Journal of

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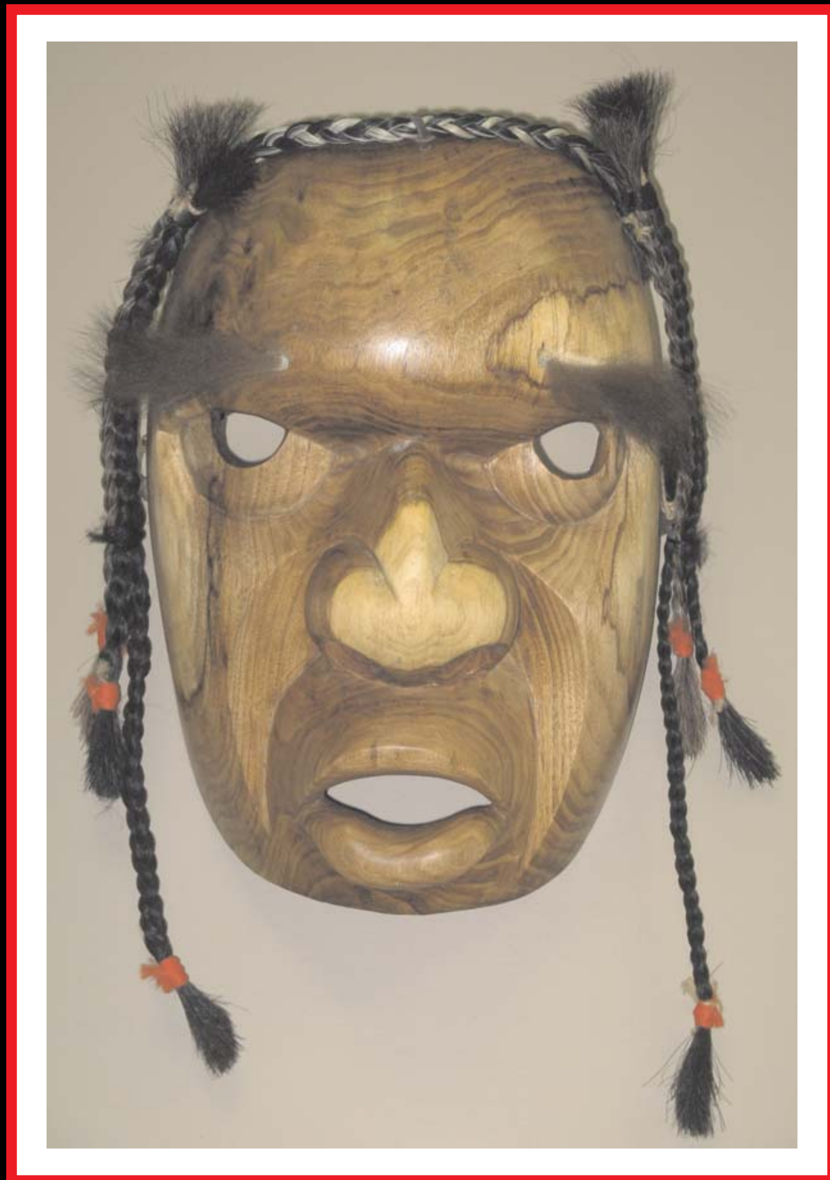
Volume 5, Number 2



CANDO Captus Press

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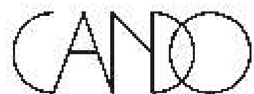

Captus Press

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.

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THE ARTIST
Masks of Ned Bear: "Pawakon" —Spirit-guides of Nature

Ned Bear

Ned Bear's carved wooden masks are well known in New Brunswick and beyond; his reputation for creating spirited pieces is growing internationally. He currently resides within the city of Fredericton, New Brunswick. His late father was a Plains Cree from Muskoday First Nations, just outside Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, and met Ned's mother while stationed in New Brunswick before being sent to France in World War II. Coming from a family of nine siblings, Bear recalls that his family barely survived financially. His father was wounded in the war and received a meagre pension, and his mother supplemented this with housekeeping work and childcare.

Today, Bear attributes his artistic outlook to his boyhood experience of living in abject poverty. "I believe these life events of scarcity in material possessions did affect my worldview perception. This, of course, reflects upon my creative approach and how I attempt to express my artistic concepts, which are essentially spiritual in nature, or perhaps I can say spirits of nature."

Bear has always felt a communion with various spiritual aspects of life that were close to his heritage. As a young boy, Ned was playing within the community when he came across a white-haired Native Elder carving in his workshop. Immediately he felt a calling to stop and observe this old man. As he did so, he began to feel very calm and reassured, and knew at once that he had it in his heart and soul to be a carver also. For Bear, this was an extraordinary happening and he considered it as a very personal epiphany. To this day, he is still not quite sure if this event really occurred, or if it was actually a waking dream or vision. Whichever it was, the experience inspired Bear and he became determined to become an accomplished carver. With little or no support he pursued this vision, and has been an accomplished artist of natural media for the past 20 years.

Bear received formal training at the New Brunswick College of Craft and Design in Fredericton, and was the first Aboriginal student to graduate from that

institution. He credits George Fry (former Director of the school and a close personal friend) for making a major difference in his artistic career. About to give up on his academic studies, Bear was persuaded by Mr. Fry to return and continue his studies; Ned eventually graduated with Honours. Ned pursued further studies in Native & Fine Arts at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (now known as The First Nations University of Canada) in Regina, Saskatchewan, and then moved on to study at The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He holds a Bachelor of Education degree from University of New Brunswick with his major in Native Arts; with this discipline always being his choice, he also continued to pursue a master's degree in Art Education.

Bear's focus is on giving a contemporary interpretation to traditional spiritual beliefs. He expresses this in sculpted masks of various wood types, and also works in carving figure-forms into marble or varied limestones. Ned has been involved in the research, production and playing of the traditional Native American flute and hand-drum. Among other professional involvements, he is Co-Chair of 'Nations in a Circle', an East coast First Nation artist-support organization. Ned continues to participate in numerous national and regional solo and group art shows, presenting artworks that are guided by his sense of spiritual values gotten from his Native background and from his keen interest and personally dedicated studies in 'Taoism' — a comprehensive eastern philosophy.

He is currently teaching part-time the art of Native-flute making and playing to students of the music department at the Leo Hayes High School in Fredericton. He also recently received a research fellowship from the 'Smithsonian Institute', New York City, set to happen this fall, and was also awarded with Canada Council support to carve several 'pawakon' (spirit-helpers) along a historic Native trail in New Brunswick.

Editor's Comments

Welcome to the tenth issue of the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*. Following in the tradition of the previous nine issues, we once again present an interesting cross-section of academic analyses, community-based stories examining best practices in Aboriginal economic development, while offering a new section that permits scholars to share their working papers and collected data in the form of research notes.

This issue is our most diverse from an international perspective. Scholars from Canada, Australia and Bangladesh have chosen to share their research with the larger Indigenous and international community of Aboriginal economic development practitioners. As evidenced by a number of contributions to this issue, we are witnessing not only spike in interest among scholars interested in sharing their economic development stories, but these same authors see the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* as an important medium enabling a dialogue to ensue that also helps maintain the flow of information through the written word.

There are also contributions detailing the Canadian experience ranging from interviews conducted with nominees for CANDO's economic developer awards to a case study examining a First Nations summer employment program to investigations into how we can integrate Indigenous values into both management processes and our day-to-day interactions that in turn impact economic development. We endeavour to offer a wide variety of Aboriginal economic development experiences, and we hope that we have once again succeeded in this mission.

Editor's Introduction

Gifting is an awesome perspective in living life in a good way. This section offers the gift of experience to those who are following in the path of economic development. It is a wonderful opportunity to glimpse some of the experiences people from across the country have lived. Readers may be inspired or cautioned with some of the stories. They may be so excited about the information as to reach out to the authors and interviewees. That is part of the value of this section, it can be taken and made into a number of very useful opportunities. We need those opportunities and we need to hear the voices of those who are working hard in this field.

Interviews with the economic developer award nominees demonstrate the range and the depth of insight that our senior business and political leaders have gained in the field of economic development. BC's Maynard Angus offers success in resource development through the Resource Access and Information program. Chief Darcy Bear lives in a small community with big plans. They have a world-class golf course and a casino-hotel complex is underway. Construction is a dynamic industry and Gary Swite from BC shares information about his years of experience. A small isolated community has a chance to partner with a large diamond mining company. Chief Mike Carpenter shares their experiences in making the partnership a strong one.

Questions about business values and Aboriginal values often are neglected given the demands for starting new businesses. It is incredibly gratifying to integrate values into their businesses as noted by two women Aboriginal entrepreneurs with different styles but the same underlying nurturing of spirit. Wuttunee, Loustel and Overall offer case studies and a context for thinking about corporate social responsibility with its connection to Aboriginal values.

Finally, Oppenheimer, O'Connell, Hester, and Oesterreich focus on our youth and a successful summer program called Kahnawake

INTERVIEW WITH THE NOMINEES IN CANDO'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPER AWARDS

Sherry Baxter

Walking a mile or two in another's boots is not an easy task. Some sense of the walk that CANDO's four nominees in the Economic Developer Awards have followed is presented in the following interviews. Their words offer a glimpse into their experiences and are aimed at those who are coming behind with new ideas and approaches to economic development in Aboriginal communities.

Please enjoy the words of Maynard Angus from British Columbia; Gary Swite, also from British Columbia; Chief Darcy Bear from Saskatchewan; and Chief Mike Carpenter from Ontario.

INTERVIEW WITH MAYNARD ANGUS, KINCOLITH FIRST NATIONS, BC

Sherry: I am here with Maynard Angus and he was nominated for the individual category for the Economic Developer of the Year Award. Congratulations on your nomination.

Maynard: Thank you.

Sherry: I just have a few questions for you that I'd like to ask. Now first of all, I'd like to ask you to describe where you are from and your community.

Maynard: Well, I reside in Prince Rupert, which is the community North, on the North Coast of British Columbia. My hometown is Kincolith, which is a First Nations community approximately 60 miles North on the Coast. That's pretty well where I grew up.

Sherry: I would like for you to outline the projects that you've started or have been a part of.

Maynard: Well, there have been many projects. One of the projects that really is highlighted is the RAIN project which is, which stands for Resource Access and Information Network. That, I was the initiator of that, and the purpose of that project was to build capacity with individuals and with the communities around Internet access, which of course would allow the community to develop websites individually without having small businesses or artisans that can develop their own websites, and those that are looking for jobs for job-searchers. And, of course, everything that comes along with having high speed Internet. That was the main purpose of that. And, of course, having, bringing on partners such as the First Nations communities, the

The interviews were conducted by Sherry Baxter, Research Assistant with CANDO.

organizations, the library, the school district, the Chamber of Commerce, and so forth, allowed us to leverage funding from the government of Canada and the government of British Columbia, where approximately in total I think we were able to bring in just under a million dollars on a project. That is probably the highlight. It still operates today. It's taken us two years to get the project going only because we had other activity happening, but that particular project continues to run today. The college has stepped up and has hired a full-time individual in one of the communities and part-time in a couple of the other communities where they now continue that particular project. So, that's one of them.

Other projects that we've initiated include a skills inventory and gap analysis with the communities. We're looking at what the skill inventory is there; we're basically looking at individuals that have reached, say, grade 10, 11, and 12, how many graduates, how many have degrees, how many have trade, how many are certified in different trades and so forth. We're doing a gap analysis on industry — health, education, industrial, and companies in the service industry — were the gaps are today, and where they will be in three years and in five years. What we really want to do because of the aging population and because of the growth in the Aboriginal communities, especially in our communities, and the high unemployment that's there, we want to be able to say, specifically, here is an area of trades that, you know, if you go to school today, there's three companies right now looking for millwrights for example. So we're in the process of doing that. And that's really at the end of the day I think is to get not only First Nations, but everybody that do not have the proper training education to begin to look and say there are job opportunities. So that's the goal on that one.

