This all then feeds back into creating an egalitarian workplace environment. It is the ultimate goal or purpose of an ideal First Nation workplace. Everything appears to be connected to creating and maintaining this type of work environment and style.
	WILLIAM	• An egalitarian workplace is the culmination of almost every other component identified. It is the ultimate purpose or creation that First Nation men and women strive for in the workplace. An egalitarian workplace is mirrored from an egalitarian community. In particular, employees feel the need to re-create the strong community feel in their workplaces. This is the reason why employees engage in intense relationship building activities (e.g., decision making; peer support; communication). Once again, the concept of a circle appears. When everything works as a circle, everything is equal and everyone is an intricate and valued part of it. It is the foundation for all other components. There is no hierarchy in a circle. • The concepts of interconnectedness, relationship building, and community are all present within this desired egalitarian workplace environment.

	ANN	• First Nation employees and managers all prefer to have an egalitarian workplace environment where everyone feels comfortable, are free to engage with others, and are on equal status. Comfortable and welcoming environments ultimately produce effective workplaces because individuals are able to engage at their own will, foster confidence/competence, and create feelings of pride through their work.
		• It is the ultimate underlying social goal of all First Nation workplaces – to have a place that is as comfortable for them as home is. This makes sense considering First Nation employees may consider their co-workers as a second family.
		• A collaborative decision making process plays a large role in creating an egalitarian work environment as individuals who feel like they are part of a team will infer this as being on equal status with others.
		• An informal communication style also plays a large role in creating this environment because it allows for free engagement between employees. It allows for personal details to be disclosed and context to be made clear. Ultimately, it creates a closeness and connectedness between employees that will bring everyone together and create cohesiveness. As a result, a welcoming and comfortable environment will be achieved.
		• Belonging – an egalitarian environment fosters a sense of belonging among everyone. When someone feels like they socially and physically belong somewhere it has a large potential to facilitate confidence, trust, pride, competence, and resulting hard work.
		• Relationship building – Another aim of a welcoming, comforting, and egalitarian work environment is to create a place where relationships are built easier. In fact, an egalitarian workplace environment may facilitate relationship building as individuals do not have to worry about unequal status among colleagues or any other barriers that would prevent genuine relationship building.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:

- The overall nature of First Nation workplaces should be egalitarian in every sense. This drives previous interpretations of **interconnectedness**, humility, respect, and relationship building (i.e., the core of workplace behaviors/moral codes) which drives the unique – and informal – communication style which can lead to collaborative attitudes at work. This can lead to competence, trust, responsibility, efficient task completion, comfort, pride, and hard work.
- An egalitarian work environment includes individuals feeling comfortable, welcoming, and equally valuable (i.e., respected as a person and as part of the group) within the workplace setting. This environment is facilitated by informal communication and, at the broadest sense, a focus on relationship building before work. An individual wants to mirror what is in the community at work; they want to feel as comfortable at work as they do at home – this drives intense relationship building at work.
- A First Nation employee craves this type of environment and can sense it when they enter a new workplace. The likelihood of them staying and contributing depends on the nature of the work environment. If it is not comforting, welcoming, and if they do not feel valued they will not reward the organization with overly hard work.
- The concept of a circle is inherently present. A circle allows for equality among members, accommodates mistakes, and provides the greatest degree of support of one individual falters. No hierarchy in a circle. To these individuals, a hierarchy would crumble where a circle would stay strong and adapt to the situation.

Method of Cultural Model Socialization

Inference of moral codes and rules of behavioral engagement based on concepts, categories, and content:	SAM	• It can be interpreted that an individual learns important job skills and values from more experienced employees or from family mentors. Youth appear especially appreciative of this mentorship.
	SARAH	• An employee (young or old) learns work culture and how to be an ideal worker from mentors – or role models – around them. • Role models may be family members but can also be other Indigenous employees that have more experience • A mentor should provide on the job skill training but should also provide encouragement (and consequently strength) to the less experienced employee. • The idea of learning through a mentor implies that learning is best done through 'hands-on' methods. There may be a preference for work to be more interdependent rather than independent due to this. • Mentors can facilitate social support and create an egalitarian workplace. • Mentors can provide encouragement and strength for individuals, which may foster confidence and competence.
	WILLIAM	• It is evident that First Nation employees learn how to work through mentorship and coaching. Specifically, this observation may come through family members or other Indigenous employees with more experience. It appears that it is up to the mentor to teach the youth member or employee key concepts such as: hard work; personal sacrifice; commitment; responsibility; dedication; respect. • It is interpreted that the concept of Wahkotowin guides mentors in their teachings of youth and younger employees. Elders are key in this mentorship. • Community and seven generational thinking applies here. This mentorship idea is done because interpretational relationships are fostered and everyone is wanting to contribute to the betterment of the community (work or otherwise). If individuals learn from a positive role model about how to contribute and how to work hard, then these values will be passed on between generations and the community will only benefit from it.
	ANN	• An individual learns about how to work through traditional teachings about *life* and not those teachings solely focused on work (e.g., Teepee teachings, pipe teachings; respect). This is an interesting concept, as it may be interpreted that work is mirroring outside life as there have been little evidence of work-specific teachings. Rather, all the teachings guiding work appear to be guiding life in a broader sense. • Modelling is the act in which individuals learn how to work – along with any associated values with work. This modelling is more efficient with a more experienced Indigenous employee (as compared to a non-Indigenous employee). It is interpreted that there will be established trust and easier communication when learning with another Indigenous employee. • Modelling and mentoring follows the principles laid out in the peer support, communication style, and comforting environment components in which learning the values of work is informal and flexible. This appears to be an efficient way for younger employees to 'learn the ropes'. • Experiential learning appears to be the most efficient way of learning. • Evidence is presented here that modelling in First Nation communities has been taking place for a very long time. It only makes sense that this culture of mentorship continues today.

		• Modelling may work best when it is informal because it involves so many other cultural model components. Informal communication allows for relationship building, which allows for the development of trust, which then allows an individual to learn efficiently and pick up on work norms.

