Journal of ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

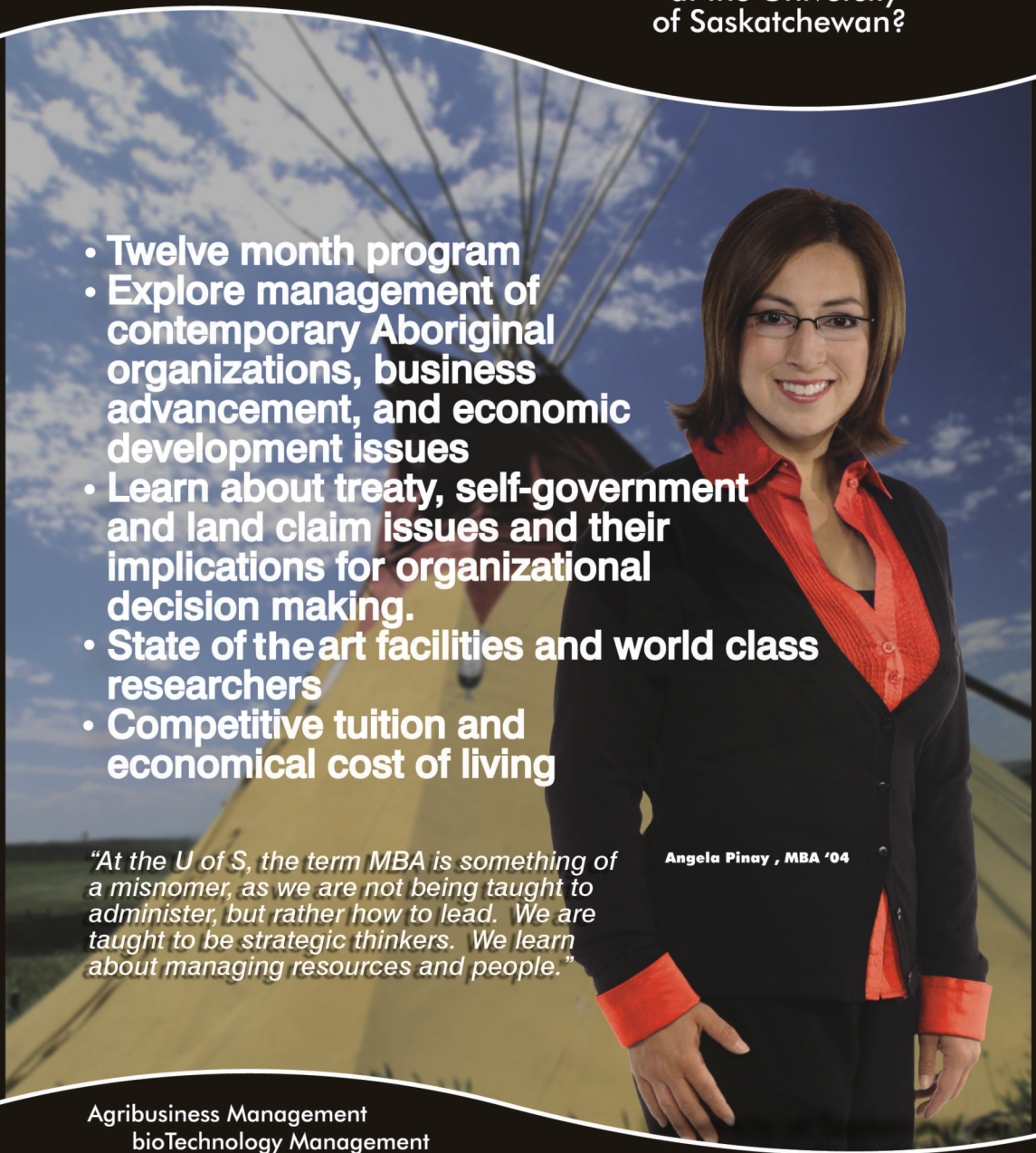
Volume 5, Number 1

♦ CANDO ♦ Captus Press ♦

MBA

Master of Business Administration

Why take an MBA specializing in Indigenous Management at the University of Saskatchewan?



- Twelve month program
- Explore management of contemporary Aboriginal organizations, business advancement, and economic development issues
- Learn about treaty, self-government and land claim issues and their implications for organizational decision making.
- State of the art facilities and world class researchers
- Competitive tuition and economical cost of living

"At the U of S, the term MBA is something of a misnomer, as we are not being taught to administer, but rather how to lead. We are taught to be strategic thinkers. We learn about managing resources and people."

Angela Pinay , MBA '04

Agribusiness Management
bioTechnology Management
Health Services Management
Indigenous Management
International Business Management

mba

University of Saskatchewan
www.uofsmba.ca
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada
(306) 966-8678 / mba@commerce.usask.ca

Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Volume 5, Number 1

CANDO
Captus Press

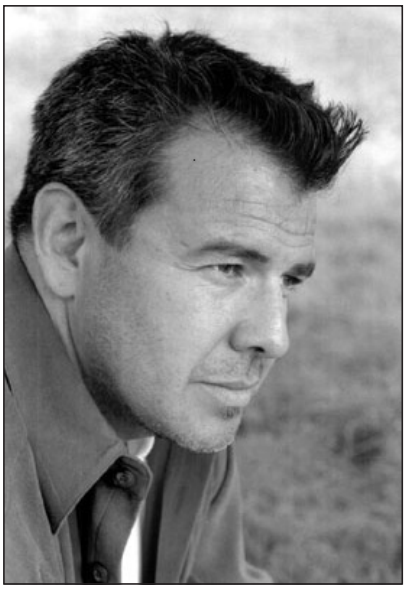
The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development is the first journal devoted exclusively to issues and practices in the field of economic development and Aboriginal peoples' communities. The journal, published jointly by Captus Press and CANDO (Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers), offers articles that are of interest to those who teach and those who work in the field.

Table of Contents

VOLUME 5, ISSUE 1 FALL 2006

THE ARTIST

George Littlechild



George Littlechild is one of the most recognized First Nations artists working in Canada today. George Littlechild was born in Edmonton, Alberta but is currently based in Vancouver, British Columbia. His home community is the Ermineskin First Nation in Hobbema.

George Littlechild began his art education when he was a young child when his foster mother saw artistic talent. She nurtured his artistic and creative abilities encouraging him to continue his art education as an adult. In 1984 George Littlechild received an Art and Design diploma from Red Deer College and in 1988 he completed a B.F.A. from the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax.

George Littlechild has an extensive body of artwork and participates in exhibitions, both solo and group shows, in Canada, the United States and abroad. Throughout his rewarding career George Littlechild continues to be honoured for his artwork and children's stories. His bold colours and strong images offer insight into the human spirit and draw a strong connection to his Aboriginal ancestors.

Editors' Comments

Welcome to the ninth issue of the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* (JAED). In this issue we continue to celebrate the success of those individuals and communities involved in supporting and promoting effective and innovative projects and ventures in Aboriginal economic, community, and business development. Although the themes in this issue essentially reflect the same ones that have been highlighted and profiled over the previous eight issues, the additional stories featured in this issue remind us once again that positive change is occurring, and that individuals, communities and organizations are benefiting from the hard lessons and experiences shared by those involved in earlier projects and stories that we have published.

The interest in the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* is growing as well as broadening. It now includes an urban, governmental and international following. The stories included in this issue of JAED reflect that growing interest, and other experiences further confirm this expansion. We are becoming referenced in academic work occuring around the world. For example, earlier in the year, a student studying at Cambridge University in England wrote to us for materials from our journal. As well, those of us involved in the generation and publication of this journal continue to receive enquiries about our publication, and authors are referencing our articles in their research more than ever before. The journal is being utilized in courses and programs across Canada that specialize in Aboriginal economic development and business, and organizations and individuals are now back-ordering previous issues and adding the entire set to their libraries. Front line economic development officers have also benefited from the useful information disseminated by the journal, which has become part of the registration package for all participants at CANDO's 11th, and 12th National Conference and Annual General Meeting. This issue will once again be included in the

conference package of this year's 13th National Conference, being held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, October 2–5, 2006.

It is important to reiterate that this is the only publication of its kind in the world. While it may seem like we are blowing our own horn, those of us involved in the journal are very proud of the success stories we have profiled in the journal, and we continue to celebrate the success of the journal and the important role that it plays in the dissemination of information regarding Aboriginal community and economic development in Canada and around the world.

We hope you enjoy this issue of the JAED, and that you find a way to participate and share in the success of the journal. We would like to take this opportunity to extend a big thank you to a number of people, including all of the authors that have submitted articles to our journal; all of the individuals and communities that have shared their stories with our writers; the voluntary members of our editorial board; those individuals at the CANDO head office and Captus Press that continue to support, publish, and promote the journal; the various advocates, companies, educational institutions, government departments, and individuals that assist in the funding of the publication; and last but certainly not least, all of the readers, students, and economic development practitioners that have made this unique and important publication a valuable addition to their libraries.

Editors' Introduction

Outstanding examples of economic development in Aboriginal communities across the country are reported in a variety of documents, but most extensively and consistently in the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*. In this issue, we highlight a variety of activities that extend from British Columbia to Ontario, and with several examples from Manitoba in particular. The words of those who are involved in these ventures are captured for anyone to learn and benefit from, and they include insight into the hard lessons those individuals have learned from their venture experiences.

To start, recognized by their peers for their individual efforts, the stories of Tom Maness and Lyle Leo, who are involved with community development projects that are reaping benefits for community members in terms of employment and opportunity, are highlighted.

Next, two organizations — Long Plain First Nation and Khowutzun Development Corporation — are applauded for their efforts. Their stories reflect the importance to have people who understand what is needed to move forward and to have leaders who are able to help them accomplish the dreams of their communities. These communities have succeeded in that journey. Their stories give readers insights into their particular experiences. But don't stop there. These stories ring true at differing levels in many communities across this country. That is their power. Those are the gifts that they are willing to share.

Capacity building starts with people and it is being done in many communities. This section ends by sharing the experiences of the people at the Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre in the City of Winnipeg. There you find an evolving story from great need to great perception. Questions such as "How can community be nurtured in a large city?" and "How can families be helped to thrive?" are highlighted. They have learned, over many years, what it takes to make a difference, and that is shared in Brendan Reimer's article. One

quote is especially thought-provoking, "You can't build the capacity well without actually being in the communities and building the relationships."

We acknowledge those who work in the communities, build capacity, and develop and maintain relationships and partnerships. They are making a huge difference, and we are learning from their work, and celebrate their success.

CANDO AWARD WINNERS

Sara Cardinal and Shelley Morin

This year's conference theme was *Strengthening Communities on Turtle Island*. Each of the four nominees for the 2005 Economic Developer (ED) of the Year Awards embodied this theme. Whether community-driven or partnership-based, the approaches that these economic leaders have followed take into account the needs of their communities as well as the opportunities that are available to them. All of these nominees have acknowledged the importance of working together as a nation to strengthen communities and generate economic opportunities. In the individual category, Tom Maness from the Aamjiwnaang First Nation (Ontario) and Lyle Leo from the Mount Currie Indian Band (British Columbia) were nominated for the 2005 Individual ED of The Year Award. In the business/community category both the Long Plain First Nation (Manitoba) and the Khowutzun Development Corporation (British Columbia) were nominated for the 2005 Community/Business ED of the Year Award. The following interviews were conducted at CANDO's 12th National Conference & Annual General Meeting in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario in October 2005.

INTERVIEW WITH TOM MANESS

Sara Cardinal (SC): We're here with Tom Maness, we'd just like to take the opportunity to thank you for taking the time to do this interview and I guess we'll get started. Where was your community at in terms of economic development when you started your work?

Tom Maness (TM): Actually, when I started there, I had previously worked with Imperial Oil, for twelve years before I went to work with the band. At that time they (the First Nation) were looking at the concept of developing an industrial plant; there was some infrastructure, but not a whole lot, and we also needed to service the lots. So, we put the engineering in place so we got the lots established. That way, there we had a marketable, saleable item. There was really no point in advertising and promoting an industrial park until we had all of the infrastructure.

Shelley Morin (SM): What were some of the biggest challenges or obstacles you had to overcome?

TM: I think, initially, the plan was to teach a plan, a comprehensive game plan. At that time we didn't have a comprehensive plan in place and we really needed to take an inventory, what the band's wants, needs, goals and objectives were, that there became a tool for us to be able

Sara Cardinal and Shelley Morin are both Education and Research Advisors at the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO).

to develop them. But [it was difficult] getting that plan in place and getting the whole community to buy into the whole concept of development. See, back in those days, that would have been in the early 1980s when I started working there. But, I don't believe they really liked the whole concept or the idea of land surrender, [or as] they called it, surrendered released. So they felt that they lost some Aboriginal identity with the land, so there was the community, to get them to buy into the concept.

SC: What are some of the current economic activities taking place in your community?

TM: Well, there's a number of them, now that we've matured one industrial park. What I mean by matured is it's full. We have one lot there but it's really not one that we've developed and it's about to be set aside for one of the other companies. There hasn't been one company that's located with us that hasn't increased its capacity by at least fifty percent. So, we like to leave room for expansion. So I think that's what we'll do with that. [With] the economic development activities that are going on right now, we've probably within the last year or so incorporated additional companies. What we're hoping to be able to do is take economic development to a whole new level. Not only to become a good landlord but also become a business partner. What happens there is that we can sell goods and services that are manufactured from the park. We can tap into markets that normally see us as a small company by industry standards that [we] would have difficulty penetrating; we may be able to influence some of that market. That's to our advantage because the increase in manufactured products means increased employment opportunities created by that as well.

I think some of the initiatives that we've got going is the second industrial park. We went through the whole process of land designation, although the documentation still rests with the Justice Department and Indian Affairs; we're moving forward with the AGN to do the servicing for that second industrial park. What's going to be unique about the second industrial park is its going to have a different kind of a concept. So we're going to want to be able to attract companies that are environmentally friendly, so we will have an eco park. So the properties that we design, or the lots we design, we won't take down all the trees; on some of the slides I had, you probably didn't notice too many trees — we pushed them down and built over them. This time I don't think we'll do that, we will protect as much as we can. With the joint venture that we're talking about, with American Railcar based out of St. Louis, is a railyard that doesn't use a lot of land so where the rails are would also be something like a bird sanctuary — a nesting sanctuary to be able to preserve and maintain the wildlife in the area. Anyways, we've diversified and tried to take advantage of the tourism.

To start, we were in the industrial type, the manufacturing and things like that, attracting those types of chemicals. While the Blue Water Bridge — they built the second span, they had to approach the band because they had turned up artifacts and things like that. Well they developed some relationships there, and what they found out from the artifacts was a major, major trading area, right there at the mouth of the St. Claire River and Lake Huron. That's where Native people used to come [from] all over North America. They found artifacts that were from as far away as the southern states or even Mexico; they found artifacts that could come from there. So it always has been a trading area but as that relationship evolved and developed with the Blue Water Bridging Company we wanted to know what kind of economic benefit we could gain. When they built the bridge, they also had to reconstruct the truck ramps as a second development; it's under construction right now. What they had to do: rebuild the Ontario Tourist information center, so now we have this building that we'll be moving in to [and] we're going to be leasing half of that building. One half of the building is the Tourist Information Center and on the other side of the building will be a craft shop. [It] means [there is] not only a benefit to us, but also a benefit to Native people in our area; [they are] able to sell their crafts. So it has a regional economic development spin for that one.

I think that's something new for us, but its diversifying and not only tapping into because of the locations into the potential for industrial development but also tourism. The craft shop is three fold: it's a craft shop, an art gallery, so artisans will have a place to showcase their art.

It also has a theatre, a 50 or 60 seat theatre, so we can capture that kind of a market as well because there's buses' always coming through across the border into Canada. Well, we can bring them into the theatre and give them that cultural experience, teach them about the culture of Native people on audio, video or live presentations. We do have access to that, a big screen and so on. We haven't really developed that yet; we're concentrating on just opening a store. The store will be open probably within a month, hopefully before Christmas. We've got people going around the province now buying crafts to stock that. They're going to need approximately $200,000 in crafts; $100,000 to carry the store inventory, and then the inventory they have now is about $10,000. I think that's going to have a pretty big impact on the Native people, it creates an opportunity.

SM: You've worked hard to strengthen your community through partnerships and job creation. Why is this kind of work important to you?

TM: You mean my work?

SM: Yes, the work that you do for the community that you work for.

TM: See that is something that I always felt, where I could contribute. What I seen a number of years ago is that the unemployment rates were 25, 30, 40, 50 percent about 20 years ago. Now, because of our location, because we've created these relationships with the private sector, not only in the industrial park but outside of the industrial park, the unemployment rate is now below the national average. That's one thing we'd like to be able to maintain, and I believe the way to maintain that is to create relationships with the private sector. We'll talk about partnerships, [and] it's not necessarily corporate partnerships. That means that they buy into the community, they buy into our human resource strategies where they create employment opportunities. Not all of them, [for] some employ more than others, but in general there's quite a few job opportunities that we're creating. I think it's the only way that you can actually improve the quality of life in the communities is by creating long term, sustainable employment opportunities as well as distance opportunities.

SC: Do you have any advice to offer others that are trying to move their communities forward in terms of economic development?

TM: What I have always maintained, what I think that a lot of communities can develop networks, not only with the private sector, but build your network with other First Nations communities. I think it's important and that's the best resources. I've done it myself, I've went to other communities and I've learned from them, from their experiences. I've asked them what has been their barriers and what did they have to overcome as well. So that I'm meaning because we are similar, similar legislation and similar corporate set-ups, I can learn from them as well. So I think it's a learning process, that's what I would encourage, is to expand on your business networks.

SM: Last question, what does it mean to you to be nominated by your peers for the CANDO ED of the Year Award?

TM: That is something I look at as one of my greatest achievements. Just being nominated, when I got an e-mail saying I was nominated I said, "Well that's fantastic." I was thrilled at just being nominated, never mind winning, just being nominated is fine. It just goes to show that people are watching and they think that there has been some economic impact and I really appreciate coming down here and being able to talk to the delegation here. I learned a lot while I was here, I learned from other First Nations here, what they're trying to do, the types of relationships that they have developed with the private sectors, like what's going on with Garden River and their new road. So it's a lifelong learning with the business networks.

INTERVIEW WITH LYLE LEO

SC: We're here with Lyle Leo. First of all I'd just like to thank you for taking the time out of your day to sit with us to do this brief interview. Where was your community at in terms of

economic development when you started your work there?

Lyle Leo (LL): We had zero economic development. We were very fortunate that our council and our leaders in our community have always been proactive, with ensuring that we have institutions of self-government on the reserve. We've had control of our own school system for 25 years, we have our own police force in the first ever agreement with the RCMP, and we have all trained First Nations police, and we've had control of our own infrastructure, the water and a sanitary, we had our own fire department, our own post office but we had no economic base.

SM: What were some of your biggest challenges or obstacles that you had to overcome?

LL: The biggest challenges and obstacles to begin with were initiating economic development in a community that was involved with political activism and resistance and changing their attitudes towards developments that we needed to work towards and the lack of any economic revenues in our community. What we realized was that every five years there was an administrative deficit and when I started [in council] there was a $1.5 million deficit, which grew to $3 million. It was very challenging changing the mindset of the other political activists in the community who were at the time controlling council; the problem that we identified was that they had been only focusing on federal Canada, with the mindset that federal Canada owed the nation for broken promises for providing the resources to support our programs and infrastructure on the reserve. I had to initiate the perspective that they are in a boxing ring with two opponents — one is the federal government, one is the provincial government; and they are only paying attention to one opponent. And in the mean time the other opponent, the provincial government, is taking them out and controlling their traditional territory. Those were the most difficult parts of moving forward. No economic base and no strong political government.

SC: You worked really hard to build and strengthen your community through partnerships and job creation. Why is this work so important to you?

LL: I am of the Lil'wat Nation, I come from the land, our story is that we come from the land, and what's important to us is our laws, our land and the people. I was raised in that community. My dad is from that area and all these relatives are from that whole corridor and my grandfather is from that area. I was raised largely by my dad and my grandfather and like I said, we had unique issues in our area, in our geographical area of Indian world, where the highway didn't go through our community until 1966. So we've lived a very isolated way of life. Up until I was nine years old, we didn't have any running water in our house, we didn't have any bathrooms, etc. We had to pack water, we had to cut and pack firewood. And my grandfather, I was very fortunate, was very progressive with surviving off the land and he had cleared, by his own hand, about nine pieces of land.

In doing that you were eligible to acquire so many heads of cattle for every acre of land you had cleared by hand. So we had over 40 head of cattle, we had a couple dozen horses, so up until I was nine years old, I worked a lot with my grandfather because my older brothers were sent off to residential schools and I was the only one there to help with taking care of the animals and the fields. And as such, my grandfather only spoke the language and I became very connected, not only through a very hard work ethic, but also to our land and to our people. My grandfather had some responsibility with our community and the way of our social structure there. And my mom also was very politically involved with the band council and health; even when I was a kid, crawling around on the floor at home, she was conducting meetings with government agents in our home and dealing with band business, so I was kind of raised in that environment and I think that I just inherited it, I inherited the work ethic also.

SM: What are some of the current economic activities that are going on in your community?

LL: Right now we have a gas station that we sell 3.5 million litres of petroleum annually. We have a convenience store and also we still have our fisheries department, which we now have taken stewardship over the fishery. We have a very rich river going through our Indian reserve that has seven residents fishing and is a very highly

productive spawning area for salmon that travel all the way up to Alaska and back down and through the Fraser River drainage. We have forestry activities that are ongoing; we became the largest agricultural contractor, where I was employing up to 80 people seasonally. We have the first ever all-Native fire unit crew, which is working every year with contracts with the Ministry of Forests. We have forestry operations going and with our joint venture industry logging company. We also have a store in our community. What we also have done is negotiated an arrangement with our neighbouring municipality where they can access our potable water to their industrial sites where we had traded them off for some fee-simple lands and also for them to pay the cost of $700,000 dollars to access our water and they now pay a fee for our water use.

SC: Do you have any advice to offer others that are trying to do the same with their community as you have with your community?

LL: Well, I was very fortunate that we are in an area where, when we look at the big picture, we are quite close to Vancouver, and in Vancouver there are only two highways leaving the lower mainland to go to the interior British Colombia and northern British Colombia. One goes through the Fraser Valley and the other goes smack right through our territory and our Indian reserve, which has caused a lot of problems. But it also has provided for the regional economic growth for us to be able to access opportunities and economic development, and also allows us to access better health and services.

So I think, as an economic development officer, it is important to anchor into the community needs, to anchor into the development of the people, and to do an analysis in your traditional territory what industries are operating and to bring that forward and diversify your opportunities because, if you go forward with only one opportunity of an industry that wants to come and do a mill or pulp plant or something with you, those could die out in five, 10, or 15 years and you need to be diversified, you need to really do an analysis of what opportunities you have access to and this will give you a short term, mid-term, and long-term strategy. In dealing with your people in creating a common vision and common goals, and what is acceptable, what is central to the community that they want protected; how they want to be represented.

Also look at what capacity that you have in your community to be able to do that, and when you're going out there, and doing meetings and seeking opportunities that you have and a link back to your governance of the day. I always bring a counselor with me or I have a community member with me. When I had first started it was very challenging because they were not wanting me to be doing that kind of thing with the provincial government that they did not recognize the jurisdiction of the province. So I had one of our activist people, who used to come with me to our meetings, and when he used to introduce himself said that he was one of the political parties and he was there to ensure that I spoke the truth. So it is really challenging, but if you have that community connection and the desire and the commitment to your community, you'll find a way to be innovative because there are so many diverse options out there you can be creative in finding solutions to your problems. But at the same time it is important that you go forward and continue doing your work, and if you can't solve a problem right now, don't use that as a roadblock for yourself. Continue going forward because the answers are usually going forward, then you can back up, when you get enough information to resolve one issue and then you can deliver that to your community, administration or your council.

SM: The last question is what does it mean to you to be nominated by your peers for the CANDO ED of the Year Award?

LL: To be nominated by my peers for the EDO award, I think it's allowed me to stop and go through some personal awareness and growth within myself as a result; it's a journey into yourself, of really "what have you done?" It allows you to slow down and really connect to where you're at because you can get very committed to what you're doing and you forget to look around you and appreciate those who are supporting you as you go forward, and it's a time to allow for that. And the personal growth I think is the most important component because in my trainings with my grandfather and my culture, it was important to have to that protocol where

your personal growth allows you to grow and acknowledge your community, and your culture and your language and your family and we tend to forget those ways. So, it's been a journey.

SC: Ok, thank you for your time; we really appreciate it and congratulations on your nomination.

INTERVIEW WITH DENNIS MEECHES

SM: Well, first of all, congratulations on your nomination. Now, where was the Long Plain First Nation in terms of economic development prior to the implementation of your community economic development strategy?

Dennis Meeches (DM): We were starting off back in the 1980s and we were going through a lot of challenges as a community: political challenges and economic development challenges. Maybe we didn't have a vision, because the political instability within the First Nations was diverting all our attentions to that to try to resolve those things. But over the years we came together as a community, we've had a number of workshops, we've set a new vision, a new standard of conducting business amongst our tribal members. So what we moved forward on first: the release of information, public information, tribal information. Primarily, the focus was to release financial information through an annual report through an audit and explain to people how the tribal funds were being expensed and where the revenues [were] coming from so that people could have a basic understanding of these things through the report and we also could put in the consolidated audit. And I think that kind of basically laid the groundwork for us for the next stage of our development.

SM: What were some of your biggest challenges or obstacles that you had to overcome?

DM: I think that in itself, the release of annual reports and audits was pretty much unheard of anywhere [and] to kind of open the reserve for business. We were selling the idea that we needed population growth, we needed visionaries within the community, we needed a strong council and a staff, and communication is key. One of the first things I undertook to do when I became the chief was enforce the annual audit report and communication through the acquisition of a local radio station to basically disseminate information to the tribal members. And that's actually done wonders for the community; it's actually brought the community closer together, the empowerment to have their own radio station. The next challenge was restructuring the organization.

SM: And have you seen any benefits from that open communication strategy that you've taken?

DM: Yes, primarily the reason that we were doing this was for the Long Plain people and over time, as I've stated earlier, it's taken a life of its own. It's become a national model for the country. We've given the annual reports to the chiefs of Manitoba in the hope that maybe they would follow a template close to that because I know what First Nations people want, in every community; it's pretty much the same challenges we face and we need open and transparent, accountable governments. That was our biggest challenge, to move towards that and have a new standard of accountability and transparency and I think we've pretty much done that. To me, that was one of the bigger achievements, although we had a lot of economic development achievements that followed because of that.

SC: What are some of the current economic activities going on in your community?

DM: We have a tremendous amount of economic development happening in Long Plain. Right now, we have five different corporations, one non-profit and four economic development corporations. We have the Arrowhead Development Corporation, which is pretty much the major corporation, and we have some subsidiary corporations, Keeshkeemaqua Development Corporation, the Long Plain Irrigation Management Company Ltd., and the Arrowhead Portage Corporation. They all involve diverse sectors, in terms of tourism, agriculture industry, and commercial industry. We have three operating gas bars, one in Portage La Prairie on the urban reserve; we're building a new one at Arrowhead Crossing gas bar and we're renovating the main gas bar. On October 25, 2005 [we signed a]

new agreement with First Canadian Fuels, which is owned by Tribal Councils Investment Group. So the concept there is to expand First Canadian Fuels similar to ESSO stations and Domo but this would be owned by Long Plain First Nation's independent dealer, which would be part of a franchise owned by First Canadian Fuels. The concept is great; it will promote First Nations business networking throughout Manitoba and eventually we will move into other provinces, and I think that's the ultimate goal.

We have a number of gaming operations and a number of community halls. In Portage La Prairie we have the Keeshkeemaqua Conference and Gaming Centre and we hope to have Bigfoot Bingo there, that's a gaming lease on our conference center. On the main reserve, we have the Long Plain Community Hall for gaming and we have a Spirit Lodge, a cultural center, we have about four halls at Long Plain. So it's quite a bit for a First Nations to have that many halls. And in Long Plain, I invite people to come out there [to see] the infrastructure, the community buildings; they're all the standard of buildings, the design of buildings; they're all up-to-date and well maintained. Infrastructure is really good in Long Plain, over the years we've built it up, the water and sewer, the roads, the whole community has come a long way. Other businesses we have are the Long Plain Irrigation Management Company; it's a project in the agricultural area to irrigate approximately 5,000 acres of land, a $6 million project of a period of three years. The Government of Canada is contributing $3 million and Long Plain is contributing the balance to that, so we should be finished by 2008.

We're looking at an Indian Residential School Museum of Canada and that's a gift from Long Plain to the First Nations people of this country. Once the museum is established, we'll propose to have directors from across the country that represents all our people across Canada. And we're shooting for June 21, 2008. June 21 is an Aboriginal Solidarity date and that's the day we're proposing for the grand opening of the Residential School Museum. And we've already started collections and working towards that.

We're going into a lot of commercial leasing; we have some major tenants, such as the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, the Southern Chiefs Organization (these are major political organizations) and we have the Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council head office in Long Plain. So, we're building a new 20,000 square foot office complex for our tenants and also the treaty commission office will be housed there. Just this past week, we had a couple of young ladies, entrepreneurs, open up a new business and it's called Mother Earth Tobacco; the tobacco that they are selling will be for ceremonial purposes. Tobacco is really important to First Nations people, in my language we used to call it "kinikkinik," it was a mixture of different Ojibway languages, but now we say tobacco, we could also say "semaa" which means to smoke tobacco.

That's always been a big issue for us because sometimes we send the wrong message about tobacco and its effects on our people but it's really important on the spiritual side of it because that's our relationship with our Creator. So we were very honoured to have these two young ladies and open up this Mother Earth Tobacco and move towards giving us a more traditional aspect of tobacco. I think they've undertaken a great step. That's the first business we've allowed to lease there on Long Plain land because we can't keep up with the demand in terms of commercial growth over the next few years.

So we have a number of other small businesses in the community that are in the First Nations. Things are actually going really well, we have construction companies that do a lot of work and our own people try to do as much as possible. We're going to be moving into different areas of development over the course of the next five to ten years. We're going to get a medical clinic next year for sure, because we have a doctor from Long Plain, Dr. Paula Flaherty, and she has a desire to return home, open up a practice, and it'll be our gift to her. So with economic opportunities, there is unlimited potential here in the Long Plain First Nation.

SC: What needs necessitated the formation of your organization, and your community economic development strategy?

DM: Well, social needs, unemployment rates, education, cultural loss of identity, all those things have played a critical role in developing our long term strategy. Because I think a lot of

the youth especially had an identity crisis as who they are as Anishinabe people. So we needed to set a new standard for them and also to empower them and we're slowly working towards that in recreational and cultural programs in place. They have a lot of challenges in terms of alcohol and drug abuse so we needed to provide a positive goal moving towards that end to have a balanced life and to have other choices other than negative effects of their lifestyle. And as a parent, we struggle with that and those are big challenges because we know our children will probably want to experiment with these things but they need to understand the negative effects of long term use.

So we're moving towards cultural programming, recreational programming, we've put a lot of money towards our schools and lunch programs, providing post-secondary scholarships. That's one thing I forgot to mention, post-secondary scholarships ... we have to make sure that our youth are eligible for scholarships for them to get their education. So just the poverty of our people ... we needed to do something different. I think we've been able to achieve that for the most part, but we still have a long way to go with our challenges. Especially drug use, I'm really concerned about drug use in our community and other First Nations right across, crack cocaine, crystal meth, and all those things. We've undertaken an aggressive drug prevention strategy at Long Plain; we have billboards up that say "crack cocaine destroys families", misuse of prescription drugs, we're trying to send a message that this is the wrong thing to do. We actually undertook drug testing throughout our workforce and we just completed that last week; over the past week and a half, over 200 employees were tested and we still haven't done all of them. We tested from the Chief of Council all the way down, because it's important to have a drug free lifestyle, for sure. We need to set a new direction for our people.

SM: Why have you chosen this approach, your community driven strategies, to economic development?

DM: I've been in politics since 1988 and I think the existing bottles weren't working so we needed to take down the box and move in another direction. That's why the annual report and audit was unheard of in First Nations community. Ten years before Corbiere, the decision to allow off-reserve people to vote, we've already introduced 10 years before Corbiere, people from Long Plain were allowed to vote whether they lived in Winnipeg or Vancouver, they were allowed to vote 10 years before Corbiere because that was a big issue amongst First Nations across the country; they limited it to people who lived on a reserve could vote, which created a lot of controversy and mistrust amongst people. So we're way ahead of the game in that area. We had a fairly liberal policy in transfers of people coming in and out of First Nations. The average size of a First Nation in Canada is about 500 people and in the past eight or 10 years, we've transferred well over that number all coming from other communities. Communities that are adjacent to us, some from Ontario, some from Saskatchewan.

A lot of it was marriage, there used to be this idea that a women that married a man from another place, that person was supposed to move over there, and if a Long Plain male band member married a lady from another reserve, they would come there, that was the thinking. To me, that was Indian Act, Indian agent kind of thinking. It really wasn't the true idea of citizenship amongst our people. I never believed it was, but we were ingrained to believe that was how it was supposed to be and to me that was very, very wrong. Just understanding our history, I knew that was not the original concept of membership. Men, women, from other communities, nine times out of 10, their children will be put on the Long Plain band list and be transferred to Long Plain. They have historical blood ties to our First Nation, if they want to be.