In a nut shell, the other projects are infrastructure projects where we've accessed just over 12 million dollars in project funding. They are for communities that need to update their docks and the wharf. This doesn't sound like a big deal, but it's like taking a main highway away from your community. You can't get in and out of your community because now that infrastructure's not there. Other projects are around cultural tourism, a growing industry of long houses, totem poles and tourists attractions on islands where communities are now preserved. The museums that had expansion funded. We've created a foundation and now we're creating human capacity.

Sherry: What do you feel are the major impacts that you've had on your community through these projects.

Maynard: The major impact has come around the RAIN project. With the RAIN project, you can identify the people that actually got training and here are the people who actually moved on. So those people that took train the trainer courses then took courses on networking and on digital equipment and so forth, and were able to move on and get hired by companies, and others were hired by the bands. That's probably the most immediate impact I've seen.

Sherry: Outline some of the successes and challenges that you've had.

Maynard: OK. I would say that keeping in line with community economic development is the main challenge. I'd say the challenge that I've seen has been around politics. I never really understood what politics was all about until I joined Community Futures. I didn't even know what it meant, and the fact that you always hear people comment on "Indian politics." It was the biggest challenge to get over because when Community Futures opened up, I was the manager and First Nations and at the time I was dealing with the First Nations communities and the non-First Nations communities. The First Nations communities are saying, you need to come over here and help us, right. The non-First Nations communities are saying, well, this is not just about First Nations, you have to help everybody. Trying to find a balance and a happy medium between communities is a huge challenge, remembering that 71 per cent of our service area is First Nations.

The government said we need to keep those numbers relative, so if you're spending 10 per cent of your time with the First Nation communities because you're so busy with what's going on in the city, then you need to change that. It's trying to explain that to your communities that the government is the one giving us funding for the program so we need to follow the direction that they want us to go.

What you're not up on, you're down on and it is about trying to help both sides understand the needs of the other side. You know you're not out there to save the world but you're trying to minimize, you know, politics. So I brought the groups and organizations together, and basically explained the situation, This is what goes on in this community and this is why when you go into a community and someone dies, nothing happens, and here are the reasons, right, respect and so forth. I try to take the First Nations into the city and meet with the different groups and organizations and say, OK, if we're not responding fast enough to you, don't feel like there's prejudice going on here because that's not the case. These are the reasons why. Just bringing them together sometimes just for the sake of having lunch and meeting each other and getting to know each other, and communicating a little bit brings down the barriers in their thinking. So that was a challenge. That went on for the first couple of years, believe me, it was a real challenge.

What are the successes? I guess overcoming those challenges. They're really the successes because they allowed me to move things forward with everybody. You know, I mean challenges, of course, are still there and always will be. Anytime you're dealing with human beings, right, you're facing challenges because everybody's so different, everybody has their own beliefs, and everyone wants to go in their own direction, and, so every day's a challenge in that respect.

Sherry: What are your future plans?

Maynard: My background came from nutrition, therapeutic recreation. I grew up working at my parent's general store — we always had to spend time either in the evening or after school to look after the store. I opened up a business when I was 24 years old, which still operates today.

I got into this type of career only because I wanted to contribute to the First Nations communities. It was always word on the street that they never get a chance to participate in groups and organizations and even funding that comes available. I thought I can help out there, so I did.

I've always felt that I needed you know, just a boost. I need to go back to school to understand a little bit more so I could do something as a General Manager. I mean that's certainly challenging in itself because you have to understand every aspect of your corporation. You know, it's like jack of all trades. I've been wanting for the last five years to go back to school but its difficult. I have a family, and it's hard to just do that. So I'm looking at actually a couple, I took, I've taken some online courses with Royal Roads University on Leadership Management into their certification called International Trade.

Sherry: What advice that you would give to other economic developers.

Maynard: I would say that something as simple as listening is the greatest advice I can give anyone. I say that because you're dealing with communities and then you're dealing with individuals. I remember I was in a meeting a long time ago of a regional team of sales people. They talked about what they said to the client to get the sale. The majority of them don't succeed because the problem is they're thinking, "What am I going to say, what am I going to say, what am I going to say?" As opposed to what am I going to listen for? When you're talking, you're not listening. Those who listen and hear what the needs are can come back and sell according to what client needs.

My advice would be to really listen and understand first what the community is all about, what the people are all about, and then don't change anything, especially if you join an organization. Observe and understand as much as you can about the community or about the individuals. From there, you can begin to make suggestions and decisions and say, "this is how you can probably do things better."

I read a book called *His Needs, Her Needs* and the book was written by a psychologist who became a marriage counsellor. It talks about when you go to the bank, you either make a deposit or a withdrawal. When two people meet they make deposits. He says, "Oh, I like your glasses." So he's just made a deposit. And she gives him a compliment about his shoes or something. Pretty soon these compliments go back and forth and the wedding bells start to ring, and they've filled up the bank account. Usually when you meet people you ask questions

and they do all the talking about their family. They feel good about themselves. I notice that when I do listen at community meetings, I've made deposits. It becomes easier to work with people. At the end of the day, that's what you're doing, right, you're working with people.

It's human nature I guess because we're so quick to want to tell people how should be done. You know, when you go into a First Nations community, they say, "how can you come in and tell us what to do when you don't even live, when you don't know…". But sometimes First Nations people are quick to do it themselves, you know, right? So it's trying to help them understand that, even our Elders tell, listen to what we have to say. Same story.

Sherry: Thank you very much. Congratulations on your nomination.

INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF DARCY BEAR, WHITECAP DAKOTA FIRST NATION, SASKATCHEWAN

Sherry: Welcome Chief Darcy Bear. Please describe your community.

Darcy: Well, we're Dakota and we're located about 20 minutes from downtown Saskatoon. We have about 490 band members, and approximately half or 240 live in our community. We pride ourselves on accountability, governance, and transparency. I've been the Chief for 12 years and we've had 11 surplus budgets. We had one deficit budget in '97 on the hope of the summer games. It's the only blemish we have. Currently we have a cumulative surplus, and that's part of having a strong, accountable foundation. It also when you're looking forward and trying to attract business to your community in order to build governance structures.

Sherry: Describe some recent community successes.

Darcy: One of our proudest successes is Dakota Dunes Golf Links. As a small community, our resources are limited. Looking at what our opportunities were and our location, we're right beside the largest market in Saskatchewan, which is Saskatoon, and we also enjoy a really strong relationship with the City of Saskatoon and have a good relationship with the city, the Mayor, his council and surrounding municipalities.

It is hard to market your land as the Indian Act is just so archaic. It goes back to 1867. It does not allow you to market your lands and you have to go through the lease system so the Ministry has to approve every lease. So when this First Nations Land Management Act came along, Bill C-49, a piece of new legislation that allowed us to self-govern our lands and zone our own lands through community involvement we took advantage. We have zoned certain areas, resort, commercial, we can issue commercial leasehold interests. Now we can actually attract business into our community. So, that was one of the challenges we faced and that was the way we overcame it, was through that piece of legislation.

Dakota Dunes has a business plan and a feasibility study that we used to raise capital. The challenge of being a small community was lack of capital. We had to seek a partner and that included Muskeg Lake First Nation. We have a joint venture non-profit fundraising body called Dakota Cree Sports that fundraises for youth activities between our two communities. So we had that longstanding relationship with them and so we brought forward that business plan and they did their own due diligence.

We also approached the Lac LaRonge Indian band since we already jointly owned a mechanical company at the time. And so, we shared our project with them as well and from there it was up to the communities. Politics is an issue … why would you want to invest in another community. They got some of that. At the end of the day we all looked at the business plan and it made a lot of sense.

We're very fortunate that at the time that Minister Nault had an economic development program, which provided some Seed money to First Nation projects, providing they were viable and met all the tests, etc. We met every test that they threw at us and all kinds of hoops. Had about three trips to Ottawa to meet with Minister Nault, and finally we did land a project and got secured INAC funding of about $1.39 million. We all had to kick in our share.

In our original business plan we indicated that we would lose money a small amount of money in our first two years. Actually, we've been profitable in our first two years of opera-

tion, and this is our third year of operation and again we will be profitable this year. So, all our partners around the table are happy. It's provided employment opportunities, of 60 jobs and 70% are First Nations. For some it has been a stepping stone for them to go on to other trades or to school so it has been good in that regard. We've also had some that have been there since day one.

The course is in excellent condition thanks to our Superintendent, but also his maintenance staff. I think everyone's proud of it. To have a magazine such as *Golf Digest*, which is read worldwide by golfers name it the Best New Course in Canada for 2005 is an honour. No other course in Saskatchewan has ever received, and we're the first to receive that honour.

Our next success is the casino project. The project was originally brought to downtown Saskatoon and the citizens voted it out, so we became plan A. So as we always do, we certainly took it to our membership to just let them know there's an opportunity to bring this casino to our community and is that something they want? Because it is gaming there are pros and cons. This is a free country we live in and people can make their own choices, provided they are making the right, educated choices, it's fine.

It's no different than going to a bar or a liquor store since people choose to drink responsibly or they can abuse it, or they don't have to drink at all. Similarly with gambling, you can gamble responsibly or some people abuse it, and hopefully there's some that don't gamble. There are other things to inside a casino, you know, besides gambling.

So it's another good project moving forward. It's under construction. It's about 40 per cent complete. It's about a $67-million project, created under 550 jobs, and of course now the next thing is going to be the hotel project moving forward. We put the recommendations in from the studies we've done that start with 100 rooms and build so that we can expand another hundred, and again that's going to create another 90 jobs, just from the hotel project. In a perfect world we'll have it built and running and operational by the fall of 2008. The casino is fall of 2007. But as I say, in a perfect world, provided there's no snags such as grant-seeking, roadblocks with partners involved or legalities. One partner might want to see something different inside the agreement. Those kind of things happen, but that's all part of business. We just continue to move forward.

There are other spin off opportunities such as retail projects, an industrial park, townhouse condo developments etc. Eventually we will have probably be one of the largest employers in the area, just outside of Saskatoon. So that's awesome. And it's not just our people that benefit. It's other First Nations, people in the whole area and we all work together, we all partner together. The casino is a partnership of all 74 First Nations, you know, together that share the revenue in that casino. The building is owned by ourselves and six others in our tribal council, you know. So a lot of partnerships, a lot of working together and I think that's what it's going to take to move things forward. We all have capital but when we pool our resources together we can do great things.

Sherry: What challenges have you faced?

Darcy: All our businesses are First Nations-owned businesses. I think one of the challenges out there is to educate the non-First Nations business community that there is opportunities out there on First Nations land and that they can look at long-term leases. The University of Saskatchewan owns some property here in Saskatoon and have all the big box stores like Canadian Tire and Mark's Work Warehouse, all the big businesses are on their land with 49 year commercial leasehold interest. The University still maintains ownership of the land.

I think once the business community makes comparisons, looks at the similar tax systems we have in place we will interest them in our retail area and our industrial park. So those are some of the challenges we're facing, it's just marketing and educating the business community.

One other thing is that we found banks as well have to be educated. Some banks already know the system. Peace Hills Trust is a trust company but they know the system. There are other banks out there that are certainly aware such as CIBC who was one of our first lenders for Dakota Dunes. It was real long exercise to get them to understand how leasehold interests work. So it's just unfortunate that there isn't already a National body that does that for First Nations; educates these banks and meets with all the major banks, instead of us having to do it individually.

Sherry: What about social challenges in the community?

Darcy: I think all the things we're doing inside our community is to create opportunity for our members. They always say the best social program is a job. So the more jobs we have available, and I think the better off our community members are going to be. To get up in the morning and have something to do, you know, you care for your family, you can look after your family. The other thing is that kids learn from that too. When they see mom and dad going to work, mom and dad become really good role models and the kids, when they grow up they make that same decision; "I want to work too. Mom and dad did."