- Role models and mentorship are the ways in which young or inexperienced First Nation employees learn how to work. Essentially, an experienced employee or family member will pass down their knowledge (7 generation thinking; the betterment of the community) in an experiential way in which younger employees will directly learn how employment works through modelling. Mentors have a huge influence on what values, acceptable behaviors, and schemas are instilled within younger employees.
- Role models may not teach about work directly, but may teach about *life* (e.g., wahkotowin; Teepee teachings) which is seen dictating how employment is carried out. Foundations of First Nation culture are what is modelled and instilled, and not necessarily the specifics of work. If an individual follows the foundational teachings of First Nation culture, they will bring that into the workplace with them and be successful.

Work Motivation

Role of Money

How motivation influences behavior	SAM	• It is important to make money, but it appears that money is *not* a desirable motivation to work. It may be a motivation to work – but it is not an overly acceptable motivation. Rather, an individual should work for something bigger than just a paycheck. This something bigger may be the improvement of self, providing for one's family, or working towards a larger purpose (e.g., improving employment outcomes for the community).
	SARAH	N/A
	WILLIAM	N/A
	ANN	• Money is not a motivating component for First Nation men and women! In fact, it looks to be a negative component to work motivation. Other motivating components may be more important.

- Making money is not a motivation to work hard. Money is a motivating component only when it is framed in the context of providing for others or seen as a medium to fulfill other responsibilities (e.g., responsibilities to kinship or family).

Competence and professional growth

How motivation influences behavior	SAM	• Trust is used frequently when describing feelings of competence. This means it is evidence that it is key in influencing employees to feeling competent and encouraging continued hard work. • Individuals want to feel like they are good at their jobs. These feelings come through several mediums- the first of which is trust. If an individual is shown trust that he or she can accomplish a goal without extensive checking in than they will ultimately feel like they can accomplish something. With this sense of accomplishment comes a sense of pride – an

		important motivating component for continued hard work. One other way individuals may feel competent is through acknowledgement of a good job by their boss.
		• Trust and pride are fueling feelings of competence
	SARAH	• Competence is facilitated by trust and pride. Foster trust in employees and individual pride to create feelings of competence
		• Competence is necessary for an employee to feel like they are contributing and successful.
		• Understanding one's place in the workplace (i.e., how they fit into the environment) contributes to feelings of competence. Grounding oneself in the context of their environment and peers.
		• A competent employee is a loyal and hardworking employee because they feel like they are successfully contributing to the people and tasks around them.
		• Facilitating confidence in employees (through showing trust, giving training, handing down responsibilities) will help them feel competent in their jobs.
		• Continued training is an excellent way to foster confidence and, consequently, feelings of competence.
		• Feeling pride is due to a feeling of competence at work. If an individual feel like they can accomplish any goal set in front of them (i.e., they feel competent to do so), they will feel pride in their work – which is a major motivating component.
		• Competence also is linked closely to fitting in with one's group. In order to feel competent, and individual must feel welcomed and comfortable into their workplace (including feelings that they are trusted and can handle responsibility). This is accomplished through the previously described unique communication style, focus on collaboration, and social support. An employee who feels competent appears to be a highly contributing employee!
	WILLIAM	• Building, contributing, instilling are all keywords that emerged when talking about competence. This implies that it is a process to help an individual feel competent in their skill-sets.
		• Words such as acceptance, valued, assurance, and being taken seriously are evidence of the outcomes instilling competence/confidence can have for an individual. It is also evidence of *how* to instill competence (i.e., make employees feel valued, take them seriously).
		• Competence and resulting confidence is the key path to hard work and pride. When an individual feels competent in their skills and task completion, their confidence soars. As a result, they work harder at future tasks and feel increased loyalty towards that organization. As a result, they take pride in the work they are doing, which only furthers feelings of confidence. It is a mutually beneficial relationship.
		• Determination is a result of competence. If an individual feel competent in their skill set, they will approach job tasks with increased determination (leading to hard work),
		• An individual can also feel competent when they are valued within an organization (through peer and leadership support; decision making) and when they feel like they are contributing towards a larger goal. This serves to increase self-esteem and confidence because they are fulfilling a fundamental component of the cultural model: creating an environment where everyone benefits (community; relationship building; interconnectedness).
		• Feelings of competence fuels feelings of individual pride. However, it is not pride in the sense that the individual feels like they are improving the situation for themselves, but pride in the sense that they are able to help everyone around them. If an individual feel competent in their job, then it is likely they will feel more confident that they can provide for those around them – hence instilling further pride.

		• This is reinforced by the teaching of humility, which discourages bragging about individual skill sets but favors bragging about how much an individual has helped those around them. It is not outright verbal bragging. Rather, it is felt internally through feelings of pride.
	ANN	• Applying oneself is an important phrase that frequently occurs. This is evidence that, in order to achieve competence, an individual needs to show who they truly are in the workplace and engage with not only their work, but with those around them. With this, confidence will be fostered. • Confidence is mentioned several times as a precursor to competence. This is evidence that an individual needs to gain crucial feelings of confidence before feelings of competence will fit in. • An individual should have the opportunity to feel competent in their skills. In order to do so, evidence presented here suggests than an individual must be able to apply themselves into the workplace. This would mean engaging with other employees and, perhaps more importantly, being able to show their own strengths and personality. It appears that, if an individual is able to engage and be themselves in the workplace, that they will be able to feel confident and competent in their job. • One other element of competence is that an individual should not be outright with their feelings if they know they are competent. Rather, they should express humility and let internal confidence fuel their efforts rather than making it explicit (e.g., bragging). This relates to a foundational cultural teaching of always being humble in accomplishment. • Confidence comes before competency. An individual should be confident in their abilities before they feel competent (e.g., they know they can perform the task with ease). • Humility – this traditional teaching states that individuals should strive for individual greatness in their skills and abilities, but that once they achieve their goals they should not be outright in their bragging. Any newly found confidence should be internal, but used to further pursue goals. This may link back to the idea of group harmony, wherein any bragging may cause a disruption to individuals around that person.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:
- An individual has an intense drive at work to feel competent (or skillful, confident) at their job. Individuals feel like, in order to fulfill their broader responsibilities (e.g., to community; to family; work community) they must be skillful at their jobs and fulfill a fundamental attribute of the cultural model: to create a welcoming, comforting environment where everyone benefits (community; relationship building; interconnectedness)
- Feelings of competence within an individual can happen in several ways including: 1) receiving trust from one's boss that they can accomplish a goal - this is reinforced when they are given the freedom to accomplish a goal according to their own strengths and no one is looking over their shoulder. Trust facilitates feelings of competence; 2) Fitting in to the larger work system and feeling like a valued member of the work team – it fulfills a responsibility to the work community and allows an individual to feel like they are actively contributing to something bigger than themselves. Therefore, they will feel comfortable and competent in achieving these responsibilities; 3) receiving opportunities for experience or training from management to advance job skills; 4) applying one's self in the workplace in a flexible, comfortable, and free manner; and 5) fulfilling broader responsibilities through work (e.g., community)
- Confidence and competence are mutually linked. Personal confidence happens both before and after feelings of competence, and only serves to facilitate additional drives for competence in the workplace.