There are concerns; I'm not saying that all Long Plain people have embraced that [and] there are concerns among the membership about that because they believe that education opportunities are being taken away, employment opportunities, housing opportunities, but I think that over that period of time, it really wasn't an issue, it actually enhanced the First Nation. The idea of citizenship amongst First Nations people has to be understood about nationhood. Like Ojibway people, Anishinabe people, they have bands in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, even some in Quebec, Michigan, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Minnesota, so we're a very, very large

nation. We don't really operate as a nation, we operate as about three or four hundred different kingdoms, and every once and a while they come together and gather, but we're not there yet. Maybe down the road we may have a national organization as Anishinabe people; these are my own personal opinions about these things.

We have the same values, customs, traditions, and we need to strengthen that through a national organization and I think we're a long way from that. But even citizenship, based on that principle, I should be able to move to Batchewana or another Ojibway First Nation, without any First Nations chief and council saying "Why are we not letting him in? He is an Anishinabe person; he is part of our tribe." But there is a restriction on who comes in and who goes out, right in the membership, so it's a citizenship issue. So that's the principle we used, and the other thing about the transfers in, it actually enhances your budgets over a period of time, because you lobby with the government while there's a huge population growth. Some of these other bands, their populations are starting to decline, and what's going on with Long Plain? It's worked okay for us, although we still have challenges in housing but every First Nation has challenges in housing. That's one of the areas that we're going to be keen on, for population growth.

SM: What does it mean to your community to be nominated for the CANDO ED of the Year award?

DM: It has to be, for Long Plain, probably one of the greatest honours to be nominated by your peers across the country. That wasn't our goal, our goal was to provide our people at Long Plain a sound government, good governance, provide employment opportunities, training opportunities, to empower them with information that they are entitled to. By doing that, we became a model for the country, for the province of Manitoba, and these were added benefits on the road that came to us. Just acknowledgements that Long Plain is doing this and it's different, it's never been done that way before, let's take a look at it and see what we can learn from them [Long Plain people] because they're willing to share that information with us, from the outside looking in.

It's there for people to take what we have and what we've been able to do and to try and make the application on their First Nation, to use it as a template. We never want to impose those things, they're just there and we open them up for people to take a look at it and take what they need from it. I think that a lot of First Nations have taken that opportunity presented, and they're using them as models. A lot of my colleagues are putting out annual reports now, and using the financial information from the audits. That was really the endgame in terms of giving that information to the First Nations people.

SC and **SM:** Thank you very much for your time.

DM: Thank you. Meegwetch.

INTERVIEW WITH TED WILLIAMS

SC: Alright, we're here with Ted Williams from the Khowutzun Development Corporation. I'd just like to thank you for taking the time to do the interview. I guess we'll get started with the first question. Where were the communities you represent at in terms of economic development prior to the formation of the KDC?

Ted Williams (TW): I grew up in the Cowichan Communities, so where I would say they were, was that there was a lot of struggles going on between our governments, between the Cowichan Tribes, the government and the local city of Duncan and the municipality of North Cowichan. So there was a lot of division going on, not only between the local governments but also the provincial and federal governments. So basically from a development perspective, there was virtually no development going on.

SM: What were some of your biggest challenges or obstacles that you have had to overcome in your work?

TW: I would say, from my own personal experience, I would say that I was very fortunate that the barrier between governments and industries had been broken, not necessarily broken but they had been penetrated because of the initiative that late Chief Dennis Alphonse had taken.

What he had decided to do was I guess, basically, take another chance and go out to make a move and step out to try to develop another business opportunity and fortunately this one worked for us. Because he basically opened the door for us I was one of the first ones to go through and I experienced that for five years through his efforts and then after that [have it] recognized [as] a template for partnership success. I was really one of the first beneficiaries of that and I've been developing it ever since.

SC: What are some of the current economic activities going on in the community? I know there's probably many.

TW: Currently, there's a lot of current initiatives, developments going on right now. I would say in our construction company, the structural construction, we're getting to be a very large player in residential and commercial construction. One of the latest ones we're working on right now, we're keeping with our traditions, we put out an all out effort right now to build a 50-unit independent living facility for our Elders. That will be coupled with a 10-unit complex care facility as well as a 10,000 square foot Elder day care facility, that's one of the ones on the structural side. Another one on the structural side or this one is on the civil work side, we're looking to do all the earth works for the new Wal-Mart that's going to be constructed on Cowichan Tribes lands. So, on the civil side, that's the latest one for civil. Another one for civil is the partnership we have with Chemainus First Nations to construct a liquid natural gas facility in Chemainus First Nations traditional territory. It's approximately about a $110 million project and we've managed to work together with the Chemainus First Nations to play the lead role in accessing approximately $30–35 million of that work. That's going to involve of course the natural gas portion, which is about 10 km of the natural gas mainline, which will play a role.

Then we have our civil side, which will be doing all the right of way clearing, earth works, site preparations and then our structural division which will be building a lot of the off buildings. Then, forestry, we have a number of companies, in forestry we're going to be logging, this month we're going to start logging the 20,000 cubic meters of timber that we have in our community forest. Then [this past] January we harvest[ed] another 10,000 cubic meters. So there's a lot of activity going on right now in forestry, in our forestry company. Of course, with the independent living facility we have our Millwork Joinery Company [which] will build all the cabinetry for the facility. Then, of course, just the ongoing, right now, I believe they just finished the harvesting at the Cherry Point Vineyards and their making a whole new batch of wine, different varieties of wine right now. So, that's underway and with the natural gas pipeline, we're headed into April of next year, we're going to be getting the contract with the Terrasson Gas again, a contract that we've had for 14 years so we're going to be getting very busy preparing for that as well. So that's some of the activities.

SM: Which needs necessitated the formation of the KDC.

TW: What happened in Cowichan, was that the Cowichan people were traditionally very involved in the forest sector as well as the commercial fisheries. I would say about 20–25 years ago, that started to change. The forest industry as well as commercial fisheries was no longer viable industries. Our people went from basically having no unemployment really and then they just shot right up into over 90 percent unemployment when those two major industries failed. What happened was the necessity was for basically for us as a people in terms of employment, we had to recreate ourselves; we had to go and get involved in areas we traditionally had never had involvement in. Because we have gone that way we've broken that barrier and now we're finding ourselves getting involved in this entire host of activities that we are unfamiliar with. We're finding that as fast as we can find these opportunities and present them to the people and provide training. We're finding that they can be very successful in untraditional areas.

SC: With all the different approaches to economic development, why have you chosen the particular approaches to economic development that you have taken?

TW: Our approach to economic development that we're finding success in right now is because Cowichan tribes flows approximately $70–75 mil-

lion through the community each year. Where we're managing to find success is harnessing the internal market within our own community and we're taking that internal market and preparing feasibility studies and business plans around specific opportunities and finding that with that internal market we're being able to transform that internal market into real profitable business opportunities for the people

SM: What does it mean to you or your organization to be nominated by your peers for the CANDO ED of the Year Award?

TW: The nomination, when I view to be nominated by CANDO is the highest recognition you can achieve in Canada for economic development. So we were, many things, we were so excited about it. We were excited, we were considered to be very privileged to receive a nomination and even to make it to this point. So, we hold CANDO in very high regard in regards to the nomination.

SC: Well that concludes everything. Thank you again for your time and congratulations again on your nomination.

TW: Thank you.

All of these nominees were well deserved in receiving their nominations for the Economic Developer of the Year awards. However, the Long Plain First Nation was ultimately awarded ED of the Year, while Khowutzun Development Corporation and Tom Maness were awarded the Economic Developer of the Year Recognition awards. Each of these nominees exemplified what it means to strive to strengthen our Aboriginal communities on Turtle Island. While each nominee had their own individual approach to economic development, all have found some success in economic development for their people and their communities. For that they should be recognized and celebrated for their successes. Congratulations on your awards!

PROFILE OF EFFECTIVE PRACTICE
Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre

Brendan Reimer

> "We all work together to help one another"

Ma Mawi, Canada's first and largest major urban native child and family support program, is a great example of a community taking charge of their own challenges and opportunities and empowering those who experience barriers to participation in society. They have reclaimed control over family and community support services available to Aboriginal people thereby ensuring that the services are culturally appropriate and serve to empower and build the capacity of individuals, families, and the broader community. In addition to improving these services, Ma Mawi employs 140 Aboriginal individuals who engage in a wide variety of community and family support initiatives.

CONTEXT

Winnipeg, a city of approximately 700,000 on the Canadian Prairies, has seen a rapid growth in urban migration from rural and northern Aboriginal communities in the last few decades. By 1996, there were more than 52,000 Aboriginal people in Winnipeg, with 35% being under the age of 14.

The impact of centuries of colonization and disempowerment, including the living legacy of the residential school system and child welfare interventions that saw non-Aboriginal people deliver services to the Aboriginal community in a way that broke apart families, communities, and cultures, clearly has contributed to the challenges for the Aboriginal community as they strive for individual, family, and community health and well-being. Although many in the Aboriginal community achieve considerable success in becoming great leaders and creating a healthy life in Winnipeg, Aboriginal people in the city continue to be over-represented in the areas of poverty (approximately 50% of Aboriginal children and youth live in poverty) and behaviours associated with poverty including incarceration, youth death rates and suicides.

However, as noted by John Loxley, economics professor at the University of Manitoba, "This is not a community given over to fatalism or one trapped, irrevocably, into some 'culture of poverty.' On the contrary, it is a community with an impressive depth of leadership, which has shown resolve and creativity in building institutions to serve the needs of Aboriginal people."

HISTORY

In the early 1980s, leaders in the Aboriginal community grew concerned about the number of

---

Brendan Reimer is the Prairies & Northern Territories regional coordinator for the Canadian CED Network. First published in The Canadian CED Network, "Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre: 'We all work together to help one another'." (Victoria, B.C.: The Canadian CED Network, 2005).. Reproduced with permission.

Winnipeg, Manitoba

History — Land of the Cree since time immemorial, first Scottish settlement in 1812, and incorporated as a city in 1873. Originally the transportation and economic "Gateway to the Prairies," Winnipeg's growth has slowed to 1.2% (Canadian average is 3.7%) and now sits as Canada's 9th largest city.

Economy — One of the most diversified economies in Canada, low unemployment (at 5.1%, only Calgary and Edmonton are lower in Canada), strengths in manufacturing, finance, insurance, and research

Social Need — In the context of this case study, the rapid growth of the urban Aboriginal population (56,000 in 2001, 3.5 times what it was in 1981) present the Aboriginal community with both opportunities and challenges.

Claim to Fame — Home of the famous 1919 General Strike, a symbol of solidarity and advocacy among the working class. Another demonstration of people working together was seen during the 1997 "Flood of the Century." Unfortunately, Winnipeg is also the site of the imprisonment and execution of Louis Riel, a Metis leader resisting colonization by the Euro-Canadians.

Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre

Year Incorporated — 1984

Activities — Capacity building, support circles, training, community planning, respite homes and safe houses, cultural education and experiences, computer access and drop in centres, employment support, and much more.

Impact — 140 jobs created, 500 volunteers mobilized, and more than 30 programs delivered

Priorities — Developing a database tracking system for all Ma Mawi activities involving staff, volunteers, and community people, and renewing the 5-year strategic plan through broad consultations and evaluation of the past 5 years.

Aboriginal people in need of support services as well as the lack of Aboriginal people delivering those services. They saw that Aboriginal services delivered by Aboriginal people would be more effective at creating healthy individuals, families, and communities, providing culturally appropriate services, and would create employment opportunities for the Aboriginal community as well.

The Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre was created in 1984 as part of a much larger process of reclaiming control over the lives of urban Aboriginal people. Dilly Knol, chairperson of Ma Mawi's Board, recalls that "back then, the excitement of providing services for and by Aboriginal people inspired us to dream big and to struggle against a system that demoralized our ability to meet our own needs."

Ma Mawi has grown over the years and now has 6 different interactive sites including 3 private residential care sites and 3 open community care sites. Ma Mawi provides employment for 140 Aboriginal individuals and mobilizes the energy and skills of another 500 volunteers toward strengthening the capacity and leadership of Winnipeg's Aboriginal community.

ACTIVITIES

Ma Mawi provides culturally relevant prevention and support-based programs and services to the Aboriginal community. Essentially, they respond to any identified need and work with the community to create appropriate supports, which [is] why the range and number of activities is so large — even the listing of some of them below understates the breadth of their work. One can only imagine the diverse and multifaceted nature of the activities that occur on any given day, from providing bus tickets for those needing to attend an appointment or job interview, to offering shelter for those in crisis, facilitating support and learning circles, dreaming and planning with the community about their vision for the future, helping to write resumes and even attending interviews with people when asked to, or just hanging out with people and building relationships.

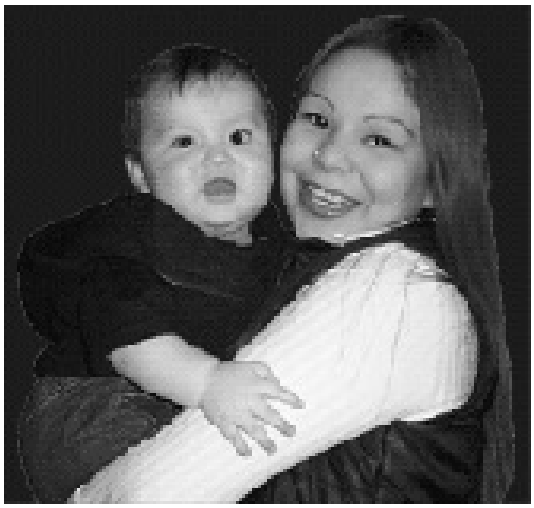
Children in Care: includes respite homes and services, a safe house for sexually exploited youth, an adolescent parenting residential learning centre and family group conferencing.

Youth Services: includes camp programs, cultural development, pow wow clubs, urban green teams, Aboriginal scouts, solvent abuse initiatives, traditional teachings and ceremonies, positive adolescent sexuality support, young fathers program, and mentorship programs.

Child Development Centre: a day care for 12-week to 24-month old children.

Community Care Centres: includes referrals, short term emergency services (such as food, bus tickets, etc.), community drop ins, in-home support services, parenting groups, volunteer programs, youth anger management, health lifestyle and healthy relationship programs, literacy, free internet access, capacity building workshops, and community employment projects.

Community Training & Learning: includes communications internships, team building and capacity building workshops, leadership training, PATH planning (Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope), mediation, Aboriginal culture, and retreats for women, men and couples.



"We are today witnessing a tremendous resurgence of local control and empowerment in supporting Aboriginal families."
— Josie Hill, Executive Director

Spirit of Peace — Ending the Cycle of Violence: Open and closed support services for groups of women, men, and children as well as individual support services.

In addition to activities for all ages and nearly every facet of individual, family, and community health, Ma Mawi also builds on the existing resources and organizations in the community when developing these and other initiatives. For example, they joined with the North End Community Renewal Corporation (NECRC), Urban Circle Training Institute, Native Women's Transition Centre, Ndinawe Safe House, Andrews Street Family Centre, and the Community Education Development Association (CEDA) to lead an Aboriginal Visioning for the North End of Winnipeg consultation process.

PARTICIPATORY AND COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS

While the range and integration of Ma Mawi's activities is impressive, what is much more profound is the approach that they take in what they do both in terms of their long-term vision and their everyday, person-to-person relationships. This approach is based on the medicine wheel and is guided by the values of reciprocity, respect, inclusion, learning, diversity, caring, independence, and leadership.

But things were not always this way at Ma Mawi. Although it was founded and located in the inner-city, for a long time Ma Mawi's offices were on Broadway Avenue, a hub of government and corporate services near Winnipeg's downtown. Not being located in the heart of the community meant that they were less integrated with the community and they were also not as participatory, services instead being delivered in a more case-worker/case-specific manner. Over time, they found that their services were being underused compared to the visible demand within the Aboriginal community.

So, beginning in 1997, Ma Mawi embarked on a thorough one-year consultation process with the Aboriginal community that included kids, youth, staff and board members, government representatives and people from other community-based organizations. The community told Ma Mawi that they needed to:

- become more connected and visible within the community;
- better understand and work directly within the community;
- work with community members to create a safe and loving place for children and families to grow; and
- model what they are doing through kindness and by valuing each other.

During the two years after this process, Ma Mawi responded by:

- committing to becoming a 'learning organization', where people continually expand their capacity to create the results that they desire, and continually learn together;
- moving from case-specific to community capacity building practices, including closing case files and developing programs and supports reflecting this new approach;
- physically relocating to neighbourhood sites;
- pulling all staff together to renew and affirm the credo that "we all work together to help one another"; and
- developing a 5-year strategic plan, with community direction, to put this new vision into action.

Through this process, Ma Mawi not only developed a vision for the community and an approach to social inclusion that was completely informed by the community, but did so through a participatory process that empowered and built solidarity and a feeling of inclusion in the Aboriginal community.

Ma Mawi's 5-year strategic plan is more a directional document than a list of specific actions and outcomes, but it is also an actual contract or covenant with the community. Diane Redsky, Ma Mawi's Director of Programs[,] explains, "We signed the document and so did the community through a representative. We asked how we could do things better, and decided that one way would be to make a contract with the people that mattered most." This instilled in the community a feeling of directional ownership and mutual responsibility and accountability.

In fact, their whole approach is now focused on participation, empowerment, and capacity building. Director of Communications Michelle Boivin makes it simple: "What we want to do is to empower the community so that they can take care of themselves (and) we do this through building relationships."

Comprehensive Approach

- Focus on building healthy communities
- Facilitate greater involvement of the community through various economic and social opportunities
- Strengthen community capacity by transferring skills and opportunities to address those factors that affect the health of our community and its families
- Facilitate partnerships within neighbourhoods to ensure that support is focusing on community members helping each other
- Facilitate the development of the Aboriginal community through opportunities to learn from one another, collectively address local issues and build community capacity to support each other
- To work in close collaboration with the community to develop and maintain preventative services for Aboriginal children and families
- To use a community development and capacity building approach within neighbourhood-based sites
- Continue to maintain strong partnerships with private, public, and government stakeholders

Ma Mawi translates this new approach into everyday action by ensuring that all activities are at all times guided by the four primary elements of their comprehensive vision: building capacity, being community-based, ensuring community involvement, and nurturing leadership.

Capacity building is about providing people with the opportunities to realize and share their gifts, increase their skills and knowledge, and building on strengths. Whenever the staff and volunteers at Ma Mawi interact with someone from the community, they try to draw out that person's interests and gifts and then look for

ways that this person can contribute those to the activities happening at Ma Mawi. This builds on that person's skills and gifts, greatly increases their confidence and their feeling of belonging, and continuously builds the "skill/gift pool" that makes up the Ma Mawi community. And, as Neighbourhood Site Manager Tammy Christensen explains, "Many of the community people have benefited from the services offered by Ma Mawi and they are very eager to give back, and so it is important for us to find a way for them to do this." Ma Mawi believes that the community has the capacity to deal with their own issues collectively and reclaim their community, this capacity just needs to be identified, used, and developed further.

"You can't build the capacity well without actually being in the communities and building the relationships!"

The ongoing learning happens in several ways and involves staff, board members, volunteers, [and] community members. For example, staff are encouraged to take on various roles from time to time to make sure that they are continuously learning more about Ma Mawi's various services and building on their skill sets. "Even the receptionist works in the day care once a week," says Redsky. "It is all possible if you focus on a strength-based approach."

The community learning and workshops are done at community centres which are set up as open, comfortable spaces that truly have a homey feel to them. The people at each site decide what it is that they want to learn about, and Ma Mawi then looks for people from the community to co-facilitate the workshop, usually pairing someone who is new to facilitation with someone who has some experience. This builds capacity in both the staff or volunteers and the participants through a peer-learning model. It is not uncommon now, given this approach, to see individuals progress from participating in the activities at Ma Mawi, to volunteering, and then becoming staff — moving into greater positions of leadership as they grow in capacity.

Being community-based means two things to Ma Mawi. Firstly, it means actually being located in the neighbourhoods where the people you support are living. And not just in one spot, but six different sites, to provide maximum accessibility, visibility and community integration, increasing opportunities to build the relationships that are so important. Redsky says that when Ma Mawi was downtown, "the use of services was low, but participation exploded when we physically moved into the community."

But being community-based is more than just about location, it is also about the approach. The emphasis has shifted from offices and appointments to community involvement and building good relationships. Being community based is about approaching the community as a "helper" rather than a "fixer;" a partner rather than a provider. Christensen says, "Now it doesn't feel like a business, it feels like a family. Its their place." Ma Mawi's contract with the community demonstrates how seriously they take their accountability to the community as partners.

Community involvement is demonstrated by more than just their new locations. Ma Mawi is very actively involved in the community and the community is actively involved in Ma Mawi. "While each of our sites' functional areas include emergency services, group workshops, community involvement, and individual support, the community is always involved in deciding, designing, and delivering each of these," says Redsky. One way they do this is through PATH planning, a tool in which the community comes together to envision what they want their community to be like, where it is now, and then plan incremental actions to make their vision a reality. Each community site has their PATH posted prominently in the open space, and again, this process builds a feeling of ownership and inclusion in the community. People gain confidence when they see their ideas taking shape; they dream of even more and want to get more involved. Whether it is the young women at the residential care site or the residents around the community care centre, "We no longer identify programs for the community — they tell us what they want," explains Redsky.

"Community involvement to us is inclusion versus exclusion; the community is the expert and the benefit is huge if you empower them."

Leadership development builds on capacity building and community involvement. This includes co-facilitation opportunities and participation in workshops and support circles as well as a wide range of other activities including outreach and advocacy. "When we go to things like United Way consultations, we will take community members with us so that they can share their story and get involved. We will also support individuals who want to take the lead on various political and community issues. Leadership is an action word to us — 90% of our staff have come through various capacity building and leadership initiatives to the point where they have become employees at Ma Mawi."

> ***"Leadership is an action word. Again, the people in the community are the experts, we are the helpers and facilitators, driven by the community."***

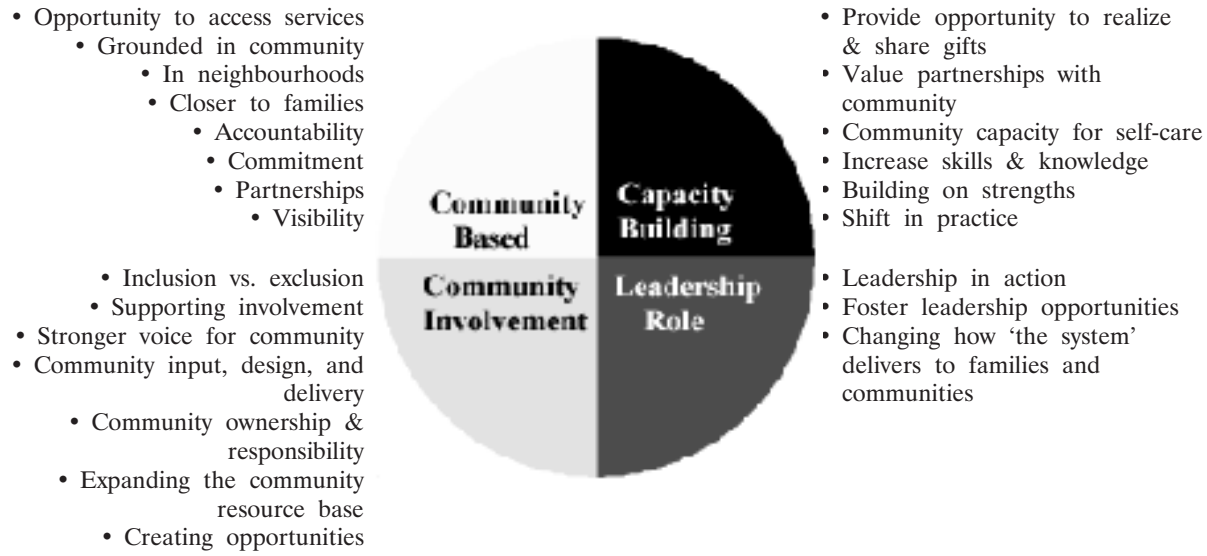
These four strategies are completely integrated in all Ma Mawi's activities. Each of the six sites offers the whole range of activities and programs and focuses on capacity building, community involvement, and leadership development at all times. Although funders often like to see clear delineation of activities and outcomes, this is not the reality of people's lives.

OUTCOMES AND EVALUATION

One of the challenges of the new approach at Ma Mawi is the measurement of their impact. Instead of counting the number of case files opened and closed, dynamics that were not as easily quantifiable now needed to be evaluated: individual and community capacity built, strong relationships nurtured and leadership developed. What Ma Mawi now uses is a blended approach of three different types of evaluative processes that include the traditional project-specific outputs, their contract with the community, and a new database tracking system that is in development.

Project-specific evaluation: Clear evaluation criteria, indicators, and deliverables are part of each funded initiative and vary according the nature of the program and the expectations of the funders. Outcome measurements might include the number of youth hired for summer clean-up or greening projects, young mothers housed in the learning residence, attendees at parenting support circles, and other similar indicators. As well, Ma Mawi also tries to track other measurable outcomes that tell the before and after story of the individual's participation in areas such as running away from their homes, a parent's explosive episodes, gang involvement, employment, school attendance, and volunteerism.

Conceptual Framework



Ma Mawi also evaluates each initiative (as well as their overall organization) on the impact it has on the community. This includes the service provided, the personal impact on individuals and their families, skill development, wages paid to those in the Aboriginal community, the level of community involvement that occurred, and much more. All of these goals are set by Ma Mawi staff and volunteers, the participants and their families, and by the community at large. In order to collect this data, they analyze their own information as well as conduct formal and informal surveys with program participants and the people around those participants (family, teachers, partners, etc.).

Contract with the community: Every year, Ma Mawi revisits their contract with the community and evaluates, together with people from the community, how well they are keeping to their end of the covenant. Are they integrated and involved in the community, are they building the capacity of the Aboriginal community, are they nurturing Aboriginal leadership, are they facilitating participation in and ownership of the direction-setting and activities of Ma Mawi, are they building on people's strengths and providing opportunities for people to use their gifts, and more generally, how have the health and well-being indicators for Aboriginal families in Winnipeg changed? Now at the end of the first 5-year contract, Ma Mawi is now in the process of renewing the contract with the community via an in-depth consultation process similar to the first one five years ago. They are asking the community to evaluate them on how well they have achieved the goals set five years ago and what Ma Mawi needs to focus on in the coming years.

New Database: A unique evaluation tool that Ma Mawi is currently developing is a database designed to capture how people are moving through the organization, what services they are utilizing, and any feedback (formally or simply in conversation) they provide regarding their interaction with the organization. This will allow Ma Mawi to evaluate which programs and services are used most and least, and how the use differs by neighbourhood. They will also be better able to track capacity building by recording the individual's resulting engagement in the organization[,] including whether they continue to use the services and programs at Ma Mawi, become volunteers, workshop facilitators, staff, and/or board members among roles. In terms of empowering individuals and building their capacity and leadership, this electronic tool will help tell the success stories of Ma Mawi in more than just anecdotal ways.

UNIQUE SUCCESS FACTORS, POLICIES AND LESSONS

Ma Mawi has really benefited from influential organizations such as the United Way of Winnipeg standing in support of Ma Mawi priorities. Redsky states, "When they start to voice our concerns, people start to pay attention!" As an Aboriginal organization, Ma Mawi has also greatly benefited from the times that governments and foundations have prioritized Aboriginal funding and partnerships as this naturally makes it easier for Ma Mawi to access resources. For example, half of all new monies raised by the United Way of Winnipeg campaign will go toward Aboriginal initiatives. Other examples of Aboriginal-focused initiatives include the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement and the Urban Aboriginal Strategy.

However, Ma Mawi does feel that not enough recognition is given to their youth leadership development outcomes by policy and funding decision makers. Redsky says, "We are making such a difference, but we could do so much more." Given that many of the Aboriginal people in Winnipeg are youth — the future of the Aboriginal community in Winnipeg, Ma Mawi's priority and effective practice of developing healthy individuals and families through capacity building and youth leadership development should be well supported.

Generally, though, Ma Mawi has been able to negotiate policy issues to their satisfaction, which is not surprising given their founding objectives of changing family service delivery for Aboriginal people and the respect that Ma Mawi has gained over the years. Redsky explains, "We are always proactive about everything we do in terms of policy, either getting changes made or finding creative solutions. For example, Child welfare's foster home licensing policies were unhelpful to Aboriginal families, but we started discussions with the province and Child and

Family Services and were able to come to an agreement on how to license Aboriginal foster homes."

LESSONS LEARNED

- The process and approach are part of the outcomes. It is not about service delivery; it is about building capacity, relationships, and leadership on an individual, family, and community level.
- By using an integrated approach to provide the same core functions at each site, all services are accessible to anyone who walks through any of their doors, making service delivery much more efficient, particularly for the community.
- Being located in the community and designed like homes rather than offices makes services more accessible and makes community members much more comfortable coming there.
- Using a strength-based approach is critical, providing an asset for the community to build on and identifying opportunities for people to contribute and build confidence.
- Approaching the community in the role of a helper who supports, promotes, models, and involves the community creates a feeling of mutual responsibility, accountability, and ownership between Ma Mawi and the community. Having the community decide the activities and approach Ma Mawi takes means that the activities will be more appropriate/effective and the empowered community is more likely to participate in delivering the activities and achieving the goals.
- By reclaiming responsibility for support services to Aboriginal individuals, families, and communities (in unison with their focus on building capacity, skills, and leadership), Ma Mawi has made a significant economic impact in the community by creating 140 jobs and training people from the Aboriginal community for those positions.

Editors' Introduction

In this section, we once again offer a splendid variety of interesting and informative research pieces on Aboriginal business, community, and economic development.

Bob Anderson and Robert Bone consider the importance of taking a proactive approach to community economic development by asserting that Aboriginal business organizations formed out of comprehensive land claim agreements are leading the way in the market economy. Their argument is supported by dynamic examples such as the Inuvialuit, Sahtu and the Gwich'in: all of whom have settled their land claims and all are now part of the Aboriginal Pipeline Group (APG) that has a one-third share in the natural gas pipeline associated with the Mackenzie Gas Project — the project that proved so divisive some four decades ago. The authors go on to demonstrate that much has changed over the past 40 years and, perhaps the most important, that multiple shifts in relationship have taken place. Where once Aboriginal groups and environmentalists were strong allies, today the Inuvialuit, Sahtu and the Gwich'in are proponents of the project and environmental representatives are not, while emphasizing the central significance of the Deh Cho in the process. The authors conclude that, while they are not opposed in principle to economic development, they wish to control such development within the framework of their comprehensive land claim agreement: Should the Deh Cho become dissatisfied, the gas pipeline project could be in trouble.

Doctoral candidate Suzanne Mills and her co-author Tyler McCready investigate the impact of policies implemented by forest-processing firms to increase retention of women Aboriginal employees in the workplace. Arguing that the result of First Nations Bands, Tribal Councils and other Aboriginal parties impressing upon their constituents the need to seek employment with regional mills has been the increased participation of Aboriginal people in the forest industry as a whole. Despite this, Aboriginal people have continued

to be under-represented in forest processing employment, particularly in management and professional occupations. This exploratory study suggests that effective Aboriginal inclusion can take various forms and that empowering Aboriginal women through equity in promotions, ensuring Aboriginal representation in management and decision-making, and implementing anti-discrimination and harassment policies to prevent the further marginalization of Aboriginal people in the workplace are of equal importance.

Doctoral student Frank Deer studies the benefits accessible adult education that focuses on improving job opportunities would have in an inner-city area with a significantly large Aboriginal population. Employing focus groups and individual interviews with potential students, former students, elders, and program instructors, Deer concludes that Saskatoon's inner-city residents who desire access to such programs are frequently Aboriginal and are either involved in low-wage employment or receiving social assistance. Contextualizing the findings in relation to social and community development, and preparation for post-secondary education and employment and academic success, the results indicate that the proximity of the programs as well as the services that are offered may be essential to student success.

John Parkins of the Canadian Forest Service and his research team examine the contribution of forestry and other resource sectors to the social and economic status of Aboriginal communities in Canada. Beginning with a discussion of the current conditions within Aboriginal communities, the changing relationships between Aboriginal communities and natural resource sectors are evaluated to potentially offer insights into the total levels of employment in the forest sector and the relationship between changing levels of forest sector dependence and changes in social and economic status. Parkins et al. conclude by discussing several implications of these trends with respect to resource sector contributions to the future of Aboriginal communities.

In the final paper, public policy professor Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh considers the importance of three specific areas in which mining agreements can contribute to Aboriginal economic development: by generating an income stream through royalty or other similar payments; by creating opportunities for education, training and employment; and by supporting Aboriginal business enterprises. Driving his investigation is the reality that mining projects on the traditional lands of Aboriginal Peoples in Australia and Canada have considerable potential to contribute to Aboriginal economic development — potential that has often not been realised due

to the marginalization of Aboriginal Peoples in both countries from large-scale mineral development. O'Faircheallaigh concludes the negotiation of "mining agreements" or "impact and benefit agreements" involving Aboriginal Peoples has the potential to change this situation.

INTEGRATING ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY
Corporations and Aboriginal People and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline

Robert B. Anderson and Robert M. Bone

1. INTRODUCTION

Times are changing. Aboriginal peoples are moving from the margins of Canadian society into its mainstream. While much remains to be done, Aboriginal business organizations formed out of comprehensive land claim agreements are leading the way by taking an active role in the market economy. Even more impressive, the Inuvialuit, Sahtu and the Gwich'in, all of whom have settled their land claims, are part of the Aboriginal Pipeline Group (APG) that has a one-third share in the natural gas pipeline associated with the Mackenzie Gas Project. The Mackenzie Gas Project proposes to develop natural gas fields in the Mackenzie Delta and deliver the natural gas to markets through a 1220-kilometre pipeline extending along the Mackenzie Valley to northern Alberta where the pipeline will be connected to the existing Canadian pipeline system. The Mackenzie Gas Project is touted to transform the economy of the Northwest Territories. In turn, the Aboriginal Pipeline Group provides the business medium for these Aboriginal organizations to benefit from this industrial mega-project.