You know, that whole dependency on social assistance, I think it's unfortunate that it happens, but we also had no economy inside our boundaries. So there were no choices you know, if you wanted to stay home on a reserve. Now when we're attracting business and bringing business to our community, people do have opportunities. And when you have opportunity there's hope and we make better choices. It's no different than anybody, any society, any city or town. If there's no opportunity you start to make the wrong choices. But when you see some opportunities, you see some hope, you want to make that choice, you know, "This is what I want to do, I want to help my family, I want to take care of them."

Sherry: What are some of the core issues though that you are focusing on. Right now you want to create more opportunities and more jobs. Do you just want to keep going in that direction or do you think there's maybe somewhere you want to get and then you might move on to something else.

Darcy: Well, I think certainly you want to have a plan, planned growth and that's one of the things we've done is we have gone through an exercise of a five year plan, 10 year plan, and then where we want to go. The growth certainly has to be planned and also it has to be planned within the community. As far as where we want to go, one of the things we'd like to see is what you would call a sustainable community, you know, where we're not just reliant on say government transfer payments.

We have basically surpassed whatever government resources Indian Affairs is giving us. You know, that's one of our goals is to create a sustainable community through our tax system, through our land revenue, through our profits from the businesses that we create. We certainly want to become self-sustaining as one of our visions, one of our goals. And we're hopeful that we'll be there, well, you know, within the next five to 10 years. And it's already happening, you know slowly. We can turn around our revenue we generate and reinvest it back into our community. You know, all of our communities across the country, we don't need resources from Indian Affairs for recreational facilities, etc., to further the, invest in our culture, our language programs, so a lot of the money would go back towards those types of things and we could be proud of who we are, we have to be proud where we come from.

You know, that's one of the things all of our Elders teach us. You've always got to remember where you are, where you come from, remember your people, your language, your culture; can't forget those things. So there's got to be a balance all the time and I truly believe that yes, it's good to be involved with business and, but still, we have to remember where we come from. You know, in the past, our whole economy before European contact was based on trade and hunting and especially Dakota it was the buffalo, which was a big part of our life, and the thing is those, these are gone. So how do we survive now, and how do we create opportunities now? Well, we have to be involved with economic development and we have to create opportunities ourselves and sustainable opportunities. That's why when we create a business we've got to make sure that we put it through all the tests, make sure that those businesses are going to be viable businesses, to do our proper due diligence and we'll be successful. Because if the businesses is successful and is profitable, and that employment that is created will be sustainable into the future. So the people who are employed won't be laid off in the future, they'll have their jobs. So that's what we want to see.

Sherry: So, it seems to me like this has been rapid growth from your community. Would you see it in terms of that, or have you been planning these things long-term?

Darcy: I wouldn't say it was rapid growth because actually the golf course itself was something we started in, the idea came in 1999, and so it took us about three years to secure all funding, the partners, and so on. From there of course the construction and all that and now we've been operational for our third year. But it was actually under construction for a couple years to because we started late in the year so part of our year went into the next year because you've got to work with the ground when you're building a golf course, so. It's not where as you're building a mall you can build right through the winter. With a golf course, you've got to build during summer. Those are some of the challenges, but once we got it to market, it's been awesome. Great reception of the course. Everyone that we bump into, even people you overhear in a restaurant you know, talking about the course, there's nothing but good things to say about it. That's positive.

Sherry: You did mention that things are starting to snowball now, so you think growth is picking up now?

Darcy: Anytime there's success other people start to have questions. We don't turn anybody away and we'll certainly listen to the ideas that come out. You know, some of them maybe don't fit with us. Certainly if somebody wants to set up, an auto wrecking plant, well, we don't want to see something like that because it's harmful to the environment. Again, you've got to be picky about what businesses you want to bring in to the community. You have to have criteria, so that's one of the things that also has to be established; some criteria as far as the businesses you want to bring to the community that kind of thing. So, we'll continue to listen to people that want to look at other businesses, and the ones that are good and have the ethics and things we believe in, then yeah, we'll see those things come into the community.

Sherry: What would be your advice to other community economic developers? What do you think are important things for them to know?

Darcy: I can't speak for any other community, and I hope I don't offend anybody. But I always base it back to your own accountability. If you don't get your own financial house in order, it's very difficult for you to go out to mainstream and then try to attract business to your community because your own financial house should be in order. And we were in the position in the past; I inherited that type of mismanagement and everything else. We put in a lot of policies and that in place, like even myself, I can't go and make a purchase on my own. You know, most times I don't have that type of power, and I don't want that type of power either. You know, they have finance committees, we have levels of, as far as who signs off, there's certainly got to be two signers. I can't just go out and obligate my community to any deal; it's got to go through a certain process.

And those are good things. Even our Election Act, if you owe money to the band; like in the past the things that were happening was that there was large advances from Chief and Council. In the past and you know they'd give an advance, not pay it back and they'd run at the next election and they'd do it again. So we've changed all that. Even our Election Act, we're one of the First Nations to have an Election Act and we implemented rules that say that if you owe the band money and you want to run in the election, well then you've got to pay back the money. It's got to be a certified cheque, cash, etc. So our community has imposed rules. It shows integrity on behalf of the leadership and that we have to run a clean ship.

Like I said, we pride ourselves on our audits, unqualified audits. You know, when you have a qualified audit then there's something wrong. When you have a qualified audit, they couldn't find receipts for this or receipts for that, and that's when they qualify them. So unqualified, that's a positive thing, we pride ourselves on that. Our surpluses, we'd like to have surpluses. Even again, last year, we don't need a surplus, but ran one anyway. And just, to us it's a good thing, it's good, when you have that base, there's a lot of respect out there. The community respects you, people respect you, that you are running the system that way. So, like I said, one of the key foundations is to, for getting involved from our perspective is making sure your own house is in order, your own financial house is in order. Then you can go out there and you can start looking at putting the tools in place that you need. And again, each community is going to be different. We're fortunate that

we're beside a major centre. You know, and not everybody's going to have that luxury.

But certainly doing their own SWOT analysis — internally what are your strengths, what are your weaknesses, and externally, what are the opportunities and what are the threats, right? And, looking at it from that perspective, maybe you're situated along a major highway. Maybe you have huge unemployment. Maybe there's a partnership for major manufacturing to happen right inside your community. Those kinds of things. If you're right along a major route that can get infrastructure in and develop a manufacturing plant, maybe that's what your good at. Maybe it's mining like we saw this morning. Maybe that's what your strength is. Each community is going to be different, we have to look at where we're situated, what we can do, and then how do we get there? Once we identify the opportunities and that, and how do we get there? Again, it's going to be different for each community. Maybe it's legislative change, maybe it's just infrastructure, maybe it's just a road coming into the community that has to be paved and strengthened so that trucks can come up and down there. So, each community is going to be different.

Maybe you are located right in the mountains somewhere, where it's beautiful and maybe you have a ski resort or something, you know. So, somebody posed a question to me one time, "Do you recommend a golf course for every community?" I said, "No, I don't." For us it works because of the fact that we're right beside a major market. And those are the things you have to look at. You know, it's again market analysis; whether or not these projects are going to be feasible or not. You know, and then eventually if it looks like it will, then you need to do focus groups and things, and the eventually a business plan and roll things forward. But you have to do your proper due diligence. But again, attracting business to each community, sometimes it can be difficult. Maybe some times you find, bands buying urban property.

I know English river has purchased some land just outside Saskatoon here and I know they're doing very well. Yeah, so again, that's their strategy. Everybody has to look at what kind of strategy they can come up with. Every one is going to be unique. But again, we can still share our ideas, because some of us might be doing similar things. Maybe it's our leases that are similar. But maybe it's just different projects that type of thing.

We were fortunate that we went across the country and met with a lot of First Nations, like the Kamloops Indian band, Westbank, Osoyoos, and others in the States where just sharing and listening is key. What their success was, what were the keys to their success? What were the best practices? What were the challenges they faced? When you hear those kinds of stories, you can bring that home and use them, and turn around and use their best practices and put them in place for your community.

Each community is different. Some might be more political, some might be less political. Some could have stable environments, some could have volatile. Some communities might not want to have, like in our land code we put residential leases, but some may say, "we don't want that as a community." So that's fine. They don't have to have to put that in. They can say, "no we don't want that but we want commercial leases." Or maybe, "we don't want that either, or maybe we don't want the land code at all. We want to go through the Indian Act, through the head lease system," where the Minister signs off and you can still do commercial business on your reserve but the Minister will sign off on it.

So every community is going to be different. It depends on the politics and things, leadership, and it's just the way we did things in Whitecap. It just made sense to us as far as leaseholds, and it gave us control of our land.

Sherry: Right. Excellent. OK, thank you. And, congratulations on you nomination. I just want to ask you what you think this nomination has done for you or is going to do for your community.

Darcy: Well, anytime you get any type of award it certainly is a positive thing for the community. You know, like I said with the *Golf Digest* thing that was certainly not the last one. We've got Saskatoon here, we've got Business of Excellence Awards in the past. Tourism Saskatchewan we ended up being runner-up for Tourism Saskatchewan Award for Business of the Year. What else, we just recently won the FSA Circle of Honour Award for Business of the Year with Dakota Dunes. So it is good. It's positive, you

know, the work is being rewarded, especially with the partnerships that have been created.

But at the end of the day, we continue to move forward; it good to have those honours, but there's still lots of work to be done yet. Lots of work. It is a good honour, but also there's so many First Nations that are doing a lot of great work in their community, like we saw this morning. You know, like the Diamond mine that's happening in their community that's remote from my understanding, that's what I heard. So there's positives everywhere. I think right across the country.

Sherry: Well, thank you very much for taking the time to answer my questions and once again congratulations.

Darcy: Thank you.

INTERVIEW WITH GARY SWITE, GEOSWITE CONTRACTING, BC

Sherry: Would you describe your community?

Gary: I come from Kelowna in the central part of British Columbia in the Okanogan Valley. We have a small reserve there of about 5,300 acres. Two major ones are being developed and I have some land in West Bank First Nations. It's a new reserve and the second one in British Columbia that has self-government.

Sherry: Tell me about some of the projects you've either started or have been a part of.

Gary: Geoswite Contracting was started seven years ago. I was working for the reserve community but I came to the realization that each project would get to a certain stage and end. When the dollars ran out, the budgets ran out and there was no more work. I started working independently in the city with positive success. I worked with a friend on our first project, a big multi-purpose building that we bid on successfully. The next project was the highest building in Kelowna called the Point of View. We put in a low bid since we both had small companies and were new. The spin-off projects have meant that my business grew from two to five native people plus myself.

Another friend hires First Nations people based on ability, skills, attitudes and work-related issues. I have helped and we've had tremendous success with working with people who are willing really get out there and go to work. We have moved up into the high-end projects and continue to work together but as separate companies. We are a team and we each pull our weight. It's been a very positive thing.

Another business I have started focuses on recycling. I own some land and I started stockpiling different products to re-crush and recycle. I haul it, sell it or process it and haul it back so I get paid from both sides of the project in a very lucrative venture.

I don't consider band projects because we're too busy. I would suggest that if you get to that stage in development, everybody in the community could step away from work in just band budgets and get into industry for more success.

Sherry: What positive impacts you made on your community?

Gary: We provide employment. We take our boys away from working for those home-based jobs to working in the city where they gain a broader experience in the "real world." They get this experience without paying income tax, so that's number two benefit. The third one is we provide training. We are both very fussy about safety because accidents could put us out of business very easily. So, we go through a really challenging process when we train them and they have an accident then they're gone. No second chance in the business. So that's three, and the other one is we get recognition as a First Nation business, that can work anywhere in town.

We get a lot of praise because we get the work done, professionally, and our customers are quite pleased.

Sherry: List some of the major successes and challenges that you've faced in your projects so far.

Gary: Major successes, I think the number one is gaining recognition of my experience by community members. I started in the trucking industry but now I'm with the engineers, all the big city planners, and it's taught me how to do a better job. When I go back to the community, I see certain decisions that they plan and I suggest to the fellows there, "Oh, you guys better double-check before you start back hoeing that

because I just think your grades are wrong." It's been a plus.