- Humility must be shown in competence. Bragging or outright shows of confidence/competence is not acceptable. Rather, and individual should use these feelings to create an *internal* drive for additional hard work. It's purpose is not to show how good you are, but to make you feel more comfortable and assure yourself that you can tackle any goal and/or responsibility.
- Feelings of pride (i.e., working towards a larger goal; fulfilling responsibilities) works in parallel with feelings of competence.

		Meaning/purpose of work
How motivation influences behavior	SAM	• There are frequent mentions of being kept 'up' or 'down' presented in text as metaphors. It appears that, when talking about progression there are strong visual speech than can get the point across about not wanting to be smothered but to allow for freedom.
		• It appears to be crucial for First Nation employees to have the perception that they can progress in the workplace. This progression may be in places such as skill development or relationship building but it also features one key element: freedom. If an individual feel like they are not suppressed in the workplace and are able to better themselves in a way they see fit, they will be happier.
		• It appears that management is the key to facilitating progression and, consequently, providing a purpose to work. They have the power to set 'the tone' of freedom in the workplace and create opportunities where an individual can progress themselves.
		• Wanting a sense that one can progress in the workplace may be due to an underlying want to always be working towards something – a better future. It may be a crave to be invested in something, to be part of something larger then themselves.
	SARAH	• Allowing First Nation employees opportunities to progress skills or advance personally and professionally is necessary
		• When a First Nation employee feels like he or she cannot progress anymore in a position, they will move jobs.
		• Having a larger purpose in work (could be a larger goal accomplished through work or a goal outside of work) motivates First Nation employees to work hard.
		• A First Nation employee feels confident and competent when they have opportunities to better themselves and develop their skills.
		• The concept of competence feeds directly into the concept of having a purpose and constantly progressing. A feeling that one must be competent in the workplace is carried out through a desire to progress skills and work towards a larger goal (a larger goal may be work based like increasing community engagement or non-work based like providing for family)
		• Having a sense of purpose in the workplace can relate to the idea of an egalitarian work environment wherein an individual must discover how he or she fits in with the group and contributes to a larger good. In order to discover their place in their work environment, components such as social support, communication, and an egalitarian workplace must be present.
	WILLIAM	• Engaging may be one way an individual can progress in the workplace. This relates back to communication style and a focus on relationship building. It may be that, when an individual engages with those around him/her or engages with the betterment of themselves then they are able to progress easier and see a larger purpose in what they are doing.
		• Wahkotowin is a keyword (described below).
		• One purpose of work that First Nation employees strive for is to be able to see the impact they had around them through their work. Once again, this appears to be community centered rather than person-centered. Judging from these passages, an

		individual's purpose in work is to better the community (which includes the people around them; family and co-workers). If an individual is able to see their impact on those around them, they will see the purpose in what they are engaging in. • One other purpose of work is *not* necessarily just to work for resources sake but to work to become better, healthier individuals. A drive for constant progression and purpose is evident within these passages. It is interpreted that this 'capacity building' helps facilitate confident and balanced individuals who are considered to be healthy. If an individual is not enabled to progress skill sets (which may include relationship building all the way to technicalities of job skills) then he or she may not see a larger purpose in their work and their well-being may suffer as a result! • Wahkotowin! This is the ultimate purpose guiding all actions in the workplace: to live a good life. The passages used by the participant perfectly describe this concept – everything is done to live the good life; everything a person does is connected to this endeavor. It is truly an all-encompassing term and work is one major component in how an individual creates this 'good life'. It can be interpreted that living the 'good life' and the teaching of Wahkotowin includes a more 'human', engaging, and collaborative style of work. As described before, it is through these mediums that an individual employee is able to better those around them and create the concept of a 'good life'. This is the largest and broadest purpose First Nation employees follow. • Wahkotowin is a Cree word
	ANN	• Application of oneself again appears within progression in the workplace (also appeared under competence category). It appears that part of feeling like an individual is progressing towards a larger goal is applying one's skills and social abilities. Clearly feelings of competence and pride will accompany a sense of progression • There is evidence presented here that indicates a First Nation employee needs to feel a larger purpose at work. Furthermore, an individual needs to see opportunities and genuinely feel like they are progressing towards a larger purpose or else they won't be as happy at work. • If an individual is able to attend work and leave at the end of the day feeling like they have done their absolute best with regard to their abilities, then he or she will feel that progression towards a larger purpose. It is interpreted that this progression will be accompanied with feelings of pride – an important motivating component for hard work – pride in the sense that an individual is accomplishing something bigger than themselves. • Having a larger purpose – relates to seven generation thinking that is interpreted to be part of Indigenous culture. In this style of thinking about the future, a larger goal is always set for the community that individuals should strive for. It is entirely possible that this translates easily into the workplace. Having a larger goal gives individuals something to get up and go to work for.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:
• An individual is motivated for continued hard work when he or she feels like they are working towards a larger purpose/goal other than personal success. Within this is a drive to always progress one's relationships and work skills so an individual actually feels progress towards a larger goal.
• When a First Nation employee feels as though they cannot progress in their current position, they will move positions/workplaces. It is an internal drive to always be working towards something bigger.
• Feelings of competence and confidence coincide with the fulfillment of responsibilities and an individual seeing that they are making progress towards a larger goal.