Forty years ago, such developments were unthinkable. During the Berger Inquiry, one Aboriginal leader after another claimed that a similar industrial project, the 1974 Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline Project, would destroy Aboriginal peoples and their culture. However, the *Calder* decision in 1973 marked the beginning of new opportunities for Aboriginal peoples who held Aboriginal title to their ancestral lands. Coming out of the *Calder* decision, Aboriginal title now had a legal status, thus providing a trump card in determining ownership

Robert B. Anderson, Professor, Faculty of Administration, University of Regina, Regina, Saskatchewan and Robert M. Bone, Research Advisor, Inuit Relations Secretariat, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

This research was funded in part by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
This paper builds an earlier paper that appeared in the International Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship (Anderson, et al. 2004). As a result, much of the early story as it relates to the *Calder* decision, The Berger Inquiry, and Inuvialuit Agreement is the similar, but a great deal of new material has been added that has occurred subsequently, particularly with respect to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

of crown land. Added to that fact, resource corporations now realize that having a partnership with the Original Peoples of the Mackenzie Basin is an advantage to ensuring the approval of industrial projects. Today, Aboriginal leaders, like Nellie Cournoyea, who is the President of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and a Director of Aboriginal Pipeline Group, strongly support the Mackenzie Gas Project.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

How can we understand such a mindset shift by the players in the Mackenzie Gas Project given its place within the global economy? Simply said, the market economy in Canada has evolved, allowing Aboriginal organizations to play a role in resource development which is closely tied to the global economy. We can relate this shift to economic theories. Modernization theory saw economic development taking place within the private sector. Such development was seen as having a positive impact on living standards of people. On the other hand, dependency theory interpreted economic development as having a negative impact on local people. Contingency theory is a modification of modernization theory. Contingency theory recognizes the evolution of the global economy whereby some local people, such as Aboriginal peoples in Canada, are able to participate in economic development and therefore have an opportunity to move from the margins of Canadian society.

A contingency perspective is a relatively new version of modernization theory. In the 20th century, the interpretation of economic development in Third World countries focused on the modernization and dependency perspectives. In retrospect, these two theories of economic development within a capitalist world, though looking at the same events, led to different conclusions. Both are incomplete (as opposed to wrong) with each describing a possible but not inevitable outcome of interaction between a developing region and the global economy. Instead, the outcome experienced at a particular time and in a particular place is contingent on a variety of factors many of which are under at least the partial control of the people and their government in a developing region. In this vein, Corbridge claims that there has been a powerful trend towards "theories of capitalist development [that] emphasize contingency ... a new emphasis on human agency and the provisional and highly skilled task of reproducing social relations" (Corbridge, 1989, p. 633). As Tucker says, this allows "for the possibility of incorporating the experience of other peoples, other perspectives and other cultures into the development discourse" (Tucker 1999, p. 16). This view is certainly consistent with the two contrasting views of Tom Berger on two similar industrial projects, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline (1977) and the Mackenzie Gas Project (2006). What has changed over 40 years? Profound changes occurred in the socio-environment situation of the Mackenzie Basin, in the role of Aboriginal organizations, and in the position of the players towards involvement in mega industrial projects.

3. THE *CALDER* DECISION AND BEYOND

In its 1973 *Calder* decision, the Supreme Court of Canada recognized that Aboriginal people have an ownership interest in the lands that they and their ancestors have traditionally occupied. In this landmark decision, the Court held that this right had not been extinguished unless it was specifically and knowingly surrendered. Following this decision, the federal government was forced to rethink its position on Aboriginal title. In doing so, the federal government accepted the legal concept of Aboriginal title as outlined by the Supreme Court. Ottawa also created a negotiating structure to settle land claims of lands under Aboriginal title. These two concepts — Aboriginal title and a negotiating structure — are both complex and interrelated.

(1) The concept of Aboriginal title

The existence of Aboriginal legal rights to lands other than those provided for by treaty or statute is known as Aboriginal title. Until a settlement is reach, these public lands remain under the ownership of the federal and provincial governments. They are legally known as Crown lands.

Aboriginal title is rooted in Aboriginal peoples' historic "occupation, possession and use" of traditional territories. Aboriginal title is obtained after proof of continued occupancy of the lands in question at the time at which the Crown

Figure 1. Recent Supreme Court of Canada Decisions

Case	*Date*	*Outcome*
Nowegijick	1983	Treaties must be liberally interpreted
Guerin	1984	Ottawa must recognize the existence of inherent Aboriginal title and a fiduciary (trust) relationship based on title.
Sioui	1990	Provincial laws cannot over rule rights contained in treaties.
Sparrow	1990	Section 35(1) of The Constitution Act 1982 containing the term 'existing rights' was defined as anything unextinguished.
Delgamuukw	1997	Oral history of Indian people must receive equal weight to historical evidence in land claim legal cases. Commercial development of traditional resource ruled a possibility.
Marshall	1999	Mi'kmaq have the right to catch and sell fish (lobster) to earn a 'moderate living'.

asserted sovereignty. Aboriginal title is held collectively by all members of an Aboriginal nation and decision regarding the use of the land and resources are made collectively. At first, Aboriginal title was restricted to the right to hunt, trap and fish within the traditional subsistence economy. Later, the rights expanded to include certain commercial rights.

But how did this evolution take place? Since 1973, the Supreme Court has ruled on a number of claims by First Nations and, in doing so, the Supreme Court has expanded the definition of Aboriginal title to include commercial rights (Figure 1). In its 1997 decision, *Delgamuukw v British Columbia*, the Supreme Court extended the rights under Aboriginal title to commercial activities. In 1999, the Supreme Court ruling on the *Marshall* case declared that the Mi'kmaq Indians in Nova Scotia had the right to catch and sell fish. While the Supreme Court recognized Aboriginal title, the devil is in the details. Accordingly, the Supreme Court in both the *Delgamuukw* ruling and the *Marshall* decision called for negotiations between the First Nation and the respective government to determine the details of such rights within the existing laws and regulations of Canada and those found in province or territory.

(2) The concept of a negotiation structure for Indian claims under Aboriginal title

A negotiation structure for Indian claims under Aboriginal title was a necessary outcome of the *Calder* decision. In 1973, Ottawa announced its Comprehensive Claims Policy. This policy acknowledged legality of Aboriginal title and put into place a system for the negotiated settlement of Aboriginal land claims. While this new policy was divided into two broad categories — specific and comprehensive land claims, only comprehensive land claims negotiations applied to Crown lands claimed by Aboriginal peoples. Later, the 1973 Comprehensive Claims Policy was modified to take into consideration Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 that recognizes and affirms Aboriginal and treaty rights now existing or that may be acquired by way of land claim agreements. Since 1973, a series of land claims agreements and treaties have moved the Aboriginal people in Canada a considerable distance toward their goal of control over their traditional lands and resources and resolved the question of extinguishment of Aboriginal rights.

From 1973 to 2006, ten comprehensive claims were settled. They include the James Bay

and Northern Quebec Agreement and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, the Gwich'in Agreement, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, the Council of Yukon Indians Umbrella Agreement (presently encompassing four final agreements), the Sahtu Dene and Metis Agreement, the Nisga'a Final Agreement, the Selkirk First Nation Final Aboriginal Agreement, the Little Salmon/Carmacks Final Agreement, the Tr'ordek Hwech'in Final Agreement, the Ta'an Kwach'an Council Final Agreement, the Tlicho Agreement, the Kluane First Nation Final Agreement, and the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement. Over this same period there has been a change in the government's approach to settling land claims.

Initially, the view was that such rights were an impediment to development and that agreements were essential to remove this impediment. This view was captured in the policy of extinguishment that was central to the early agreements. In 1995, for example, Ottawa agreed to enter into discussions of self-government as part of the comprehensive land claim negotiations.

One of the triggering events that pushed the federal government to change its position on Aboriginal title and land claims negotiations was the Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline Proposal and the Berger Inquiry. In the 1970s, the classic struggle between developers and Native peoples took place. This struggle of the 1970s is being replayed some 40 years later — but with a different playing field and a different mix of players.

4. THE MACKENZIE VALLEY GAS PIPELINE PROJECT AND ITS INQUIRY

The construction of a gas pipeline from Prudhoe Bay on the shores of arctic Alaska to the delta of the Mackenzie River and then up the Mackenzie River valley to Zama, the northern terminal of the national gas pipeline system in Alberta was one of the grand industrial projects of the 20th century. The Canadian part of this grand project was known as The Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline Project. In 1968, huge oil deposits were discovered at Prudhoe Bay. Within ten years, oil was flowing from Prudhoe Bay to the port of Valdez. These huge oil deposits also contained natural gas. While the market for Prudhoe Bay oil was California, its natural gas market was the American Mid-West centred on Chicago. Consequently, a natural gas pipeline was proposed that would connect Prudhoe Bay with Chicago via the Mackenzie Valley. Accordingly, in 1974, a consortium of multinational oil companies (called Arctic Gas) made application to the Canadian government to build a pipeline to carry natural gas from the fields in the Mackenzie Delta and Prudhoe Bay in Alaska to markets in southern Canada and the United States. At the time, most believed that the application would be approved. However, events proved otherwise.

In March 1974, Justice Thomas Berger was appointed to head an inquiry that would consider issues surrounding the pipeline. As the inquiry proceeded, the presentations fell into two camps — those opposed to the project and those favouring the project. Many opposed were local residents who felt that they would bear the social costs of the project, people in Dene communities located along the proposed pipeline route felt threatened by the project. Aboriginal spokespersons saw the project as destroying their culture and leaving their people with few economic benefits and many social costs. Environmental organizations from outside the region saw the pipeline as one more example of industry's attack on the environment. Both groups saw development as a menace and thus viewed development from the dependency perspective. On the other hand, Arctic Gas and other proponents of the pipeline argued that industrialization in northern Canada was "inevitable, desirable, and beneficial — the more the better" (Usher 1993, p. 105). They did not deny that the process would have negative impacts on traditional Aboriginal society. In fact, in their view development "required the breakdown and eventual replacements of whatever social forms had existed before" (Usher 1993, p. 104). They agreed that the process would be painful for Aboriginal people, but from it would emerge a higher standard of living and a better quality of life. In addition to their views on the desirability of industrialization and the inevitability of modernization, proponents of the project held the view that "all Canadians have an equal interest in the North and its resources" (Page 1986,

p. 114). This view was based on the 'colonial' belief that title to all land and resources had passed from Aboriginal people to the Crown. Such a view, while valid prior to the *Calder* decision, remained in play in the minds of the developers and governments until challenged in the Berger Inquiry and the courts.

During the Berger Inquiry, Aboriginal leaders challenged Arctic Gas spokespersons. The Aboriginal argument was that the pipeline project would introduce "massive development with incalculable and irreversible effects like the settlement of the Prairies" (Usher 1993, p. 106). However, unlike the proponents, they did not feel that this was a desirable outcome for Aboriginal residents in the Mackenzie Valley. Instead, they feared the worst for their peoples. The Dene had more power than before for two reasons. First, the Berger Inquiry provided them with a platform to present their views to the Canadian public. Second, the impact of the 1973 *Calder* decision began to penetrate into the inner circles of the Prime Minister's cabinet. These two factors allowed Dene leaders to play their trump card, Aboriginal title to the lands across which the pipeline must proceed.

Within the context of global economic development, Usher made a persuasive argument that had the 1974 pipeline proposal proceeded, it would have had disastrous impacts on Aboriginal peoples and their traditional culture. As one of the principal researchers for Justice Berger, his view mirrors the dependency theory of development:

> This massive assault on the land base of Native northerners threatened their basic economic resources and the way of life that these resources sustained ... when all the riches were taken out from under them by foreign companies, Native land and culture would have been destroyed and people left with nothing. (Usher 1993, pp. 106–7)

In the context of Aboriginal society and economy in the 1970s, Justice Berger recognized that the Dene of the Mackenzie Valley were not ready to participate and therefore benefit from the project. In fact, great harm might come to their culture. Berger therefore recommended a 10-year delay. By then, the Dene should be ready for such a massive construction project. Justice Berger put it this way:

> Postponement will allow sufficient time for native claims to be settled, and for new programs and new institutions to be established. (Berger 1977, p. xxvii)

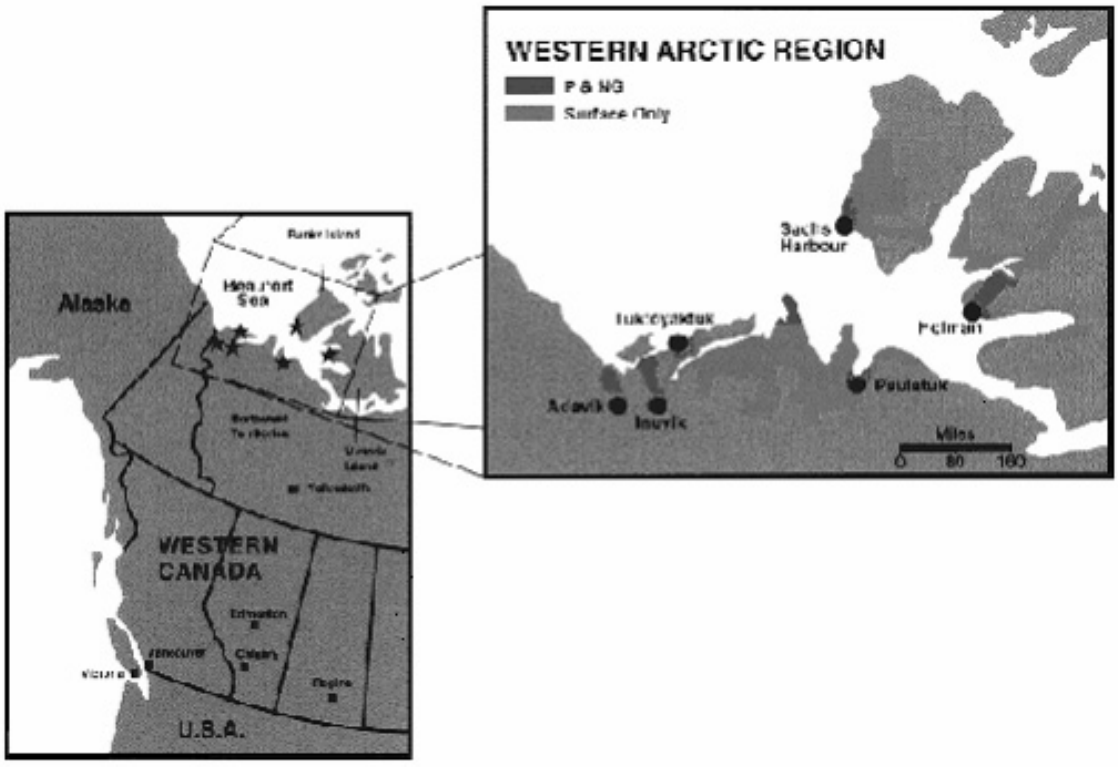
Berger's decision ushered in a new era in the relationship between Aboriginal people, the federal government, and corporations that wished to develop resources on traditional Aboriginal lands. A key characteristic of this new era has been the emergence of Aboriginal business development based on financial capacity provided by land claim settlements and by the decision of Aboriginal leaders to participate in the market economy. This shift in attitude towards industrial projects resulted in the formation of the Aboriginal Pipeline Group.

5. THE INUVIALUIT LAND CLAIM SETTLEMENT

In May 1977, the Committee of Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) submitted a formal comprehensive land claim on behalf of approximately 4,500 Inuvialuit living in six communities in and around the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Negotiations between the Inuvialuit and the federal government continued through the late 1970s and early 1980s culminating in the Inuvialuit Final Agreements (IFA) in May 1984 (see Figure 2). The goal of the Inuvialuit negotiators was to maintain their traditional way of life and, at the same time, venture into the market economy (Bone 2003, p. 193). This dual objective was achieved by the creation of a business sector (the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation) and a wildlife sector (the Inuvialuit Game Council). While our focus is on the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, it is important to note that the traditional way of life remains vibrant. For example, in 2002, Usher reported that, though the Inuvialuit population had doubled from 1960 to 2000, the harvesting of wildlife for human consumption remained at levels in the 1960s with a value of $3.35 million (Usher 2002, p. 25).

Under the terms of the IFA, the Inuvialuit retained title to "91,000 square kilometres of land, 13,000 square kilometres with full surface and subsurface title; 78,000 square kilometres excluding oil and gas and specified mineral

Figure 2. The Inuvialuit Communities and Lands



rights" (Frideres 1993, 118). The Inuvialuit also received $45 million in cash compensation to be paid out over 13 years (1984 to 1997), a $7.5 million Social Development Fund (SDF) and a $10 million Economic Enhancement Fund (EEF).

In 1984, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) was formed to receive the lands and financial compensation obtained by the Inuvialuit. The corporation was given "the overall responsibility of managing the affairs of the settlement to achieve the objectives in the IFA" (ICG 1997, p. 4). According to the introduction to the 1997 Annual Report of the Inuvialuit Corporate Group (ICG 1997, p. 4), these objectives are to:

- Preserve the Inuvialuit culture, identity and values within a changing northern society;
- Enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society;
- Protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity.

The question is — are the Inuvialuit succeeding in the market economy? In an attempt to answer this question the activities of the major subsidiaries of the IRC, the Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC), the Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation (IPC) and the Inuvialuit Investment Corporation (IIC), are described in the three subsections that follow.

The Inuvialuit Investment Corporation

According to the 2000 Annual Report of the ICG, the Inuvialuit Investment Corporation (IIC) "was established to receive the bulk of the finan-

cial compensation that came from the IFA. ... invest these funds in low risk investments and to preserve the capital for future generations of Inuvialuit" (ICG 2000, p. 39). The company maintains a conservative and diverse portfolio of investments in national and international securities. In 2000, the IIC recorded a net income of $6.5 million from interest and dividends on its investments, up from $5.97 million in 1996.

The Inuvialuit Development Corporation

The Inuvialuit Development Corporation was created to address one of the objectives of the IFA; that is, "to enable the Inuvialuit equal and meaningful participation in the Western Arctic, circumpolar, and national economies" (ICG 1998, p. 1). In pursuing this objective IDC says it will "build and protect a diversified asset base, generate financial returns, create employment, and increase skills and development among the Inuvialuit" (IDC 1998, p. 1). While some of its business ran into difficulties and a few failed, most were profitable.

The IDC has created or acquired over 30 companies operating in eight sectors — technology and communications, health and hospital services, environmental services, property management, manufacturing, transportation, northern services and real estate development. These companies operate in the north, throughout southern Canada and internationally. Many are joint ventures often with non-Indigenous corporate partners. One of the IDC successful joint ventures is a holding company called NorTerra owned in partnership with the Nunasi Corp., representing the Inuit of Nunavut. The company leaves both groups well position to participate in the much anticipated rebirth of the oil and gas industry. Gary Lamphier writing in the Edmonton Journal says

> The massive project would, in turn, spur demand for air travel and marine transportation throughout the North — services NorTerra is ideally positioned to provide through its subsidiaries, Canadian North Airlines and Northern Transportation Co. Ltd. (Lamphier 2003)

These expectations led NorTerra president Carmen Loberg to say, "I hate to make projections. But with the opportunities that are out there, we should be a $300-million to $350-million company within five years" (Lamphier 2003). Revenues in 2002 were $239 million.

The Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation

The Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation was formed in 1985. The IPC began operations by purchasing shares in two small publicly-traded companies. The IPC grew steadily through the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1994, the IPC sold all its oil and gas assets except for one property in northwest Alberta. "IPC received a total price of $83.4 million[,] which after the deduction of all associated costs, resulted in an extraordinary profit of $29.5 million. This extraordinary gain is very notable as it was realized for the Inuvialuit on an equity investment of $11.9 million" (ICG 1998, p. 2). As a result of the sale of its oil and gas assets, the company ended 1994 with a $50 million investment portfolio to be used "to investigate internally generated oil and gas prospects, pursue acquisition opportunities and finance ongoing commitments for Inuvialuit benefits" (ICG 1998, p. 2).

In 1995, IPC purchased off the assets of Omega Hydrocarbons and formed Inuvialuit Energy Inc., a joint venture 60% owned by the IPC. The IPC's strategy has been successful. In 1997, the company reported a profit of $5.6 million on revenues of almost $29.6 million. Profit in 1996 was $4.2 million. In 1999, the IPC sold its interest in Inuvialuit Energy Inc. Proceeds from this sale were added to those from earlier sales and invested in a portfolio of marketable securities. This portfolio earned $2.1 million in 2000. IPC's strategy is to "hold the marketable securities in anticipation of opportunities to participate in discoveries on Inuvialuit lands within five years" (ICG 2001, p. 25). With the resurgence of interest in petroleum and natural gas resources of the Beaufort Sea and the renewed interest in the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, this strategy has borne fruit. Indeed, following the announcement by Imperial Oil Resources Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Mobil Oil Canada and Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. of the rebirth of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline project, Aboriginal leaders representing the Inuvialuit, the Sahtu, the Gwich'in and the Deh Cho, met in Fort Laird and Fort Simpson. As a result of these meetings,

the Aboriginal Pipeline Group (APG) was formed in June of 2000. Much more will be said about this and events since later in this paper.

Socioeconomic Impact of the Inuvialuit Corporate Group

Together the companies of the Inuvialuit Corporate Group made a considerable contribution to the Inuvialuit people since the settlement. For example, according to the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation Annual Reports, the beneficiaries' equity rose to $299.3 million in 2004 from $283.5 million 2003. The ICG (including its business subsidiaries) earned a combined profit of $18.5 million in 2004 compared to $15.5 million in 2003. The 2004 profit was earned on revenues of $199.4 million. Revenues in 2003 were $170.8 million. Revenues, after tax profit and beneficiaries' equity from earlier years are presented in Table 1. The performance over the 10 years between 1995 and 2002 has been impressive, resulting in a 117% increase in beneficiaries' equity. During this same period the ICG also distributed $11.6 million in dividends to beneficiaries.

Table 2 provides more detail about payments from the ICG companies. In earning its 2002 profits (the latest year for which a full set of figures is available), the ICG paid out at almost $11 million in wages and salaries to Inuvialuit people, $627,783 in honorariums, provided student financial support of $307,858, made payments to elders of $456,500, distributed $1.3 million in dividends to beneficiaries, paid $672,534 to Community Corporations and made almost $800,000 in payments to various community groups and individuals. In total, the ICG

Table 1. Inuvialuit Corporate Group's Revenue, Profit and Net Assets ($000)

	2004	*2003*	*2002*	*2001*	*2000*	*1999*	*1998*	*1997*	*1996*	*1995*
Revenue	199,386	170,800	203,982	183,615	277,187	159,188	133.296	146,283	130,285	87,736
Profit	18,499	17,523	3,641	(1,035)	52,464	5,635	7,974	12,581	11,255	(18,496)
Beneficiaries' equity	299,313	283,458	267,545	265,682	269,691	212,474	209,423	211,958	168,553	137,922
Dividends to Beneficiaries	2,347	1,341	1,313	2,702	568	1,195	1,332	820	none	none

Source: Inuvialuit Regional Corporation Annual Reports

Table 2. Inuvialuit Corporate Group's Contribution to Communities and Individuals

	2004	*2003*	*2002*	*2001*	*2000*	*1999*	*1998*	*1997*	*1996*
Wages and Salaries	n/a	n/a	10,926	9,514	8,977	8,042	6,058	6,158	4,096
Honoraria	n/a	n/a	628	557	527	603	638	526	399
Student Financial Support	366	360	308	283	197	191	207	342	335
Payments to Elders	297	268	457	454	369	397	462	495	756
Dividends to Beneficiaries	2,347	1,341	1,313	2,702	568	1,195	1,332	820	11,618
Community Corporations	679	595	708	777	390	390	390	390	390
Other Payments	n/a	n/a	761	351	577	304	285	146	175
Total	3,689	2,564	15,101	14,638	11,605	11,122	9,372	8,877	6,151

Source: Inuvialuit Regional Corporation Annual Reports

provided almost $15.1 million to Inuvialuit individuals, groups and communities, at least $5 million of which was paid to individuals and communities for non-business (i.e. social) purposes. This is a considerable increase over the already impressive $14.7 million paid out in 2001 and $11.6 million in 2000. In total, between 1996 and 2004, the ICG gas contributed $83.1 million dollars to communities and individuals, and this includes only partial figure for the final two years. If salaries in 2003 and 2004 are at least similar to 2002, this amount will rise to well over $100 million for the nine years. In the case of the Inuvialuit, a just settlement of land claims has provided the capital for entrepreneurship and business development and contributed to the rebuilding of the Inuvialuit 'Nation' by preserving the Inuvialuit culture, identity and values within a changing northern society.

As a result of their land claim settlement, land holdings, and their impressive accomplishments since the dawning of the new millennium, saw the Inuvialuit well positioned to participate in the petroleum and natural gas development of the north in partnership with corporations and governments as anticipated by Justice Berger, resulting in a far different interplay among the actors and relationships depicted in Figure 1 (our theoretical perspective on Aboriginal communities in the global economy) than was present during the Berger Inquiry. The same is true of two other groups, the Sahtu and the Gwich'in both with settled land claims. The fourth major group in the region, the Deh Cho, have not signed a land claim agreement. As a result, the unfolding relationship and interactions between the Deh Cho and the other actors in the model can be expected to differ from those of the Inuvialuit, Sahtu and the Gwich'in, as well from the relationship that existed in the 1970s.

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement saw the Inuvialuit obtain the rights to subsurface resources. These lands and subsurface resources are managed by the Inuvialuit Land Administration. In 2002, the Inuvialuit Land Administration received 54 applications from petroleum exploration companies for use of Inuvialuit lands, resulting in over $2.4 million revenue. One of these applications involved a geotechnical investigation in preparation for a Mackenzie Valley pipeline (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation: Geotechnic).

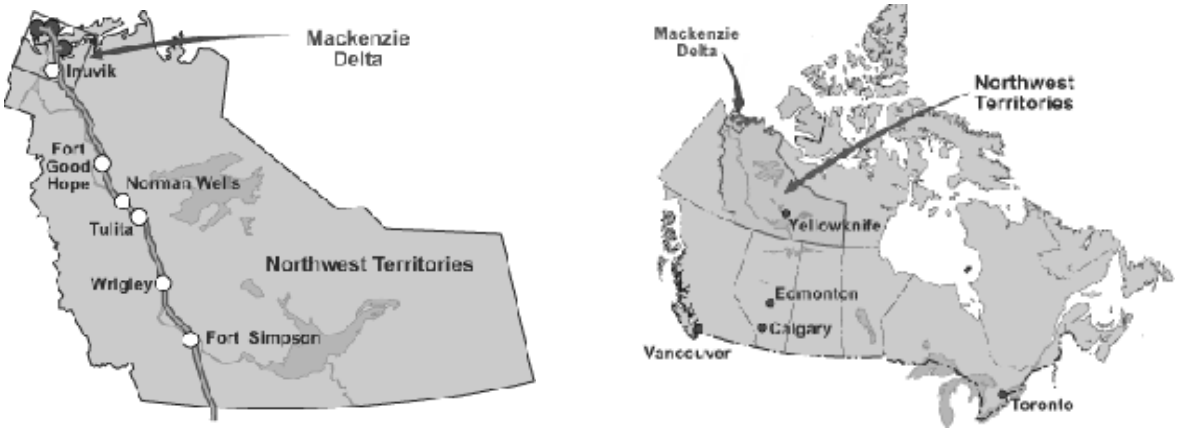
6. THE MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE, ACT 2

The end of the 20th Century saw a rebirth of interest in the energy resources of northern Canada and Alaska, and a pipeline to bring these resources south to the American market. The reasons were threefold: (i) constantly increasing demand and resulting record-breaking prices; (ii) "technological advances in pipeline construction and drilling have significantly reduced the cost of tapping the resource"; and, most importantly, (iii) the fact that "native land claims — the main stumbling block to the pipeline dreams of the 1970s — have, for the most part, been resolved" (Bergman 2000). The implications of the qualifying phrase "for the most part" will turn out to be significant in the story that unfolds.

Act 2 of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline saga began in February 2000 when four of Canada's largest energy companies — Imperial Oil Resources Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Mobil Oil Canada and Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. — launched a joint study into the feasibility of developing and transporting Mackenzie Delta gas though a pipeline to southern markets. This prompted proponents of an alternative route — Westcoast Energy Inc. and TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. — to announce that they re-evaluating their Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd. Project first proposed in the 1970s that would take Alaskan natural gas southward along the Alaska highway route through the Yukon, British Columbia and Alberta to the United States. With proponents of each, these two routes have been seen as rivals by many, particularly governments and communities, seeking to stay ahead of the other. Interestingly this is not so for corporations involved, notably TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. as they are involved in both projects. In the remainder of this section the focus will be on the Mackenzie Valley route, but it is important to recognize that one of the factors pushing forward the Mackenzie Valley route is the spectre of the competing Alaska Highway route.

Following the announcement by Imperial Oil Resources Ltd., Shell Canada Ltd., Mobil Oil Canada and Gulf Canada Resources Ltd., 30 Aboriginal leaders (representing the Inuvialuit, the Sahtu, the Gwich'in and the Deh Cho) met in Fort Laird and Fort Simpson. As a result of

Figure 3. Proposed Pipeline Route



these meetings, the Aboriginal Pipeline Group (APG) was formed in June of 2000. The first three have signed on as full members of the APG, while the Deh Cho have chosen to sit out until they sort out a land claim and self-government initiative with the federal government (Cattaneo 2004).

According to the APG's brochure

> The main reason for creating APG was to offer a new model for Aboriginal participation in the developing economy, to maximize ownership and benefits from a proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline and to support greater independence and self-reliance among Aboriginal people. (APG 2004, p. 1)

In 2000, the APG received $500,000 from the government of the Northwest Territories to develop a business plan for achieving these ends. They did so. The central feature of the plan is for the group to acquire a one-third equity interest in the pipeline. The full cost for this one-third interest is expected to be $1-billion.

Negotiations between the APG and the corporations culminated in an agreement announced on June 19, 2004. According to Claudia Cattaneo writing in the National Post:

> The deal calls for the APG to receive an annual dividend of $1.8-million for the next 20 years if no new reserves are found and the pipeline carries 800 million cubic feet of natural gas a day, increasing to $8.1-million after 20 years, when debt is paid off.
>
> If significant reserves are found and the pipeline is built to move, for example, 1.5 billion cubic feet a day, the APG would receive an annual dividend of $21.2-million, increasing to $125.8-million after 20 years.
>
> The other major APG goals are to have a say in the way the pipeline is developed, and to have the highest possible aboriginal participation in its construction and operation. (Cattaneo 2004)

While the negotiations went on for almost three years, the corporations never had any objection to the APG becoming a full partner in the project. Indeed the companies actively courted them, considering their participation key to a successful project — so very different than the corporate attitude at the time of the Berger Inquiry. All the parties sought a business-to-business relationship of equals. It was the APG's ability, or rather inability, to finance their

share of the $250-million cost of the first phase of the project that caused the delay. The group needed to raise $80-million. Ottawa refused to help APG. So APG turned to the private sector. TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. agreed to loan the APG $80-million which was to be repaid from pipeline revenues. The way in which the $80-million was finally secured also serves to further illustrate a fundamental change from the 1970s. TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. a proponent of the Alaska route was and is also a supporter of the Mackenzie Valley route. Gas from the Mackenzie Delta will feed into the company's existing pipeline network, increasing utilization and reducing costs to shippers (Cattaneo and Haggett 2003). The company also has a long-standing and sophisticated interest in, and history of, working with Aboriginal groups as captured by Hope Henderson:

> With pipeline and power facilities now within 50 km of more than 150 Aboriginal communities, TransCanada realizes a significant business advantage by nurturing long-term relationships with its "First neighbours." In 2001, a Corporate Aboriginal Relations Policy was adopted, which outlines commitments to employment, business opportunities and educational support through scholarships and work experience. (Henderson 2003)

Consistent with this approach and in its own interest,

> TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. will lend the aboriginal group $80-million so it can pay its share of funding for the project definition phase. The gas producers group, which also includes ConocoPhillips, Shell Canada Ltd. and Exxon Mobil Corp., has agreed to give the pipeline firm an option to buy 5% of their equity stake in the pipeline. (Cattaneo and Haggett 2003)

The agreement negotiated between the APG, the pipeline corporations and TransCanada is another reflection of the changing relationship between Aboriginal communities, corporations and governments in the new economy as captured below:

> "We're very excited that this has been done by the private sector and that the corporations have seen that its part of their role to work with the aboriginal community," said Indian Affairs minister Robert Nault in an interview. "We've been in Washington talking about the Alaska line and arguing that market-distorting subsidies aren't acceptable. This shows that we walk the talk." (Haggett 2003)

At the same time as the Aboriginal Pipeline Group and the corporations were negotiating their agreement, the Deh Cho was seeking a land claim agreement with the federal government. Almost 40% of the proposed pipeline route is on lands claimed by the Deh Cho. Such lands have a legal connotation — Aboriginal title — which means that the developers must deal with the Deh Cho question The pipeline corporations called on Ottawa to reach a land claims agreement which, the corporation believed, would resolve the pipeline corridor issue. On April 17, 2003, the federal government and the Deh Cho reached an interim Resource Development Agreement that will last for 5 years or until a final land claims agreement is reached. Under the terms of the interim agreement, each year the federal government will set aside on behalf of the Deh Cho a certain percentage of the royalties collected from the Mackenzie Valley. The amount will be paid out to the Deh Cho when a final agreement is concluded. In the interim the Deh Cho will be able to access up 50% of the total each year (maximum $1,000,000) for economic development. As part of the agreement, 70,000 square miles of Deh Cho claimed lands will be set aside as part of a system of protected areas, while "50 per cent of the 210,000 square kilometres [of] the land with Aboriginal title will remain open to oil, gas and mining development, subject to [the] terms and conditions set out by the aboriginal group" (Canadian Press 2003). Environmental groups praised the deal. The World Wildlife Federation called it a "tremendous achievement." The group has awarded the Deh Cho and the federal government the Gift to the Earth, an international conservation honour for environmental efforts of global significance.