Sherry: What are short and long-term plans?

Gary: My future plan is to complete a 140 unit development as part of a family-owned business. I'd like to use my experience and my skills that I've developed over the years, and my challenges that I've been through, and market it as a product that I could help other communities within my area. I would even work with individuals who have an interest in a mentorship project.

Sherry: What would be your advice for other community economic developers?

Gary: My strong advice is to encourage people who are employable on the reserve who are too dependent on that source of dollars. When the project budget runs to end, they quit and they won't move on. We've tried to employ a few of them in the city and they feel that they're in the wrong environment. What I think Chiefs in Council and Economic Development Officers could do is a little different training that can stop these people from taking advantage of the system. I don't like to see them with a good skill that as soon as a job finishes two weeks they're back on social assistance.

Sherry: Thank you. Are there any other comments that you'd like to make, maybe on being nominated; what has it meant to you and your business?

Gary: Well, for my nomination is a real honour. It's a good process for other people in our community and throughout the country, to see that you don't have to depend on your community to make a living, that you can go out in the world and do things on your own.

I feel really proud of that. I think back on the people I have had a chance to help and I remember one fellow in particular. He comes from the Saskatchewan area and [he was] working in a gas station in the Okanogan. I used to stop and get my daily coffee there and would talk to him. He had a real good strong attitude and good personality. I asked him, "Would you like to come and work for me?" And he said, "Well, I've never ever worked in the construction industry before, I don't know nothing." I said, "Are you willing to learn?" and he said, "yes." He said, "I would be excited to." So I said, "Ok, we'll start you in May." We started him at the bottom, in the ditches learning how to do pipe work. But, he took us totally off guard because his effort, energy and willingness to participate has him at a senior level now!

INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF MIKE CARPENTER, ATTAWAPISKAT FIRST NATION, ONTARIO

Sherry: Hello I'm here with Chief Mike Carpenter from Attawapiskat First Nation. They've been nominated in the business category for the Economic development Awards. Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today and let me ask you these questions.

First, I would like for you to describe your community briefly.

Mike: Thank you. Attawapiskat is located on James Bay, West Coast of James Bay. We're about 1,600 population. Social problems, high cost of living and lack of housing create a lot of social problems. So, to try and develop economic development in isolated areas is very, very difficult.

Sherry: What projects are your community involved in now.

Mike: One of our biggest customers is De Beers, the Victor project. It's given Attawapiskat a lot of hope for improving the quality of life. We certainly struggled to decide whether we were going to support the project because of all the negative impacts that development brings to the community, like polluting the water. Victor project is 90 kms upstream from Attawapiskat, so we had to ask all those hard questions. The people decided to vote for the project because of many good things can help Attawapiskat sustain itself. One of the key things that we did was negotiate with De Beers to be part of the monitoring committee. They agreed to that. We have to provide our own supports so that if we sense any negative impact then we can stop the project, review the negative impact, and fix or minimize the problem. If it can't be fixed, then something has to be done to stop the project.

Diamonds might be worth a lot of money, but water is more precious to us.

Through the Victor project we were able to get a lot of additional contracts from De Beers after the original contract. We had to provide things like offering fair price, meeting timelines and providing quality work. So we were able to do that through joint venturing with other established businesses. Attawapiskat didn't have any businesses in the community and the level of education in that community was grade 9. Being able to do all these different contracts of service work, trucking, helicopter work was amazing. It was hiring the right people to work with us that do due diligence. I think that's what really made it work for us.

Sherry: How long have you guys been negotiating and working on this agreement?

Mike: The agreement was already negotiated before I came in and took about six or nine years. De Beers expected everything to happen in six months and that was the most frustrating for them. In the agreement De Beers said, "we will not proceed with the Diamond mine without consent of First Nations." It was right in the agreement and that gave us a lot of leverage to lobby for a lot of these things. I don't really know what made De Beers agree to that but I think right now that they maintain about 70 per cent of the diamond industry in the world. They were trying to rebuild their reputation in Canada so I think they really had to work with First Nations to be able to bring the diamond prices up. It really helped us when they made that commitment. There are not many companies that will say that. We're still negotiating for a percentage of diamonds as well. That's in process and there are a whole lot more contracts that will be coming up.

Sherry: What time frame will this project span?

Mike: The Victor project will be around 17 years. Right now they're in the construction phase and in a year and a half they'll be going into operations, and 12 years, maybe another 2 years, they'll be in closure. But I'm optimistic; I think there'll be more coming out. I'm pretty sure of that. We only negotiated for one pipe. De Beers has 16 pipes and wanted us to negotiate for all 16 but we said no, we only wanted to negotiate for one.

The mine itself is only one pipe. If they find another one then we negotiate again like this one, so it gives us a chance to learn and improve our negotiations next time.

Sherry: Very smart. Describe some of the positive impacts, you think this is going to have on the community.

Mike: We are developing our own economic base and improving quality of life for my community like housing. We're really backlogged about 200–300 houses. I'm, trying to negotiate with the province to put some housing and community subdivision infrastructure like stores for the flow of people coming in like they do down south.

We need to be treated the same. They're the ones that are going to be making a lot of money from the revenues and royalties.

We are planning some social programs to deal with problems like alcoholism, suicide, gas sniffing. We need to help youth how to keep their jobs and stay in school. All the people that we hired to help, lawyers and engineers, environmental people, geologists, all came from outside. I'm going to try and encourage young people to go and enter these fields so we can have our own people deal with these issues in the future.

Sherry: What are some of the long-term goals in the community?

Mike: Our long-term goals are to make sure that those businesses work so it can help the community sustain itself after De Beers is gone.

Sherry: Are you planning on having any businesses in your community?

Mike: We negotiated an advanced tax ruling allowing First Nations working off reserve with De Beers are not going to be paying taxes. There are members of Attawapiskat living in Timmins, they can't qualify for that. Due to that ruling, we were forced to have our head office in Attawapiskat and have tax exempt businesses. I think those businesses will benefit all businesses in Attawapiskat as well as off reserve.

Sherry: What advice do you have for other economic developers?

Mike: Exploration companies have been in our territory for many years and they've been exploring without our consent. Northern Development of mines hasn't talked to us either. They just keep issuing permits. The recent court cases requiring that they consult with First Nations will give us more leverage to work for benefits and maximize business opportunities. I think we have a lot of leverage to lobby as before we never had that. Be aggressive about your rights. De Beers is a big company but knowing that if they want to work on our territory they have to learn to work with us and then we just stick to our guns and eventually they'll fall back. They'll try to get away from us and ignore us, but then when we walk away they come back because they really want the diamonds, and I think that other companies are going to be doing the same thing. I think that you just have to show that you're practising your right for land entitlement. We own this land, we never gave it up and you have to be with us if you want to do business in our territory. That is what we did in Attawapiskat.

Sherry: Thank you very much and congratulations on your nomination.

Mike: Whether I win doesn't matter. I'm still going to be proud of our accomplishments. It's not me that did all the work, it's all those people behind the Economic Development Officers that really made things happen. I have to give them credit for all the hard work. Thank you.

A SUCCESSFUL SUMMER STUDENT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Robert J. Oppenheimer, Tom O'Connell, Rodney Hester, and Jessica Oesterreich

INTRODUCTION

The evaluation of a summer student employment program is described. The nature of the program, its objectives, its benefits and costs and the methods used to evaluate the program are explained. The results demonstrate that the program has generated significant benefits, is considered to be a "sound investment' and may warrant adoption in communities without such a program.

Kahnawake, which is located just south of the island of Montreal, Quebec initiated a summer student employment program in 1973 with funding from DIAND. It has been offered continually since then. In its current form, the Kahnawake Summer Student Employment Program (KSSEP) provides summer employment for approximately 50 students. Prior to this study the students' salaries were paid entirely by the program.

An evaluation of the program was undertaken to determine its effectiveness. Funding for the program had decreased and it was considered important to determine the value of the program and what may be done to improve it.

The team evaluating the program consisted of the full-time Coordinator of the summer student program, his assistant who was on contract and working mainly on this research project and two University-based consultants who were familiar with the program, the community and research methodologies. The study was conducted in 2004. To assess the effectiveness of the program, data was gathered from the students that participated, the employers, previous participants, members of the community and a literature review was done.

THE SUMMER STUDENT EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

The participants in the program are required to be full-time students, returning to school in the fall. They could be in high school, CEGEP (grades 12 and 13 in Quebec) University or Adult Education. The number of students in the program has varied, but has been approximately 50 in the last few years. There were 51 students in the 2004 program. The number of students as well as the employers has been limited by the funds available to pay the students' salaries. There have consistently been more applicants than those who have been accepted, because of the funding limitations.

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The program is advertised in the local newspaper, on the radio station, by announcements in the local high school and by word of mouth. Given the history of the program, most of the people in the community are aware of it. The employers and the jobs they are proposing are reviewed by a Selection Committee who review and select the job placements best suited to the interest of the students. The students apply to the program and they are given access to the listing of summer positions. Not all employers or all jobs are deemed acceptable.

The students need to apply directly to the employer for the jobs that have been approved and are listed. The hiring process is that the employer and the student arrange to meet and interviews are conducted. The person who is hired is a function of the interview, with the employer making an offer of employment. The Coordinator does not influence the employers as to who is hired. The student has the option of accepting or not. As in the "real world" not everyone is hired.

The program offers additional flexibility in the identification and selection of employers. Students have the option of seeking out an employer who could offer an employment experience related to their chosen field of study and proposing that they apply to the KSSEP. However, this option is rarely used.

The length of the program is eight to ten weeks. The work hours per week are 37.5 hours and the pay rate is eight to ten dollars per hour. The pay rate varies with the education level of the student. One of the outcomes of the study is the recommendation that the pay rate also vary according to the type of job and the demands it places on the student. During the course of the summer workshops are provided, which the students are required to attend. These have varied, but tend to include issues related to creating cover letters, resumes, interviewing, professional conduct and career planning. Other workshops have been identified and are reviewed in the section on recommendations.

The employer is responsible for managing the summer students and feedback is supposed to be provided to the student as to his or her performance. The Coordinator of the program meets with the employer and the students during the course of employment to ensure that everything is progressing as it should.

METHODOLOGY

The objective of the summer student program "is to provide students with employment experience related to their chosen fields of study in an effort to prepare them for their future entry into the workforce." To assess how well this objective is being achieved, a study was undertaken and multiple sources of information were obtained. The students that participated in the program in the year in which the study was conducted (the study group) completed surveys before, during and after their summer employment. During their summer employment they also participated in one of four focus groups of approximately 12 students each.

In addition to the current students, employers were surveyed and interviewed, past student participants and community members were interviewed and a focus group consisting of staff members provided their suggestions as well as their feedback on the recommendations that were being considered.

There were 32 employers in the study group and 30 of them responded to the survey. Forty-two previous employers were also surveyed. Sixteen interviews were conducted with employers.

A random selection of 20 participants, from those that completed the 1999 summer student program and were no longer in school was made. They were either interviewed in person or if an e-mail address was found, they completed a questionnaire on-line.

Twenty others, who had participated between 1990 and 2002, were also interviewed. These were people who were known to have participated in the summer student program. They, therefore, were a non-random group.

Twenty-six community members, consisting mainly of organization directors and program coordinators working directly with youth were interviewed. A focus group meeting was held with members of the staff to obtain their views regarding the conclusions from the study.

RESULTS

Satisfaction

The participants, both current and previous, were very satisfied with the program and were virtually unanimous in their desire to repeat their involvement in the program, if it were possible

to do so. The employers were also satisfied with the program. All 30 of the current 32 employers that responded said they were satisfied. All, except one of the 42 employers of those participating in 2002 said they were satisfied and 40 of these 42 employers said they would consider participating the following year. The other two said they were unsure.

Skill Development

Those who were in the program for more than one year were asked whether they believed their skills in selected areas had improved as a result of their participation. Sixty-seven to eighty-three per cent, that is, from 12 to 15 of the 18 who responded to this question indicated that their skills improved considerably or a lot. The skills identified were in the following areas: communications, professional conduct, multi-tasking, time management, leadership, working alone, team work, and taking initiative.