	•	This larger goal may be as wide as benefitting the community or as narrow as improving employment outcomes for a community or family members, but it is almost always focused on the well-being of others and not on the well-being of the individual employee (i.e., to earn a higher wage; to buy a house).
	•	Having a sense of progression contributes to the egalitarian environment because it is a feeling of contributing as a valued and equal member of a work system. Therefore, the fundamental want of an egalitarian work environment drives the need for constant progression and work towards a common, but larger, goal.
	•	Wahkotowin, or the Cree concept of natural law of interconnectedness or living the good life, may be the ultimate purpose that individuals are working towards. It guides their work behavior in every sense (e.g., to provide for family; to better the work community; to form relationships; to be more *human* in work settings) in that they are community centered and want to see an impact of their work on the individuals around them. If individuals see the impact they are having, it can have huge benefits for their competence, confidence, cause them to continue to work hard, and partially fulfill the natural law of Wahkotowin. If an individual can see this impact, they will feel intense pride in their own work and continue along their journey.
	•	A manager has the opportunity to build capacity within an individual (e.g., training), which is perceived as having many opportunities to have constant progression and work towards a larger goal.
	•	May relate to seven generation thinking that is interpreted to be part of Indigenous culture. In this style of thinking about the future, a larger goal is always set for the community that individuals should strive for. It is entirely possible that this translates easily into the workplace. Having a larger goal gives individuals something to get up and go to work for.

Family & community as motivators		
How motivation influences behavior	SAM	• An individual will engage in tasks they may not have before in order to benefit their family and/or community. Essentially, an individual will work *because* they want to benefit these groups and not solely for personal benefit.
	SARAH	• A person works to provide resources (including lived experiences) for their family and kinship network. It is important to note that money is part of this, but not the reason why individuals work. Family is everything! • Family is 'taken' to work in terms of the reasons as to why an individual would work hard. Once again, one motivation for work is to support one's family and not necessarily to provide resources for oneself (e.g., a new vehicle). This motivation for work is inherently non-selfish in nature. • Pride is a positive motivation for work – one way to achieve this pride is to be motivated to work for the right reasons; to provide for your family and make sure they live a good life. • A happy family life, caused by working hard at one's job, creates a happier employee.
	WILLIAM	• Consistently throughout these passages refer to one's responsibility to provide for their community/kinship network. Providing may mean giving back resources but can also mean bringing back one's educational and life experiences to help inform life in the community. • The concept of Wahkotowin may capture this motivation for work perfectly. A responsibility towards one's community means that there is an opportunity to provide for that community.
	ANN	• Employees have a responsibility to look after one another in the workplace. This is a primary motivating component for many of the actions they engage in. Specifically, peer support, the specific communication style, support from leadership, and creating an egalitarian work environment may all be motivated by a responsibility to the work community/kinship work network. One other element to this would be making sure an individual is fulfilling their responsibility to their outside family

		– this comes in the form of allowing for personal days and a flexible schedule. Family and community are everything and those responsibilities must be fulfilled first. This is mirrored in the workplace.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:
- An individual is not necessarily motivated to work to better themselves, but are motivated to work hard so that they can better the people around them.
- Providing or giving back resources, lived experiences, or anything to the community is seen as a primary reason for why individuals are motivated to work. Family and community are everything. A flexible and understanding schedule/work cohort facilitates this.
- Because co-workers are considered to be a second family of sorts, individuals are equally as motivated to better their fellow co-workers over their own well-being. The same concepts of giving back, providing lived experiences, and being socially supportive are mirrored within the workplace. Once again, it is driven by a drive to give back and connect with those around you.

Emotional engagement		
How motivation influences behavior	SAM	**Pride** - An individual filled with feelings of pride will work harder, and show more loyalty, than an individual who does not have pride in their work. As mentioned earlier, shows of trust and feelings of competence facilitate pride in one's work. - An individual with little or no pride in their work will not feel the confidence necessary to feel like they can succeed in their tasks. As a result, there will be cautiousness showed and work will not be as efficient. - An individual is filled with pride when he or she can complete a task in the allotted time or they can see the impact of their work. Being able to see the positives they have had as a result of completing a task can facilitate feelings of pride, especially when the completion of a task benefits other individuals. **Improvement of self** - Links to the concept of competence and confidence. An individual will be motivated to work hard if they are able to see an opportunity in which they can better themselves (i.e., improve their skillset). - Offering training and opportunities to learn new things are able to motivate individuals to improve their self. - One thing of note: it appears that this individual did not speak of 'improvement of self' in terms of the community.
	SARAH	**Pride** - The feeling of pride within an individual can be a motivating component to work. An individual *wants* to feel proud in their work; wants to feel proud that they are able to support their family; wants to be proud that they are contributing to something important through work. - This links with the concept of competence and having a larger purpose at work. **Improvement of self** N/A
	WILLIAM	**Pride** - The feeling of pride within an individual can be a motivating component to work. An individual *wants* to feel proud in their work; wants to feel proud that they are able to support their family; wants to be proud that they are contributing to something important through work. - This links with the concept of competence and having a larger purpose at work.

		• Pride is caused by the fulfillment of Wahkotowin **Improvement of self** • One motivation to work is the betterment of self – both in terms of advancing personal skills and in terms of improving your own life by improving the life of those around you. • Work offers a great place to facilitate the concept of Wahkotowin.
	ANN	**Pride** • An individual wants to feel pride in the work they do. Pride comes from knowing an individual they went to work and applied their skills to the best of their abilities. Therefore, pride is a primary motivating component for hard work! **Improvement of self** • Feelings of confidence and competence are motivated by a drive to improve on oneself. Through the improvement of an individual's skills and social relations an individual can feel as though they are constantly improving themselves. It is a drive to grow, as is stated by this participant. This may also link with a desire to always have a larger purpose to work towards in employment – it is another avenue in which an individual can grow.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:

Pride
- One long-term motivation for work is pride. An individual wants to feel proud in the work they have done and the impact they have made on the people around them.
- Pride is a result of competence and confidence, and it is interpreted that confidence is necessary to carry out the type of work tasks that lead to feelings of pride.
- Pride is driven by a want to do better for those around you, to be able to support one's family, to be able to genuinely feel like they have contributed towards a larger goal that is bigger than just themselves.
- Pride happens when an individual knows they did the best possible job they could. It also may happen when they are shown trust by a manager, are able to complete their job on time or efficiently, then they may feel pride that they rewarded the trust given to them.
- Feeling proud of one's accomplishments and seeing the positive impact a person is having on their work and broader community is a fulfillment of a larger purpose in life (Wahkotowin).