With the interim agreement in place, the pipeline project should move forward to the next stage, environmental review. But such has not been the case. By November of 2003, the Deh Cho were threatening to seek a court injunction to halt the review an approval process "unless the government renegotiates the terms

of the process to include Deh Cho representation. 'Decisions are being made without us. We should be able to have input just like the rest of the regions,' [those with settled land claims] said Keyna Norwegian, chief of the Liidlii Kue band in Fort Simpson" (VanderKlippe 2003). VanderKlippe goes on to say that there is a strongly held belief among the Deh Cho that "protecting traditional areas is more important than using their land to transport Arctic gas. 'We're pretty rich in our own resources,' said Norwegian. 'We can live without the pipeline.'" They have allies among the environmental groups who have serious concerns about the project, including risk to the already threatened Bathhurst caribou herd, the stability of the pipeline in permafrost under conditions of global warming, risk to the 500 rivers that the pipeline must cross, and a general resistance to ongoing reliance on petrochemicals. The dispute remained unresolved as of June 6, 2004 (Weber 2004) when this solution collapsed. The Deh Cho thought they had reached an agreement in May that would give them a seat on the review board. The federal negotiator's view of that agreement differed. His understanding was that the agreement reached examined ways in which the Deh Cho could participate. Chief Norwegian of the Deh Cho accused the regulators of reneging on an agreement and the impasse continues (Weber 2004).

7. THE MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE, ACT 3

On January 25, 2006, the National Energy Board commenced its public hearings into the application of Imperial Oil Resource Ventures Ltd. for permission to construct and operate the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. The National Energy Board is concerned about the project's economic, safety, and technical issues. Two weeks later, on February 14, a seven-member Joint Review Panel commenced parallel hearings into environmental, socio-economic and cultural issues. The Inuvialuit, Sahtu and the Gwich'in are involved in these hearings, hoping that there will be an early start to construction. As part owners of the proposed gas pipeline, their past efforts established a partnership with the developers succeeded. As owners of the AGP, their relationship with government has been similar to that of their non-Aboriginal corporate partners, namely a relationship of applicant to regulator.

For the Deh Cho, they wish to be a full partner in the project, but only after their land and other rights have been recognized and entrenched. With little progress on the Deh Cho claim, the Mackenzie Gas Project appeared stalled. However, in April 2003, Ottawa announced the Resource Development Agreement that was designed to bridge the Deh Cho concerns. Thus, the project could reach its first phase, namely the National Energy Board hearings before their land claims are settled. Accordingly, the Deh Cho will receive access to funds each year for economic development projects. In 2005, the agreement provided nearly $1-million for Deh Cho firms to undertake both large and small economic development projects within the lands claimed by Deh Cho.

8. Conclusion

Much has changed over the past forty years. The theoretical framework for interpreting these changes fit best within the contingency theory. The factors supporting the contingency perspective related to the powers now expressed by local forces as opposed to global ones. First, many land claims have been settled. Second, as a result of these settlements, Aboriginal organizations that emerged have elected to engage in the market economy. Third, companies are perfectly prepared — maybe even eager — to have the Aboriginal groups participate as equal equity partners in the Mackenzie Gas Project. Nellie Cournoyea, Chair of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, expressed this new business climate as "the biggest change since the 1970s is that the oil and gas industry realizes aboriginal people are an integral part of development, and that they must receive a fair share of resource revenue and have the opportunity to invest directly in pipelines and offshoot businesses" (Bergman 2000). Fred Carmichael, President of the Gwich'in Tribal Council and Chairman of the Aboriginal Pipeline Group summed it all up by saying "We're ready," at the opening of the National Energy Board Hearings (Jarmeko 2006). Fourth, the environmental and social concerns about pipeline development trampling fragile northern environments and Aboriginal set-

tlements that, in the 1970s, lacked the strength to protect traditional livelihoods and lifestyles no longer exist. As Thomas Berger stated in his remarks to Edmonton Journal reporter Gordon Jaremko (2006):

> The recommendations I made have been carried out. How events unfold in an area as dynamic as the Mackenzie Valley will depend on the people of the Mackenzie Valley. I'm confident they'll decide what's in their best interests.

The shift in relationship between the Aboriginal groups, especially the Inuvialuit, Sahtu and the Gwich'in, and environmental groups deserves attention. Aboriginal groups and environmentalist were strong allies during the Berger days. Now the Inuvialuit, Sahtu and the Gwich'in are proponents of the project. Environmental representatives are not. The position of the Deh Cho is somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, this First Nation has accepted the interim agreement which permits the Mackenzie Gas Project to proceed to the National Energy Board Hearings. On the other hand, the Deh Cho are still very focused on environment issues as part of their land claim and still seek the environmental groups as allies in their land claim negotiations. As the National Energy Board Hearing proceed, the position of the Deh Cho will be critical. While they are not opposed in principle to economic development, they wish to control such development within the framework of their comprehensive land claim agreement. If the Deh Cho becomes dissatisfied with the Resource Development Agreement, the gas pipeline project could be in trouble.

REFERENCES

Anderson Robert B, Ron Camp II, Jean-Marie Nkongolo-Bakenda, Leo Paul Dana, Ana Maria Peredo & Benson Honig. (2005) "Indigenous Land Rights in Canada: The Foundation for Development?" *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business* 2(2): 104–133.

APG. (2004). *Aboriginal Pipeline Group Brochure*, Inuvik, APG.

Berger, Thomas. (1977). "The Probable Economic Impact of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline" in J. Rick Ponting (ed.), *The Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Bone, Robert M. (2003). *The Geography of the Canadian North: Challenges and Issues.* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Bergman, B. (2000). "From new pipe dreams," *MacLeans*, July 17, p. 34.

Canadian Press. (2003). "Natives Sign Land Deal," *Regina Leader Post*, April 19, p. D7.

Cattaneo, C. (2004). "Pipeline plan key to aboriginal economy: Mackenzie regulatory filing to mark watershed," *National Post*, July 26, p. FP.1.

Cattaneo, C., and Haggett, S. (2003). "Mackenzie pipeline deal struck: TCPL, aboriginals, oilpatch reach pact over Arctic gas," *National Post*, June 19, p. FP.3.

Corbridge, S. (1989). "Post-Marxism and development studies: Beyond the impasse," *World Development* 18(5): 623–639.

Henderson, H. (2003). "Plan for Boosting Aboriginal Employment: TransCanada's new Aboriginal HR strategy supplies talent pipeline," *Canadian HR Reporter*, 16(22) (December 15): 10.

ICG. (1997). Inuvialuit Corporate Group: 1996 Annual Report. Inuvik: Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

ICG. (1998). Inuvialuit Corporate Group: 1997 Annual Report. Inuvik: Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

ICG. (1999). Inuvialuit Corporate Group: 1998 Annual Report. Inuvik: Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

ICG. (2000). Inuvialuit Corporate Group: 1999 Annual Report. Inuvik: Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

ICG. (2001). Inuvialuit Corporate Group: 2000 Annual Report. Inuvik: Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

ICG. (2002). Inuvialuit Corporate Group: 2001 Annual Report. Inuvik: Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

ICG. (2003). Inuvialuit Corporate Group: 2002 Annual Report. Inuvik: Inuvialuit Corporate Group.

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation: Distribution Payments 2005: http://www.irc.inuvialuit.com/inuvialuit/irc-website.nsf/AllDoc/5356CED5E24A7A4C87256E84006CEB93?OpenDocument.

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation: Geotechnic. http://www.irc.inuvialuit.com/inuvialuit/irc-website.nsf/0/018379D5B17DE86887256DEC00785938?OpenDocument.

Jaremko, Gordon, (2006). 'Bring on the pipeline, job-starved Arctic says', The Edmonton Journal, January 26, 2006: http://www.canada.com/edmontonjournal/news/story.html?id=b15a83f5-ec58-4070-baae-0a7c9d9871a9&k=78474.

Lamphier, Gary. (2003). "Inuit-Owned Transport Firm Foresees Huge Spinoffs From Pipeline," *Edmonton Journal* June 4, p. G1.

Page, Robert. (1986). *Northern Development: The Canadian Dilemma*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Tucker, V. (1999). "The myth of development: A critique of a Eurocentric discourse" in Ronald Munck and Denis O'Hearn (eds.), *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm*, pp. 1–26. London: Zed Books.

Usher, Peter J. (2002). "Inuvialuit Use of the Beaufort Sea and its Resource, 1960–2000," *Arctic* 55(Supp. 1): 18–28.

Usher, Peter J. (1993). "Northern Development, Impact Assessment and Social Change," in James B. Waldram and Noel Dyck (eds.), *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

VanderKlippe, N. (2003). "Bickering could kill pipeline, warns aboriginal group leader," *Edmonton Journal*, November 20, p. H.1.

Weber, B. (2004). "Aboriginals demand say in pipeline," *Leader Post* (Regina, Sask.), June 16, p. B.6.

CULTURE AND POWER IN THE WORKPLACE
Aboriginal Women's Perspectives on Practices to Increase Aboriginal Inclusion in Forest Processing Mills

Suzanne Mills and Tyler McCreary

I. INTRODUCTION

Forestry has grown to be an important component of Aboriginal economic development initiatives. The majority (80 to 85 percent) of Aboriginal communities in Canada are situated in forested regions where isolation often precludes many forms of economic development (Parsons & Prest, 2003). In this context, forest activities have been proposed as a viable solution to the economic difficulties of Aboriginal communities in the provincial norths. Many of Canada's commercial forests lie on Aboriginal lands, both recognized and unrecognized, and Aboriginal peoples have increasingly sought and gained control over forest lands (Notzke, 1994). Ensuring that the economic benefits of forestry and of the forests are distributed to Aboriginal peoples has thus become an imperative for the business community and government. Aboriginal involvement in the forest industry has varied from full or partial ownership of forest enterprises, to special management agreements, to hiring initiatives of non-Aboriginal owned forest companies. From the perspectives of many First Nations Bands, Tribal Councils and other Aboriginal parties, improving the economic well being of their members through increased employment opportunities has often been an intended outcome from forestry development initiatives (Anderson, 1999; National Aboriginal Forestry Association [NAFA], 1994; Parsons & Prest, 2003).

Literature on Aboriginal economic development, while addressing forestry initiatives, has paid little attention to the success of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal owned forestry firms' efforts to hire and retain Aboriginal employees. Despite the increased participation of Aboriginal people in the forest industry as a whole, Aboriginal people have continued to be under-represented in forest processing employment, particularly in management and professional occupations (Mills, submitted). This paper examines practices implemented by forest processing firms to increase retention of Aboriginal employees in the

Suzanne Mills, PhD candidate, University of Saskatchewan; Tyler McCreary, M.A. student in Geography, University of Saskatchewan.

workplace from the perspective of Aboriginal women workers.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Research has suggested that Aboriginal workers face more challenges obtaining and retaining their jobs than non-Aboriginal workers. One comprehensive study of a firm that was having difficulty retaining Aboriginal workers found that in comparison to non-Aboriginal workers, Aboriginal workers felt that they were: held to higher performance standards, more closely scrutinized, less likely to be promoted, more likely to be blamed for difficulties, and less likely to be recognized for successes (Mulligan, 2001). In addition, Aboriginal workers felt that management participated in discrimination and harassment towards Aboriginal workers and that the union did not consistently represent their interests. Aboriginal workers also reported that there was no understanding of time needed for funerals, no acknowledgment of important Aboriginal holidays and that there was not anyone who understood Aboriginal issues and concerns who they could go to.

Firms and governments have introduced a wide range of organizational changes to support Aboriginal attraction and retention (Domvile, 2005; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2003; Kennedy, 1999). Proposed strategies have included both measures that focus on making organizations more aware of and responsive to Aboriginal culture (sensitivity to deaths in the extended family, culturally appropriate days off, flexible work arrangements, cultural awareness training for managers and other workers), and measures that address racism and inequality experienced by Aboriginal workers (ensuring that Aboriginal people have equal opportunity for promotion, enforcing discrimination and harassment policy). Best practice models of Aboriginal inclusion have also often recommended mechanisms to acquire Aboriginal input such as exit interviews and Aboriginal worker committees.

The outcome-oriented nature of the above work has impeded a deeper examination of Aboriginal inclusion practices themselves. Literature from other disciplines, such as education, has remained divided in terms of how Aboriginal inclusion should be achieved. The cultural revitalization literature has supported the integration of Aboriginal culture into institutional practices as the route to empowering Aboriginal people. However, this emphasis has been challenged by others who have asserted the primacy of dealing with structural issues of inequality.

Colonization de-valued Aboriginal people as a race and culturally inferior to the dominant non-Aboriginal culture. Theorists, such as Marie Battiste (2000), have asserted the importance of reclaiming the value of Aboriginal culture in order to create strong independent Aboriginal identities. Similarly, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP] (1996) recognized that "[c]ultural education and awareness will be vital to the rediscovery and revitalization of an Aboriginal nation. The objective of these activities and processes is to build strength and self-esteem." Institutions, such as schools and workplaces, can participate in this process of cultural revitalization by reconstituting themselves as multicultural settings, thereby empowering Aboriginal people. As Battiste (1994, 2000) has indicated, this requires more than an additive approach. The dominant culture underlying everyday practices needs to be called into question and de-centred. Unfortunately, as Verna St. Denis (2004) has described, the incorporation of Aboriginal culture has often emphasized alleged Aboriginal cultural differences at the cost of challenging the structure of racism.

Focusing on Aboriginal cultural difference holds the risk of shifting the emphasis from racist practices to assumed characteristics of Aboriginality. While culture is a vast and constantly shifting matrix of knowledge, beliefs, art, values, and customs of a people, Aboriginal culture is often constructed as homogenous and unchanging (St. Denis, 2004). This cultural difference exists as an object disconnected from the contemporary cultural practices of many Aboriginal people. Thirty years ago, Vine Deloria (1969, p. 92) critiqued this notion of the authentic traditional Indian, writing, "Real problems and real people become invisible before the great romantic notion." Emphasizing culture can make solutions to racial inequity appear deceptively simple: all that needs to be done is to educate workforces about, and implement policies to accommodate, Aboriginal cultural difference. Further, in casting inclusion as an issue of the compatibility of Aboriginal culture rather than as a product of unjust practices of racial

domination, the cause of unequal distributions of power is obscured (Schick & St. Denis, 2005).

Structural inequality refers to the uneven distribution of material resources and power within an institution. This is intimately related to the culture of a workplace, and to racism. Examples of structural inequalities include discrimination in hiring and promotions, uneven application of workplace rules, as well as the cumulative impacts of subtle everyday exclusions and discriminations from co-workers and management (Essed, 2002). Structural inequality overlaps with cultural difference through cultural racism. Rather than referring to biology, cultural racism discriminates against people on the basis of cultural difference (either real or imagined). However, in this essay, we delineate cultural difference from structural inequality resulting from racism. We use cultural difference to refer to company practices towards Aboriginal inclusion that address imagined or real Aboriginal cultural differences and structural inequality to denote company practices that aim to address historical and present structural inequalities.

In this paper we examine how Aboriginal women working in the forestry processing mills talked about company practices of Aboriginal inclusion based on cultural difference and structural inequality. Of particular interest to us was how Aboriginal women workers spoke about company practices of Aboriginal inclusion based on cultural difference and structural inequality and how these related to feelings of empowerment in the workplace.

III. METHODS

This research formed part of a larger study that interviewed 40 women working in forest processing firms located in the northern prairies. Of these women, 12 self identified as being of Cree, Métis or Dene ancestry. This paper is based on interviews with these 12 women who worked across five different forest processing mills.

Our sample of Aboriginal women workers presents a preliminary look at often neglected voices within the forest sector. Aboriginal women consist of a small portion of total forest processing workers, comprising 2%, or approximately 335 of the 17,150 forest processing workers across Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba in 2001 (Mills 2006 unpublished data). Since our research only represents a small proportion of this population (3.6%), this research cannot be presumed to represent the population of Aboriginal women working in forest processing mills. Rather, through a deeper exploration of how these particular women discussed Aboriginal inclusion in the workplace, we examined the ways that some Aboriginal women responded to the question of Aboriginal inclusion in terms of incorporating cultural difference and changing structural inequalities in the workplace.

Semi-structured interviews with Aboriginal women probed for the strategies that the firm had taken to represent the interests of Aboriginal workers. Questions asked what the firm could do to represent Aboriginal culture in the workplace, the challenges facing Aboriginal workers and how the firm represented Aboriginal workers. The women were also asked whether they had experienced discrimination and harassment, and whether they thought challenges and opportunities in the workplace (in terms of promotion, hiring, and retaining their job) were different for Aboriginal workers.

We examined the women's responses to these questions by categorizing the different practices discussed (both those that were emergent and those that were asked about directly) as either based on cultural difference or on structural inequality. We then examined the text to determine whether the women talked about the practices in a positive or negative way. We used textually-based discourse analysis. This involved exploring both the content and the action of the women's talk in response to questions about Aboriginal culture in the workplace. The action of the talk refers to how what is said functions to create meaning. According to Norman Fairclough (2003), there are three analytically separable elements involved in the processes of meaning-making. These are the production of the text (focus on the speaker), the text itself (the instance of language), and the reception of the text (focus on the listener). Thus, as researchers, to try to understand meaning we need to account for our positions as researchers, the position of research subjects, and how the relations between researchers and subjects play out in the text.

We approached this project as non-Aboriginal researchers seeking to understand and challenge racism. While we cannot discount the

impact that our social location as non-Aboriginal researchers has had on our research (St. Denis & Schick, 2003), we have also had the freedom to expose ourselves to the writings of the racially oppressed in what Hurtado and Stewart (1997) refer to as cross-over politics. In this way, we can begin to gain an (incomplete) understanding of and sensitivity to marginalized subject positions as interviews serve as a point of translation across racial and class boundaries (Best, 2003). In our transcripts, the interviewer sought explanation of terms at points during the interviews, but even more tellingly the participants sometimes tried to ensure mutual understanding with phrases such as "do you understand."

The Aboriginal women's representations of workplace inclusion and exclusion did not only reflect their varied perspectives as Aboriginal people, but also their positions as women. Since both women and Aboriginal people were underrepresented in forest processing mills, Aboriginal women comprised a particularly small proportion of workers. Yoder (2002) used the notion of tokenism to describe the greater visibility of marginalized groups when they form a small minority in the workplace. According to Yoder, the outcomes of tokenism for marginalized groups have included social isolation, increased stress and a higher pressure to perform. Furthermore, for women of colour in male-dominated workplaces, the intersection of race and gender led to different experiences of tokenism from non-Aboriginal women (Yoder & Berendsen, 2001). The experiences of the Aboriginal women in this study thus likely differed from those of Aboriginal men and from non-Aboriginal women, two groups who are sometimes able to use their status as men to pass as non-Aboriginal (see Henry, in press) or their status as non-Aboriginal to pass as men. It is from this intersectional position, disadvantaged by race and gender, that Aboriginal women workers conveyed their understanding of workplace inclusion policies for Aboriginal people.

Through the interviews, participants acted to translate their stories across race and class divides to researchers to voice their concerns to a larger audience. Our own research goals were to work to understand and represent marginalized voices in the workplace. Examining some of the constructions of corporate inclusion strategies employed by Aboriginal women provided an alternative lens through which to understand company practices.

IV. RESULTS

For the Aboriginal women interviewed both structural inequality and cultural inclusion initiatives were important. Although the importance placed on having Aboriginal culture represented in the workplace varied among the women, addressing structural inequality was important to almost all of the women interviewed. In both cases, however, redistributing power to Aboriginal workers was understood as integral to the practice's success.

In response to questions about the inclusion of Aboriginal interests and culture in the workplace, the women described firm practices that they had experienced and those that they thought would be beneficial. These included both practices based on Aboriginal cultural difference and those that intended to address structural inequality (Table 1). There was no clear correspondence between a focus on cultural difference or structural inequalities and whether practices were described in a positive or negative fashion. Instead, how practices were conceived and implemented often determined how they were discussed by the women interviewed. As a result, some practices were described both in a positive and a negative light such as Aboriginal worker committees and Aboriginal awareness training sessions.

Eight out of 12 women talked about practices addressing Aboriginal cultural difference in the workplace positively. Favourable accounts of the incorporation of Aboriginal culture in the workplace were often situations where Aboriginal people had control over their implementation. Suggestions of practices that were or would be beneficial included worker controlled initiatives to invite Elders to the mill, having Aboriginal Day off, and employment contracts that allowed for the importance of extended family in relation to bereavement leave. More negative renditions of practices to include Aboriginal culture in the workplace included presentations by non-Aboriginal experts, the use of Aboriginal employees to sell the company as culturally aware, and decision making that contradicts company's policies.

Table 1. Women's discussions of firm practices (both desired and experienced) and whether they described them in positive ways or saw them as negative or tokenistic.

	Positive	*Negative*
Cultural difference	1. Culturally appropriate employment contracts • 41 bereavement leave that includes extended family [4, 14, 18, 37] • 42 Aboriginal day off [10, 14, 37, 38, 40] 2. Aboriginal worker controlled incorporations of Aboriginal culture [4, 14, 36, 37] 3. Flexibility to accommodate worker's personal circumstances [14, 18, 36, 37]	1. Cultural awareness sessions led by non-Aboriginal managers, or external experts [2, 14] 2. Asking Aboriginal people to represent the company at career fairs or events as an Aboriginal face [10] 3. Promotion of pro-Aboriginal and family friendly culture without follow through [4, 26, 37, 38]
Structural inequality	1. Having Aboriginal managers/promoting Aboriginal people [4, 10, 14, 24, 37] 2. No discrimination from employers [2, 8, 18, 26, 36, 37, 38] 3. Worker committee to address issues pertaining to Aboriginal workers [26, 40] 4. Address racism among workers [2, 26]	1. Not being listened to • 41 Aboriginal committee with no power [10] • 42 No voice in day to day operations [14, 37] 2. Discrimination and harassment policy not enforced [10, 36, 37].

In the context of working in mills that were often unfriendly for Aboriginal people, all of the women interviewed felt that practices that addressed structural inequality facing Aboriginal people in the workplace were important. This talk was concerned with practices that addressed racism in the workplace and that ensured that Aboriginal workers were treated without discrimination by employers in hiring, promotion and day to day operations. Similarly, Aboriginal women discussed the lack of enforcement of discrimination and harassment policy, and the passing over of Aboriginal workers for promotion opportunities negatively.

Discourse Analysis

We found three major themes to how our sample of Aboriginal women workers negotiated questions of the inclusion of Aboriginal culture in the workplace. In the first theme, we explored how women variously reported attempts to incorporate Aboriginal cultural difference as empowering and disempowering. It was empowering to incorporate Aboriginal culture when the presenter was someone respected as a cultural authority by the Aboriginal community and the women identified with the version of culture presented. It was disempowering when a non-Aboriginal presenter promoted a version of Aboriginal cultural difference that women did not identify with. This relates to the second theme, that Aboriginal people needed greater power within the mill for appropriate or empowering inclusion of Aboriginal culture to occur. Finally, some women stressed that including cultural difference was less important than addressing fundamental issues of racism and structured inequality in the mill.

Incorporating Cultural Difference as Power

Many individuals now emphasize the role of the revitalization and assertion of distinct Aboriginal culture as key to reconstituting strong independent Aboriginal identities (Batiste 2000). However, the assertion of cultural difference as a source of empowerment depended on the person and the presentation. First, the individual needed to identify both with the version of culture presented and its appropriate incorporation into their workplace. Second, the presentation or activity needed to respect and involve those deemed traditional cultural authorities by Aboriginal people. As the RCAP (1996) stated cultural education and awareness often requires the participation of Aboriginal elders. One woman reflected on an Aboriginal Elder's visit to the mill.

> I: What do you think of that might support cultural values in the workplace?
>
> . . . .
>
> P4: I don't know like when we started up here there was an Elder had come out and blessed the mill here (pause) that was the first time anything had ever been done. One of our new guys, [name] now his wife had mentioned it to him and that's how it came about. I was quite interested as to why they did that all of a sudden. It was pretty good and he was talking to us there, asking if we wanted to, if he wanted to bless us or something like that. I know there were a few guys that went and spoke to him, they were real interested in it. But there had never been anything really around there. That was the first time any Elder had ever come out there, sort of to be in the building.

This response demonstrated the agency of Aboriginal workers to integrate Aboriginal culture into the workplace. The Elder's visit was organized by Aboriginal people, and sensitive to the desires of Aboriginal workers. The Elder consulted with workers about their desires, "asking if we wanted." And during the visit agency is presented as belonging to workers, who "went and spoke to him" and "were real interested." This story illustrated a positive incorporation of Aboriginal culture into the workplace since the event was able to empower Aboriginal workers who were able to shape its occurrence and help determine its direction.

Stressed throughout the narrative was the unusualness of an incorporation of Aboriginal culture into the workplace that respected traditional cultural authorities in the Aboriginal community. The speaker introduced the story as outside of the ordinary, pausing and then stating "that was the first time anything had ever been done." A few sentences later she again emphasized that this incident was a break from the normal pattern since it happened "all of a sudden." And she closed the story as she introduced it, as the "first time." The speaker thus emphasized not only that she felt that having an Elder come to the workplace was a positive incorporation of culture, but also that other practices of cultural awareness had not achieved the same level of respect for Aboriginal culture.

Thus, while many Aboriginal women interviewed were supportive of the inclusion of difference in the form of Aboriginal culture within the workplace, they portrayed the company's version of the incorporation of Aboriginal culture as superficial. Another woman contrasted a presentation on cultural awareness implemented by the managers with an Elder's visit to the mill.

> I: And have you participated in any Aboriginal Awareness Program as an employee at [the mill]?
>
> P14: Well we did have, when I first started there, we did have part of our orientation, cultural and diversity (pause) now they didn't even have an Aboriginal person come in and talk, they had the managers talk about it. It didn't really stick with me. Although when we first opened up again here we did have an Elder come and do a smudge and then when we re-opened they did a smudge too.
>
> I: And how did you feel about that?
>
> P14: I was okay with it.
>
> I: Did you see it as a positive thing?
>
> P14: Oh, yeah I did. There were a few snickers. Especially when there was smudging and stuff, there were a few snickers, like I could hear people behind me thinking, or you know saying like "oh that smells like pot" and I'm thinking "oh well,

> each to their own." I mean I grew up with that, my Dad did stuff like that so.

This woman had reservations about company efforts to promote Aboriginal awareness through manager presentations on diversity. She distinguished between Aboriginal people and managers, and implied that managers lacked the skills and knowledge to discuss Aboriginal culture. The ineffectiveness of the manager presentation to create an inclusive environment was evident with her statement "It didn't really stick with me."

In contrast, an Aboriginal Elder leading a ceremony at the mill was constructed as a more positive incorporation of Aboriginal culture at the mill. The speaker communicated the complexity of how she understood the situation by discussing the negative comments of other workers: the problem of racism, a theme we shall return to again later. She then reinforced importance of this incorporation of Aboriginal culture for her personally by construing it as meaningful through connection to the cultural practices in her family. She, thus, communicated that she had gained personal value from the respectful incorporation of Aboriginal culture, while noting that this did not always occur. Another woman echoed this sentiment of the inclusion of Aboriginal culture as tokenistic.

> I: You said there was some training at the beginning?
>
> P2: Oh yeah, it was cultural sensitivity. They had a speaker come in for three days, an Anthropologist, a non-Aboriginal Anthropologist and there was mixed reactions about it. All the non-Aboriginal people liked it and the Aboriginal people didn't care for it because everybody is supposed to be the same why were they being put out like a special group. And there is a lot of traditional Aboriginal people and then there is a lot of contemporary you know — cultures evolve. They don't stay on the horse, like do you know what I mean? And I know a lot of Aboriginal people were like (pause) it was painful for them. It was like oh please I just want to be treated like everybody else. It was interesting but by holding that and having that it made a statement by the company that racism would not be tolerated, that's what it said. But the methodology was (pause) for me it being a non-Aboriginal anthropologist being an authority [on] Aboriginal Culture, which I always find so Eurocentric. But (pause) again that's just my own opinion.
>
> . . . .
>
> I: So that's all they mentioned was Aboriginals?
>
> P2: Yeah, it was called cultural awareness. This was a guy who has done cultural sensitivity for the RCMP — we know how well aware the RCMP are.
>
> I: The guy that came in, the Anthropologist you mean?
>
> P2: Yeah cause one of our resource guy is an ex RCMP so he knew of this guy because this guy was used for decades for RCMP training, but (pause) no comment.

Again, this speaker placed heavy emphasis on the inappropriateness of having presentations on Aboriginal culture by non-Aboriginal experts. She indicated that the delineation of a non-Aboriginal anthropologist, someone outside the Aboriginal community, as the expert on that community was "Eurocentric." This professional was ever more tainted as "a guy who has done cultural sensitivity for the RCMP," as she sarcastically remarked on the level of awareness or lack thereof among police officers in the prairies. The relationship between the police and Aboriginal people on the prairies is antagonistic and fraught with tension. While Aboriginal people consist of only a small percentage of total population (13% in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and 5% in Alberta, according to 2001 Census figures), they have been grossly over-represented in the justice system (>50%), something researchers have contributed to a complex of factors including age, poverty, and under-education, as well as over-policing (LaPrairie, 1997; Monture-Angus, 1999). In Saskatchewan, there have been several high profile incidents of police mistreatment of Aboriginal people, most prominently the suspected police role in the death of Neil Stonechild (Wright, 2004). The speakers' sensitivity to the inappropriateness of the non-Aboriginal anthropologist highlighted the necessity of greater attentiveness in selecting presenters on Aboriginal culture that are respected by and empowering for Aboriginal people.

Further, the speaker problematized the construction of Aboriginal culture as tied to tradi-

tion. She acknowledged that many Aboriginal people are traditional, but also stated that many have "contemporary" identifications. In clarifying Aboriginal cultural change she challenged predominant constructions of Aboriginal culture, and facilitated racial translation with the non-Aboriginal interviewer, checking "do you know what I mean?" While she acknowledged that by incorporating cultural awareness training the company indicated that Aboriginal people were to be included and that "that racism would not be tolerated," she indicated that the way the session had been carried out was "painful" for Aboriginal people. The presentation dually disregarded local sources of authority on traditional culture and contained Aboriginal people as culturally frozen traditional beings different from non-Aboriginal people. Countering this, she twice emphasized a desire to be treated the same and not different (and inferior).

Having Aboriginal cultural values recognized in the workplace was important to some of the women interviewed. This included religious traditions, such as smudging, and the recognition of different family forms, as well as an appreciation of contemporary cultural events. For Aboriginal women, employment contracts that had been designed by and in the interests of non-Aboriginal male workers and managers did not allow for their different concerns.

Incorporating cultural difference requires power

Reversing the formula of cultural inclusion yielding workplace empowerment, several women described power as integral to the incorporation of Aboriginal culture. Thus, several women suggested that in order to ensure appropriate inclusion and accommodation of Aboriginal culture in the workplace, companies need to give Aboriginal workers greater voice [transcript numbers 4, 10, 14, 24, 26, 37].

> I: Can you think of any other ways that the firm could take Aboriginal interests into consideration when making decisions?
>
> P14: Maybe they should have some Aboriginals sitting in on their meetings so they understand because I think that's a big problem too that they don't understand the Aboriginal culture. Well you know, just. And there are a few fellows there that are very cultural and the lack of knowledge, it's never asked, any information or time or to share anything.

This woman presented a scenario where there was problem of translation between the managers who were non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal workers. Moreover, while the woman was knowledgeable of the company's efforts to improve retention of Aboriginal workers, she believed that Aboriginal workers were not asked about their cultural knowledge. In another woman's account of her experiences participating in an Aboriginal worker's committee set up by the company, she described her feeling of disempowerment and being tokenization by the company.

> I: Have you participated in any other kind of Aboriginal Awareness things?
>
> P10: Through work?
>
> I: Yes.
>
> P10: Um (pause) I have I'm just trying to think of what they are (pause) I'm just trying to think. There is a group that has to do with Aboriginal involvement.... But I went there every two weeks for six months and it was like it was run by management and they weren't there to (pause) well what they said was to get native input about and you know to have a better work place but they really didn't want you to do anything, it's just that to me, and that's why I left it. I left because it was just a front thing, to say that this was going on and we have an Aboriginal committee and we are doing this. But for you to [not] have any authority to do anything.
>
> I: What kind of things would you like them to do?
>
> P10: Well if they are going to have a committee like that it should be run by Aboriginal people that are out there and they should authority to do whatever (pause) set up things in place then (pause) not just go to meetings and we should do this or we're going to this fair, Aboriginal Committee. And then you they say, they have these expos, you know job expos. You get tired of being asked the day before they're having one, because you're an Indian go and work at this fair, career fair. Because then you face them saying, "you are representing us."

> I: Is there anything that you think they could change about that committee that you could have seen the committee doing that would have been helpful to kind of support Aboriginal cultural values in the workplace or?
>
> P10: I think if they would have got rid of all the management people that were in there, that were not Native, because it was more a control thing.

The woman described her frustration with her participation on the diversity awareness committee that she felt that it was "just a front thing," and not about empowerment or workplace change. She indicated the company was not doing enough to address racism in the workplace and that it was also not interested in listening to Aboriginal people to learn how to address these issues. Instead, the company had focused on using her as a company representative token Aboriginal at career fairs. Instead of feeling that she had power to influence the company, the respondent reported feeling that the Aboriginal Committee was being used by the company as a public relations tool. Responding to the question of how the company could support Aboriginal culture, the woman used an overstatement to highlight that the issue was one of "control." Thus, it was not merely the tokenizing of management practices that was the key issue, but rather who controlled the incorporation of Aboriginal culture in the company.