There were four areas where the results were different. A total of only 5 to 9 out of the 18 indicated that their job search, career planning skills, filing skills and stress management improved considerably or a lot. The other possible answers were, "not applicable", "not at all", "minimum" or "moderately". The lack of positive response for these four areas provides greater credibility to the positive self-assessments for the eight skills that were perceived to have improved considerable or a lot.

Self-reported skill improvements may be subject to being challenged. However, given the differences in responses to different skill areas, it is safe to conclude that at a minimum those who participated in the program for more than one year believe that their skills in critical job related areas have improved significantly because of their involvement in the program.

Career Choice

Initial work experiences may have a significant impact on future career choices. This is important as one of the objectives of the program is to provide work experience related to their chosen fields. This is not always possible as the range of jobs available is limited. However, in a number of situations the experience that the students have during their summer employment may influence their future career choice. Fifty-five per cent (55%, 11 of the 20) of the randomly selected participants in the 1999 summer student program said that their experience in the program influenced their decision in choosing a career.

Employment

Everyone that participated in the 1999 summer student employment program, with the exception of one person, is either employed or in school. This was as of October 2004. This compares with an employment rate of 45.3 per cent of the community's youth being employed, as reported in a study conducted in 2002. It is not possible to claim that the program is the casual event that accounts for the significant difference between the employment rates of those that participated in the program and those that did not.

The problem in attributing the extremely positive employment rate to the program is similar to claiming that a University education causes people to earn higher salaries. *Macleans* magazine (November 13, 2006) reports that Canadians with a University certificate, diploma or degree earned $61,000 in 2000 compared with those with only high school, who earned, on average, $36,000. Despite this difference it could be argued that it is not the University education (or participating in a summer student employment program) but rather a function of the competencies of those that go to University (or into the program) that may account for the difference.

Nonetheless, given the number of people that have participated, it seems reasonable to assume that the program (or University) has made a positive contribution to significantly higher employment rates.

Cost/Benefit

The cost of the program is relatively straightforward to calculate. The cost of the wages and benefits was $3,300 per participant in the program. Additional costs could be attributed to the program. The most significant of these costs would be that for the administrators of the program. However, these costs, if included, should be prorated for the part of the year in which the administrators were involved with the program. This is because the Director for part of the year is involved in other activities.

The benefits of the program are far more difficult to determine. Those that participated in 1999 had almost full employment. The assumption made is that the program is the reason for the full employment. Different employment rates for Native youth have been reported. The 45.3 per cent employment rate in the community would be one rate that could be used to calculate the contribution of the program. A more conservative figure, which is a reported average employment rate of 68 per cent (or 32% unemployment rate) for Native youth was used. The costs of being unemployed to the individual, family and community can be tremendous. We used the annual savings of keeping someone off Social Assistance, which was $6,600, as a conservative figure for our calculations.

Recently there have been about 50 participants in the program (51 in 2004). Using the 32 per cent unemployment figure (which was eliminated for those in the program) and the cost of Social Assistance of $6,600, the direct benefit is $115,600. This is determined by multiplying 50 (participants) by .32 (unemployment rate, which the program saved) by $6,600 (Social Assistance not needing to be paid). That is 50 × .32 × $6,600 = $115,600. The average time spent on Social Assistance is 5.5 years. Therefore the benefit would be the $115,600 times 5.5 years, which equals $635,800. When this is divided by the 50 jobs, the saving per job is $12,718. This compares with the cost of the job, which is $3,300. However, many of the participants are in the program for more than one year. To more accurately reflect the cost of those that participated, an average of two years per person could be used. This would result in a cost of $6,600 per person ($3,300 per year times 2 years, on average.)

In addition to this direct benefit, there is also the indirect benefit of the money spent by the students in the program, which is believed to have been spent predominately in the community. However, the most significant benefit is probably in the contribution made by enabling many of the youth to obtain practical work experience and related skills as well as helping them in their career choice and obtaining meaningful employment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations presented relate both to this program and for those considering starting a summer student employment program. They are based upon the results of this study.

Program Objectives

The objective of the program should be consistent with what the program may realistically be expected to achieve. It is recognized that the range of summer job opportunities is limited and that it may not be possible to provide a job consistent with a student's career aspirations. The existing objective is:

> "To provide students with employment experiences related to their chosen fields of study in an effort to prepare them for their future entry into the work force."

The revised objective is:

> "To provide students with the opportunity to pursue and secure employment and to develop life and employment skills that will support their educational pursuits, career plans and enhance their future employability."

Facilitate Communication

Providing students with more pre-employment support would be helpful, especially for the first-time program participants. Guidance on how to develop and submit cover letters and resumes and how to prepare for interviews are offered; however, few attend. Further emphasizing the importance of this would be useful. Encouraging greater communication between the employer and student at the outset, during their employment and at the conclusion of the work period would be beneficial.

Proactive Recruitment

Even though the program is seen as successful, it would be helpful to be more proactive in recruiting students and employers. The grade level where a specific effort should be made to recruit students is grade nine, as this has been identified as a pivotal grade for career development. Additional effort should be made to recruit

new employers who could offer job opportunities more in line with the career interests of the students. These potential employers should not be restricted to those within the community. The potential for obtaining additional funding to accommodate the additional employers and students should be considered before initiating such a strategy. If it is not possible to place additional students, because of lack of funding, then further recruitment would frustrate a larger number of employers and students.

Strengthen Alliances

It is recommended that closer contact be established with youth career counsellors in the schools and that job opportunities are better aligned with the career interests of the students. To obtain broader support and insights from the numerous stakeholders, a Board of Advisors should be created. This would include educators, employers, youth, funding agencies and the program director.

Workshops

Workshops are currently part of the program. Preparation type workshops for first time applicants would help them prepare for interviews and adjusting to a job. Other workshops have been identified that may be included, depending upon the needs and orientations of the participants. These include: navigating the Internet; introduction to entrepreneurship; leadership; public speaking; career explorations; interviewing and writing resumes and cover letters.

Funding

A major concern for most programs is where it will obtain the funding it needs. This is the case for the summer student employment program. One of the recommendations, based upon the interviews and surveys with the employers, was to raise their contributions from zero to twenty per cent, for employers in the private sector. A higher percentage of contribution could be charged to the new employers, particularly employers that are profitable. Obtaining a 40 per cent contribution would not be unreasonable. The federal government has a summer student program in which it pays 50 per cent of the minimum wage rate to employers that are accepted into their program. A rationale for requiring employers to make a meaningful contribution is that if they need the employee, then getting a subsidy to hire a student should encourage the employer to do that. Further, if they are paying the salary or even part of it, they would manage the students more seriously.

CONCLUSION

The participants and employers of the summer student employment program in Kahnawake have been highly satisfied being part of the program. The participants have reported significant improvements in critical employment-related skills and an extremely high per cent of the students that were in the program have secured gainful employment. These are significant contributions.

The full value of the program is difficult to completely assess. Nonetheless, by calculating only the money saved by keeping people off of Social Assistance the payoff is close to four times the cost of the program on a per person, per job basis. It was calculated that $12,178 was saved for each job, which cost $6,600 over two years. However, the full value of the contributions of those who succeeded, in part because of gaining meaningful summer employment as a youth, goes far beyond the dollars saved.

This type of program may be able to make similar significant contributions in other communities. Given the success of the program in Kahnawake, it would seem reasonable to examine whether such a program would be viable elsewhere. Those seeking to help youth to develop critical work-related skills and to obtain meaningful employment experience are those who should examine this type of program for their community.

INDIGENOUS VALUES AND CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT APPROACHES

Wanda Wuttunee, Mary Jane Loustel, and Dan Overall

INTRODUCTION

The challenges and opportunities of globalization, environmental issues such as climate change, corporate scandals, the legacy of the counter-culture of the sixties, society's ever-evolving commitment to both respect and honour diversity — these are but a few examples of the astonishing convergence of phenomena that are calling into question the role of business in society. As such, and as never before, the value schemes businesses use to make decisions are being dissected, debated and evaluated.

It is a dialogue that raises some interesting issues from an Indigenous perspective. What values play a role in Indigenous businesses? Are there any challenges in the context of Indigenous wisdom that would make a general discussion of these values difficult? How do those values translate into Indigenous participation in the general economy? Is there any symmetry between the evolving discussion of values in the wider business community and traditional Indigenous values? If so, what promise does this hold for a new era of partnership and prosperity between Indigenous communities, peoples, business and the general economy?

The following sections will examine Indigenous values and consider how these concepts can relate to business management. Two case studies of Manitoba-based Indigenous women's business enterprises demonstrate these values in action. The success in practice within two distinct industries is inspiring with Pat Turner in the trucking and construction industry and Lisa Meeches in communications. Finally, a brief analysis of 'corporate social responsibility' (CSR), a focal point for so much of the discussion of 'values' in modern day business, draws out the synchronicity between this issue and traditional Indigenous values.

INDIGENOUS CULTURAL VALUES

Historically, traditional Indigenous values were passed on to individuals beginning from a young age. These values were embodied in all aspects of their lives. They learned by observing and listening to the elders, their parents, aunts and uncles and members of the community. It was a large interconnected network of community life. Stories were passed down in the oral tradition.

> Indigenous historical tradition honours stories, legends and explanations handed

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> down from grandmothers and grandfathers. All of Creation including 'those who have gone before' figure in the oral tradition. Cultural values are shared with the listeners, community issues are clarified, place of a family in the community settled and the broad requirements of a vibrant society are met through these stories. (RCAP, 1996, 1, p. 33)

> Individuals in the story-telling circle have their own understanding of the story meaning that reflects the community, the circumstances and the interpretation being passed on. Oral accounts are not simply a detached recounting of factual events, but rather are "facts enmeshed in the stories of a lifetime" (RCAP, 1996, 1, p. 33) leaving room for "many histories" with variations reflecting unique relationships within and among communities and with the environment. (Lendsey & Wuttunee, 1997, p. 2)

Layers of meaning are exposed depending on the way a story is told, how it is told, who tells it and by listening to the whole story. This results in respect for the interrelatedness of word, thought, belief and action and thus its holistic meaning (Alfred, 1999, p. xvii).

Teachings are presented at a level that reflects the student's skills, maturity and readiness and do not have the same meaning for each student. Knowledge and insight are shared between teacher and student in a two-way learning situation but lacks tidy summaries and conclusions as is more common using a written format.

Truly understanding Indigenous values and perspectives requires a lifetime of commitment and dedication to an Indigenous worldview. Values are misunderstood because of a complexity that can only be studied and their true meanings identified in the original languages. Indeed, one elder has gone so far as to say there are no Indigenous organizations that practice Indigenous values in their work today. A group of language speakers have yet to meet and examine these important matters (Munroe, 2006).

It is hard to completely grasp the significance of this requirement for personal interaction in a mainstream culture devoted to the written word. In the western tradition great weight is often given to words once they are published, according more truth than might be deserved. Many traditional teachings will never be published because of the belief that to do so means to give away something that is too valuable and ultimately, is an act of disrespect.

Knowing the limitations of 'writing' about core values does not mean that all meaning is stripped by using this approach. It does set the stage and begins a dialogue on the written page that draws on the experience of Indigenous scholars, provides some illumination and may encourage the search for greater understanding.

Releasing the boundaries of personal worldviews in order to understand other worldviews requires patience, time, and inner reflection. The written word hints at the possibilities of this journey. It draws people into the process who might never have contemplated such information but it has its limitations. It is important that the reader take the information and reflect on its significance from the reader's own experience, drawing personal conclusions as part of an experiential process of understanding Indigenous worldviews. Letting the reader take responsibility for interpreting lessons mirrors one of the ways lessons or teachings are presented in the Indigenous community.