Improvement of self
- Linked to being community minded, an individual will seek out opportunities to improve their selves and be motivated by attending and completing such opportunities. It is thought that the improvement of oneself is a motivation to continually work hard and is linked with competence and confidence.
- It represents an internal drive to always grow, to always improve not only for yourself but also for the people around you so you may better provide for them.

Regulations of behavior at work

Kinship network

How behavior is regulated:	SAM	• There is evidence presented here that individuals will go above and beyond to be able to provide for their family or, more generally, their people. • Family also has the influence to set the context of one's work life. If there is a rough situation in one's home or extended kinship life (e.g., cancer in the family; divorce) an individual will be affected at work. • Learning to be a hard worker is dictated by how an individual's family teaches them. Links to the component of modelling attitudes.
	SARAH	• Family is everything – work and outside life cannot be separated. Consequently, work does not come before family. If a member of a family is ill and it interferes with work, family will take precedence almost every time. An individual will make sure their family and relatives are taken care of before any work task. • Individuals work hard because they want to provide for their family and not only for themselves. The betterment of the community drives this. • If an individual does go to work and consciously knows that something in their family is not well, then he or she will be affected at work (less productive, less social engagement, etc.) • Co-workers are treated like another family. An individual spends considerable time with them each day and, because of a focus on relationship building, employees around an individual have great influence and power over how someone acts at work. This again links back to the idea of social support – if an individual is receiving support then he or she knows she is acting appropriately within the workplace. Similarly, if an individual adheres to the negotiated communication style, is collaborative, and contributes to a welcoming environment it may be seen as contributing to the kinship network (at work) and rewarded through further social interaction. • Isolation from a lack of familial and kinship contact may cause an individual to leave a workplace and seek this contact – this may also come in the form of vacation or time off.
	WILLIAM	• It is clear that the primary social influencer of where, how, and why someone works is to provide for one's family or community. • It is frequently described here that family and community network has the potential to encourage an individual to work hard, pursue their dreams, increase their skill sets, and gives them a larger purpose to pursue at work: to provide for those around them and give back to the community in whatever way they can (Wahkotowin). • If an individual feels like they are providing for their family members, it is likely that he or she will continue to work hard. In contrast, if an employee feels like they cannot provide for their family or community at their current position (e.g., the experience is not optimal or useful; not enough resources) then it is likely the employee will pursue other options. • All work actions are done in the context of the community, family, and extended kinship network.
	ANN	• Work and life cannot and should not be separated. The context that surrounds one's life (e.g., sick family member; sick child; major accomplishment by kinship member) will be brought into the workplace and influence how an individual works. If something unfortunate happens outside of work, a First Nation employee is likely to bring that to work with them. • An individual is not expected to shut out the context that surrounds them and it is up to their fellow employees (through social interaction, egalitarian work environment) to acknowledge and understand that context in order to inform their workplace. • If an individual is putting their work before their community and family (i.e., spending more time at work and ignoring their responsibilities), they will be socially ostracised in order to reverse this. In contrast, if those responsibilities are being fulfilled and the individual is still working hard, they will be socially praised.

		Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:

- One's kinship network has a large influence over how, why, and how long an individual works because work and kinship cannot be separated like they are in the non-Indigenous world. All family/kinship problems or successes will stick with an individual when they enter the workplace and will inform how they behave/think on any given day. This may include being distracted because a family member is sick or being focused because a cousin received some good news that day. Essentially, family has the largest potential to influence an individual's behavior at work. This is significant considering one's blood related family is not at work and still has the largest power to influence them. One's family and kinship network influences the context that surrounds an individual, which dictates communication style, social support, and overall efficiency at the workplace.
- Work does not come before family responsibilities – it is secondary.
- Isolation from one's kinship network will increase the likelihood of poor job satisfaction.
- A kinship network can encourage an individual to pursue their dreams, education, and work goals – it gives an individual a larger purpose that influences why they work.
- Relationships above all – all work actions are influenced in such a way that everything is done to benefit the community (which includes the work community).

		Social regulation of employment behavior
How behavior is regulated:	**SAM**	**Trust** • Trust is used as a sanction by co-workers and leaders. The show of trust will greatly influence how hard an individual works and how loyal they are to an organization. • When trust is shown to an individual (i.e., an individual is trusted to accomplish a goal using their individual strengths with freedom) an individual will feel competent and, as a result, feel pride in the work they are doing. As a result, trust is the key to employee confidence and facilitating hard work. • An individual will do everything in their power to maintain the trust they have *earned* (they feel they have earned it) with their boss. **Respect** • If an individual respects another (i.e., acknowledges their skills [competence]; understands the context which surrounds them [peer support]) it is far more likely that they will work harder for that individual when compared to if there is no respect. • Individuals are not respected in the workplace if they cannot engage in the communication style that is desired. As a result, the non-respected individual will not be socially accepted in the workplace and work tasks will suffer. • A leader who engages in a dictatorship or authoritative style will not be respected by their employees. Work will not be efficient as a result and workers will not be passionate about their work.
	SARAH	**Trust** • Trust is used as a key motivating social sanction. This happens through social relationships. Specifically, if an individual is shown trust (usually through the handing of responsibility from one person to another) then he or she will reciprocate with hard work, loyalty, and be more likely to contribute to the betterment of the organization. • Trust is only given after an interpersonal relationship is created and maintained. Therefore, it is linked closely with communication style, decision making, social support, and feelings of competence.