Structural Inequality

The Aboriginal women interviewed stressed that addressing structural inequality in the company was vital to serious Aboriginal inclusion. These included efforts to challenge racial inequalities in the workplace, such as addressing racism or promoting Aboriginal workers into positions of power. One stance taken by several Aboriginal women was that Aboriginal culture did not need to be brought into the workplace in order to have an inclusive workplace [2, 8, 24, 26, 36].

> I: Is there anything that the firm could do to promote, or do you think it would be a good thing to promote any other cultural values in the workplace?
>
> P2: Well, in most situations I think cultural is usually something just like religion so I don't know what steps they have taken.

This Métis speaker implicitly equated Aboriginal culture with traditionalism, and like religion she distinguished it as something out of place at the worksite. Also, in the context of this woman's earlier statement that "cultures evolve," her comparison of Aboriginal culture to religion could be understood to signal that whether Aboriginal people ascribe to notions of Aboriginal cultural difference is an individual choice. The statement "I don't know what steps they've taken" communicated a meaningful ignorance. She did not know what steps the company had taken to incorporate Aboriginal cultural difference because it was not important to her. Her response challenged the suggestion, implied by the interviewer's question, that all Aboriginal people are culturally different.

Following a similar line, when asked how the company could support Aboriginal cultural values, several women answered the question in a way that redirected the focus of the conversation from culture back to questions of the distribution of power within the firm [10, 26, 37, 24]. Thus rather than answer the question about culture, the women stated what they wanted to convey.

> I: And what can you think of that might support Aboriginal cultural values in the workplace?
>
> P24: Well I think first of all, like even if they did have, like someone who was Aboriginal working in management, because I know of people that belong to some of the, like the First Nations and that and who have applied out there but have never been accepted even for a simple secretary job.
>
> . . . .
>
> I: Okay, can you think of anything else that might support cultural values in the workplace, like in an ideal world, what could be in the workplace that would support cultural values?
>
> P24: I don't know.

In her response to a question about Aboriginal cultural values, this woman communicated her frustration with a lack of movement of Aboriginal workers into positions of power, or

even "simple" but desirable positions. When the question about Aboriginal cultural values was reiterated, the woman indicated "I don't know." Her emphasis on issues of structural inequity in the workplace emphasized this as a significant priority for Aboriginal inclusion, while questions of cultural difference were unanswerable and secondary.

It is also interesting to note the interviewer slides in rephrasing the question to ask about support for "cultural values." Here culture was presumed to be only a quality of Aboriginality. While every workplace has some sort of culture, the focus shifts from understanding how the dominant workplace culture operates and excludes, the Aboriginal woman's earlier attempted emphasis, to how the workplace should modify to adapt to the cultural difference of Aboriginal people. Thus, through a subtle move the loci of the problem moves from the workplace to the culturally different Aboriginal worker. But Aboriginal women continually articulated that the problem was not their inherent cultural difference as much as structural workplace exclusion. Aboriginal women emphasized that for the firm to adequately represent Aboriginal interests, Aboriginal people needed to be empowered within the workplace through promotion to positions of power and through other mechanisms to increase the input of Aboriginal workers (such as Aboriginal committees where Aboriginal people have voice).

V. CONCLUSION

The results of this exploratory study suggest that effective Aboriginal inclusion can take various forms, although there may be common fundamentals underlying favoured approaches. Structurally empowering Aboriginal women through equity in promotions, and ensuring Aboriginal representation in management and decision-making was universally supported in our sample. Similarly, all of the participants portrayed the effective implementation of discrimination and harassment policies to prevent the further marginalization of Aboriginal people in the workplace as important. Finally, some Aboriginal women presented the inclusion of Aboriginal culture as empowering, as long as Aboriginal workers' preferences were prioritized. Common to all of these successful strategies for Aboriginal inclusion is recognizing inequity in the workplace, and implementing policies and practices that seek to ameliorate power imbalances.

While these results cannot be generalized to all workers, they do provide important preliminary insights that help to formulate future research questions. Our results suggest that effective Aboriginal inclusion must seek to empower Aboriginal workers through both removing barriers to and providing new routes for Aboriginal workers' agency in the workplace. Future research needs include addressing the nature of these barriers and evolving mechanisms for Aboriginal worker agency in different workplaces in different geographic areas. How do affirmative action policies change workplace dynamics? What programs best address racism on the shop floor? And what role do cultural awareness trainings play? This preliminary study indicates that the solutions to such questions are not simple, but require complex understandings of the relationships between culture and power, and necessitate dialogue with the workers in question.

REFERENCES

Anderson, R.B. (1999). *Economic development among the Aboriginal peoples in Canada*. North York: Captus Press Inc.

Battiste, M.A. (Ed.). (2000). *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Battiste, M.A. (1994, June). *You can't be the doctor if you're the disease: the tenets of systematic colonialism in Canadian educational research and policy*. Presented at the Learned's Society (CCWE/SCOPR), Calgary, Canada.

Best, A.L. (2003). Doing race in the context of feminist interviewing: Constructing whiteness through talk. *Qualitative Inquiry 9*, 895–914.

Curran, D., & M'Gonigle, M. (1999). Aboriginal forestry: community management as opportunity and imperative. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal, 37*, 711–774.

Deloria, V. (1969). *Custer died for your sins*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Domvile, J. (2005, December). Improving relations with First Nations: BC and Yukon Chamber of Mines takes leadership role. *Canadian Mining Journal, 126*, 30.

Essed, P. (2002). Everyday racism. In P. Essed & D. T. Goldberg (Eds.), *Race critical theories* (pp. 176–194). Oxford: Blackwell.

Henry, P. (in press) *"Call me Hank" Reflections of a westcoast native logger*. (2nd ed.) K. Fagan &

K. T. Carlson (Eds.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hurtado, A., & Stewart, A. J. (1997). Through the Looking Glass: Implications of Studying Whiteness for Feminist Methods. In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. C. Powell & L. M. Wong (Eds.), *Off White: Readings on race, power and society*, (pp. 297–311). New York: Routledge.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. (2003). *Aboriginal workforce participation initiative: AWPI employer toolkit*. (Publication No. QS-3593-014-EE-A). Retrieved on April 12, 2003, from: http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/awpi/tk/nat_e.pdf

Kennedy, E. (1999, Setp/Oct). Headstart: the North West Company: making diversity work. *Ivey Business Journal, 64*, 1.

LaPrairie, C. (1997). Reconstructing theory: explaining Aboriginal over-representation in the criminal justice system in Canada. *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 30*, 39–54.

Mills, S. (submitted). Segregation of women and Aboriginal people within Canada's forest sector by industry and occupation. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*.

Monture-Angus, P. (1999). Lessons in decolonization: Aboriginal overrepresentation in Canadian criminal justice system. In D. Long & O. Dickason (Eds.), *Visions of the heart: Canadian Aboriginal issues* (2nd ed., pp. 361–378) Toronto: Harcourt Brace.

Mulligan, K.L. (2001, April). *A culture of respect: an examination of organizational factors that optimize the attraction and retention of Aboriginal employees*. M.A. thesis, Leadership and Training. Royal Roads University, Victoria.

NAFA, National Aboriginal Forestry Association. 1994. Presentation on co-management by the National Aboriginal Forestry Association to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa.

Notzke, C. (1994). *Aboriginal peoples and natural resources in Canada*. North York: Captus Press Inc.

Parsons, R., & Prest, G. (2003). Aboriginal forestry in Canada. *The Forestry Chronicle*, 2003. 79, 779–784.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (1996). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. (Vol. 2, Restructuring the relationship.)Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Services.

Schick, C., & St. Denis, V. (2005). Problematizing national discourses for anti-racist curricular planning. *Canadian Journal of Education, 28* (3), 295–317.

St. Denis, V. (2004). Real Indians: cultural revitalization and fundamentalism in Aboriginal education. In C. Schick, J. Jaffe, A. M. Watkinson (Eds). *Contesting fundamentalisms* (pp. 35–47). Halifax: Fernwood.

Wright, D.H. (2004). *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Death of Neil Stonechild*. Regina: Queen's Printer.

Yoder, J.D. (2001). Division 35 presidential address: context matters: understanding tokenism processes and their implications on women's work. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26*, 1–8.

Yoder, J.D., & Berendsen, L.L. (2001), "Outsider within" the firehouse: African American and white women firefighters. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 25*, 27–36.

COMMUNITY-BASED ADULT EDUCATION
Access for Aboriginal Residents in the Inner-City of Saskatoon

Frank Deer

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, adult education has become an important issue for Aboriginal adults in Canada (Rodriquez, 2001). This may be especially true in many urban areas that are experiencing population growth amongst Aboriginal Canadians (Hanson, 2005). The development of effective adult education programs may be an important step toward positive social change for Aboriginal adults who lack appropriate education and/or job training (Spencer, 1995). In presenting a discourse on community-based adult education, some discussion regarding the concept of adult education in the inner-city context is required.

ADULT EDUCATION

Researchers have suggested that the acquisition of education by adults should not be viewed as synonymous with the process of education for children. (Draper, 1998). Generally speaking, adult education differs from that of children because it is not standardized, but is often designed to fit the realities of adulthood (Cervero & Wilson, 1999). Adult education has been characterized as a process of learning that is put together by the learner, occasionally with "expert" input, with a particular goal (St. Clair, 2004). In attempting to define adult education in the United States, Knowles (1962, p. vi) stated that it:

> Brings together into a definable social system all the individuals, institutions, and associations concerned with the education of adults and portrays them as working toward such common goals as the improvement of the methods and materials of adult learning, the extension of opportunities for adults to learn, and the advancement of the general level of our culture.

It should be noted that, according to Knowles, the function that adult education serves in the United States is not as clearly defined as it has been in other countries. As opposed to areas of Europe where adult education is intended for the development of national culture, or in parts of Africa where adult education is a means for

Frank Deer, doctoral student, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan.

The researcher thanks the many staff members from the Saskatoon Public School Division, Saskatoon Catholic School Division, and the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies for their assistance in making this project possible. This study was funded by a grant from Saskatchewan Learning.

dealing with illiteracy, adult education in the United States serves numerous individual needs, institutional goals, and societal pressures (p. 5). Hanson (2005) provided a historical background of adult education in Saskatoon that suggested literacy enhancement, development of employment skills, and preparation for post-secondary education were the principle functions of previous adult education programs. Another issue put forth by Hanson was the issue of location: for economically challenged adults, and particularly parents, travelling a long distance in order to attend adult education classes at established institutions such as universities and vocational colleges can be problematic.

Hansman (2001, p. 47) asserted that adult learning "involves development in personal, interpersonal, and community processes." This sentiment is echoed by Nowlen (1980) who recognized four interpersonal settings in which adult education takes place: (1) the individual setting, (2) the temporary setting, (3) the organizational setting, and (4) the community setting. Essential to Nowlen's conception of the community setting was the mandates related to dealing with specific problems that are prevalent in specific communities:

> The educational program focuses on problems and assembles participants who relate to two or more organizations or segments of a neighborhood or community. One of the program purposes, usually designated as most important, is community development ... program ideas tend to evolve from major problems and opportunities related to community functioning. Some ideas arise from events themselves: a court desegregation decision, a sharp rise in unemployment, and the like. Other ideas are selectively chosen as "issues" because a programming agency chooses to treat them as such — for example, infant mortality and morbidity in the ghetto or the impact on private charities of closing federal tax loopholes. (pp. 16–17)

Inner-city adult education programs, programs that are housed in such places as neighbourhood schools and community centres, can be in a better position to cater to economically challenged individuals. Rooney (2004) stated that inner-city adult education centres typically focus on those who are "marginalized and disadvantaged" (p. 151). Rooney also pointed out that such programs would require the provision of specific services: "this work includes a range of services including information and referral, advocacy, support and various types of services" (pp. 151–152).

The delivery of accompanying services that are provided in an inner-city adult education program may be especially important for women. In areas where marginalized and disadvantaged groups reside, women are often mothers and are unmarried. Darab (2004) focused on women who attempt further education as adults and pointed out that one of the more frequently recurring concerns of participants in her study was the provision of affordable child care:

> Child-minding services are required both for library clients and to accommodate lecture and tutorial attendance. In view of the size of the female population ... and their continued acceptance of the bulk of unpaid family work, an increase in child care facilities is long overdue. (p. 348)

Hanson (2005) suggested other services essential to adult education in addition to child care. Counselling, legal advice, and government-funded allowances were suggested as essential services for success in inner-city adult education programs.

Establishing and maintaining an inner-city adult education program that offers appropriate academic and support services to disadvantaged individuals may require more than just course instructors to deliver such a program. Staffing was cited by Blatchford, Brazier, and McQuade (2004) as an essential issue for adult education programs, because the typical student in an adult education program can find such programs to be "alien and potentially hostile to them" (p. 413). Blatchford et al. asserted that the role of administrative support staff is important to the academic success of adults who often have immediate, non-academic obstacles to overcome in order to acquire an education:

> Preparatory programs attract a wide diversity of students with a wide range of individual needs. Amidst this diversity it is difficult to identify a 'typical' student profile or to generalize across the group in terms of a set of common needs. However, there are general characteristics,

> which are commonly seen amongst preparatory students that can serve as a starting point for discussion ... in an alien and unfamiliar environment students who might in other contexts be competent and confident can find themselves hesitant and lacking in confidence. A background of disadvantage may result in students presenting with some form of baggage, often in the form of previous negative experiences with education, which can create anxiety and further uncertainty. (pp. 415–416)

Blatchford et al. suggested that the obstacles faced by disadvantaged adults are diverse and often require sensitivity on the part of adult education support workers. The workload associated with support services such as counselling and child-care suggests that this sort of work cannot be expected of the course instructors who already have the responsibility of providing academic programming.

Scholarly literature related to the provision of adult education in inner-city areas frequently places significant emphasis on peripheral services for students as they do on academic programming. If adult education is a means for addressing employability as well as the broader issue of social change, such programs may have to be more accessible and academically relevant to inner-city adults. In this study, the researcher investigated accessibility and programming in inner-city adult education programs for Aboriginal Canadians.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a focus group and interview methodology for data acquisition, a process that used the principles of appreciative inquiry. In particular, the researcher employed such principles by negotiating "an initial intentional empathy" (Elliot, 1999, p. 12) with the participants, and strived to maintain a climate of individual and social affirmation (Cooperrider & Whitney, 1999). The two different forms of data collection that were used, individual open-ended interviews and community focus groups, both made use of a framework of questions related to the importance of community-based adult education that addressed the general research question: what are the benefits of accessible adult education for the area it serves? The framework used in designing the research instruments consisted of five elements:

1. Importance: Why is community-based adult education important?
2. Programming: What type of academic program(s) or courses should be offered?
3. Benefits: How would such a program benefit you/your family/your community?
4. Location: Where should such a program be located?
5. Services: What non-academic services should such a program provide?

Five focus group sessions were conducted in the inner-city of Saskatoon. Community members who were self-described as being Aboriginal and potential adult education students as well as those who were currently in existing adult education programs were in attendance. Upon commencement of the discussions, participants were placed into groups of at least 6 individuals with one being a member of the research committee who served as facilitator and recorded the discussion. The format for the focus groups made use of Wagner and Arnold's (1965) method for informal discussion. Their discussion method was ideal because of the participant's perceived tendencies to be less talkative in group situations. The informal discussion method was also appropriate because of the approximate one hour time limit for the discussions. As suggested by Jackson (1999), the focus groups were intended to acquire relevant information and insights from the participants, with direction provided by the group's facilitator.

Following the completion of the five focus group sessions, former instructors and administrators of local adult education programs were interviewed. Although the framework of questions for these interviews was similar to that of the group forums, the principle researcher amended the interview format in order to acquire insight into the development and delivery of adult education in Saskatoon. Twenty of these interviews were conducted.

Following the focus-groups and interviews, data was coded to identify themes. The constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used for both the interview data and the group forum data.

FINDINGS

The focus groups were comprised of adult individuals from the inner-city of Saskatoon. Among all the participants, 88% declared themselves as being Aboriginal, a term that is defined in this study as being either status Indian, non-status Indian, or Métis; 73% of the participants were women. The age range of the participants was from 20 years to 63 years, with an average age of 36.8; 95.5% of participants were parents, and 85.1% of the study's participants had not completed their secondary education. Most of the focus group participants were economically challenged and experienced problems related to their low socio-economic status. Most experience difficulties associated with inadequate housing, transience, unemployment, single-parent situations, abusive relationships, substance abuse, and direct, spousal or family involvement in criminal activity.

The following section is an analysis of data collected from the community forums and an analysis of interviews with adult education instructors. This segment will be separated into two principle sections. The first section, individual and community betterment, will include analysis of the elements of importance and benefits related to community-based adult education. The second section, program characteristics, is an analysis of how participants felt about academic composition, location, and services of an effective adult education program.

Individual and Community Betterment

In terms of importance and benefits of a community-based adult education program, the researcher found numerous concerns were prevalent among the study's participants. Most participants reported issues of child and family development as a primarily important benefit related to involvement in an adult education program. In particular, most participants stated that they felt that the prospect of being a more positive role model for their children was important. One parent expressed her feelings about being a role model in terms of academic modelling:

> We would be a benefit to our kids because we can model what we do at school ... seeing us at school would help increase attendance and keep them motivated ... their marks would get better and their literacy skills would also improve.

Many participants reported concerns related to their employability. Most participants reported the belief that an appropriate education would help improve their employability. One of the most frequent points made, especially among male participants, was that most desirable jobs required at least a high school education or a suitable equivalent:

> Finishing an ABE (Adult Basic Education) certificate has provided me with employment and the conditions so that I can consider furthering my career.

Numerous participants were more in favour of the establishment of an ABE program as opposed to a General Educational Development (GED) program because many employers do not consider the GED as a suitable form of education. These participants reported that many employers felt that a grade 12 equivalency such as the ABE 12 as a suitable level of education.

Community development was a frequent concern among participants. The researcher did observe a measure of familiarity and camaraderie amongst participants in the community forums as they spoke about shared issues and concerns. The participants spoke about their particular community's state with reference to such things as crime/gang activity, unemployment, poor housing, and appropriate role models to solidify their point that the inner-city area of Saskatoon would stand to benefit from a more educated populace. As one participant noted:

> People would make better choices about going to school and getting a job. Children would be proud of their parents and would look at them with admiration ... it would be a better lifestyle for everyone ... it would help build relationships with school and community.

Another participant expanded on this point:

> It makes you feel better about your community ... like you're helping the community by being a good role model ... it shows others that there are opportunities for them.

In regard to community development, the participants were very vocal in stating their beliefs that educated adults in the community would lead to a stronger community through positive role modelling, reduction of crime through increased employment levels, and better life choices by individuals.

A number of the participants commented on issues related to self-esteem. A frequent sentiment that was observed throughout the community forums was a feeling of inadequacy due to their lack of education and the resultant socio-economic problems they were experiencing. The researcher found that participant feelings of inadequacy were more related to how their children would perceive them, as opposed to how anyone else would perceive them. The participants frequently stated their value for the relationship that they have with their children and, in some cases, grandchildren. Many participants stated a desire to be able to assist their children in academic activities such as homework from school. As one participant said:

> I firmly believe in life-long learning ... whatever educational level we are at, our minds still slowly suffocates if we cannot find viable outlets for learning. If we can help our children do well at their school work, we would not only be helping our kids, but we would feel better about ourselves as parents.

A few participants reported a hope that completing their education would improve their personal self-esteem through improved employment:

> When I am done my ABE, I will try to get into the TA (teacher assistant) course ... I also hope to become a teacher in the future. Doing all this will help me and my family and it will feel good to be a role model and to provide for them.

The comfort that is associated with a community-based adult education program has been found to be important for the participants. Many participants reported feelings of apprehension when considering enrolment into large out-of-community institutions like universities. As one participant reported:

> I have not applied to any other institutions because I would feel uncomfortable and intimidated to attend one of those places and it would just set me up for failure.

Program Characteristics

Participants voiced a variety of concerns related to what an appropriate community-based adult education program would consist of. As noted earlier, there are three elements that would constitute program characteristics: academic programming, location, and services. Programming refers to issues related to course work and/or requirements that must be fulfilled in order to acquire certification of completion for the program. Location refers to the physical location where a community-based adult education program could be situated. Services refers to non-academic services that are not necessary for the attainment of certification of completion, but may be needed by the students in order to alleviate any personal/circumstantial factors that would otherwise not be addressed, thus making it difficult or impossible for the students to attend or complete the program.

Programming

The researcher found concerns regarding academic programming to be related to how prepared the participants were to be involved in an adult education program. For many of the study's participants, the subject matter associated with an ABE 10 or ABE 12 program was said to be too esoteric. These participants felt that preparatory programs that would allow students to develop appropriate skills prior to involvement in an ABE program would be desirable.

One former instructor stated:

> Some of the students encountered a lot of problems because they had quit school early on ... sometimes they were still in junior high when they quit, so they don't necessarily have the ability to work well in an ABE or GED program. Some students could have used some preparation work before entering.

It is understandable that many of the participants felt that adult education would be a means for acquiring gainful and meaningful employment. Many participants stated the need for academic or vocational programming that could lead directly to a desirable job. Trade skills

were mentioned frequently as a form of programming that would be useful. One participant mentioned the importance of programming that may not lead directly to employment, but would provide initial steps toward a state of improved employability:

> Getting my ABE is important because I would like to get into nursing and social work. I didn't get far enough in school when I was a kid, but I know I can now and that's a big step in order to get into a nursing program or something like that.

It was a point of interest for the researcher that there was very little mention by the participants regarding particular portions of a GED or ABE curriculum. Subject matter such as mathematics or the sciences were only mentioned by participants with reference to the ability to assist their children with school work. Literacy was a topic of partial discussion, but no in-depth discussion regarding its inclusion in an adult education program took place. Through informal discussion with participants that took place after the community forums, the researcher found that the participants viewed the curricular composition of an adult education program as a "given" component, and thus did not deserve much discussion.

What was discussed at great length regarding the composition of an adult education program was what can be regarded as the peripheral programming: those skills that assist students' completion of an adult education program by enhancing areas of academic activity (i.e., using educational technology) or out-of-school situations that may impact their participation in adult education (i.e., time management). Many participants stated that they would appreciate the inclusion of programming such as computer usage, personal/family budgeting, parenting, and other issues that were sometimes referred to as "life skills." One participant used the word "practical" when she referred to this type of programming:

> There are practical things that we need to consider if we're going to get through school and be successful as a student and a parent. Some people may want to be better parents, but they don't know how. Some also need to be better spouses, and more responsible with money.

Two particular points of discussion were of interest to the researcher. The first was related to issues of cultural sensitivity. Numerous participants mentioned a desire for at least some of the subject matter to be dealt with in a Canadian Indigenous language such as Cree:

> I want to get an education so I can get a job, but I also want to learn about myself and my own culture ... I wish I knew my language better so I could pass it on to my kids. I have cousins who know Cree, but I don't really know it.

Numerous participants voiced concern that some of the subject matter not only be conducted in a Canadian Indigenous language, but that the subject matter itself deals with Canadian Indigenous issues in the areas of literature and the sciences (e.g., Indigenous healing).

Secondly, the researcher noted that numerous participants voiced concern regarding adult students who have undiagnosed disabilities. A number of the participants who had previously attempted to take part in an adult education program either experienced difficulties themselves or knew of someone who had experienced difficulties due to a learning disability that was later diagnosed.

Location

In one of the more straightforward portions of this inquiry, most participants shared similar feelings regarding the type of location of a community-based adult education program, with all five community forums making reference to locations in close proximity to that particular forum:

> I live just down the street from St. Gorretti, so this would be a good place to come to school ... it needs to be a place close to home, especially if you have kids.

Virtually all of the locations cited by participants as desirable locations were community schools. In addition, most participants stated that these types of schools had the advantage of being close to home and were "secure" and "comfortable" because of its closeness to the community.

One of the most important issues for participants regarding the issue of location was how accessible the adult education program is to bus routes. A number of participants noted that the time it takes to go about activities such as drop-

ping of young children at daycare and getting to and from work can impact on their ability to attend an adult education program:

> If you don't live in walking distance, you have to take the bus and the walking that you have to do to get to the bus can be a problem. If you have kids, than you have to think about stopping at school or daycare. If you work part-time, you have to make an extra trip for that. It can be really hectic.

A number of participants stated that the value of an adult education program that is located in their community is, in part, strengthened by the camaraderie that is experienced by studying alongside people from one's own neighbourhood. A recurring sentiment throughout the community forums was the importance of studying in a program with individuals of similar experiences, values, and needs. The camaraderie that was spoken of during the forums was important to the participants because it was thought that such an environment of familiarity and shared values would alleviate personal anxiety and apprehension.

Services

The issue of non-academic services that could accompany a community-based adult education program represented one of the key issues amongst the study's participants. Because of the financial and domestic difficulties that are frequently encountered by Aboriginal adults, a number of non-academic services are required in order to attend and complete an adult education program.

Participants frequently voiced concerns associated with the availability of counselling services related to academic issues in the program. The academic counselling that the participants felt was important is related to such issues as appropriate courses based on previous schooling, provision of academic resources, and access to tutors. For some participants, previous experiences such as being ignorant of a resource or of specific academic requirements illuminated the need for appropriate counselling:

> When I tried to get a GED, all I knew is that I wanted to get an education, but I didn't know if I should do something else that would be better for getting work. I also needed help with things that I didn't understand from class. The teacher was helpful, but some other "helpers" would have been great.

For other participants, taking part in any formal education program is virtually a new experience considering that these individuals had been out of school for a long period of time. They had not been given the direction that is usually provided for younger people by their parents.

Related to matters of counselling is the issue of career counselling, a service that appeared to be very important because, as noted earlier, many of the participants felt that adult education was a means to improving their employability. Many participants felt that although they understood that acquiring education is inherently a positive activity, they don't necessarily know how to go about their education in a manner that optimized their chances of obtaining a desirable job. One participant spoke at length on the subject of employability, which was echoed by many of his peers:

> Most of us want to get a job, but some don't know how to go about it. I know that finishing school isn't all there is to it ... the students need someone they could trust who can tell them what their options are. If I want a certain job, how do I know I'm not wasting my time trying to do classes that are not going to help.

For many participants, career counselling is an important first step in the process of completing an adult education program because they were unsure of what sort of employment they wished to become involved in. These participants saw the career counsellor as an individual with a near-exhaustive knowledge of the local job market who could assist them in selecting an appropriate course of study and also guide eligible graduates into appropriate employment situations. The researcher also found that former students placed a formidable amount of trust with the individual that helped them in the area of job/career counselling.

Another form of counselling that was discussed by many participants was that which relates to issues of addictions and criminal activity. Many of the participants stated that they were either themselves previously involved in

the criminal justice system or had a family member who had been in trouble with the law. There were numerous discussions in all of the community forums regarding the barriers that substance abuse and unlawful behaviour can have on family and community development. Both issues, substance abuse and criminal activity, were frequently discussed with reference to how adult behaviour can influence child/adolescent behaviour in a negative way.

Many participants stated that addictions, more so than criminal activity, had prevented them from attending or completing an adult education program in the past. The participants' desire for counselling services to help deal with problems related to drugs and crime suggested that some had such problems in the past, while others were dealing with such problems at the present time. Participants had mixed feelings regarding a counsellor's role: most felt a counsellor should assume focus of helping those with drug and/or criminal problems to overcome the problem itself, while a small number felt that the counsellors' role should be to help students succeed in school in spite of these problems with drugs and crime.

For all of the services that were related to some form of counselling, nearly all participants noted that these services should be located in close proximity to the adult education program, if not in the same building. A small number of participants and many of the instructors/administrators put forth the possibility that the duties of a counsellor, whether in the area of academics, employment, or addictions/crime, can be taken on by one of the course instructors, and some even cited instances where this was the case in the past.

One service that most participants felt is necessary for their enrolment into an adult education program is child care. As mentioned earlier, 95.5% of the participants have at least one child, most of whom were not yet of age to attend school. In families that were characterized by having only one parent or by a two-parent household where at least one of the parents was working in a low-paying job, the possibility of paying for their child(ren) to be placed in appropriate childcare is problematic at best. As one participant stated:

> Unless childcare is provided, I don't think I could think that I could cope with the cost of having to pay for it and not working. Keeping a full-time job is just enough to make ends meet, but if you have to give up that job to go to school, it makes it almost impossible.

Many participants noted that the provision of free childcare was not necessarily adequate for their situations. A number of participants, some speaking from experience, stated that they not only require affordable or free childcare, but such a service should be in close proximity to the adult education site. A number of participants who were previously enrolled in an adult education program had dropped out because the time required to take their child to a distant childcare facility was too lengthy.

The issue of childcare was closely related to a broader issue that was very important to many of the participants: funding. As alluded to earlier, many of the participants are financially challenged and are either involved in low-paying jobs or are receiving social assistance. One of the most widely discussed issues related to funding, particularly amongst those who have jobs, was the opportunity cost of attending an adult education program: should an adult pursue his/her education on a full time basis, such an activity would mean less time would be available for employment. This loss of income would be a significant issue for those who are already in a very strenuous financial situation. As one participant stated:

> I'm a single mom and I have to do all I can to provide for my kids ... getting an education and making a better life for myself and my kids would be a dream come true, but I don't know what I would do for money.

Many participants, those who have jobs as well as those who are on social assistance, were also concerned about the costs that might be associated with attending an adult education program. For those with children, the cost of childcare is an important consideration. Some other issues that were discussed related to funding were the costs for such things as school supplies and transportation.

Waiting lists were also a frequently discussed issue amongst all the participants. In regard to

previous adult education programs in Saskatoon (there were as many as 18 in 2001/02), all of the instructors and administrators that were interviewed reported waiting lists at their respective sites. A number of program coordinators reported that they found it difficult to keep up with the number of times that adults from the surrounding community inquired about the possibility of enrolling into an adult education program. Although the length of these waiting lists varied from one site to another, very few participants reported that they, or someone they knew, had successfully enrolled after being on a waiting list for a significant amount of time. Many of the participants reported that they did not pursue enrolment because of the frustration that they experienced as a result of being on a long waiting list.

DISCUSSION

This study found evidence that supports a number of assertions in the introductory sections of this article regarding adult education. As some of the cited authors suggest, education for disadvantaged adults frequently requires support beyond the realm of academics. The context of this study, the inner-city of Saskatoon, is home to a significant number of Aboriginal people who are in need of the opportunity to acquire an education in order to make a better life for themselves, their family, and their community. Such improvements to life, family and community can come from the acquisition of employment as well as the enhancement of family and community relationships through the virtues of life-long learning. For adults in these communities who are too old for admittance to public school and have been away from any formal education setting for some time, the process of acquiring an appropriate education is more complicated than simply attending classes and completing course work. Many, if not all prospective adult education students, require particular forms of support and services in order to enroll and be successful in an adult education program.

Hanson (2005) and Hansman (2001) emphasized the importance of adult education programs that are community-based. Economically challenged residents from an inner-city area who are parents and rely on public transit must overcome the obstacle of distant cross-city travel in order to attend existing adult education programs: such a commute frequently involves travel associated with dropping off and picking up children at school and/or daycare. In a Saskatoon program that has since been discontinued, adult education classes were housed in numerous inner city public schools to provide such programming. As urban-Aboriginal populations increase as a result of migration from First Nations communities to inner city areas, access to such programs is essential. Establishing such programs would require cooperative effort on the part of community and public school authorities.

A number of cited authors suggest the importance of programming that is relevant to the adults for whom it is administered for. An inner city adult education program that caters to economically disadvantaged Aboriginal people may have to consider two principle reasons why their program is required: to improve employability and to prepare for post-secondary education. The provision of programming that will lead to the acquisition of an ABE 12 certificate as well as the opportunity to be eligible for vocational training elsewhere are, regardless of the costs, essential to the economic and social development of the urban areas in question. The findings suggest that the specific structure of such programming should be developed in response to an area's particular requirements, as opposed to an imposed framework of programming.

Domestic realities for adults in the inner-city context provide obstacles to the acquisition of a suitable education that will lead to economic, personal and social benefit. Child-care, academic/career counselling, and access to social workers are some of the peripheral services that may help economically and socially disadvantaged inner-city residents become more successful at acquiring such an education. Although this study focused on inner-city residents for whom such a program can be provided, further research is required regarding issues of Aboriginal values, heritage and language and their role in adult learning.

REFERENCES

Blatchford, V., Brazier, J., & McQuade, A. (2004). The role of administrative support staff in

preparatory program delivery. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 44*(3), 413–425.

Cervero, R.M., & Wilson, A.L. (1999). Beyond learner-centered practice: Adult education, power, and society. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 13*(2), 27–38.

Cooperrider, D.L., & Whitney, D. (1999). Appreciative inquiry. In P. Holman, & T. Devane (Eds.), *Collaborating for change*, (pp. 4–16). San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.

Darab, S. (2004). Time and study: Open foundation female students' integration of study with family, work and social obligations. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 44*(3), 327–351.

Draper, J.A. (1998). The metamorphoses of andragogy. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 12*(1), 3–26.

Elliot, C. (1999). *Locating the energy of change: An introduction to appreciative inquiry*. Winnipeg, MB: International Institute for Sustainable Development.

Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Hansman, C.A. (2001). Context-based adult learning. *New directions for adult and continuing education, 89*, 43–51.

Hanson, S. (2005). *BE adult 10 program history in Saskatoon Public Schools*. Saskatoon, SK: Author.

Jackson, W. (1999). *Methods: Doing social research*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall.