It is also important to note that the ensuing discussion of Indigenous values draws on the teachings and words of several elders and authors, some of whom wish to remain anonymous and some who allow their names to be noted. These values have been handed down from elders to share with the community and come from the Creator so they may be recorded by authors but they may not be attributed to one source (See Campbell, 1997; Newhouse, 1993, pp. 94–95; Alfred, 1999, p. 134; Salway Black, 1994). Dockstater deals with this issue in his work. He notes that it is not appropriate to attribute information like this to any one person or source nor to present ceremonial knowledge out of a cultural context (1993, p. 9).

Finally, while there are common values across Indigenous communities, any written recounting of those themes must be in a context that also acknowledges a considerable diversity of practice and experience. T. Alfred, Mohawk scholar, sums up this delicate balance as follows:

> Working within a traditional framework, we must acknowledge the fact that cul-

> tures change, and that any particular notion of what constitutes 'tradition' will be contested. Nevertheless, we can identify certain common beliefs, values and principles that form the persistent core of a community's culture. (Alfred 1999:xvii)

With these qualifications in place, in it is now appropriate to consider examples of traditional Aboriginal values. The words of Elder Campbell provide a useful starting point:

> Creator said that it was time to bring people to the Earth Mother. The first to arrive was the Black Nation. They were given the gift of sound and were told that they must share their gift with the people of the world. The next to arrive was the Red Nation. They were given the gift of the teachings of the Earth Mother and were told they must share their gift with the people of the world.
>
> Then came the Yellow Nation. They were given the gift of teachings of the mind and body and were told they must share their gift with the people of the world.
>
> Finally came the White Nation. Our youngest brothers and sisters and they were given the gift of communication and were told that they must share their gift with the people of the world. (M.L. Campbell, Ojibway elder, 1997)

Elder Campbell's words are particularly appropriate for two reasons. Firstly, they confirm a duty to share Aboriginal values with the world. While understanding the historical place of oral tradition and traditional values is important in understanding current issues facing Indigenous peoples, the questions surrounding the place that these traditional values have in today's society must be considered. Secondly, Elder Campbell's words also underline the value of co-operation, acknowledging gifts and interdependence of all living things — ideas that form the core by which many Indigenous peoples make sense of their place in the world and their perspectives on life. Similarly, Richard Atleo suggests the unity of existence or heshook-ish tsawalk (everything is one) lies at the heart of life and the way it is lived (Atleo, 2004, p. 117).

Principles honouring this connectivity are more fully outlined as follows:

> Honoring all creation by showing respect...
>
> Love of Creator and for all living things that come from the Creator is demonstrated by showing respect from the moment one rises in the morning to when one retires in the evening.
>
> Treasuring knowledge as wisdom ...
>
> Reflection, acknowledgment, seeking guidance and respecting the quality of knowing and the gift of vision in ourselves and in others demonstrates wisdom. Wisdom encompasses the holistic view, possesses spiritual quality and is expressed in the experiential breadth and depth of life.
>
> Knowing love is to know peace ...
>
> Caring, kindness, hope, harmony and cooperation are fundamental values. Caring and sharing are shown to one another with an ethic of generosity, collective/communal consciousness and co-operation, while recognizing the interdependence and interrelatedness of life. Recognizing the valuable gifts of the individual, the community and all nations leads to harmony and cooperation. Honoring the individual and the collective by thinking for yourself and acting for others.
>
> Courage and bravery is demonstrated in facing challenges with honesty and integrity ...
>
> The goal is to protect the quality of life and inherent autonomy of oneself and others. Life may then be lived in an atmosphere of security, peace, dignity and freedom.
>
> Cherishing yourself as a sacred part of creation is humility ...
>
> Honor all of life which is endowed with the same inherent autonomy, dignity, freedom and equality. Listen and learn from others and do so with a sense of modesty and sensitivity.
>
> The truth is to know all of these things ...

To know all of these values is to have balance in one's life. Balance is articulated for many Indigenous peoples through the concepts embodied in the medicine wheel or circle of life.

Originally of significance to the Plains people, many find that the medicine wheel is a teaching tool of relevance in many contemporary areas of life (RCAP, 1996, 1, p. 646). It represents the whole circle of all life and all that is known or knowable. It is linked together with no

beginning and no end, and it is often divided by lines that at the centre signify order and balance. It is a teaching, a mirror, a window, a way of life and a healing (RCAP, 1996, 1, p. 646). For example, balance may be discussed regarding the individual and the community in terms of physical, emotional, mental and spiritual aspects of life with each element of equal significance. Many Indigenous peoples recognize the interconnectedness of human beings with all of life and acknowledge the aspects of the medicine wheel that could be inherent in solutions to social problems they face.

INDIGENOUS VALUES AND BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Often the relationship between Indigenous cultural values and business management has ranged between ambivalence and antagonism. A business education at college or university emphasizes aspects of management strategies, skills and competition that spring solidly from the foundation of capitalism. Little attention if any is paid to the role of Indigenous cultural values and perspectives in economic development and successful business unless it is an Indigenous educational institution. These important bundles of philosophies are left to the individual to use as they see fit in the world of business. With many Indigenous communities trying to preserve critical aspects of their way of life, business often raises the spectra of destruction of the things that give 'a good life' meaning while offering lifelines to a better collective economic livelihood (Newhouse, 1999). Historically it was believed that for individuals who migrate to urban centres the pull is even stronger to assimilate into the capitalist perspective and lay down their bundle of Indigenous values before entering the business world.

That said, there are growing examples of not only harmony, but mutual fulfillment between Indigenous values and business management. Accessing educational opportunities and a broad range of opportunities offered by Canadian companies to young Indigenous people is affecting the way business is conducted and the future of the contribution of Indigenous peoples to the Canadian economy. In a recent study by the Conference Board of Canada and in other supporting research (Loizedes & Anderson, 2006), there are examples across Canada where the value of business skills is recognized in the boardrooms of Indigenous business enterprises, but where the bottom line must fit with the visions of their community shareholders. There are examples of competitive bids by individual-owned Indigenous businesses won by collaborative teams made up of those businesses that failed in independent bids competing against one another. The term that has been coined is "community capitalism." Young leaders embrace their heritage and the best of the business world to be competitive and successful. Oftentimes they receive guidance from elders and other leaders who are well-versed in Indigenous and business realities.

Adopting business values works well for many Indigenous employers and employees. Where Indigenous individuals are able they make their way in the business world following their personal values they do so often in Indigenous organizations, business organizations with complementary values and in their own enterprises. The following case studies build insight into several ways of approaching business in keeping with personally held Indigenous values that have resulted in successful businesses contributing to the Indigenous community and the Canadian economy.

CASE STUDY: PATRICIA TURNER, ABORIGINAL ENTREPRENEUR

Patricia Turner is an Aboriginal woman who chose entrepreneurship after retiring from a career in government. Not content to simply retire, Turner contemplated her future and one day an opportunity presented itself in a conversation she initiated with a frustrated trucker passing through her northern Manitoba First Nation, Grand Rapids. This opportunity turned out to be quite the challenge for Turner as she entered into the world of trucking and construction, setting up shop in Grand Rapids. The trucking company originated some 21 years ago with Turner convincing the local bank to help her finance the purchase of her first two trucks. For this investment and Pat Turner's vision E.T. Development was born and now does road building, small salvage operations and com-

munity infrastructure construction. As Turner describes, over the years she evolved from being the “kid” playing with the big boys, to a player negotiating contracts to support infrastructure development for communities in the North.

When asked about her business and her success, Turner downplays the challenges she faced as an Aboriginal woman in this competitive, male dominated field. She asserts that the company she built is just like the others in mainstream society, but that they employ 97 per cent Aboriginal and serve as a training ground for developing Aboriginal workers. As well, Turner notes, “In our company we recognize our people. In a small community of First Nations we recognize the fact that we are so intertwined together and that we have to understand the relationships we have with our close people and our close friends.”

In Turner’s world, people and community come first in her value system and she considers this a key to her company’s success. Turner considers herself demanding, yet fair. She asserts that the job has to be done right and she makes this her priority. In her company, there is no exception to excellence. She focuses on timelines, worker commitment, training, expertise, coordination and an accident free environment. The goal is to make sure the client is happy. The job well done reflects on her as an entrepreneur as well as on each of her workers. As Turner notes “Without the employees I wouldn’t be where I am today. It is a combination win-win for everybody. You are providing work for your employees. They tell me that they feel good and they get paid and look after their family. At the end of the day that is what we want anyway. To provide the best for your family.” Taking care of family is an important value to Turner. Her children are adults, with children of their own and Turner makes it a priority to spend time with her grandchildren.

While Turner owns the business and deals with the office, paperwork, bankers and lawyers; her husband plays a key role. He works with the staff planning the jobs and getting the work done. As Turner puts it “We have a very good working relationship”. Turner’s sons are also involved with the business, learning the ropes as they go along. While family support has been fantastic and has allowed Turner to focus on the ‘business’ end of the business and take on leadership roles in the Aboriginal community, it hasn’t prevented Turner from rolling up her sleeves and getting into the field. She still dazzles a few non-believers with her knowledge about the equipment and the industry. She personally interviews workers who come to her looking for a job. She wants to ensure they know the equipment from A to Z “We always say, you have to make that machine dance for you.” Despite her experience and reputation, she notes “A lot of men stand and look at me with question, because it is still a man’s world out there in construction. They think ‘what the heck does she know’. But I want to make sure they know what they are doing. If that equipment goes down, it is down time for the company and for workers.”

Turner values the staff and makes it her business to ensure that they are well-trained, that their work environment is safe and supporting. In this line of work, it is often 24/7 with long hours and often staff work in remote locations away from home and family. To compensate for this, Turner ensures that the workers are comfortable, with good rest and food and she makes sure that they get the breaks that they need to spend time with family and community.

Over the years Turner has worked tirelessly for the benefit of the community. Not satisfied with watching things from the outside, Turner served as Band Chief. Hoping to stimulate commitment to education and create an environment that nurtured youth to careers, Turner facilitated the career fairs in the local school. She produced t-shirts with the slogan ‘Youth with Potential’ to turn the negative idea of ‘youth at risk’ around. While in business, Turner could have sat back and enjoyed the successes of her work, she has chosen the path of making success an option for others. Turner believes that her community service is what makes her company truly Aboriginal. “The difference I see in my company is the way that I have aligned myself in working relationships with Aboriginal people. I try and promote Aboriginal communities.” Following through with action, Turner was instrumental in the creation of the Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce, the first of its kind in Canada, and she served at the President of the Chamber for its first two years of operation. As Turner states “I see the Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce making a big, huge impact on the economy of Manitoba and I have

the feeling deep in my heart that we will go right across Canada. Let's all work together and make a better world, a better place for our people to come along." Working together is a key value that Turner lives. Her vision for the Chamber has become a reality as the Aboriginal Chamber announced a national presence in the fall of 2006. Turner notes that the Aboriginal Chamber is important to celebrating the contribution that Aboriginal businesses make to the Canadian economy. She feels that the public at large is unaware of the number of Aboriginal business and entrepreneurs. Turner states "It is time for people like myself to step forward and say I am Aboriginal and I am an entrepreneur and I am proud of it."

Turner is proud of her business and stresses that the most important thing is the contribution it makes to the First Nation communities. Turner makes it her business to ensure that when she does work in the community she is leaving behind the skills necessary to sustain the projects she works on. She noted that over the years, infrastructure would be developed in First Nations communities but then the companies doing the work would leave, as would the workers. There was no reflection on whether the project had invested in developing the community to maintain or sustain the infrastructure. This is a number one goal of Turner's company when it works in the community. "Why should I go back. It is going to cost an arm and a leg to move equipment back there. If I can teach somebody and leave at least two people behind, I think leaving a bit of yourself behind where ever you go, then you know you have been a success and you have contributed to the people and their own economy."

A second goal for Turner's company relates to her desire to provide meaningful work to Aboriginal people and to develop them to go on and work in other communities with mainstream organizations. Turner notes that while it is costly to train her workers, she thinks beyond the costs when a worker announces that they are leaving for another opportunity. Turner wishes them well as she shares "When they go on somewhere and speak highly of her training and E.T. Developments it results in increased reputation and goodwill for my company and this translates into partnerships and contracts."