		• Accompanying trust comes feelings of individual competence. If a manager was to show trust in an employee and give them freedom to accomplish a task (i.e., let the employee decide how to proceed and work), then that employee will feel that the manager deems them competent and it will only serve to increase their own feelings of confidence *and* competence. **Respect** • Respect can be interpreted as being able to express yourself in all capacities in the workplace but still being able to fit in with the larger group • Along these lines, the concept of respect is used as a governor of how individuals interact in the workplace, how they support/do not support one another, and how hard they work/do not work. • If an individual has the respect of their employees and boss then he or she will likely reciprocate this respect with hard (and loyal) work, contributing to the group both socially and work wise, and/or ground oneself in the workplace and express individual strengths/weaknesses
	WILLIAM	**Trust** • Trust from management and fellow employees has the capability of facilitating competence and confidence. When an employee feels competent and confident in their position, they will respond with hard work, loyalty, will feel like they have the ability to provide for their family, and will feel more comfortable in their work environment (which will help them contribute to an egalitarian work environment). • Trust can come in many forms, but evidence here includes: flexibility in scheduling, handing down of responsibility in work tasks with freedom, showing support from management (e.g., hiring, discovering strengths and weaknesses), and allowing employees to be fluid in the workplace. **Respect:** N/A
	ANN	**Trust** • When a boss/manager shows trust in their employees, it has a huge influence on how hard they work, how loyal they are, and how confident/competent they feel. • Trust is shown through handing down of responsibilities in tasks and freedom in doing so. • When an individual is shown trust that they can accomplish a goal without the constant supervision of their boss, they feel skillful and confident that someone trusts that they have the ability to accomplish a goal. Feelings of competence will soon follow. A final consequence of this will be hard work and increased loyalty. • Trust needs to be earned, but should be easily given for First Nation employees. A lack of trust has large repercussions on an employees work. **Respect** • Respect is an important traditional teaching and crucial social sanction that influences work behaviors. • Everyone wants to feel respected at work, but that only happens if an individual shows respect to others. Showing respect includes several important behaviors including: sharing food, learning about one another's personal lives, respecting elders and the opinion of experienced employees, making one another feel as comfortable as possible in the workplace, and acknowledging one another's time.

		• Showing respect has several influences on behavior including: 1) making individuals feel comfortable in their environment and, as a result, more likely to engage with one another; 2) increase sense of competence in individuals (causing them to feel pride and work harder) because respect allows an individual to know when they have found where they fit into the larger work social system; and 3) it prioritizes relationship development.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:

Trust

- Trust is used as a key regulation of behavior that can either encourage or discourage hard work, loyalty, social support, and/or competence/confidence. Trust can be given or taken away and is nested within relationship building values. Trust involves the handing down of responsibility to other employees and showing them that you truly believe that they can accomplish a task. There are parameters around this: 1) that employee must be given freedom to complete the task the way they see fit, otherwise trust will not be perceived; 2) trust is earned through the development of personal relationships; 3) trust is given in correspondence to the identification of strengths and weaknesses at work through informal communication.
- When an individual is shown trust, they will reciprocate with hard work (i.e., they want to keep that trust) and feelings of competence – which only serves to improve the overall efficiency of the workplace.
- If an individual feels trusted by an organization, they will be very loyal to that organization and keep up hard work.
- When a person gives or takes away trust, they have the ability to contribute to creating a welcoming, comfortable, and egalitarian work environment where everyone is an integral part of the system.

Respect

- Respect is a foundational teaching and is the reason as to why individuals engage in relationship building activities (e.g., informal communication, peer support). Individuals are taught to respect one another for who they are and for how they fit in with the group; everyone has different roles/responsibilities and, in order for the work system to operate, those roles must be respected and maintained.
- Respect causes an individual to want to know other employees on a deep, personal level so they may understand the context that surrounds them. This context may include kinship network problems affecting them at work or personal strengths and weaknesses but it essentially informs why a person is engaging in certain actions. If it wasn't for respect guiding this social interaction, individuals would not know each other on a personal level and would not understand the context that surrounds them.
- Respect is always reciprocated by all in the workplace. Everyone wants to be respected at work!
- Showing respect has several influences on behavior including: 1) making individuals feel comfortable in their environment and, as a result, more likely to engage with one another; 2) increase sense of competence in individuals (causing them to feel pride and work harder) because respect allows an individual to know when they have found where they fit into the larger work social system; and 3) it prioritizes relationship development.

	Broader Community Influence	
How behavior is regulated:	SAM	• There is negativity (i.e., gossiping, negative social speech) shown towards those who leave the community – even if they come back to said community. This may prevent some individuals from leaving to pursue education or work. Therefore, an individual's community has an influence on where and how an individual works. Links back to the idea that an individual must always provide for their community.
	SARAH	• First Nation individuals who return to their community with the purpose of benefitting the community (e.g., providing resources, providing experience) are welcomed no matter if they were successful or not in the non-Indigenous world.

		• Those who are successful and are now able to benefit their community are praised and their value is seen by the community. This praise comes through positive social interactions and respect. • In contrast, those who return to the community but who do not have any desire to help their community are out casted. This is done through negative social interactions like gossiping and they are generally disrespected. • In general, positive social interactions are used to encourage 'giving back to your community', which is in line with many of the moral codes of Indigenous work.
	WILLIAM	• Social sanctions can also come in the form of the people in the broader community. Specifically, if an individual who is working within the community with the purpose of benefitting the community in some way (e.g., providing resources; providing experiences) then that employee is a valued member of the community. However, if a person comes back and does not benefit the community then they may be socially ostracised. • Additionally, if an individual chooses to leave the community to pursue education or work then he or she may be shown negative social repercussions (e.g., apple)
	ANN	• If an individual gives back to their community and family through work/educational experiences, they will be socially praised by the community. Therefore, this behavior will be encouraged because family is everything to First Nation men and women. • Contrarily, if an individual does not give back to their community in some way they will be socially ostracised.

Researcher determined similarities of cultural model component between interviewees:
• The broader community can influence whether or not an individual leaves to pursue employment or not through social engagement. If an individual leaves a community to pursue work, it may be interpreted that they will no longer be benefitting the community – which is against a core teaching – and will likely be socially ostracised and isolated. This is one regulation of behavior the community engages in to prevent people from leaving and not benefitting the community.
• If an individual returns successful (i.e., educated; employed; resources) and gives back to the community they are socially accepted again. If the opposite happens (i.e., they stick to themselves and do not give back to the community), they will experience continued negative social consequences.