Knowles, M.S. (1962). *The adult education movement in the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Nowlen, P.M. (1980). Program origins. In A.B. Knox (Ed.), *Developing, administering, and evaluating adult education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rodriquez, C. (2001). *Educating for change: Community-based/student-centred literacy programming with First Nations adults*. Vancouver, BC: Ministry of Advanced Education.

Rooney, D. (2004). Cinderella has balls? Other sites for adult community education. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 44*(2), 143–156.

Spencer, B. (1995). Old and new social movements as learning sites: Greening labor unions and unionizing the greens. *Adult Education Quarterly, 46*(1), 31–42.

St. Clair, R. (2004). Success stories: Aspirational myth in the education of adults. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 23*(1), 81–94.

Wagner, R.H., & Arnold, C.C. (1965). *Handbook of group discussion* (2nd ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

STRONG POLICIES, POOR OUTCOMES
Longitudinal Analysis of Forest Sector Contributions to Aboriginal Communities in Canada

John R. Parkins, Richard C. Stedman,
Mike N. Patriquin, and Mike Burns

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the contribution of forestry and other resource sectors to the social and economic status of Aboriginal communities in Canada. First, we explore current conditions within Aboriginal communities and the ways in which social and economic status is thought to be related to factors such as size and location of community as well as access to resources, capital, and capacity. The paper also explores the changing relationship between Aboriginal communities and natural resource sectors by presenting results from descriptive statistics and longitudinal analysis of census data. This analysis provides insights into the total levels of employment in the forest sector and the relationship between changing levels of forest sector dependence and changes in social and economic status. Finally, several implications of these trends are discussed with respect to resource sector contributions to the future of Aboriginal communities.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

Studies of social and economic conditions in Canada reveal a persistent gap between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population. Cooke et al. (2004) constructed an assessment of well-being from 1981 to 2001 that was based on a modified version of the Human Development Index (HDI). Although they found that HDI scores for Registered Indians have improved between 1981 and 2001, they continue to have shorter life expectancy, lower education attainment, and lower average annual incomes than do other Canadians, and the gap in average annual incomes actually increased during this period. According to one estimate, although Canada as a whole is consistently ranked as a top country by the United Nations in the international rankings of the HDI, using the same criteria, Aboriginal people in Canada would be ranked #48 (between Hungary and Venezuela), if they were

John R. Parkins, Canadian Forest Service; Richard C. Stedman, The Pennsylvania State University; Mike N. Patriquin, Canadian Forest Service; Mike Burns, Concordia University

a country unto their own (Beavon and Cooke, 2003).

Other studies also show a consistent pattern of lower social and economic status in Aboriginal communities. For instance, a study by the Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (INAC, 2000) shows steady gains in education attainment for Registered Indians, but significantly lower levels than the total Canadian population. These differences are similar to other studies and other measures of well-being (Armstrong, 1999; Buffalo, 1997; White et al., 2003). Some attribute these differences to community size and geographic location (remoteness), yet Buffalo (1997) concludes that these common explanations for the marked differences between reserve populations and the Canadian population are not supported by the data.

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE WELL BEING OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

Since the *Constitution Act* in 1982, the Canadian courts have contributed to an emerging understanding of Aboriginal and treaty rights that extends to the ownership and self-government of lands and resources. In addition to these significant re-interpretations of rights within the court system, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) has contributed to an understanding of Aboriginal issues within the broader public policy framework in Canada. Coupled with strong population growth rates in Aboriginal communities across the nation, Aboriginal Peoples are playing an increasingly prominent role within national discourses — exerting claims to ownership and control of Aboriginal lands and territories.

The Role of Forestry

One of the areas of particular interest, especially as it relates to economic development, is the relationship between Aboriginal communities and the natural environment. The struggle for greater control over traditional lands is particularly acute within forest regions of Canada where, by one estimate, 80% of Aboriginal communities are located (RCAP, 1996). According to the 1991 labour force survey, over 10,000 Aboriginal people were employed in the forest sector (Brubacher, 1998). Hickey and Nelson (2005) claim that these 1991 employment figures represent 2.2% of the Aboriginal population in Canada and they go on to suggest that "this figure has no doubt increased since 1991 as First Nations have become more commercially active and as education and training levels among Aboriginal people have improved" (p. 5).

As a means of enhancing the social and economic conditions in Aboriginal communities, there are substantial efforts on many levels to forge a stronger relationship between forest lands and resources. This includes numerous initiatives associated with traditional ecological knowledge (Manseau et al., 2005), tenure reform (Ross and Smith, 2002), community economic development (Goodfellow-Baikie and English, 2006), and land use planning (Whitefeather Forest Initiative, 2006).

In the post-constitutional era of the 1980s and 1990s, several policy initiatives within the forest sector began to place Aboriginal issues on the development agenda within the forest sector. Developed in 1992, the National Forest Strategy placed a strong emphasis on economic development within Aboriginal communities (CCFM, 1992). As a major strategic undertaking (with participation from the federal government, provincial governments and numerous Aboriginal, industrial, and other civic organizations), the 1992 Strategy represented a broad-based consensus on the direction of forest development in Canada. Strategic direction seven makes a commitment to "increase forest-based economic opportunities for Aboriginal people" (p. 41), stating that:

> Self-sufficiency of Aboriginal communities through economic development requires increased access to resources and business development support as well as the preservation of traditional activities. (p. 41)

In another national policy process, the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (1995) identified a set of criteria and indicators of sustainable forest management, whereby respect for Aboriginal and treaty rights and participation by Aboriginal communities in sustainable forest management are key elements. Although this national policy framework on sustainable forest management did not address a wider range of interests and concerns within the Aboriginal forest community,

it did identify a direct link between the forest sector, forest management practices, and the social and economic conditions of forest-based Aboriginal communities. These connections between Aboriginal people and their forest landscapes extend to rich cultural and social histories, but there are some clear signs that the economic linkages became much stronger in the late 1980s and early 1990s than at any time in recent history. After more than a decade of national policy development, some evaluation of impacts within Aboriginal communities is clearly needed.

Paths to Development: Forestry Not a Cure All?

The reasons for lower social and economic status in Aboriginal communities are varied and complex with numerous connections to the colonial legacy within North America and the assimilation policies of the Canadian government. These points of connection are also congruent with research in other parts of the world that has attempted to understand the reasons for poverty and underdevelopment. Scholars have identified a litany of factors associated with poverty in the United States (Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty, 1993). These include structural theories of rural economic underdevelopment, neo-classical economic theories of human capital, and theories of differential power relations in rural and resource-based communities. Within the international development literature, scholars have also identified a negative relationship between the export of raw materials and socio-economic status. In other words, countries and regions with higher rates of resource extraction, coupled with weak institutions, correspond with low social and economic status (Mehlum et al., 2006). Given their close proximity to extractive industries, this so-called 'resource curse' may be a factor within many Canadian Aboriginal communities as well.

One of the obvious pathways of development for Aboriginal communities involves the utilization of natural resources in ways that benefit local communities. There is a growing number of Aboriginal partnership agreements within the Canadian forest sector that are intended to contribute more directly to the local economic outcomes. Hickey and Nelson (2005) review results from two surveys conducted by the National Aboriginal Forestry Association and the Institute of Governance where over 40 such partnerships are discussed in some detail (this represents a subset of 400 to 600 Aboriginal-owned businesses that have been identified by the National Aboriginal Forestry Association as working in the forest sector). These partnerships include joint ventures, memoranda of understanding, co-operative businesses and contracting. Some of the most important developments have taken place in British Columbia, where enhanced Aboriginal involvement in forestry is resulting from tenure reform and the re-allocation of ownership and control of forest resources to Aboriginal communities (British Columbia Ministry of Forests, 2006). These enhanced partnerships represent a larger trend within Aboriginal community economic development where "bands use outside expertise to build capacity; and to create viable joint ventures" (Goodfellow-Baikie and English, 2006, p. 225).

On a more pessimistic note, however, Ross and Smith (2002) suggest that Aboriginal tenure reform is painfully slow and clearly not a political priority. They state that "the provincial systems of tenure are a structural and systematic impediment to the recognition and protection of Aboriginal and treaty rights in forest management in Canada" (p. 1). Given the slow pace of tenure reform, this pathway to development represents a strong challenge to policy makers and resource managers. Currently, notwithstanding tenure reforms in British Columbia, the focus for most policy makers appears to be on training and employment opportunities in Aboriginal communities that serve to enhance capacity to participate in the forest sector economy (Ross and Smith, 2002).

With regard to poverty and underdevelopment in Aboriginal communities, Kendall (2001) suggests that several key factors are important to consider. Consistent with the discussion above, access to resources and capital represent some key pathways to development in this context. "The main sources of revenues, as would be expected, are tied directly to the resources that the First Nations presently control. This means that the majority of opportunities presently lie in the natural resource sector" (p. 52). In addition to these factors, Kendall also points to issues of job market discrimination, lower levels of educa-

tional attainment, and remoteness of many Aboriginal communities as factors that are also important contributors to underdevelopment.

In spite of the close connection between Aboriginal communities and the forest landscape, several recent studies suggest that this close proximity does not necessarily translate in any direct way into social or economic dividends for Aboriginal communities. For instance, using data from the 1996 Census of Canada, Gysbers and Lee (2003) found that Aboriginal communities within forested regions of Canada experienced poorer social and economic conditions than the national average for Aboriginal communities. Furthermore, they also found significantly lower levels of well-being in Aboriginal communities within commercial forest zones (the approximate area within which the forest industry operates). "Aboriginal communities within the commercial forest zone were shown to have significantly lower average incomes than Aboriginal communities within forest regions but outside the commercial forest zones" (p. 4).

In another study of forest dependence and community well-being in Canada, the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (forthcoming) report four key measures of well-being in forest-based communities (economic diversity, education attainment, employment rate, and incidence of low income). In a comparison of forest sector dependent and non-dependent Aboriginal communities, forest sector dependent communities were generally not any better off than non-dependent communities (with the exception that economic diversity and the incidence of low income was significantly higher in forest sector dependent communities).

Given the evolution of Aboriginal and treaty rights within Canadian society, the development of clear policy statements toward Aboriginal interests within the forest sector, the growing partnerships between forest sector initiatives and Aboriginal communities, along with an understanding of the role of the natural resource sector as a pathway to development, there are important reasons to examine the changing relationship between Aboriginal communities and resource-based industries. This longitudinal and multivariate examination not only provides some information about the outcomes of recent policy and development initiatives at the intersection between forestry and Aboriginal communities, it also contributes to a more general understanding of social and economic change within forest-based Aboriginal communities. The next section maps out our approach to this analysis.

DATA AND VARIABLES

Data for this analysis comes from the Census of Canada and is organized into two distinct files. The first file, which we use to explore contemporary social and economic status, includes data from the 2001 Census only, with records available for a total of 5710 census subdivisions (CSD).[1] Of the 5710 CSDs in the 2001 Census, urban areas were removed as well as communities with a population of less than 65, leaving a total of 3814 CSDs. Aboriginal CSDs were identified in two ways: designated by Statistics Canada as Aboriginal (n = 572) or reported to have more than 50% of residents with Aboriginal ethnic origin (n = 141). This file of 713 Aboriginal CSDs provides the basis for analysis of differences in socioeconomic status between Aboriginal and non-aboriginal communities and differences between forest dependent and non-forest dependent Aboriginal communities in 2001.

The second file includes data from four census periods (1986, 1991, 1996, 2001), and it is constructed to include only those CSDs that have consistent boundaries over the four time periods. This dataset was developed and maintained by The New Rural Economy Project at Concordia University (NRE, 2006) and it provides an opportunity to observe changes within CSDs over a 15 year period without the confounding issues of CSD boundary changes that occur from one census period to the next. The file contains a total of 533 Aboriginal CSDs and it serves as the basis for longitudinal analysis within Aboriginal communities. This analysis involved a method called repeated cross-sectional design where data for each period is regarded as a separate cross-section, but because the cases are comparable from one period to another, comparisons between and among cases are possible (Menard, 2002). All statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS Version 12.0.1.

Indicators of Socioeconomic Status

Although the range of variables under investigation is clearly inadequate to address the wide-

ranging social and economic objectives associated with Aboriginal community well-being, this study takes advantage of available data in a fashion that is consistent with published research. Buffalo (1997) and Armstrong (1999) use a measure of employment, average income, education attainment and housing density in their analysis. Specific variables differ slightly between authors, but this approach to the measurement of social and economic status in rural Canada is also consistent with other published research (Parkins et al., 2003; Stedman et al., 2005).

Measuring Sector Dependence

Measuring the extent of community dependence (or reliance) on a sector of the economy can be calculated in several ways. Most studies have focused either on employment or income-based measures (economists in particular tend to focus on income, rather than employment). Also, dependence can be assessed as a percentage of all employed residents in a community. For instance, one might calculate that 20% of all employed residents work in the government sector. An alternative to this approach involves economic base theory, which utilizes 'inputs' into the economy, rather than re-circulation.[2] In this study, we used an employment measure (rather than income) that is derived from economic base theory (White et al., 2003) and we focused on the contribution of resource sectors (agriculture, fishing and trapping, forestry, mining, and energy) as well as two other key sources of employment income within Aboriginal communities (government employment and transfer payments).

Control variables

The control variables that are used within the regression analysis are derived from a review of published studies that have examined factors contributing to variation within socioeconomic status in Aboriginal communities. For instance, Armstrong (1999) and Buffalo (1997) examine the influence of community size and geographic location as a factor in socioeconomic status. Kendall (2001) suggests that location theory (access to resources and markets) has played an important role in understanding these differences. Population size, metropolitan influence zone (a measure of economic influence of urbanized areas), the percentage of population that is between zero and 14 years of age, and the percentage of population with less than grade 9 education (Johnson and Stallman, 1994) are all included in the analysis as contributing factors to family income within Aboriginal communities.

RESULTS

Aboriginal Conditions in 2001

Consistent with previous assessments, analysis of data from the 2001 Census of Canada reveals a sharp distinction between the social and economic status of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. In Table 1, results are reported for all communities that are outside of census metropolitan areas, by region. In Canada as a whole, the unemployment rate in Aboriginal communities was 28.3% compared to 14.0% in non-Aboriginal communities. These higher rates of unemployment are consistent across all jurisdictions with the most striking difference in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Differences in family income are also significant in most regions, with the exception of the Territories, where incomes in Aboriginal communities are more comparable with other communities. Consistent with previous studies, other measures of status (such as education attainment and housing density) in Aboriginal communities are also significantly lower than other communities.

Although it is instructive to determine the social and economic distinctions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities in rural Canada, this has been demonstrated elsewhere (INAC, 2000; Cooke et al., 2004). Our current concerns are based on the potential socioeconomic distinctions between different types of Aboriginal communities. Because the contribution of forest sector activity to Aboriginal communities is the primary focus of this paper, Tables 2 and 3 provide information specific to forest sector contributions. In Table 2, the presence of forestry is defined by a greater than zero percent base employment within the forest sector. The Census of Canada reports forest sector employment in 145 of the 690 Aboriginal communities where data is available in 2001 (713 Aboriginal CSDs were identified but only 690 CSDs contained detailed census data). The highest num-

Table 1. Socio-economic differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal census subdivisions, by region in 2001

Region		*Type (n)*	*Unemployment rate*	*Median family income*	*Persons in private dwellings*	*Percent of pop. 0–14 years*
Atlantic	Aboriginal (28–35)	37.6[3]	34,058[3]	3.2[3]	30.2[3]	20.0
	Non-Aboriginal (571–660)	26.7[3]	44,329[3]	2.7[3]	17.4[3]	21.7
Quebec	Aboriginal (36–42)	21.1[3]	41,386[3]	4.1[3]	36.1[3]	33.3[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (939–991)	12.9[3]	47,628[3]	2.5[3]	18.0[3]	24.7[3]
Ontario	Aboriginal (28–51)	26.0[3]	31,929[3]	3.4[3]	33.8[3]	25.5[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (284–294)	7.7[3]	58,953[3]	2.6[3]	19.0[3]	11.8[3]
Manitoba	Aboriginal (60–72)	27.7[3]	28,481[3]	3.8[3]	36.8[3]	27.9[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (184–186)	5.9[3]	49,700[3]	2.5[3]	20.0[3]	16.7[3]
Saskatchewan	Aboriginal (81–111)	31.6[3]	26,750[3]	4.0[3]	38.5[3]	23.9[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (440–636)	8.1[3]	51,741[3]	2.5[3]	19.0[3]	14.9[3]
Alberta	Aboriginal (34–48)	28.0[3]	27,949[3]	4.2[3]	39.5[3]	27.2[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (220–280)	6.7[3]	57,415[3]	2.6[3]	20.1[3]	9.6[3]
British Columbia	Aboriginal (38–126)	30.5[3]	33,687[3]	3.2[3]	28.4[3]	18.1[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (186–197)	11.4[3]	56,192[3]	2.4[3]	18.3[3]	7.2[3]
Territories	Aboriginal (7–12)	21.0[3]	46,554[1]	3.5[3]	32.9[2]	28.8[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (46–61)	12.7[3]	63,028[1]	2.5[3]	23.3[2]	4.0[3]
CANADA	Aboriginal (351–541)	28.3[3]	33,006[3]	3.6[3]	34.3[3]	24.6[3]
	Non-Aboriginal (2831–3256)	14.0[3]	50,234[3]	2.5[3]	18.6[3]	18.1[3]

Note: 1 = $p < .05$; 2 = $p < .01$; 3 = $p < .001$

bers of forestry communities are in British Columbia (n = 39) and the average percentage of community residents employed in the forest sector is the highest in the country at 5.6%. Compared to the total number of Aboriginal communities in each region, Alberta and Quebec report the highest proportion of communities that contain some level of employment in the forest sector (49% and 53% respectively).

Within the 145 Aboriginal communities where forest sector activity is reported, a total of 4,210 people in the year 2001 were employed in the sector. This employment generated income of close to $100 million and a little over 3% of total income within these communities. These numbers are contrasted with the rest of Canada where close to 335,000 jobs and $13 billion was reported to derive from the forest sector. The relative contribution of forestry to Aboriginal communities is similar to the total contribution of forestry to the rest of Canada.

Differences Between Aboriginal Forest Dependent and Non-forest Dependent Communities

When comparing differences between Aboriginal communities with employment in the forest sector and those without forest sector employment (Table 3), several trends become evident. First, although there are some marginal differences between forestry and non-forestry communi-

Table 2. Presence of forestry in Aboriginal communities by region in 2001

	No Forestry No.	*Forestry No. (%)*	*Percent Forest Sector Dependent Mean (%)*
Atlantic	38	9 (23)	2.9
Quebec	32	17 (53)	4.4
Ontario	54	12 (22)	4.3
Manitoba	67	9 (13)	1.6
Saskatchewan	84	30 (36)	4.2
Alberta	41	20 (49)	4.4
British Columbia	174	39 (22)	5.6
Territories	55	9 (16)	1.8
CANADA	545	145 (27)	4.1

ties, most of these differences are not statistically significant. With the exception of a significantly younger population in non-forestry communities in Quebec, there are no significant differences in the number of persons in private dwellings, percent of population between 0 and 14, and percent of population with less than grade 9 education. Where the differences are slightly more significant between forestry and non-forestry communities appears to be in relation to median family income. In Atlantic Canada, for instance, family income in forestry towns is significantly lower than in non-forestry towns. In contrast, forestry towns in Saskatchewan have significantly higher incomes than in non-forestry towns. In all other jurisdictions, however, differences in income are not significant. Given these results from the 2001 Census, the presence of forest sector employment appears to play a relatively minor role in the enhancement of Aboriginal socioeconomic status.

Changing Aboriginal Conditions from 1986 to 2001

As a starting point for the longitudinal analysis between 1986 and 2001, variation in total forest sector employment is reported in Table 4. It is important to note that this analysis is based on a total of 533 CSDs with constant boundaries between these four census periods and it does not reflect the total number of CSDs with forest sector employment in any given census year.

A more in-depth analysis of this data shows that the presence of forest sector activity is not particularly stable between 1986 and 2001. About 20 communities maintained some level of forest sector activity over the 4 census periods and 80 communities reported the presence of forest sector activity only once during that time. These results suggest that employment in the forest sector is a fleeting occurrence for many communities with only a hand full of Aboriginal communities across the country maintaining some level of forest sector dependence over multiple census periods.

Finally, we turn to multivariate analysis, examining the contribution of the forest sector to well-being, net of the influence of other variables. The linear regression model that is reported in Table 5 provides some insights into the contribution of various economic sectors to median family income over four census periods. Constructed as a repeated cross-sectional design, the major variables in the model include the contribution of various resource sectors (forestry is most germane to our interests, but we also include agriculture, fishing and trapping, mining, and energy), the contribution of two government sectors, and the contribution of a series of controls (or factors) that are thought to help explain variation in family income.

Results for the year 2001 show, for instance, that for every percentage point increase in for-

Table 3. Socioeconomic differences between forestry and non-forestry Aboriginal CSDs, by region in 2001

Region	*Type (n)*	*Unemployment rate*	*Median family income*	*Persons in private dwellings*	*Percent of pop. 0–14 years*	*Percent of pop. with < grade 9*
Atlantic	Forestry (8)	43.8	21,082[2]	3.1	28.0	21.5
	Non-forestry (20–29)	37.0	31,898[2]	3.2	30.3	19.2
Quebec	Forestry (13)	23.6	35,279	3.8	31.6[1]	28.8
	Non-forestry (23–29)	23.6	36,653	4.2	38.2[1]	35.3
Ontario	Forestry (9)	29.9	24,088	3.5	33.1	33.7
	Non-forestry (19–49)	25.4	28,170	3.2	32.6	22.6
Manitoba	Forestry (9)	28.9	24,170	3.8	36.2	24.0
	Non-forestry (51–64)	27.5	22,993	3.9	36.8	28.5
Saskatchewan	Forestry (29)	30.1	24,830[2]	4.0	38.3	24.3
	Non-forestry (52–83)	32.1	19,449[2]	4.0	38.4	24.0
Alberta	Forestry (17)	25.4	24,244	4.1	39.4	22.4
	Non-forestry (17–32)	29.4	20,784	4.1	38.8	28.8
British Columbia	Forestry (30)	29.6	27,942	3.3	28.5	16.8
	Non-forestry (8–120)	34.0	32,012	3.2	28.6	17.5
Territories	Forestry (9)	20.1	41,432	3.1	28.7	25.4
	Non-forestry (37–55)	22.3	37,642	3.6	32.4	30.0
CANADA	Forestry (124)	28.7	27,460	3.7	33.5	23.3
	Non-forestry (227–461)	29.3	27,323	3.6	33.8	24.2

Note: 1 = $p < .05$; 2 = $p < .01$; 3 = $p < .001$.

Table 4. Number of CSDs with employment income from the forest sector, by census period

Proportion of total forest sector employment income within the CSD	*1986*	*1991*	*1996*	*2001*
Greater than 0% (n)	52	68	130	107
50% or greater (n)	2	0	15	6
20 to 49% (n)	32	11	59	4
10 to 19% (n)	18	57	56	60
Mean forest dependence (%)	3.1	3.2	7.4	4.5

est sector employment, median family income declined by $42; while for every percentage point increase in mining sector employment, median family income increased by $547. In other words, after controlling for other variables (such as population size and the influence of metropolitan areas), the contribution of forestry to family income was found to be insignificant while min-

Table 5. Regression of median family income on employment in resource sectors and other sectors, 1986 to 2001

	1986			*1991*			*1996*			*2001*		
Parameter	*Effect*	*Standard Effect*	*Sig.*	*Effect*	*Standard Effect*	*Sig.*	*Effect*	*Standard Effect*	*Sig.*	*Effect*	*Standard Effect*	*Sig.*
Intercept	27,388		.000	29,794		.000	29,635		.000	39,344		.000
Resource sectors												
Agriculture	–169	–.105	.043	–49	–.020	.717	164	.069	.164	27	.013	.763
Fishing and trapping	–77	–.114	.056	85	.096	.085	77	.086	.087	84	.084	.055
Forestry	42	.056	.362	113	.095	.083	117	.117	.019	–42	–.033	.446
Mining	210	.077	.118	633	.181	.001	352	.127	.009	547	.205	.000
Energy	76	.044	.396	985	.176	.001	699	.249	.000	880	.179	.000
Other sectors												
Government transfers only	–129	–.624	.000	–42	–.140	.011	–49	–.123	.016	–38	–.086	.045
Government	–23	–.057	.328	124	.232	.000	167	.334	.000	223	.423	.000
Control variables												
Population	.714	.122	.026	6	.316	.000	5	.277	.000	3	.174	.000
Metro Influence Zone	n/a	n/a	n/a	680	.097	.120	449	.060	.276	311	.047	.301
Percent of pop. 0–14	–23	–.030	.625	–427	–.409	.000	–455	–.394	.000	–664	–.493	.000
Percent of pop with < grade 9	–55	–.144	.021	–34	–.064	.350	32	.046	.438	18	.021	.650
	Adjusted R-Square = .489 F value = 22.3 N = 222			Adjusted R-Square = .348 F value = 13.0 N = 247			Adjusted R-Square = .360 F value = 15.5 N = 285			Adjusted R-Square = .490 F value = 27.9 N = 308		

ing was found to be highly significant and positive.

In examining results of the regression model over all four time periods, some important trends are evident. Within the resource sectors, the contribution of mining and energy to median family income were highly positive, with increasingly strong effects from one period to the next (especially for mining). The trend for employment in agriculture is also quite evident, where the effect was negative in 1986 and then becoming insignificant in later census periods. The effects from fishing and trapping employment as well as forestry employment are negligible, with these sectors making almost no significant contribution to change in median family income over the four census periods. In contrast, the impact of employment in government jobs has changed from a negative effect in 1986 (standardized effect = –.057) to a very positive effect in 2001 (standardized effect = .423). This result contrasts sharply with the expected negative effect of government transfer payments on median family income.

Results from the control variables are also important to examine. In this regression model, the strongest downward pressure on median family income comes from two control variables (percentage of population 0 to 14 years, and percentage of population with less than grade 9 education). These strong negative effects were consistent across all time periods for the age variable but the effect became insignificant for the education variable in later census periods. Consistent with other studies, the size of the community (population) was found to be a significant factor in predicting median family income, yet the influence of urbanized areas (metropolitan influence zones) was found to be an insignificant factor.

DISCUSSION

One of the overriding themes in this paper is the strong national policy commitment to enhance the relationship between aboriginal communities and the forest sector in Canada. This commitment is reflected in such initiatives as the National Forest Strategy (CCFM, 1992) as well as numerous provincial level initiatives. Notwithstanding these commitments, this national assessment of forest sector contributions to Aboriginal communities reveals relatively weak outcomes. Given that approximately 80% of Aboriginal communities are located within forest landscapes, the proportion of total employment derived from the forest sector is only marginally higher than the national average. Furthermore, the socioeconomic status of forest dependent Aboriginal communities hardly differs from Aboriginal communities where no forest sector employment is reported.

Consistent with previous research, this study found marked differences between the social and economic status of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. Previous authors such as Armstrong (1999) and Buffalo (1997) have examined the role that community location and access to resources can have on socioeconomic status. Although we found that community size is an important explanatory variable, the location of a community (in terms of the influence of metropolitan areas) was found to be insignificant. This finding is in direct contrast to Armstrong's assertion that "location near urban areas and resource rich areas provide advantages to development" (p. 4). Our results are more consistent with Buffalo's general assertion that size and remoteness of location is an important factor but with limited explanatory power.

Within this model, several economic sectors as well as certain key social conditions have a strong impact on family income within Aboriginal communities. Government sector jobs as well as energy and mining sector jobs appear to play an important (and positive) role. In contrast, the presence of young children within the community places strong downward pressure on family income — a trend that has become increasingly acute in recent census periods.

Given that national forest policies do not appear to correspond with positive social and economic outcomes at the national level, one key issue is to begin understanding the reasons for this disconnection. Are current policies not working? Could it be that forest-based Aboriginal communities may have been worse off in 2001 without these forest policies? Are there some underlying weaknesses in the direction of Aboriginal forestry development that prevent a stronger connection between forestry and local benefits? It is important to note here that the design of this study allows us to examine the connections between policy and outcomes in an indirect way

through the presence or absence of industrial activity. It does not provide an opportunity, however, to compare the differential impacts from forest policy on Aboriginal communities. For the purposes of this analysis, we assume that national forest policy is applied consistently across all regions, and this policy will have an impact on forest industry development. Yet we also understand that a more fine-grained analysis will show that some communities are benefiting from progressive forest policy while others are not. Research into the conditions under which Aboriginal communities can begin realizing more positive social and economic benefits is clearly needed.

Acknowledging the somewhat speculative nature of any discussions about why this disconnection between policies and outcomes has occurred, there are some hints within the published literature that may provide a starting point for further analysis. First, a number of scholars point to the need for stronger institutions as a basis for economic and social growth. In their international assessment, Mehlum et al. (2006), point to the important role of institutions in avoiding the resource curse. At a more local scale, Goodfellow-Baikie and English (2005), point to the role of joint ventures and capacity building within the field of community economic development. Ross and Smith (2002) are also particularly concerned about a lack of institutional development within Aboriginal communities, stating that "Aboriginal Peoples are expected to operate within the framework of the existing industrial tenure and forest management systems . . . the fundamental tenets of [the system] have not been modified to accommodate the particular values, needs and knowledge systems of Aboriginal Peoples" (p. 5). Given the strong role ascribed to institutions by these authors, the lack of positive social and economic outcomes in Aboriginal communities may be attributed to some deficits in this regard.

Second, a lack of institutional development may involve some inertia within certain political and industrial sectors, but there is some evidence that key challenges within Aboriginal communities must also be addressed. In particular, Hickey and Nelson (2005) stress the need for stability in First Nations governance. Quick changes in government can be detrimental to forestry partnerships and recent national survey results suggest that success is limited by a lack of leadership at senior levels within the community and the industry. Accordingly, the extent to which many existing partnerships demonstrate a fairly limited form of institutional development (i.e., contracting and protocols), suggests that more commitment will be required from Aboriginal communities and industry to strengthen these relationships. Discussions about tenure reform in several provinces may provide a basis for reimagining these relationships and building on strengths in the future. Communities such as the West Bank Community Forest, the Cheslatta Community Forest, and the Waswanipi Cree Model Forest are working towards these ends with new approaches to institutional development and tenure reform.

Third, results from this study may be an artifact of data availability and research methods. It is important to note that goals and objectives of most collaborative ventures and co-management structures with Aboriginal communities go well beyond the variables that are used for evaluation in this study. The Whitefeather Forest Initiative (2006), in northeast Ontario, is a case in point. This initiative identifies three primary objects (resource stewardship, economic development, and human capital develop). In addition to forestry, they have also identified opportunities for protected areas, customary livelihoods, minerals, non-timber forest products, and tourism and recreation. This array of objectives reflects the diversity of Aboriginal values and interests on their traditional lands. Our attempts to measure outcomes with a small set of variables that are available through the Census of Canada can only offer a small glimpse into the outcomes that such community-based initiatives are intended to achieve.

CONCLUSION

Within the Aboriginal community context in Canada, forestry was found to have a marginal contribution to social and economic status. Although this outcome is inconsistent with legislative and policy changes over the past 15 years, these results are neither surprising nor are they completely negative. The 2001 Census of Canada reports that forestry did provide employment for approximately 4,200 people in 690 Aboriginal communities and conditions in these communities

would likely be worse if this economic activity had not been present. Also, in other studies of non-Aboriginal communities, forestry was found to have a significantly negative relationship with well-being measures in certain parts of the country and under certain economic conditions (Parkins et al., 2003). The marginally positive contributions of forestry that were found in this study are therefore an improvement to some of the results found in other studies. Lastly, given the focus on national analysis, this study represents a fairly narrow window into the meanings of forest dependence and well-being in Aboriginal communities. In identifying more Aboriginal-specific understandings of well being (Smith et al., 2006), researchers have an opportunity to assess forest development in ways that are much more sensitive and connected to local goals and priorities. As such, Aboriginal peoples do have a strong tie to the forest landscape and local resources, but arguably a different link than that which is represented here.

NOTES

1. The census subdivision (CSD) represents a Statistics Canada jurisdiction that is roughly equivalent to a municipal district. In most cases, the boundaries of the CSD correspond with the boundaries of the town or Aboriginal reserve.
2. Basic activity is measured using the location quotient technique; the ratio of a community's share of employment or employment income in a given sector to the share of employment or employment income in the same sector of a benchmark region. The benchmark represents the level of output from a given sector that is needed for local consumption (Korber et al., 1998).

REFERENCES

Armstrong, R.P. 1999. Geographic patterns of socio-economic well-being of first nations communities. *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin*. Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Beavon, D., and M. Cooke. 2003. An application of the United Nations Human Development Index to Registered Indians in Canada, 1996. In J.P. White, P.S. Maxim and D. Beavon. *Aboriginal Conditions: Research as a Foundation for Public Policy*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Beckley, T., J.R. Parkins, and R. Stedman. 2002. Indicators of forest-dependent community sustainability: The evolution of research. *The Forestry Chronicle*, Sept/Oct, Vol. 78, No. 5, 626–636.

British Columbia Ministry of Forests. 2006. Community Forests. Accessed on April 19, 2006. http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hth/community/

Brubacker, D. 1998. Aboriginal forestry joint ventures: Elements of an assessment framework. *The Forestry Chronicle, 74*(3), 353–358.

Buffalo, D. 1997. Socio-economic indicators in Indian Resources and comparable communities, 1971–1991. Ottawa, ON: Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Catalogue No. R32-181/1991E

Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (CCFM). 1992. *Sustainable Forests: A Canadian Commitment*. Hull, PQ: National Forest Strategy, Canadian Council of Forest Ministers.

Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (CCFSM). 1995. *Defining sustainable forest management: A Canadian approach to criteria and indicators*. Ottawa: Natural Resources Canada.