Partnerships and contracts are good for business. Despite seemingly unique Aboriginal community values, Turner is not afraid of the challenge to compete with mainstream business, nor is she afraid of the idea that it is important for her company to be profitable. She recalls the challenges of starting her business and the lean years of making doing with little to no profit. "But that was me" she recalls "I knew I could live within that $10,000 a year because of the simple fact that I was working 24/7 and I knew that I could see there was lots of work in the infrastructure and the field of construction. As we got bigger and bigger and making money, it was good for me that I was earning at that power, but I always kept the money in my company. I would leave it behind for the company." Making a profit and investing in the company are values that Turner has translated into a strong a successful company in a tough industry, for the benefit of her community.

Turner further demonstrates her values in the views she has about running a successful business. She notes that "You are not clock wise and you don't answer to anyone, to me anyway, it is my company." However, she is quick to spell out the lessons to be learned "I have taken some of the issues I have learned from my previous jobs which is accountability for one thing. I have learned accountability, the timetable, the schedules and the commitments. I don't just mean with your bankers or creditors, I mean to yourself, to your family and to your clients and vendors. Try to be fair and honest with everyone. I think one of the biggest things is honesty." Honesty is a value that contributes to reputation. Over the 21 years in business, Turner has built a reputable Aboriginal company.

In reflecting on her success, Turner comments "I think it is easier working with an Aboriginal company because you know with our people there is always a common understanding. I put them at ease." With business in mind, Turner talks about the value of family and community and about the relationships that are developed along the way. Mostly, Patricia Turner is an inspiration to her community and to others who dream of owning their own business and making a difference in Aboriginal economic development. "Believe in yourself as a person. I am Pat Turner, I am a woman and I believe I can do this." With a spirited chuckle,

she continues on, "And, if I think I can't do it, then I think about it and I go back and I think what the heck, I will tell Mary Jane and together we can do it." Patricia Turner's company is truly Aboriginal, and its value is going well beyond the bottom-line!

The next case study examines the integration of spirituality into a business philosophy that drives several communication businesses.

CASE STUDY: LISA MEECHES, ABORIGINAL ENTREPRENEUR

Lisa Meeches is a modern day Aboriginal storyteller who has taken the communications industry to a new level with her dynamic approach to video production. As Executive Producer and the President of Eagle Vision Inc. and Meeches Video Productions, she has built a great reputation in the film-making community as a result of her work in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal productions. Her most recent productions include Capote, Blue State and Elijah. With partners invested in the newest company, Century Street Distributions, Meeches is taking her Aboriginal-based productions to the international forum, taking care to ensure that the packaging and presentation keeps sacred the spiritual base and intent of her work.

Meeches's passion for film and production is not rooted in a drive for fame in this highly glamorized industry, but from her sense that it is her spiritual job to be a storykeeper. She shares this, "At the end of each day, I ask myself, 'did I accomplish things, was I kind to people, can I look at my business another way, how do I make it better,' and then I write it down." Her approach to business is intriguing, rooted in Aboriginal spirituality, bringing ceremony to the heart of day to day business.

As Meeches speaks about her work, the powerful linkage between values and business is apparent. "Before we start any production," Meeches affirms, "we start off with a ceremony that specifically talks about natural law and honouring the gifts of everybody no matter what nation you come from." She refers to the ceremonies and offerings as 'spiritual insurance', explaining that they are offerings to ensure that people treat each other well and they are good and kind to one another. Meeches invests in this insurance in the same way she does other forms of insurance such as errors and omissions or liability insurance. To Meeches it is all part of the business.

Meeches' perspective about the ideas that build into script and production is further demonstration of the linkage of her values in her work. "Before my writers even write the script, which is usually eight months before we start rolling, there's a ceremony just for the writers and then offerings are made. We take them all out to a sacred site because in this industry when an idea comes to an individual that idea comes from somewhere powerful. It doesn't belong to us and it is our job as storykeepers to ensure we nurture it and do not take advantage of it because it is seen as a little baby and we watch it grow and develop." In serving as a storykeeper, Meeches has become a conduit for educating her people and others about Aboriginal spirituality and values. In her day to day practices, the people she works with experience Aboriginal values in ways that cannot be learned through traditional forms of education. It is rather a powerful form of experiential learning that takes place in her companies.

Meeches makes it a priority to bring the Aboriginal people and community to the stage in her productions. Some of her major works such as Capote, about Truman Capote and Elijah Harper, are co-produced. As Meeches notes, the film side of things is very intricate and tricky. Co-production with companies experienced in this area allows Meeches to learn that side of film. In regard to the production of Elijah, Meeches asserts that it was critical for the Aboriginal community to be involved, therefore co-production was an essential to success. When working with other producers, Meeches is very careful to ensure that values are aligned. She checks out the people she works with so that she is confident that her community will be respected and treated well. For Meeches, the 'check out' doesn't mean getting reference checks or googling, it means that they go into ceremony. Before agreeing to work on Elijah, Meeches recalls "We had a ceremony in the studio here and I had gifts for them and his co-producer and Wayne and I, my business partner, smoked the pipe and talked about natural law and respect and my role."

Meeches cautions that ceremony is not a quick fix, but needs to be maintained in appreciation for everyday good things. "You have to find a way to give back so our ancestors can be acknowledged." On production there would be daily feasts and unique perhaps in the industry there is an 'elders trailer' taking the place of a 'producers trailer'. In reflecting on the Elijah production, Meeches went on to speak about the challenges of being a woman in the industry, but being Aboriginal too. She asserted that with the Elijah production, it wasn't up to them as producers as to whether the production works, but the Creator. In her view, "The script you wrote comes from a powerful place and as long as you respect and you treat people good it will take care of itself." With this spiritual value understood, Meeches entered into partnership on the Elijah production and rallied the support of her community. Four or five thousand people came out to audition, "grandmothers came, it was quite emotional for me and I was just overwhelmed. It was quite powerful to see and people were truly honouring their fits and that is all you can ask for."

As she thinks about how the community contributes to the success of her production work, Meeches reflects on the construction of a totem pole. She shares that in her company, no one is low on the totem pole and she personally helps at all levels to ensure that her crew sees that all jobs are valued and necessary to the quality of the completed production. Meeches understands the value of human gifts, "Crewing a show and crewing an office is looking at all the gifts of everybody and honouring the gifts and knowing when to step back because I don't know it all and being in this environment I am allowed to honour my gifts." She feels fortunate to be in an industry that honours her spirit and allows her to walk through life guided by her spirit.

In speaking with Meeches, it becomes clear that it is for her people that she invests her energy in her work. As a storyteller and educator she understands the need to build the capacity of her people. She notes "There is such a huge need and a gap when it comes to Aboriginal people having the opportunities to be embraced by the industry." One of her main goals for Eagle Vision is to find strategic ways of upgrading the skills of Aboriginal people in the industry. Giving back, mentoring and celebrating with her people are values that Meeches incorporates into her work. As she notes "I learned to create strategies and tactics where everyone is included and that's through the mentorship program."

In addition, Meeches uses her reputation in the industry to build bridges for others. She focuses on helping associations such as Manitoba Film and Sound and, Film Training Manitoba understand the curriculum work that needs to be done in order to strengthen Aboriginal involvement in the industry. As she notes "Our goal is to create a centre of excellence for Aboriginal people in the industry and working with National Screen Institute to develop curriculum which is a culturally based spiritual program which would allow our people to really take the message home on what it means to be storytellers."

In addition to her work in her business and within the Industry, Meeches also contributes to her community in roles such as the one she recently took on for the Manito Ahbee, Manitoba Aboriginal Festival. As chair of the Manitoba Music Host Committee, Meeches made a major contribution to the development of the four-day festival that celebrated Aboriginal music and culture. Providing leadership to this festival was a natural fit for Meeches as the name Manito Ahbee references a sacred site located in Manitoba's Whiteshell Provincial Park, where First Nations traditionally gathered to share teachings and wisdom. Manito Ahbee means "where the Creator sits." Meeches also serves on the board of the Manitoba Film and Sound, the United Way Aboriginal Relations Committee and the Canadian Independent Film and Video Fund.

How does she keep up the energy to do all this work? For Meeches, it is pretty simple "I pow wow so I sneak away for a few weekends and feed my spirit." It takes strength to do pow wow so on a regular basis Meeches trains and does yoga to keep her focus. In addition to this training, Meeches practices good medicine. Her family bloodline is in medicine. Her grandparents are both staunch herbalists and her late grandfather used to have a group of medicine people from across the country that he worked with. Recently, an elder reminded Meeches that "Everything you do is about making good medicine. Your camera is your pipe and respect it

like that and your tripod and all your equipment is your ceremony offerings and respect it like that." Meeches was blown away by this elder's sharing and the reflection on her work as vehicle for 'good medicine'.

Meeches is a prodigy of her upbringing, her values and views come from her experiences as a child on the reserve. "We were all athletes, had horses, long distance runners, I ran until I went to university. You need to be fit to dance pow wow. So life on the reserve was absolutely fantastic. We didn't have church on our reserve it was all ceremony. That's all we knew. How I conduct myself now and how I redeem myself now and how I try to give back, that's what makes you a successful person." Meeches returns home regularly to maintain her spirit and participate in the medicine work of her family.

One of her productions, Tipi Tales is actually modelled after her grandparent's backyard. As Meeches asserts "His backyard was like an Indian Disneyland where everybody was happy everyday and the little people had the most important part in all of it because if we were hungry they fed us and if we needed a hug they hugged us, if we needed to be tickled they would tickle us." In reflecting on youth today, Meeches expresses her concern that there is not enough emphasis on spiritual value. "We send our children to career symposiums and what we deem successful is based on western society mythology. There isn't one booth at a career symposium that asks 'what does your spirit want?' "

Indeed, Meeches is an example of a business woman who follows the lead of her spirit. Business decisions are made in consultation with the spirit world and the Creator. She reflects back to her very early days in the industry and a decision she had to make after being asked to produce the now acclaimed show The Sharing Circle. She recalls, "I went home to ask my grandfather if I should do it, and he said 'you should go out and fast.' In the old days that was how we did things, we would discuss things, and fast and pray, and he says that's when we would do a sharing circle and that is what you should call it." The Sharing Circle was born and to this day provides a critical forum for Aboriginal storytelling.

Of her success in business, Meeches shares her perspective that her work has only begun. "We're going to keep telling Aboriginal stories until we are happy, and we are not all happy yet. We are not at a healthy place where we are happy." Lisa Meeches and her companies serve as modern day demonstration of the degree to which Aboriginal culture and ways of being achieve what so many companies are not able to under the tag 'corporate social responsibility'. Perhaps corporate social responsibility has to focus more on the spirit of the people. Meeches believes that people would be happier if they followed their spirit and had strong business ethics that are guided by the 'circular' teachings while working in the linear world. Meeches lives her talk "You can wear them together" she asserts "and you don't have to compromise one another because I have advisors that remind me of the linear teachings and those that remind me of the circular teachings." This is good medicine for those of us trying to understand the balance in life and work.

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is an often-used, seldom-defined term that has become both a lightning rod for the growing debate about the role of business in society and a catch-all for the many ways that role may be fulfilled, including philanthropy or charity, environmental sustainability, the advancement of human rights, and community development.

Whether one believes that CSR is a role for business over and above profitability, or a means by which business can help ensure long-term sustainable profits, there is no doubt that there is increased interest in expressing a corporations social investment. In 2005, 360 different CSR-related shareholder resolutions were filed, 64 per cent of the world's multi-national corporations published some form of CSR report, and there is a burgeoning industry of CSR ratings, consultants and associations (Porter & Kramer, 2006, pp. 80–81).