Appendix F – Participant Description of Model Differences

Disrupted Cultural Model	
Cultural Model Component (From Interview 1 results)	**Participant Description of Component**
Inferiority of skills/abilities by employer	• Because you don't want to feel stressed all the time that somebody is going to be looking at you like you're not doing your job or that they are watching you, that your five minutes late that…you know it colors all of your people, like, "typical Indian is always late"… • Lack of appreciation for what the Aboriginal employee is doing. Lack of understanding of what the lived experience of the Aboriginal person, and outside impact of what… • Creating that organization where people are more understanding and people don't say things like that will make things a lot better. • Then, I think they try to warn them that you might not get hired because you know some people are…they'll say racist and all that kind of stuff, but if you keep trying you will get a job. • I think it's the clash between Western European ways of working and then First Nation's ways of being and knowing and work ethics • We were never what society views us today as lazy and not working. That concept is placed on us through a European lens because they came with their lens. You had to go to work 8 to 5 and blah blah blah. If you don't then you're less than. Our way of living is completely different. • don't want to just flat out call it racism but I think I make people uncomfortable sometimes in those particular settings because I am well-educated, I am Aboriginal but there are assumptions about Aboriginal communities. When we get into that setting, people are going to assume that I fit the stereotypes of Indigenous person which the negative stereotypes are lazy, don't pull their own wage or uneducated but I'm very hardworking and educated. • When I come about and get into those work situations, I have to break those assumptions first. It's a little bit more work, more effort. I need to be extra professional, extra hardworking, stay late, be the first person there, all those extra effort things that come with being an Indigenous employee in a non-Indigenous workplace. • I guess the barking dog at the back is having those stereotypes, people thinking that I'm going to be a disappointment, the community is thinking, "Oh well, she is probably going to drink too much and not to show up on time or be lazy and not get the work done." Those assumptions is my barking dog at the back. That's the thing that I run from.
Self perceived inferiority of skills/abilities	• When somebody trusts us with something, again, we do it to the best of our capabilities. That's that pride. I did this. I got there. At the end of the day, if you can go home and say, "I did this," it feels good. We don't have enough of that. We don't have enough pride. We don't have enough people saying, "You could do it." There's always so much negativity • but they don't know how to communicate…often don't know how to communicate and that varies by person of course • They grew up in it, so that discussion is a lot easier. An Aboriginal person from outside who hasn't grown up in that culture feels that difference • I think it weakens them. It weakens their ability to adapt and to maintain, to be strong when people say things, or might look at you funny. If you're weak you can't take it. • Would it surprise us coming in here, no. Because we expect things to be done different.

Results focused	• Yeah, there's no gray areas. It's all like self orientating. You know what I mean? Where they give you a binder and here's all of our policies and procedures. Have fun! Whereas it's just a totally different culture when you look at First Nations ways of …maybe onboarding staff. • Whereas over here it's just very abrupt, very cold and a stern way of doing business. • When you go about it that way, I mean the work still gets done but I think the quality of work is so much better when you're enjoying yourself, right. If you have that connectedness with your co-workers, then it's not quite as dry I guess.
Lack of First Nation specific practices	• It is like a clash of cultures. It will work with somebody like me who has been in the system. I know how to work in structures. If somebody comes and says, do this. I can do that knowing that I need to do this and get permission, do this and get permission. So it's like that. Whereas with the collaborative thing it is a lot different. • The reality of the lived experience of the Aboriginal person often overlaps with a structure like this. Where time is of the essence, get your work done. All of that stuff. It impacts sometimes in that…and that creates conflict with the system because the system is time-oriented. Get your work done…don't bring your personal stuff to work. That really clashes with the Aboriginal way of doing…is that our work is inseparable from our personal lives and you can't just separate those two in our world. But in this world you have to. • say for example you've got a single mother who is working and then her…because she doesn't have the supports that a lot of other people do…if her child gets sick she has got to take time off. She has got to phone in sick. If she phones in sick to many times because her child is sick, the…the organization doesn't like it and they say, "well you can't do that, you have to make sure you are here on time…you know we have been watching your…the times you have been taking sick and you're taking to many sick times" because then they start thinking because you are out partying because you're an Aboriginal person. So then they hold these meetings where they say, "well what are you going to do to solve this problem?" and the single mother is saying well, "what can I do? My child is sick. I don't have anybody…sometimes I have somebody who can take care of them while I am at work, sometimes I don't." • For other people, from the community for example who attend that meeting, it's not so important. It's like coming from another world into this world of structure, where you're supposed to be there at 9:00 and they kind of wander in around 9:00. It's two different systems. • First Nation's communities just do it a different way, but they still have those end goals in mind. I think it just clashes when you're trying to be too much of European way of doing things, and it clashes with the First Nation's culture. • An example would be bereavement. If a family member passes, and then, even beyond that, it's so structured with European... You have this document of policies. It has to be an immediate family member and/or this, and policy of this, and/or you're granted three days max or whatever. It's all written out in policy, where First Nation's people, we come from such extended nuclear families, that it's... Say if we adopted you into our family, and then, you call our mom, "Mom." It's so many like that. More so, ten of my cousins we've adopted here and there over the years, and we are such a strong family. Then if, like my cousin, Lois, passed away a couple years ago. When I was filling out my leave report for the city, it was like, "Is it an immediate family member?" And I was like, "No," but then I do consider him? My family lives outside Saskatoon. Travel to there. In the opportunity to have that morning period. In First Nation's communities, you don't have to take extra days off. It's apparent if you need time. It's more flexible within that setting. • What's the big deal? Can't you do that on your own time on Sundays? This very Euro-centric way of thinking. It's like why only Sundays? It's a Christian-based mentality. Whereas other people have to do that maybe three or four times a day, like the Muslim faith. Different other faiths like that. Especially First Nation's communities. They're very strong. Every morning, they need to get up and smudge. If there's conflict in the workplace, that's what a lot of employees do. Their executive director, if there is conflict, they'll take people into a room and talk and say, "We're in a safe space. How could we resolve this constructively?"