Canadian Council of Forest Ministers (CCFM). Forthcoming. *Criteria and Indicators of Sustainable Forest Management: National Status 2005*. Ottawa: Natural Resources Canada.

Cook, M., D. Beavon, and M. McHardy. 2004. Measuring the well-being of Aboriginal people: An application of the United Nations' Human Development Index to Registered Indians in Canada, 1981–2001.

Goodfellow-Baikie, R.L., and L.M. English. 2006. First Nations and community economic development: a case study. *Community Development Journal 41*(2): 223–233.

Gysbers, J., and P. Lee. 2003. *Aboriginal communities in forest regions of Canada: Disparities in socio-economic conditions*. Edmonton, AB: Global Forest Watch Canada.

Hickey, C.G., and M. Nelson. 2005. *Partnerships between First Nations and the forest sector: A national survey*. Edmonton, AB: Sustainable Forest Management Network.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. 2000. *Comparison of Social Conditions, 1991 and 1996*. Catalogue No. R32-163/2000. Ottawa, ON: Ministry of Public Works.

Johnson, T.G., and J.I. Stallman. 1994. Human capital investment in resources-dominated economies. *Society and Natural Resources 7*(3): 221–233.

Kendall, J. 2001. Circle of Disadvantage: Aboriginal Poverty and Underdevelopment in Canada. *The American Review of Canadian Studies* (Spring/Summer): 43–59.

Korber, D., T. Beckley, M. Luckert, and W. White. 1998. "Cultural, geographical, and sectoral refinements to measures of forest industry dependence." *Canadian Journal of Forest Research 28*(9): 1380–1387.

Manseau, M., B. Parlee and G.B. Ayles 2005. A place for traditional ecological knowledge in resource management. In F. Berkes, R. Huebert, H. Fast, M. Manseau, and A. Diduck (eds.), *Breaking Ice: Renewable Resource and Ocean Management in the Canadian North*, pp. 141–164. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.

Mehlum, H., K. Moene, and R. Torvik. 2006. Institutions and the resource curse. *The Economic Journal, 116* (508): 1–20.

Menard, S. 2002. *Longitudinal research*. Second edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

New Rural Economy (NRE). 2006. The New Rural Economy Project, Concordia University, Montreal, PQ. Accessed April 20, 2006. http://nre.concordia.ca/nre2.htm

Parkins, J.R., R.C. Stedman, and T.M. Beckley. 2003. Forest sector dependence and community well being: A structural equation model for New Brunswick and British Columbia. *Rural Sociology, 68*(4), 554–572.

Ross, M. M., and P. Smith. 2002. *Accommodation of Aboriginal rights: The need for an Aboriginal forest tenure* (Synthesis Report). Edmonton, AB: Sustainable Forest Management Network.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). 1996. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People. Vol. 2: Restructuring the relationships*. Ottawa: Canada Communication Group.

Rural Sociological Society Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty. 1993. *Persistent poverty in rural America*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Smith. P., E. Symington, and S. Allen. 2006. A comparison of local level indicators for sustainable forest management developed by Aboriginal communities. Paper presented at the Sustainable Forest Management Network Conference, June 20–22, Edmonton, Alberta.

Stedman, R.C., J.R. Parkins, and T.M. Beckley. 2005. Forest dependence and community well being in rural Canada: variations by forest sector and region. *Canadian Journal of Forest Research, 35*: 1–6.

White, J., P.S. Maxim, and D Beavon. (eds.). 2003. *Aboriginal conditions: Research as a foundation for public policy*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

White, W., Spence, M., Watson, D., and R. Stedman. 2003. A Comparison of Proportional and Economic Base Analyses of Forest Sector Dependence in Canada. Paper presented at the 66th Annual Meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, July 26–30, Montreal, Canada.

Whitefeather Forest Initiative. 2006. Whitefeather Forest Initiative. Accessed April 27, 2006. www.whitefeatherforest.com

MINING AGREEMENTS AND ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh

INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades Aboriginal Peoples in Australia and Canada have increasingly achieved a capacity to negotiate agreements with mining companies and governments in relation to mineral development on their traditional lands. Referred to in Australia as "Mining Agreements" and in Canada as "Impact and Benefit Agreements" (IBAs), the context and form of negotiated agreements vary widely.[1] Despite this diversity, for Aboriginal participants most mining agreements have similar objectives. They seek to achieve recognition of Aboriginal interests in relation to mineral development projects; to minimise negative economic, social, cultural or environmental impacts arising from such projects; and to ensure that projects contribute towards the economic development of affected Aboriginal communities. This paper focuses on the last of these objectives, and it does so in the context of opportunities for Aboriginal involvement in the monetary economy (as opposed to in subsistence production of food, clothing or shelter).[2]

The relationship between mining agreements and Aboriginal economic development has not been dealt with in a systematic way in the growing literature on mining agreements. This literature focuses on issues related to the process of negotiating agreements (Barsh & Bastien, 1997; McKenna, 1995; O'Faircheallaigh, 1996; 2000; O'Reilly & Eacott, 1998; Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, 1996); on the legal and policy context for negotiation of agreements, on their relationship to existing legal and regulatory regimes and on specific legal issues such as enforceability and confidentiality (Henderson, 2001; Keeping, 1998: 7–8, 27–29; Kennett, 1999a: 19–28; 1999b; Sosa and Keenan, 2001: 3–8); on matters that can or should be covered by agreements (Kishchuk, 2001: 9–14; SIWGMI, 1991: 51–62; Sosa and Keenan, 2001: 9–17); on the contents of individual agreements (Henderson and Voogd, 2001; Keeping, 1998: 8–27; Kennett, 1999a; Kerr, 2000: 13–75; O'Faircheallaigh, 1995a; Wilkinson, 2001: 6–57); and on implementation of agreements (Kennett, 1999b: 97–102; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002; Sosa and Keenan, 2001: 17–19).

Discussions of the contents of mining agreements certainly encompass matters relevant to economic development, but the approach adopted is generally descriptive rather than analytical or evaluative (for an exception see

Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh, Department of Politics and Public Policy, Griffith University, Nathan, Queensland 4111.

O'Faircheallaigh, 2004b). Two examples will illustrate this point. A number of authors briefly describe provisions that give Aboriginal communities a financial interest in mining projects and mention issues arising from monetary payments, for example their capacity to cause economic inequalities within communities. However they do not offer any systematic analysis of the alternatives available to communities in this area, of the economic development consequences of choosing one alternative rather than another, or of how broader social or political issues raised by monetary payments can be addressed (Kerr, 2000: 79–80; O'Reilly & Eacott, 1998: 17–19; Sosa and Keenan, 200: 13–14; Wilkinson, 2001: 34–35). The second example involves employment of Aboriginal people in mining projects. There is a large literature spanning more than three decades, summarised later in the paper, dealing with the obstacles to maximising Aboriginal employment in mining projects and the preconditions for success in this area. However few attempts have been made to consider the implications of this literature for the design and implementation of agreement provisions dealing with Aboriginal employment, education and training.

The goal of this article is to contribute to a more systematic consideration of the relationship between mining agreements and Aboriginal economic development. It does so by analysing three areas in which mining agreements can contribute to such development, by generating an income stream for a community through royalty or other similar payments; through the creation of opportunities for employment and training for Aboriginal people; and by facilitating Aboriginal participation in business development opportunities created by a project's demand for goods and services. The first two areas are dealt with in detail, the third more briefly. In each case the article identifies the opportunities that exist, the issues that must be addressed if Aboriginal people are to take advantage of them, and approaches that have been used or can be used in mining agreements to deal with these issues.

The analysis is based on a review of relevant literature and on an examination of mining agreements involving Aboriginal parties (45 in Australia and 27 in Canada).[3] No comprehensive record of mining agreements exists in either country, so we cannot be certain what proportion of all agreements we have been able to examine. However, it is certainly substantial. Our review of the literature and searches of relevant databases and of media sources indicates that we are close to having full coverage of agreements in many of the major mineral-producing regions in both countries. We are confident that we are aware of the range of relevant mining agreement provisions negotiated in Australia and Canada during recent decades.

Almost all mining agreements in Australia and many recent agreements in Canada contain legally binding confidentiality clauses, and their presence represents a fundamental problem in learning about, analysing and presenting agreement provisions. We have largely been able to overcome this problem in terms of our own access to agreements by entering into research protocols with Aboriginal organisations that have been extensively involved in negotiating mining agreements. However, these protocols require us to maintain the confidentiality of agreement provisions, and so we face constraints in providing readers with examples of particular provisions or extracts from individual agreements. This inevitably means that in providing such material we must rely on the smaller sub-set of agreements that are not confidential or on which information is available from published sources. In doing so we stress that both the analysis of general issues and the discussion of specific provisions is informed by our access to the larger body of mining agreements.

The diversity evident in mining agreements also characterises Aboriginal Peoples and communities in Australia and Canada, reflecting differences in their cultures, their social and political structures, the nature of the environment in which they are located and the specific history of their contact with European society. However, most Aboriginal people affected by mining projects also display common characteristics, some of which can represent significant barriers to economic development. Many live in areas remote from major industrial centres; they tend to experience a limited range of economic opportunities; to have levels of formal education lower than those of the non-Aboriginal population; to have restricted access to economic infrastructure and social services; and to have limited experience in operating commercial ventures and limited access to investment capital (Bennett,

1999: 4–10; Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2001; NRTEE, 2001: 14–15). Modern mining projects tend to be capital intensive and technologically sophisticated, requiring large inputs of capital and skilled labour, and this can create additional barriers to Aboriginal economic participation in the minerals sector. Thus a key general question underpinning the analysis that follows is how mining agreements can assist in overcoming these barriers to economic development.

MINING PAYMENTS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During recent years there has been an uneven but increasing tendency for mining agreements in Australia and Canada to provide for substantial cash payments to Aboriginal landowners and/or communities. The specific provisions involved vary considerably depending on the legislative context, company policy and the preferences and negotiating positions of the Aboriginal parties. In some cases Aboriginal groups have a legal right to themselves impose taxes; in others they have a right to receive a portion of royalties collected by federal or provincial authorities; and in yet others private arrangements between Aboriginal people and resource companies include negotiated payments. The generic term "mining payments" is used here to describe these different income flows.

Mining payments offer an important potential benefit for Aboriginal communities with a limited income and investment base and, in many cases, a desire to reduce their dependence on government funding. To fully realise that potential Aboriginal communities must address three critical issues: the way in which payments are extracted from mining projects; how income derived from mining payments is expended; and the way in which political tensions surrounding payments are managed.

Extracting Mining Payments

The method used to extract mining payments has important economic implications that are complex and merit detailed discussion (see O'Faircheallaigh, 1998). Briefly, there are five basic ways in which payments can be structured. Each has advantages and disadvantages from the perspective both of Aboriginal communities and project operators, and communities need to negotiate arrangements which facilitate achievement of their objectives but also allow a project to operate efficiently. This will often involve modifying one of the basic approaches noted below and/or combining more than one of them in a composite approach (see O'Faircheallaigh, 1998 for some examples).

Model 1: Payment of fixed dollar amounts: In this case the project operator makes payments to the Aboriginal parties that are fixed in advance. Payments are usually due on signing of an agreement or/and on the issue of project approvals, and thereafter annually or quarterly for the life of a project or the term of an agreement. Fixed payments are very common in agreements in both Australia and Canada, including for major projects such as the Ekati and Diavik diamond mines in the Northwest Territories (NWT) and the Century zinc mine in Queensland. Their prevalence reflects the fact that they are simple to administer, create predictability for both parties and, from the Aboriginal community's perspective, are not dependent on the project achieving profitability. However they do have a significant disadvantage in that payments do not adjust to changes in the expected scale or profitability of a project and so may come to appear inappropriately low or high to one or other party. For example if a project turns out to be larger and/or more profitable than expected affected Aboriginal communities may feel they have had a poor return from development on their land, particularly if environmental effects are also greater than anticipated. This may create conflict within communities, pressure for re-negotiation of the agreement and uncertainty for project operators. Thus there are strong arguments for considering alternative approaches.

Model 2: Royalties based on volume of output. One alternative is to charge a fixed sum on each unit of mineral produced by a project (for example cents per pound, dollars per tonne), an approach utilised for instance in the *Ely Agreement (Queensland)*[4] and as a component of IBA financial provisions for the Voisey's Bay project (Newfoundland and Labrador).[5] The advantage of this approach is that payments rise as produc-

tion and project scale increase, an important consideration for Aboriginal people who tend to be greatly concerned about the impact of resources projects on their land and to believe that as the scale of that impact grows, so should the amount of financial benefit they receive. However royalty revenue adjusts only to changes in the volume of output and not to changes in mineral prices. Thus, Aboriginal communities do not share in any additional wealth generated by a project because mineral prices are rising. Conversely, they do not share in the "downside' when prices are falling. For a project operator, this approach means that royalty liability remains the same even if its revenues are falling because of declining prices.

Model 3: Royalties based on value of production. A third approach (referred to as an *ad valorem* royalty) is to calculate payments as a percentage of the value of minerals produced by a project, derived by multiplying the volume of output by the price received per unit. This approach is adopted, for instance, in most agreements negotiated under Aboriginal land rights legislation in Australia's Northern Territory and in the *Hope Vale Agreement* (Queensland). From a project operator's perspective this has the advantage that its royalty liability moves in line with one of its critical business parameters, the price it receives for its output. However, royalty payments do not adjust to changes in a company's production costs (which along with level of output and prices determines company profitability), and so royalty liability may remain unchanged if profits fall. For an Aboriginal community *ad valorem* royalties have the advantage that the community shares in the benefit of any increase in mineral prices.

However, prices fall as well as rise and they tend to fall or rise more quickly than output. A major drawback of this approach is that royalty income may decline substantially over short periods of time, creating difficulties for Aboriginal groups in maintaining services or investments supported by royalty income. For example in Australia's Northern Territory the Gagudju Association, which received royalties under the *Ranger Agreement*, suffered a 50 per cent decline in royalty income over just two years in the early 1990s as uranium prices fell sharply and the project operator cut output in response. As a result Gagudju had to cease provision of certain services to the Aboriginal community and was unable to service loans it had raised to fund investments in tourist facilities. The Enoch Band in Alberta faced similar difficulties during periods of low oil prices (York, 1990: 191).

Model 4: Royalties based on profits. Profit royalties are a charge on the funds that remain after a mining company has deducted from revenues costs that can be defined to include a range of operating and capital charges. The *Raglan Agreement* (Quebec), for instance, includes a profit-sharing royalty that is applied for each calendar year to the amount by which aggregate project revenues exceed the aggregate of a range of operating and capital costs. The *Argyle Diamonds Agreement* (Western Australia) also utilises a profit based royalty, in this case charged on EBITDA (Earnings Before Interest, Tax, Depreciation and Amortization). A profit-based royalty allows an Aboriginal community to share in the benefits both of rising prices and of any fall in costs achieved by a project operator through greater efficiency. Profit based royalties have significant benefits for project operators as they move in line with both prices and costs, and are least onerous precisely when a company is most in need of financial relief — when a project is being developed, or when operations are only marginally profitable or incurring losses.

Of course not all projects turn out to be profitable. Many mines lose money during at least part of their lives and nearly all generate only modest profits during the early stage of project life when capital investment is being written off. Certain projects never achieve profitability. As a result, Aboriginal communities may face substantial delays in receiving income, may experience periods when no income accrues and, in a worse case scenario, may receive no financial benefit from mining on their land. This prospect may be unacceptable in principle to Aboriginal people given that significant social, cultural and environmental impacts are often associated with major resource projects. Profit based royalties can also introduce administrative complexities, associated with the need to verify that allowable deductions are not manipulated so as to reduce effective royalty rates.

Model 5: Equity. The final approach is for an Aboriginal community to take equity in a project, to become its part owner and so receive an entitlement to the dividends that flow to shareholders. Such a provision is included, for instance, in the *Darnley Bay* (Northwest Territories), *Ross River* (Yukon) and *Skardon River* (Queensland) agreements. Many of the same arguments apply here as to profit-based royalties. Dividends tend to be paid only after profitability has been achieved and after other financial needs (such as funds for expansion) have been met. This has obvious advantages for the project operator. However, it means that Aboriginal groups can expect to wait a considerable time before receiving income unless a project is already well established when an agreement is signed, and they face the prospect of obtaining no revenues during periods when operations incur losses or generate only limited profits. Obtaining equity does, however, create the possibility of achieving a capital gain, if shares can be sold for substantially more than their initial cost. In addition a shareholding may, if it is substantial, allow Aboriginal groups to have a say in how a project is managed, to have a right of access to information about a project, and to gain commercial experience which may later be applied in other business ventures. However, the larger a share Aboriginal people seek in a project the more likely it is that the developer will expect them to pay "market value" for their shares, and Aboriginal groups then face an important decision about whether investing in what may be a high-risk resource project represents the best use of their scarce resources.

The degree of risk borne by Aboriginal groups increases as we move from Model 1 through to Model 5, while the prospect of achieving substantial revenues from profitable projects also increases. Each Aboriginal community will differ in its capacity and desire to bear risk, and it is also possible to balance risk against the desire to share in profits by combining a number of the models outlined above. Both these points highlight the need for Aboriginal communities to give careful consideration to the choice of financial models if they are to maximise the contribution of mining agreements to economic development.

Utilisation of Mining Payments

In general terms, mining payments can be used in four ways — to make payments to individual community members; to fund services and infrastructure for Aboriginal communities; to help establish business enterprises operated by or from an Aboriginal community; or to build up an investment portfolio (such as stocks and property) that may be based outside the region or even the country in which the community is located.

Payments to individuals. In both Canada and Australia a share of mining royalties is sometimes paid to individual landowners or community members. Initial payments under the *Ely Agreement*, for instance, were distributed to community elders, on the basis that they had suffered the consequences of earlier mining activities and would have little opportunity to obtain benefits under other aspects of the Agreement, such as employment and training programs (see also Robinson et al., 1989: 35, 92). Individual payments are typically modest (in the range of A$500–A$3000 per annum),[6] although substantially larger payments have been made to some individuals in both Australia and Canada. Distributions usually take the form of cash, though one Innu community utilised some of its initial payments under the Voisey's Bay — Innu IBA to purchase a snowmobile for each family, and payments under the *Nabarlek Agreement* (Northern Territory) were used to fund distributions of vehicles.

Individual payments generate a benefit for the people who receive them and, where they are in cash, allow individuals to make their own decisions about how to use the money involved. However this benefit is short lived unless the money is invested in durable assets. In fact because of the small sums typically involved and the pressure to share with kin that exists in many Aboriginal communities, individual payments are often quickly spent on consumer goods. In a wider economic context, while in theory expenditure of individual payments could stimulate economic development by creating a demand for goods and services in an Aboriginal community (Robinson et al., 1989: 91–93, 116), any such effect is usually minor because the goods purchased (durable or otherwise) tend to be imported rather than produced locally.

Individual payments can be a source of social conflict by causing distrust and jealousy between recipients and non-recipients (see below), a cost which must be offset against any economic benefit that does materialize.

Services and infrastructure. Many Aboriginal communities are seriously deficient in services such as education and health and to physical infrastructure such as housing, roads and water supplies. It is therefore not surprising that communities often decide to use mining payments for the provision of social services and infrastructure. For example, the Gagudju Association used revenues from the *Ranger Agreement* to build a school, establish a health service for its members, construct houses and provide food distribution to remote "homeland centres" or "outstations". Such expenditures can create substantial social benefits and, by raising educational standards and living standards more generally, make a significant contribution to economic development over the longer term. However, using mining payments in this way does raise two important issues that require careful consideration and management.

The first is that mining payments can be highly unstable, especially where they are based on company revenues or profits, and they cease when a mine or oil field becomes uneconomic. Communities which rely on mining payments to support services may find themselves in serious difficulties unless they have made provision for an alternative source of income to support services, for example, by investing part of their mining income in a capital trust designed to generate a self-sustaining flow of income over the longer term. For example, the Gagudju Association's declining income in the early 1990s (see above) made it impossible to maintain health and other services and imposed severe costs on community members.

The second issue involves the very real danger that government agencies responsible for providing public services and infrastructure will reduce funding to Aboriginal communities that receive mining payments because the agencies believe the community can "afford" to provide their own services, a problem also noted in the context of land claim settlement payments to Aboriginal communities in Canada (Robinson et al., 1989: 23–24). Faced with insufficient resources, agencies may regard this as an equitable approach because it means that government resources can be concentrated on communities that have no alternative sources of funding. However, the result may be that a community affected by a mining project is no better off in terms of service provision than it would be in the absence of the mine. In the meantime it may have incurred significant environmental, social and cultural costs as a result of the mine's operation. For example, Altman (1998: 20–21) found that the Kakadu region in which the Ranger uranium mine is based was actually worse off in terms of service provision than other adjacent regions that did not have any major mining projects. Thus, considerable care must be taken to ensure that mining payments spent on services and infrastructure do not simply substitute for government expenditure that would have occurred in any case. For example, mining payments could be spent on services or infrastructure that a community requires but that would not qualify for government funding.[7]

Business enterprise. A third alternative is to use mining payments as capital to establish business enterprises. This is a common use of mining payments, being employed for example by communities gaining revenues from oil exploitation in Alberta and central Australia, from diamond mining in the Northwest Territories and from bauxite, manganese and uranium mining in the Northern Territory (Altman and Smith, 1999; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002b; York, 1990: 100). The fact that this approach is used so widely reflects the potential benefits it can offer. Typically Aboriginal communities have limited employment opportunities, and establishing businesses creates jobs and training. Their dependence on government funding is often a major source of concern for Aboriginal Peoples, and creating businesses offers a chance to be involved in the "real economy" and to enhance their autonomy. Where businesses are not directly reliant on the mining or oil project concerned, they offer an economic base that can continue to operate after the resource has been exhausted. Given that Aboriginal communities often have difficulty in accessing conventional sources of finance such as bank loans, mining payments can offer a unique opportunity to gain access to this range of benefits.

Certain Aboriginal groups have had considerable success in adopting such a strategy, establishing enterprises in areas such as agriculture, contract mining, tourism, transport and catering (RMC, 1984: 12–13, 20; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002: Chapter 6; SIWGMI, 1990: 158; 1993: 61–63, 68–69; 1997: 60–64). However, others have run into serious difficulties (O'Faircheallaigh 2002b, Chapter 7; Robinson et al., 1989: 9, 19–23, 87, 113–115). In some cases this may reflect the limited markets available to businesses operating in the remote regions where many Aboriginal people live, which means that investment in any local business enterprise will struggle to achieve profitability. It may also reflect the impact of cyclical factors in the industries concerned, for example tourism. The limited business experience of Aboriginal people may also represent a barrier to success, and in a number of cases problems could have been minimized or avoided by more careful assessment of the economic and financial viability of businesses purchased or established by Aboriginal groups (O'Faircheallaigh, 2002b: Chapter 7).

Portfolio investment. Portfolio investment involves the use of mining payments to build up income-generating assets that are selected for their ability to maximise returns and minimise risk over the longer term. These assets will not include any ventures based in the Aboriginal community itself, unless those businesses are capable of generating a financial return as high as can be obtained outside the community. Typically portfolio investment would be channelled into a diverse range of assets including "blue chip" shares, real estate and government bonds so as to achieve, in total, a level of risk and a level of financial return acceptable to a particular Aboriginal community.

While portfolio investment does not usually generate jobs and business opportunities in Aboriginal communities, at least in the short-term, it does have a number of advantages. First, because investment can be spread across a wide range of sectors, the chances of a community earning negative or highly unstable returns is diminished. Second, portfolio investment generates an economic base independent from the resource development activity that generates mining payments, a base that can continue to generate an income after mining ceases. Third, if a community can re-invest a part or all of the income derived from its portfolio investments, it can build up an asset base and income streams that are very substantial. For example, the Aboriginal communities involved in the *Western Cape York Communities Agreement* (WCCCA) (Queensland) have calculated, using conservative assumptions about rates of return, that by investing about half of their income under the Agreement and re-investing the interest, they will at the end of 20 years enjoy an annual income in excess of A$10 million (real dollars).

The major drawback associated with portfolio investment is that it ties up resources that are urgently needed to raise individual incomes and provide services in Aboriginal communities, until such time as a capital base has been developed that can generate an ongoing income sufficient to help meet these needs. Thus long-term portfolio investment may need to be part of an overall strategy that devotes part of mining payments to immediate distribution or investment in community services (Robinson et al., 1989: 116–117). For instance, under the *Argyle Diamonds Agreement* 30 per cent of moneys flowing into trust funds established for the benefit of Aboriginal landowners are specifically allocated for expenditure designed to generate immediate benefits.

Managing the Politics of Mining Payments

Choices regarding how mining payments are used and who should benefit from their expenditure are highly political and often very contentious. This reflects a number of factors. First, most people in Aboriginal communities tend to have a keen and personal interest in the outcome, whereas interest in employment in mining or business development, for instance, tends to be confined to specific groups. Second, when money is distributed in cash or spent on provision of specific goods and services such as vehicles or housing, comparison with the benefits received by others is simple and can lead to resentment and jealousy where distributions are uneven. Third, other sources of cash income are usually limited and so even if the absolute amounts involved appear modest from an economic perspective, the stakes are often high for Aboriginal people. Reflecting on these factors, expenditure

of mining payments has often been accompanied by social conflict (see for example Altman and Smith, 1994; Impaxsia Consulting, 2004: v, 46–48; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002b; York, 1990: 100–101; Sosa and Keenan, 2001: 13–14).

Given the inherently political nature of distribution issues it will be difficult to avoid conflict in this area. However, the need to manage conflict does have two important and related implications. The first is that every effort should be made to ensure that decisions in relation to financial aspects of agreements are made in as transparent and participatory a way as possible. Nothing is more conducive to suspicion and social conflict than a belief that such decisions are being taken behind closed doors and to the exclusion of individuals who believe they have a legitimate interest in the outcome.

The second implication involves the need to develop appropriate and robust structures to manage payments over the longer term. Decisions in relation to utilisation and distribution of funds have to be made on an ongoing basis, to maximise returns on investment, to protect the capital base, and to choose between alternative uses for what are inevitably scarce financial resources. A substantial amount has been written about how, in a technical and economic sense, a stream of income from a mining project can be applied to create long-term, sustainable benefits for Aboriginal communities (see for instance O'Brien & Olsen, 1990; Pretes & Robinson, 1989; 1999; Robinson et al., 1989). However, careful attention must also be paid to political considerations. Much less research has focused on this area, but some critical points are that structures to manage mining payments must:

- Provide representation to the full range of Aboriginal groups that have an interest in the application of mining payments;
- Establish clear and explicit guidelines for setting priorities for use of mining payments;
- Provide access to the technical expertise required to manage funds effectively, while ensuring that Aboriginal priorities drive the use of mining payments at a strategic level;
- Allow a degree of flexibility so that changing economic and social conditions can be taken into account (Altman and Smith, 1994; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002; Robinson et al., 1989).

Mining payments inevitably give rise to intense political activity within Aboriginal communities. It is critical that community leaders and economic development workers recognise this point and pay careful attention to decision-making processes and management structures, as well as to the economic issues involved in extracting and applying mining payments.

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

The second major area in which mining agreements can contribute to Aboriginal economic development is by creating opportunities for employment and training. The positive economic impact associated with such opportunities can be substantial. Modern mining projects generate relatively few jobs given the scale of the capital investment involved, but those employed earn high wages and so Aboriginal employment can generate substantial income for neighbouring communities (Hicks, 1997: 14; SIWGMI, 1990: 128). The Hope Vale Aboriginal community in north Queensland, for instance, has at times received twice as much income from the wages of workers employed at the Cape Flattery silica mine as it receives from royalty payments. In the longer term, employment and training in the mining industry can contribute to more broadly based economic development as former mine workers and trainees apply their experience and skills in other industries or in community organisations. A number of Hope Vale people who completed apprenticeships at Cape Flattery, for example, now work for the Hope Vale Community Council.

There is an extensive literature in Australia and Canada, spanning more than 30 years, on Aboriginal employment in the mining industry, on the obstacles to maximising employment and on the measures required to overcome these obstacles (see for example AMSI, 1992; Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1984; Cousins and Nieuwenhuysen, 1984; Deines, Littlejohn and Hunt, 1979; Grant, 1983: Chapters 4, 7; Hicks, 1997; Hobart, 1982a; 1982b; 1984; NEDGI, 1992; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002b: Chapters 4, 5; SIWGMI, 1990–1998). Obstacles identified in the literature to the recruitment and retention of Aboriginal workers and to their advancement into higher-level positions include:

- lack of the skills and work experience required to compete on the open job market or to achieve advancement to more senior positions, and an absence or scarcity of affordable opportunities to upgrade existing skills;
- racism towards and stereotyping of Aboriginal people by senior company managers, supervisors and co-workers;
- a tendency for managers to prioritise the demands of production and cost containment over Aboriginal employment and training in allocating financial and other resources, including their own time;
- lack of awareness of employment and training opportunities among potential Aboriginal recruits;
- alienation and loneliness arising from the unfamiliarity of industrial environments and distance from home communities, leading to a failure to complete training and education programs, irregular work patterns and high turnover;
- the reluctance of Aboriginal people to forgo land-based activities such as hunting and fishing that may conflict with regular wage employment;
- absence of suitable accommodation for Aboriginal trainees and employees;
- a failure to specifically address the needs and priorities of Aboriginal women employees and potential recruits.

As noted in the introduction there is considerable diversity within Aboriginal populations in Australia and Canada, and not all of these issues arise in relation to every Aboriginal community. However, mining agreements must seriously address those issues that are relevant in specific contexts if they are to help maximise the contribution of employment and training to Aboriginal economic development. The remainder of this section discusses a range of relevant agreement provisions, providing specific examples of each. It should be stressed that individual agreements vary greatly in the extent to which they incorporate the provisions discussed below (O'Faircheallaigh, 2004b: 320–21; Wilkinson, 2001).

Goals and incentives

A key requirement for Aboriginal employment and training initiatives, particularly given the range of obstacles that must be addressed and the need to ensure that senior managers focus on dealing with these, involves the setting of concrete goals, for instance specific and rising proportions of Aboriginal employees, and the creation of incentives for achievement of these goals and/or sanctions for their non-achievement. Agreements negotiated in Australia and Canada in the 1970s and 1980s generally lacked these elements, as do some more recent agreements. For instance the *Osborne Agreement* (Queensland) simply states that "the parties shall take reasonable and genuine efforts to encourage employment and training opportunities for Aboriginal people within ... the Osborne Project." Similar provisions are contained in a number of IBAs negotiated for diamond mines in the Northwest Territories in the late 1990s, which commit project operators to "take all reasonable steps" to employ the greatest possible number of First Nation members, assuming there are sufficient qualified and interested people to fill available positions and to "offer opportunities for training and apprenticeships" in order to maximize the number of available jobs.

Such provisions give project operators considerable discretion to determine what is "reasonable", whether or not Aboriginal people do possess the required qualifications, and what type and how much training should be provided. The vagueness of the provisions and the discretion afforded the project operator make enforcement of an agreement virtually impossible (see for example Yukon Economic Development, 2001: 6).

A number of mechanisms are used to make commitments in relation to employment and training more specific. One involves the setting of targets for Aboriginal employment, with a requirement to achieve a certain level (in total or across specified employment categories) by a specified date. For example, the *Dona Lake Agreement* (Ontario) calls for 55 people from the relevant First Nations to be employed during construction and 30 during operations, while the *Mistissini Agreement* (Quebec) sets a target of at least 25 per cent of the workforce being members of First Nations. Many in the mining industry and some Aboriginal people oppose

mandatory targets, sometimes referred to as quotas (see for instance O'Reilly & Eacott, 1998: 4; Keeping, 1998: 13). Industry is concerned that quotas may adversely affect project economics by requiring the project operator to employ people it does not need or who are not appropriately qualified simply in order to meet its quota. Also, project operators who put a major effort into Aboriginal employment and training may be found to be in breach of an agreement even where their failure to meet quotas results from factors beyond their control, for example a lack of interest on the part of suitably qualified Aboriginal people (Kennett, 1999: 48; SIWGMI, 1990: 126, 149). For these reasons obligations on project operators are more frequently couched in non-mandatory terms, involving a requirement that they make "best endeavours" to reach specified targets. However as noted above, this approach raises issues regarding the enforceability of the relevant provisions. Indeed the Voisey's Bay IBAs, for example, explicitly state that employment targets are not "quotas" and shall not be legally enforceable.

From an Aboriginal perspective quotas or targets may result in a tendency for project operators to set goals at too modest a level in an attempt to ensure that they can achieve them, and may remove the incentive to further increase Aboriginal employment once quotas or targets have been achieved. In addition, they may lead project operators to focus Aboriginal employment on non-core, peripheral or unskilled activities that do not require significant training.

An alternative approach is the use of "rolling" targets that set objectives for Aboriginal employment and training on an ongoing basis, create incentives for meeting these targets and provide automatic adjustment mechanisms if they are not met. For example, the WCCCA specifies successive and rising targets for Aboriginal employment over a number of three-year periods. Failure to meet targets does not represent a breach of the agreement, but does require the project operator to progressively increase spending on employment and training programs beyond a base level specified in the agreement until the relevant target is achieved. This additional expenditure is not, however, triggered unless educational outcomes in the local school system are maintained, recognising the importance of sustaining a supply of suitably qualified Aboriginal recruits if employment targets are to be met. Where employment targets are met, the project operator is committed to continuing the base level of spending on Aboriginal employment and training programs, helping to ensure that targets continue to be met and possibly exceeded (Cape York Land Council/Comalco, 2001). These provisions represent one way of establishing concrete benchmarks for performance and creating incentives to achieve those benchmarks, while at the same time minimising any counter-productive behaviour that may be associated with use of quotas or of targets based only on "best endeavours".

Whatever specific provisions are employed, the critical requirement is to make the commitments of the project operator and of the Aboriginal parties clear, explicit and, to the extent possible, quantifiable.

Employment Preference

Recognising the general disadvantages that Aboriginal people often face in competing in job markets, mining agreements frequently make an explicit statement of preference in favour of Aboriginal people who are suitably qualified or capable of becoming so. For example under the *Cameco Agreement* (Saskatchewan) the project operator undertakes to fill "all job vacancies at the Projects with Residents [of signatory communities] as long as suitable candidates are available...." Agreements may also create a hierarchy among Aboriginal groups for the purpose of applying an employment preference. The *Raglan Agreement*, for instance, establishes an order of priority as follows: (a) Inuit beneficiaries residing in the signatory communities (b) Inuit beneficiaries residing in other Northern villages (c) Inuit beneficiaries residing elsewhere. (d) Other persons of Inuit ancestry. In addition to general statements of preference, specific measures may be included that, for instance, adjust or waive standard educational requirements for positions for Aboriginal candidates (*Syncrude Agreement* (Alberta), *Diavik Agreement* (NWT)); or allow for previous on-the-job experience to be considered in lieu of educational requirements (*Raglan Agreement*); or accommodate re-entry into project workforces of former Aboriginal employees (*Ulu Agreement* (NWT), *Cameco Agreement*).

Resource Commitments

Achievement of employment and training goals requires commitment of substantial resources. Mining agreements can spell out relevant commitments in a number of different ways. One approach, adopted in the WCCCA, is to specify an annual expenditure budget, with the specific allocation of these resources usually determined by a joint committee made up of company and Aboriginal community representatives. The *Ross River Agreement* (Yukon) adopts a similar approach in providing a budget for scholarships, with any funds that cannot be expended in a calendar year being carried forward in a trust for use at a later date. Another approach is for the project operator to commit to fund dedicated training or liaison staff, such as a full time Aboriginal Employment Officer, a role that a number of studies indicate is critical to successful employment initiatives (AMSI, 1992: 62; Lange, 1984: 127–28; Grant, 1983: 99–101). Funds may also be committed to provide pre-employment or on-the-job training to a specified number of potential employees, or to establish a minimum number of apprenticeships. For instance the *Hope Vale Agreement* (Queensland) includes funding for eight Aboriginal apprenticeships, a major commitment for a project where total employment is just 120.

Information Exchange on Employment opportunities and potential recruits

It is well established that specific measures are required to ensure that members of Aboriginal communities are aware of employment opportunities, that such measures need to be maintained throughout project life, and that visits to Aboriginal communities are critical in creating awareness of employment opportunities (see for example Grant, 1983: 46, 100–101; NEDGI, 1993: 27). Most mining agreements contain some provisions relating to dissemination of information on opportunities. These may involve a general commitment to make Aboriginal communities aware of them, and a requirement for provision of written notices of job opportunities to community or band councils or to insertion of job advertisements in local newspapers (*Dome Agreement* (British Columbia), *Cameco Agreement*). Other agreements provide for regular community visits by mining company staff both to foster general awareness of available opportunities and to advertise vacancies (*Ulu Agreement*). Another and more pro-active approach utilised in the *Argyle Diamonds Agreement* involves compilation by the community of lists of potential applicants and their qualifications and experience, and a mechanism through which individuals on the lists are provided with the opportunity to apply for job vacancies. The *Ely* and *Hope Vale* agreements *require* the project operator to hire from the lists of community members where they include individuals that have relevant qualifications or experience.

Career Advancement

Aboriginal people working in the mining industry tend to be concentrated in lower-skilled and lower-paid positions. Both individual workers and Aboriginal communities have strong aspirations to change this situation and secure higher incomes and the status and influence associated with high-income positions. In addition, having Aboriginal people in supervisory and managerial roles can enhance the prospects for further recruitment and retention of Aboriginal workers.[8]

Apart from training programs designed to enhance general skill levels, five types of provisions can assist the career advancement of Aboriginal workers. The first involves commitments by the project operator that employment and training initiatives will be aimed at placing Aboriginal people in positions at all skill levels in an organisation. For instance, the *Dome Agreement* calls for employment to be maximized "throughput the range of job classifications in the project." The second involves the award of high school or university scholarships to members of Aboriginal communities. For instance, the *Ely Agreement* creates a number of bursaries to assist community members to attend University, and since their establishment in 1998, these have supported four students to completion of their studies, a significant number given that the community involved previously had no university graduates.

Another approach (used for instance in the *Century Agreement*) is to specify the steps that Aboriginal recruits and employees must take to move into more senior skilled and senior positions, and identify initiatives that help workers

move through these steps. Making the path to career advancement transparent can also be important in retaining Aboriginal workers initially recruited into lower-skilled and lower-paid positions. A fourth approach is to require establishment of a minimum number of training positions specifically designed to prepare Aboriginal people for supervisory or managerial positions, or appointment of a minimum number of Aboriginal people to such roles. The Voisey's Bay IBAs contain a provision of the first sort, while the *Ely Agreement* provides for the employment of at least three Aboriginal people in supervisory or managerial roles. Finally, the project operator may offer employment opportunities to Aboriginal people who complete education or training programs (the *Hope Vale Agreement*, the *Syncrude Agreement*).

The Workplace Environment

Another major issue addressed in agreements is the creation of a work environment conducive to recruitment and retention of Aboriginal employees. A fundamental issue in this regard involves the attitude of non-Aboriginal employees, and especially of supervisory staff. Racist attitudes or stereotyping on their part can make Aboriginal workers uncomfortable and resentful, making it difficult for them to perform to their potential and in some cases leading them to resign. Under the *Raglan Agreement*, the project operator must take all reasonable steps to prevent employees from experiencing discrimination; take prompt disciplinary action against any employee who behaves in a negative or discriminatory fashion towards employees on the project; undertake a series of initiatives to promote inter-cultural dialogue; and evaluate all candidates applying for work for their sensitivity to inter-cultural contact.

Even where other workers are not hostile to Aboriginal employees, lack of understanding regarding Aboriginal values and priorities can be a major problem. For instance, supervisors may regard individual workers as being unreliable or lacking commitment because they are not aware that Aboriginal people sometimes have to give cultural and social obligations precedence over their work obligations. To help address these issues and to combat racism agreements may require non-Aboriginal employees to undertake cross-cultural training, provided by or with the involvement of knowledgeable people from local Aboriginal communities. For example the *Argyle Diamonds Agreement* requires all workers and contractors to undertake cross-cultural training on arrival and at intervals of two years thereafter, while managers must undertake a more intensive course that includes camping in the bush with Aboriginal elders.

Agreements may also seek to enhance the attraction of mining employment to Aboriginal workers by providing for variations to standard rotation schedules for fly-in/fly-out projects,[9] or more generally to working hours and leave arrangements, to facilitate their continued participation in activities such as hunting and fishing or to allow for urgent absences for funerals or other important events. In some cases specific arrangements are negotiated to provide access to "country" or "bush" foods at mine sites or to allow hunting or fishing in the vicinity of project sites. For example the *Raglan Agreement* provides that Inuit employees can opt for a two weeks on/two weeks off rotation (rather than four weeks on/two weeks off), and requires the project operator to supply facilities needed to provide country food to Inuit workers.

Measures Directed at Aboriginal Women

The issue of gender equity in employment is rarely addressed in mining agreements. This is perhaps not surprising given that mining has traditionally been a male-dominated industry, and that mining agreements are usually negotiated by men. The failure to address gender issues can have serious implications. Employment on resource projects often represents one of the few, and often the most lucrative, sources of cash incomes available in remote Aboriginal communities. There is evidence that Aboriginal women both in Australia and Canada are, given the chance, keen to share in this source of income, and their exclusion is likely to represent a significant source of inequality (Holden & O'Faircheallaigh, 1995; Lange, 1984; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002b: 85–86, 100, 130; O'Reilly & Eacott, 1998: 26). In recent years a small number of agreements in Australia and Canada have included a commitment by the par-

ties to equal employment opportunity and statements that employment and training programs are intended to include Aboriginal women as well as men. However, such commitments represent little more than an acknowledgement of legislative realities and obligations. The *Hope Vale Agreement* does go further and specifies a minimum number of positions that must be made available to Aboriginal women.

Family and Community Support

It has long been recognised that Aboriginal trainees and workers need support from their families and communities; that families require support when family members take up employment at mining sites, especially when this requires extended absences from home; and that absence of support for families can lead workers to abandon training programs and jobs (AMSI, 1992: 30–32, 64, 66–67; Chretien, 1969; Grant, 1983: Chapters 4, 7; Johnson, 1993: 21; NEDGI, 1993: 40, 44; O'Faircheallaigh, 2002b: 100). Some agreements modify rotation schedules for fly-in fly-out mines to allow Aboriginal workers to return to their communities more frequently. Agreements may provide for the appointment of staff whose duties include liaison between workers and communities and provision of support to workers and to their families. The *Cameco Agreement* and the *Century Agreement* provide funding for an employee relations counsellor to provide support for employees and their families in each signatory community, while under the *Diavik Agreement* (NWT) both parties appoint a liaison person who work together to develop counselling and support programs to "prepare Dogrib individuals and families for lifestyle changes associated with shift rotation work" and to "promote individual and family well-being." The *Hope Vale Agreement* includes an unusual approach in that the project operator undertook to renovate a disused accommodation building and make it available to members of workers' families so they could visit workers during their shifts at the mine site.

While the importance of maintaining links with families and communities and of providing support for families is well documented, many of the agreements reviewed for this study contain few if any provisions designed to address these issues. Their failure to do so can represent a significant obstacle to maximising Aboriginal participation.

Provision of Appropriate Accommodation

Another issue whose importance has long been documented involves provision of suitable accommodation for Aboriginal workers (AMSI 1992: 59; Stevenson, 1968: 25; Littlejohn and Powell, 1981: 6). Where projects are fly-in fly-out, mine operators provide single accommodation for workers at the mine site. However, where workers travel daily to a mine from their home community or must find accommodation in another community close to the mine, serious problems can arise either because of the high cost of obtaining rental accommodation or because housing conditions in the home community are poor and not conducive to regular or effective participation in the workforce. For example, O'Faircheallaigh has shown how overcrowded housing and attendant social problems such as family violence and substance abuse seriously affected the ability of Aboriginal workers to complete training programs and attend work regularly at uranium mines in Australia's Northern Territory (2002b: 102–105). Similar problems have been documented in Canada (AMSI, 1992: 26–27; NEDGI, 1993: 38–39). However, few of the agreements reviewed address the issue of accommodation in any substantive manner.

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

Mining agreements can also contribute to Aboriginal economic development by creating opportunities for Aboriginal businesses to provide goods or services to the project concerned, in the process generating employment and incomes that in some cases exceed those created by direct employment in project operations (SIWGMI, 1990: 158; 1993: 61–63, 68–69; 1997: 60–64). However as in the case of employment and training, Aboriginal businesses may face significant barriers in seeking to take advantages of the available opportunities, related in particular to (i) the high transaction costs that can be involved in standard tendering and contracting arrangements; (ii) scarcity of capital for business investment; (iii) lack of relevant

skills; and (iv) the difficulty of competing with large, well-established non-Aboriginal businesses (AMSI, 1992: 38–40; Grant, 1983: 52–53; NEDGI, 1993: 57–63; O'Faircheallaigh, 2004b: 322–23; Robinson et al., 1989: 13, 25; SIWGMI, 1993: 6).

Virtually all the agreements reviewed contained some provisions offering support to Aboriginal businesses. In certain cases that support is expressed only in very general terms and, as with comparable provisions on employment and training, use of phrases such as "where practicable" or "reasonable endeavours" raises questions about their enforceability. For example, the *Mt Hundere Agreement* (Yukon) requires the project operator "during the life of the mine ... [to] identify some contracts, where practicable, to allow possible participation by Local Businesses." In other cases (for instance the *Doig River Agreement*) project operators undertake to award contracts to Aboriginal businesses that are competitive in relation to costs, quality, deliverability and other relevant criteria, which begs the question as to why Aboriginal businesses would need support if they are already competitive. However other agreements in both Australia and Canada do contain a range of specific measures designed to address the barriers listed above.

High Transaction Costs

Transaction costs facing Aboriginal businesses can be reduced in a number of ways. The project operator can provide information on upcoming contracts to them in a form and within a time frame that facilitates tendering and a registry of Aboriginal businesses can be created, assisting information flows to potential bidders about available contracts and to the project operator about the capacities of Aboriginal businesses (*Argyle Diamonds Agreement*). Some agreements, including the *Ulu Agreement*, provide for breaking up of what would normally be large single contracts into a series of smaller ones, making it easier for Aboriginal businesses with limited capacity and financial resources to tender successfully. Provisions may be made for contracts below a certain size to be offered first to local Aboriginal enterprises, and if they can meet price, quality and delivery specifications the contract is awarded without going to tender. For instance under the *Ulu Agreement* Inuit owned businesses have an opportunity to bid on contracts between $50,000 and $500,000, while an Inuit regional organisation has first right to negotiate contracts expected to exceed $500,000. Similar provisions apply under the *Raglan Agreement*. Project operators may also waive performance bonds and tender deposits for Aboriginal businesses.

Scarcity of Business Capital

Certain agreements provide that the project operator will assist Aboriginal businesses to raise finance by providing documentation regarding contract or purchase order awards to financial institutions (*Diavik Agreement*). An alternative approach is offered by the Voisey's Bay IBAs, which create a revolving loan fund from which Innu and Inuit businesses can borrow to help meet start-up costs. Joint ventures between the project operator and Aboriginal businesses during their start-up phase provide another avenue for provision of capital, a point discussed separately below.

Lack of Relevant Skills and Experience

Project operators can assist Aboriginal businesses by providing access to the technical and financial expertise of their own staff and by helping them to undertake business management training. For instance, under the *Argyle Diamonds Agreement* the project operator undertakes to assist potential Aboriginal contractors to develop business plans and business skills and to provide them with information on gaining access to loan capital and government grants, on corporate governance and on obtaining business related education and training. The Agreement also provides that where Aboriginal businesses are unsuccessful in bidding for contracts, Argyle will provide written reports outlining the reasons for their failure, assisting them to enhance their tendering capacity. Joint ventures between project operators and Aboriginal businesses provide another avenue for developing business skills (see below).

Competitive Disadvantage

A number of measures may be applied to help overcome the competitive disadvantage of

Aboriginal businesses in relation to large, well-established non-Aboriginal businesses. These include a general preference clause for competitive Aboriginal businesses; evaluation of contract proposals or tenders on the basis of "Aboriginal" content as outlined in the agreement, an approach adopted in the Voisey's Bay IBAs; and the specification of a margin in favour of Aboriginal businesses in assessing tenders. For instance a number of other Australian agreements specify a "price tolerance" of 10 per cent in favour of Aboriginal tenderers, while one Western Australian agreement states that the project operator will not consider tenders from Aboriginal businesses as inferior solely on the basis that the Aboriginal business does not have a history of providing the relevant goods and services.

Joint Ventures

Creation of joint venture arrangements with project operators or/and third parties for the provision of major contracts can provide an integrated basis on which Aboriginal businesses can gain access to capital, skills and business experience (SIWGMI, 1996: 36–37). Joint ventures may provide for the non-Aboriginal partner to provide the bulk of start-up capital and to initially play a major role in contract management. As the Aboriginal participants gain more experience and access to an income stream from their share of the venture they may be in a position to increase their stake and their management role and eventually to buy out their partners. Aboriginal enterprises have employed this approach with considerable success in relation to diamond mining in Canada's Northwest Territories, beginning as junior partners with a minority equity in joint ventures and with a limited role in management; moving to a situation in which ownership and management control was evenly shared; and finally to bidding for contracts in their own right.[10] The Dene Tha' Band used a similar approach in northern British Columbia, entering into joint ventures with, or sub-contracting arrangements with, major non-Aboriginal enterprises in a succession of different areas and establishing their own operations to undertake contracts as they developed relevant skills and experience (RMC, 1984: 12–13, 20).

CONCLUSION

Aboriginal Peoples in Australia and Canada share a determination to overcome the serious economic and social disadvantage that is part of a common historical legacy. To do so it is essential that mining projects located on Aboriginal lands make the maximum possible contribution to Aboriginal economic development. Aboriginal communities have in the past been largely marginalised from such projects, and mining agreements offer an important opportunity to change this situation. In particular, agreements can generate royalty income and so increase incomes, provide a capital base and fund services and infrastructure; can help enhance skills levels and provide new educational and employment opportunities; and support the establishment or expansion of Aboriginal businesses.

However, agreements can only play these roles if their content and management reflects careful consideration of some key issues. These include the appropriate design of royalties or of other mechanisms used to extract income from a project; effective use of the income generated in ways that reflect the economic, social and cultural priorities of Aboriginal Peoples who are parties to agreements; and structures to manage the politics that inevitably develops around the distribution of financial benefits. In relation to employment, training and business development, agreement provisions need to reflect the extensive body of accumulated information regarding barriers to, and preconditions for, the recruitment, retention and advancement of Aboriginal workers and the establishment of sustainable Aboriginal enterprise. It is apparent that in many cases insufficient attention is in fact paid to this accumulated knowledge. For instance, few agreements address issues related to provision of appropriate accommodation for Aboriginal workers and of social support for them and their families. More generally, agreements are still being concluded that lack provisions that are explicit and enforceable and fail to make use of the available opportunities to maximise Aboriginal economic development.

NOTES

1. The focus here is on the relationship between the content of agreements and Aboriginal economic

development, not on the context and form of agreements, which would require a separate paper to address. For a discussion of the latter see for example Keeping, 1998; Kennett, 1999a; O'Faircheallaigh & Kelly, 2001; O'Faircheallaigh 1995a; 2004a; Sosa & Keenan, 2001; Wilkinson, 2001).

2. Mining agreements can play an important role both in protecting the existing subsistence base and in providing new opportunities for subsistence activity, for example by ensuring protection of land and water used for hunting and fishing; by facilitating access to land used for subsistence activity; and by generating cash income which can be used to purchase items used in subsistence activities such as boats, motors and firearms.
3. Only agreements involving Aboriginal Peoples or organisations as parties are included in the analysis. Thus for example the "socio-economic agreements" between the Government of the Northwest Territories and the operators of diamond mines in the NWT are not included. The agreements all relate to extraction of hard rock minerals or oil and gas.
4. For ease of reference a short form is used in citing agreements, and relevant details provided in Appendix 1. Except where a specific name for an agreement is widely used (for instance the *Ulu Agreement*), the short form is the abbreviated name of the first party listed in the title of the agreement concerned (for instance the *Argyle Diamonds Agreement*, the *Doig River Agreement*). The state/province where the relevant project is located is indicated when an agreement is first cited.
5. The IBAs for the Voisey's Bay project are confidential and so individual provisions cannot be cited. Information on the IBAs was provided by employees and advisers of the Innu Nation and the Labrador Inuit Association in interviews conducted in Goose Bay in April 2005.
6. In January 2006 A$1 equalled C$0.86.
7. For an extended discussion of the relationship between mining payments and government service provision and of appropriate policy approaches for Aboriginal communities, see O'Faircheallaigh, 2004c.
8. For example, community members attribute the high levels of Aboriginal employment at the Cape Flattery silica mine in part to the fact that Hope Vale people held a number of supervisory positions.
9. See O'Faircheallaigh, 1995b for a detailed discussion of Aboriginal employment issues in relation to fly-in/fly-out projects.
10. Interview with CEO Deton' Cho Corporation, Yellowknife, 11 May 2005.

REFERENCES

Altman, J. 1998. A National Review of Outstation Resource Agencies: Three Case Studies in the Kakadu-West Arnhem Region. Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR), Australian National University (ANU).

Altman, J. & D. Smith. 1994. *The economic impact of mining moneys: the Nabarlek case*, Western Arnhem Land, Discussion Paper 63/1994. Canberra: CAEPR, ANU.

Altman, J. & D. Smith. 1999. *The Ngurratjuta Aboriginal Corporation: a model for understanding Northern Territory royalty associations*, Discussion Paper 185/1999. Canberra: CAEPR, ANU.

AMSI (Andersen Management Services Inc). 1992. *Evaluation of the Dona Lake Agreement: Final Report*. Thunder Bay: AMSI.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. 1984. *Consolidated Report on the Social Impact of Uranium Mining on the Aborigines of the Northern Territory*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Barsh, R.L. & K. Bastien. 1997. *Effective Negotiation by Aboriginal Peoples: An Action Guide with Special Reference to North America*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Bennett, S. 1999. *White Politics and Black Australians*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Cape York Land Council/Comalco. 2001. A Way Forward Together. Cairns: Press Release, 11 March, Cairns.

Chretien, J. 1969. Speech to the Yellowknife Board of Trade. Yelowknife: 10 November.

Cousins, D. and Nieuwenhuysen, J., 1984. *Aboriginals and the Mining Industry: Case Studies of the Australian Experience*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

Deines, A., Littlejohn, C. and Hunt, T. 1979. *Native Employment Patterns in Alberta's Athabasca Oil Sands Region*. Edmonton: Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program.

Grant, G. 1983. *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Work Place*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Henderson, L. 2001. *Benefits Agreements: Some Legal Issues Considered*. Whitehorse: Yukon Economic Development.

Henderson, L. and Voogd, G., 2001. *Benefits Agreements: A Situational Analysis*. Whitehorse: Yukon Economic Development.

Hicks, J. 1997. *Mining the Canadian Arctic: Experiences relevant to potential developments in Greenland*. n.p.: Minerals Office, Greenland Home Rule Government.

Hobart, C.W. 1982a. Industrial Employment of Rural Indigenes: The Case of Canada. *Human Organization, 41*(1): 51–63.

Hobart, C.W. 1982b. Inuit Employment at the Nanisivik Mine on Baffin Island. *Inuit Studies, 6*(1): 53–74.

Hobart, C.W. 1984. Impact of Resource Development Projects on Aboriginal People. In D.D. Detomasi and J.W. Gartrill (Eds.), *Resource Communities: A Decade of Disruption*, pp. 111–24. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Holden, A., & C. O'Faircheallaigh. 1995. *The Economic and Social Impact of Silica Mining on Hope Vale, Aboriginal Politics and Public Sector Management Monograph No 1*. Brisbane: Centre for Australian Public Sector Management, Griffith University.

Impaxsia Consulting Ltd. 2004. *Social Impact Assessment Trans Territory Pipeline, Northern Territory*. Brisbane: Impaxsia.

Indian Affairs & Northern Development Canada. 2001. *Basic Departmental Data*. Ottawa: IANDC.

Keeping, J. 1998. *Thinking About Benefits Agreements: An Analytical Framework, Northern Minerals Program Working Paper No. 4*. Yellowknife: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee.

Kennett, S.A. 1999a. *A Guide to Impact and Benefits Agreements*. Calgary: Canadian Institute of Resources Law, University of Calgary.

Kennett, S.A. 1999b. *Issues and Options for a Policy on Impact and Benefit Agreements in the Northwest Territories*. Calgary: Canadian Institute of Resources Law, University of Calgary.

Kerr, A., 2000. *Impact and Benefit Agreements as Instruments for Aboriginal Participation in Non-Renewable Resource Development: A Report on Selected Case Studies*. n.p.: Compass Consulting.

Kishchuk, P. 2001. *Yukon Benefits Agreements: Policy Options*. Whitehorse: Yukon Economic Development.

Lange, L. 1984. *Employment of Native Women at the Norman Wells Oilfield Expansion and Pipeline Project*. Arctic Institute of North America: Calgary.

Littlejohn, C. and Powell, R. 1981. *A Study of Native Integration into The Fort McMurray Labor Force*. Edmonton: Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program.

McKenna, S. 1995. Negotiating Mining Agreements under the Native Title Act 1993. *Agenda, 2*(3): 301–12.

NEDGI (New Economy Development Group Inc). 1993. *Evaluation of the Golden Patricia Agreement*. Ottawa: NEDGI.

NRTEE (National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy). 2001. *Aboriginal Communities and Non-Renewable Resource Development*. Ottawa: NRTEE.

O'Brien, P & D. Olson. 1990. The Alaskan Permanent Fund and Dividend Distribution Program. *Public Finance Quarterly, 18*(1): 39–156.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 1995a. *Mineral Development Agreements Negotiated by Aboriginal communities in the 1990s, Discussion Paper No. 86/1995*. Canberra: CAEPR, ANU.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 1995b. Long Distance Commuting in Resource Industries: Implications for Native Peoples in Australia and Canada. *Human Organization, 54*(2): 205–13.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 1996. Negotiating with Resource Companies: issues and constraints for Aboriginal communities in Australia. In R. Howitt, J. Connell & P. Hirsch (Eds), *Resources, Nations and Aboriginal Peoples*, pp. 184–201. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 1998. Aboriginal People and Mineral Taxation Regimes. *Resources Policy, 24*(4): 187–98.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2000. *Negotiating Major Project Agreements: The 'Cape York Model', AIATSIS Research Discussion Paper No 11*. Canberra: AIATSIS.

O'Faircheallaigh, C., 2002a. Implementation: The Forgotten Dimension of Agreement-Making in Australia and Canada. *Indigenous Law Bulletin, 5*: 14–17.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2002b. *A New Approach to Policy Evaluation: Mining and Aboriginal People*. London: Ashgate Press.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2004a. Native Title and Agreement Making in the Mining Industry: Focusing on Outcomes for Indigenous Peoples. *Land, Rights, Laws: Issues of Native Title, 2*(25): 1–12.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2004b. Evaluating Agreements between Indigenous Peoples and Resource Developers. In M. Langton, M. Tehan, L. Palmer and K. Shain (Eds), *Honour Among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People*, pp. 303–328. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2004c. Denying Citizens their Rights? Indigenous People, Mining Payments and Service Provision. *Australian Journal of Public Administration, 63*(2): 42–50.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. & R. Kelly. 2001. *Corporate Social Responsibility, Native Title and Agreement Making: Report to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission*. Brisbane: Griffith University.

O'Reilly, K. & E. Eacott. 1998. *Aboriginal Peoples and Impact and Benefit Agreements: Report of a National Workshop, Northern Minerals Program*

Working Paper No. 7. Yellowknife: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee.

Pretes, M & M. Robinson. 1989. Beyond boom and bust: a strategy for sustainable development in the north. *Polar Record, 25*(153): 115–20.

Pretes, M. & M. Robinson. 1990. Alaskan and Canadian Trust Funds as Agents of Sustainable Development. In J. Saunders (Ed), *The Legal Challenge of Sustainable Development*, pp. 300–312. Calgary: Canadian Institute of Resources Law.

RMC (Resource Management Consultants Alberta Ltd). 1984. *The Dene Tha' Band: A Case Study in the Local Development Implications of the Norman Wells Pipeline: Report Prepared for Interprovincial Pipe Line (NW) Ltd.* Edmonton: RMC.

Robinson, M., Dickerson, M., Van Camp, J., Wuttunee, W., Pretes, M., and Binder, L. 1989. *Coping with the Cash: Background Study prepared for the N.W.T.'s Legislative Assembly's Special Committee on the Northern Economy*. Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America.

Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. 1996. *Co-Managing Natural Resources with First Nations: Guidelines to Reaching Agreements and Making Them Work*. n.p.: Report Prepared for DIAND.

Sosa, I. & K. Keenan. 2001. *Impact Benefit Agreements between Aboriginal Communities and Mining Companies: Their Use in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Environmental Law Association.

SIWGMI (Sub-Committee of the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Mineral Industry). 1990. *Report on Native Participation in Mining: Phase 1*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

SIWGMI.1991. *Report on Native Participation in Mining: Phase II: It Can be Done*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

SIWGMI. 1992. *Report on Native Participation in Mining: Phase III: Aim for the Moon*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

SIWGMI. 1993. *Report on Native Participation in Mining: Fourth Annual Report*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

SIWGMI. 1994. *Report on Native Participation in Mining: Fifth Annual Report*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

SIWGMI. 1996. A*boriginal Participation in the Mining Industry in Canada 1996: Seventh Annual Report*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

SIWGMI. 1997. *Report on Aboriginal Participation in Mining: Eight Annual Report*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

SIWGMI. 1998. *Report on Aboriginal Participation in Mining: Developing Partnerships: Ninth Annual Report*. n.p.: SIWGMI.

Stevenson, D.S. 1968. *Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Development, A Preliminary Study*. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, DIAND.

Wilkinson, P.F. 2001. *Impact and Benefit Agreements: An Overview and Evaluation. Report to Attawapiskat First Nation*. Montreal: Paul Wilkinson and Associates.

York, G. 1990. *The Dispossessed*. London: Vintage U.K.

Yukon Economic Development. 2001. *Benefits Agreements: A Summary*. Whitehorse: Yukon Economic Development.

Concluding Thoughts

Forestry, mining, natural resources, education, training, employment, partnerships, land-claim agreements, international projects — these are a few of the key words that we find when we read the articles in this issue. But there are other words that don't jump out at us on first read that are just as important. For example, we hear that change is occurring, and that this change is making a difference to the lives of Aboriginal peoples and communities, including students, workers, and women. We also see that the involvement of Aboriginal peoples and communities in the natural resource sector, in education, and through corporate and government partnerships is creating a situation in which Aboriginal peoples are increasingly becoming major players. Aboriginal peoples are no longer marginalized subjects in activities occurring in the mainstream economic and political systems, and throughout different business and economic development processes. Last, but not least, we are provided with ideas concerning new ways to organize and think and dream about new and innovative Aboriginal activities within forestry, mining, natural resources, education, training, employment, partnerships, land-claim agreements, and international projects.

All of the words we find in this issue — not only the obvious but also the subtle ones — add to our understanding of Aboriginal community and venture development. As we celebrate the many successes of those involved in Aboriginal economic development, we hope that the articles that make up this issue of the journal inspire you to add to the growing list of words and ideas that are permeating discussions and activities surrounding the practice of Aboriginal community, business, and economic development in Canada. We, of course, are very interested in your stories and research, and welcome your submissions, which we will review for publication in upcoming issues.

Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Submission Guidelines

The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development is a peer-reviewed journal for practitioners and scholars working and researching in areas relevant to Aboriginal economic development. Its intent is to explore ideas and build knowledge in the field of Aboriginal economic development theory and practice. The journal prefers a broad interpretation of research and knowledge and encourages a wide variety of forms of contributions in this area.

JAED typically features three sections: **Learning from Experience**, **Lessons from Research**, and **Reviews of Current Books and Literature**. On occasions, it also includes a section on **Toolkits**. Please send three copies of your manuscript. Contributions may vary in length, depending upon the section they are written for. We are looking for submissions in the range of 15–20 pages, or about 4,000 words for research papers, book reviews of about 1,000 words, and experience sections of about 2,000–3,000 words. Manuscripts submitted should be single spaced with 1.5 inch margins all around and page numbers at the bottom middle. The title page should indicate the section for which you are submitting. All identifying information should be restricted to this one page. Review for publication will take approximately 8–12 weeks from time of receipt.

Manuscripts should be sent to: JAED (CANDO@edo.ca), CANDO, 9635 — 45 Ave., Edmonton, Alberta, T6E 5Z8. A copy of the final revised manuscript, in Microsoft Word® format, saved on an IBM-compatible disk should be included with the final revised paper copy. Research submissions should conform, where practical, to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th edition), however the journal is flexible in its format and encourages creativity and innovation.

Submission of a manuscript implies commitment to publish in the journal. Submission to JAED implies that the manuscript has not been published elsewhere, nor is it under consideration by another journal. Authors who are in doubt about what constitutes prior publication should consult the editor.

Learning from Experience from practitioners, academics, consultants and executives include interpreted case studies, evaluation and commentary on popular and current approaches and tools of Aboriginal economic development, advocacy of particular approaches and solutions, successful or failed efforts, and the identification of important economic development problems that are in need of solutions.

Lessons from Research from academics features scholarly inquiry, debate and commentary on how we frame, perceive, interpret, research and contribute to the field of Aboriginal economic development.

Reviews of Current Books and Literature features recent literature exploring aspects of economic development relevant to Aboriginal peoples.

Toolkits showcases practical articles that contain information and tools useful to practitioners in their day-to-day activities.

Call for Papers

Volume 5, Number 2

Published jointly by the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO) and Captus Press, the Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development (JAED) features academic articles, examples from economic practitioners, book reviews, and special issues. Published twice yearly, the Journal is a unique resource for anyone interested in Aboriginal economic development.

Submitted papers (doubled space, 12 point font, 1 inch margins, APA format) should be 15–20 pages in length, including appendices, and should relate to one of the following areas:

- Aboriginal Community Economic and Business Development
- The Analysis of the Aboriginal Economy
- Evaluating Aboriginal Economic Activities
- International Indigenous Economic Activity
- Aboriginal Corporate Responsibility and Social Auditing
- Economic Partnerships in the Aboriginal Economy
- Indigenous Knowledge and the Aboriginal Economy
- Using Statistics Canada Information to Create Report Cards
- Change in the Aboriginal Economy
- Traditional and Modern Economies

Final date for submissions: 15 January 2007

Submissions may be emailed to:

Yale Belanger, Editor
c/o Lisa Boychuk
Email: lharvie@edo.ca

CANDO

Certified
Aboriginal Economic Developer Program

Are you ready to make a difference in Aboriginal economies?

If you're looking to hone your skills, further your career and be recognized as an expert in Aboriginal economic development, then CANDO's Certified Aboriginal Economic Developer program is for you!

The growing national demand for economic development professionals makes this the perfect time for you to get certified. CANDO's certification program is nationally recognized, acknowledges the on-the-job experience you already have and may lead you to more senior positions and higher salaries.

Call CANDO now at 1-800-463-9300 to begin your journey to become Certified Aboriginal Economic Developer.