	• but I had to go to my supervisor and my supervisor had to go to her manager. She went to her supervisor and went to her manager. The managers had to negotiate. It took six weeks for them to come back to me with a response in the first place if I could smudge in my own office because of those chains of my command. So by that time, I was feeling so offended at being denied my right to practice my religion and my cultural beliefs in my own space. It just festered
Lack of awareness of others	• but here its kinda like…you…because so many different backgrounds they don't know what's a joke
	• some of them tease back like that but a lot of them they are too worried about offending other people
	• that's how it used to be for years but as I said a lot of people got offended and it was like, "ugh"…so its just not worth it!
	• now with the political correctness crowd and…you know…threats of harassment and, you know, stuff like that its getting pretty serious out here.
	• a couple times I found myself in an unhappy environment and I just fucked right off because I didn't want to deal with that.
	• like if it is a quiet, muted environment, its almost being perceived as…on behalf of First Nation employees, that people are afraid to say what they want to say? P: Yeah! I: And that's not a welcoming environment? P: No, its not.
	• if a boss says something to an employee, or vice-versa, somebody else can construe that as sexual harassment or…and or…yeah it escalates quite quickly.
	• So, if there is a lunchroom – they are often not invited to be included so they sit apart or they eat someplace else kind of thing. They keep to themselves in their work generally unless they can find some good friendships in the unit.
	• And then the places where you feel like you are the only Aboriginal person and…people don't treat you like…it's not like they treat you badly often, its just that the notice your different and they don't know how to cross that gap and that gap grows.
	• They take on those and they become that person in that, but…then there is a barrier…when they enter an organi- if they look Aboriginal, and they enter into an organization that…that is non-Aboriginal, they have an advantage in that they know the culture. They grew up in it, so that discussion is a lot easier. An Aboriginal person from outside who hasn't grown up in that culture feels that difference.
	• you know and buys on to those stereotypes so there is a stress always there. Like for me within the health region there is a stress always there that people are going to be…treating me a certain way because I am Aboriginal.
	• ay for example you've got a single mother who is working and then her…because she doesn't have the supports that a lot of other people do…if her child gets sick she has got to take time off. She has got to phone in sick. If she phones in sick to many times because her child is sick, the…the organization doesn't like it and they say, "well you can't do that, you have to make sure you are here on time…you know we have been watching your…the times you have been taking sick and you're taking to many sick times" because then they start thinking because you are out partying because you're an Aboriginal person. So then they hold these meetings where they say, "well what are you going to do to solve this problem?" and the single mother is saying well, "what can I do? My child is sick. I don't have anybody…sometimes I have somebody who can take care of them while I am at work, sometimes I don't."
	• And then if you are a single mother and you are just working for the first time, you are not used to this system…you are not used to how things work. You don't have the money to hire daycare. You don't have the money to have somebody take care of your kids. You can occasionally, but maybe not all the time. It gets really complicated for people who are at the poorer end.
	• I: so am I correct in assuming that this separation between boss and employee is not desirable for the typical First Nation employee? P: Yeah, well, it goes against the cultural lens.
	• People gather together during this time, and they reinforce that sense of community and belonging. That is really important. Sometimes people in the city get to feel isolated because they don't have that,

	• I: what about miserable at work? Would it be the exact opposite of that? P: Yeah. You're not appreciated, you're isolated, you're spoken down to, you're treated like not very well, yeah. • It is because they know that within the organization people are having a rough time, whether it's their families and friends who are coming into the organization and experiencing negative, having negative experiences, the employees know when people in their unit are saying things, making negative comments because the employee feels that even though it's not directed to them. Creating that organization where people are more understanding and people don't say things like that will make things a lot better. • Then the kids get hired, and then they have to learn how to work with other groups, and sometimes if you're working in say, an entry-level position, sometimes you meet the worst kind of people that aren't very supportive. • It's very different when you go from a First Nation's run organization where you have other First Nation people working in an environment as opposed to in a working environment with a non-Indigenous community. • I don't want to say this inappropriately, there is a desire to be more professional I guess, is to take off of that personability • There is a line there when you ... They're in a workplace. There is a desire with non-Aboriginal co-workers to keep it more professional and drier and focus on the work • Yeah. I do think an element of it is racism coming in and having those stereotypes and those assumptions about me. Just a tiny bit of an uncomfortableness at having me at the table. You can feel it. You get to the table, everybody, they're talking amongst themselves. I walk in the room and everybody shuts up. Right. There are elements of that when I'm working in non-Aboriginal organizations. • It was just the process of getting there though because the people didn't quite believe me when I said I was cooking for them before I left.
Lack of direction towards employment goals	• if you work within those power structures there, you don't work on your own terms. You work on somebody else's terms, and that's unacceptable to some people, so they leave it. They get out of it. • . If you're smarter than somebody, then somebody up there is going to keep you down because you know more than their job. • I: It's freedom? P: Yeah. I've noticed that with a lot of people. They complain about it, and they go to a work to get away from that mostly.
Lack of confidence	• I would say most of them keep to themselves and I notice this in…a lot of them don't feel part of the larger group. • Often they can…but often they are…especially if they are new employees, that is difficult. • but the ones that feel the most apart are the ones that end up quitting I would say. They don't feel part of…they don't feel like they are a regular employee. They are not treated one, people make comments around them so that it just serves to drive that wedge further until they… • I: How do they think they should communicate in the workplace? P: I think they don't know. • Aboriginal people tend to be more reserved in situations…in cross-cultural situations. They don't generally speak up, they don't generally give their opinions, they don't…because they are walking that fine line between acceptability and non-acceptability. • Very important, because I think that when they come from this different cultural outlook into a very structured, anything that helps them adapt across is very helpful. Yeah, and all training helps. • If they have bad experiences, they're not going to go back. That's another thing that dissuades people from getting on with it. • You'd really contribute lots of professional associations, and they say, "but I'm not a professional. I'm not anybody out of so and so to consider myself an professional." We have to say what you're doing in the community you're ... We have to always reassure them what you are.

	• because of the outward lens looking in assuming that you're going to be a disappointment. That confidence, you need to not only have it for yourself but you need to portray it. It's like that fake it until you make it thing, whether or not you're truly feeling confident or you have that ingrained confidence to be able to perform well, you need to exude it.