While there has been a change afoot it is important to remember that this is an evolution, not a revolution; for there has always been symmetry between a business' profitability and the well-being of the community in which it operates. Porter and Kramer recently described that fundamental connection as follows: "By providing jobs,

investing capital, purchasing goods, and doing business every day, corporations have a profound and positive influence on society. The most important thing a corporation can do for society, and for any community, is contribute to a prosperous economy" (2006: 91). It is a sentiment that echoes through capitalist proponents as far back as Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations (1776)* and Bernard Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees*. (Friedman, 2005, p. 40).

CSR is driving businesses to think more deeply about the extent of the relationship between business and social good. Companies are being warned that "Any business that pursues its ends at the expense of the society in which it operates will find its success to be illusory and ultimately temporary" (Porter & Kramer, 2006, p. 83). As a result of this view, analysis of management strategies are increasingly using terms like 'shared value' and 'the sustainability sweet spot' to both identify and build on those common interests, to the benefit of both the company and its community.

The following two examples are typical of the theorist promoting a more holistic approach to business strategy. Savitz urges companies to incorporate a 'triple bottom line' that judges a business against environmental measures such as air and air quality, energy usage and waste produced; and social measures such as labour practices, community impact, human rights and product responsibility; as well as economic measures sales, profits, return on investment, taxes paid, monetary flows and jobs created (2006, p. xii). Jackson and Nelson (2004) champion a 'profits with principles' approach that focuses on harnessing innovation for the public good, putting people at e-centre, spreading economic opportunity, engaging in new alliances, being performance-driven in everything, practising superior governance and pursuing purpose beyond profit.

The congruity between these trends and traditional Indigenous values bodes well for indigenous peoples and their businesses in a number of ways. Firstly, as a key part of society, any corporate strategy that compels a more holistic focus on society will undoubtedly involve both indigenous peoples and their businesses. Second, as companies pursue a CSR approach undoubtedly new business opportunities will arise that respect, embrace and utilize indigenous values and capacities. Finally, given both its rich and diverse history of holistic, community thinking, indigenous leaders and businesses can offer mainstream businesses unique and valued perspectives that may increase understanding and success in implementing CSR.

CONCLUSION

As management practices are being driven to look at the role of business in relation to its people, its community, and the environment, it is only natural to consider Indigenous values as they are typically associated with such a holistic perspective. A review of Indigenous values reveals its own set of challenges. While common, such values are not completely uniform. History has played a role in stifling the emergence of Indigenous values in business management practices. As well, the complexity and nuance of those values does not lend itself to more traditional forms of business education, including the printed word.

And yet, in the face of these difficulties Indigenous values remain strong, passing from generation to generation. What's more, Indigenous values are being rewarded by the economy. In their own ways, Turner and Meeches reflect Indigenous values in their business practices leading to the ultimate success of their businesses. They each hold their businesses to values that underpin their personal philosophies.

This paper is simply a starting point in so many ways. Management practices have a long way to go to fully comprehend and implement the principles of CSR. Much work remains to be done to understand the complex fabric of Indigenous values. What is clear is that contemporary business management practices and Indigenous values are taking different paths to the same destination; a holistic way of thinking that fully connects business success with the well-being of the community in which it operates. This is a future ripe with potential; a truly common language united in common purpose, a future of mutual respect, opportunity and fulfillment.

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Editor's Introduction

Although it was not our intention, the international flavour of this, our tenth issue of the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, is undeniable. Interestingly the editorial team had for some time been debating the merits of producing a special issue focusing on international Aboriginal economic development issues. The following articles offer insight into the variety of economic issues currently confronting Indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia, while the following section's research note presents research conducted in Bangladesh among the Indigenous Garo community.

Drawing on their experiences working locally, nationally, and internationally, developing respectful protocols, and building relationships with Aboriginal women engaged in community development, Anna Hunter, Isobel Findlay, and Louise Clarke explore the ongoing contributions and persistent challenges of Aboriginal women's community development. Arguing that the threats of economic globalization are felt keenly by Aboriginal women and children, who are most often the ones at the bottom of the chain of development, little is being done to shore up these disparities. The authors specifically draw on their experiences related to their efforts to organize a workshop, conference, and research celebrating Aboriginal women's community development work. In particular, they focus on the multiple strategies women devise to negotiate what they identify as the structural impediments to Aboriginal women's community development, the latter of which remains critical to developing and maintaining healthy and sustainable communities.

Louis Evans of the Centre for Sustainable Mine Lakes at Australia's Curtin University of Technology reviews a number of initiatives aimed at assisting Aboriginal economic development through a careful examination of published data focusing on the impediments to Aboriginal enterprise development. In Australia Aboriginal economic development is being assisted through funding mechanisms

and consultations provided by Indigenous Business Australia, the Indigenous Land Corporation and other government agencies, as well as from the private sector, in particular the mining industry. Despite this assistance Evans argues that the major impediments to enterprise development tend to be overlooked, which include the lack of culturally appropriate business models and related cultural issues, lack of business skills and access to advice and, in the case of remote communities, the lack of access to markets and business services. Evans suggests a need to gravitate to international trends in capacity development that emphasize a systems-based, people-centred empowerment approach is required, and like issues and implications related to applying such an approach are analyzed and discussed.

Finally, an innovative article by Australian policy analyst David Worth examines the impact of fluctuating gasoline prices upon Australian Aboriginal communities dependent on petrol for their basic energy needs through the lens of peak oil. Arguing that the debate about rising petrol prices in Australia has focused mainly on Australians who live in urban areas, the parallel impact upon Indigenous Australians living in remote communities is often overlooked. Most of these small communities located throughout Australia use diesel fuel for their main power supply and for transportation. Further compounding these issues is the fact that many of these communities have developed economic plans based on tourism, and rely upon stable fuel prices if their initiatives are to be successful. This paper analyzes the future challenges of building viable and sustainable communities in remote Australia anticipating even higher world oil prices due to peak oil challenges, an issue the author suggests are likely to confront First Nations people living in remote regions of Canada.

REDEVELOPING DEVELOPMENT
Negotiating Relationships for Advancing an Indigenous Women's Agenda

Anna Hunter, Isobel M. Findlay, and Louise Clarke

INTRODUCTION

Drawing on our experience working locally, nationally, and internationally, developing respectful protocols, and building relationships with Indigenous women, this paper's gendered and indigenized perspectives explore the transformative potential of the women's community development endeavours. We will first discuss how Indigenous women's narratives and stories (in contrast to edicts, plans, and templates) express and implement cultural alternatives to neo-liberal versions of development. Then we will describe how a specific planning process for transnational research activities and workshops involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous women, academics and non-academics from diverse north-south regions fostered new connections and capacities through a variety of multi-faceted and reciprocal relationships developed in multiple sites. The final section of the paper critiques and confronts the organizational issues and setbacks implicated in these processes of "contestation, negotiation and appropriation in a transnational social sphere" (Thayer, 2001, p. 246) in addition to offering a number of practical strategies and tools to promote women's perspectives and interests in development.

These collaborative planning activities built on the foundation of a very successful Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)-funded national conference "Value(s) Added: Sharing Voices on Aboriginal Community Economic Development," hosted by the College of Commerce at the University of Saskatchewan in May 2002. These proceedings were published in the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, volume 4, number 1,

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Anna Hunter, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Studies, University of Saskatchewan, is involved in both the Aboriginal Public Administration Program and the Indigenous Peoples Justice Program. Anna is a member of the Ktunaxa First Nation and is the former co-chair of the Canadian planning group for the conference.

edited by Isobel Findlay, Warren Weir, and Louise Clarke. That conference aimed to probe what happens when you bring together those who are not normally encouraged to talk to and learn from one another, when you resist the wasteful practices of modernity, when diverse knowledge unmasks the taken-for-granted, and when theory and practice meet and act in unpredictable ways. Although the conference was in many ways a great success, it had its blind spots. What it failed to do was foreground and recognize the work of Aboriginal women despite the overwhelmingly female makeup of the organizing committee. It was that failure that galvanized women in the community and in the academy to organize and act, to support and celebrate the work of community-based women.

Since that time, a core group of people at the University of Saskatchewan (guided by community-based Aboriginal women) has been developing collaborative relations first with Universidad Estatal a Distancia (UNED), San Jose, Costa Rica, on the basis of a Memorandum of Understanding, and now with Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica, Heredia, San Jose. This collaboration also aimed to include another north-south dimension by working with Maori and Pakeha (white) women from New Zealand. We worked for two years to plan a 2006 international conference *Indigenous Women Building Alliances for Community Development: From the Hearts of Our Peoples* in Costa Rica. Focusing on community-based women from diverse settings, the primary objective was to provide an inclusive and accessible venue for the promotion and exploration of a broad, participatory set of narratives of Aboriginal community development practices that put at the heart of things the many different forms of proactive and reactive responses, reactions and resistances of Indigenous women. In doing so, the political agency of Indigenous women is mobilized to explicitly and implicitly influence the ways that development strategies are constructed, thought, planned and implemented (Crush, 1995, p. 8). What was achieved and what was not in the process has much to tell us about the capacities of Aboriginal women and the forces that continue to frustrate them — and to foster new alliances and new strategies to create healthy and sustainable communities.

WOMEN'S NARRATIVES: RESISTING GLOBALIZATION/ REDEVELOPING DEVELOPMENT

Indigenous peoples around the world have survived "globalization" for millennia. For most, the long, hard struggle to retain and reclaim rights over their lives, lands, labour, and knowledge is still going on, while others have successfully redefined and implemented new visions of sufficiency and success for themselves and their communities. Around the world, Indigenous people are challenging the inevitabilities of the ways things are, finding hope in the proposition that current realities are not natural. Thus, humans can change what humans devised in the first place and can reinvigorate community in the process. If they "cannot erase the history of colonialism," they can and "must, as an imperative, undo it in a contemporary context" (Lafond, 1994, p. 208). And that means breaking silences and speaking truth to power inside and outside Indigenous communities, redefining identities far too long defined by government edict and legal classification, and developing and re-developing narratives to explain and situate ourselves within postcolonial frameworks and contexts.

The most recent version of globalization is creating new threats to Indigenous communities (e.g., Bauman, 1998; Bourdieu & Coleman, 1991), building rather than bridging economic and other gaps between and among groups, proving especially damaging to Indigenous women (and children). In the context of "Global Apartheid" — the growing gap between rich and poor from 2:1 in 1800 to the current situation whereby the richest 20 per cent own 82.7 per cent of global income and the poorest 20 per cent earn only 1.6 per cent (Banerjee, 2003) — poor women represent two-thirds of the world's poorest, yet in parts produce 70 per cent of agricultural labour and over 90 per cent of food (World Economic Forum, 2005). In the face of neo-liberal cutbacks to public services, women in Peru, for example, endanger their health through unusual commitments to "income-generation, household production, and community management activities" as well as the development of microenterprises to challenge and cope with economic restructuring. In the process, they invest in local labour, local products, and family and community welfare, and create credit

co-operatives that in turn produce opportunities to raise gender consciousness, educate one another, and increase women's control over their public and private lives (Hays-Mitchell, 2003, pp. 94–107). Even 10 years after the Beijing World Conference on Women, the gap between women and men remains undiminished (World Economic Forum, 2005). Despite experiencing the violence of such inequities, Indigenous women prove important stewards of the world's linguistic and bio diversity (Lertzman & Vredenburg, 2005) and active promoters of social change (Sen, 1999).

Although local resources and relationships rebuilt around common experiences are a critical part of the story we tell here, the local is not imagined as separate from the global, free from power inequalities, or beyond the destructive reach of negative strategies of difference whether on the basis of race, class, gender, age, sexualities, religion, or abilities. Nor can people effectively negotiate global complexities without larger and international linkages (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). Still, we remain unconvinced by claims of globalization's obliteration of boundaries of nation, state, etc. Democratic participation and the power of sovereignty remain key tools in efforts to resist and reject neo-colonial infractions. To think otherwise is to submit to the ideology of globalism and advance globalization (Halperin & Laxer, 2003).

If the complexities and contradictions of economic globalization and communications technology have added to the many global divides, they also offer the possibility of new spaces where Indigenous peoples can come together to share their experiences — their successes as well as their challenges — to give public record to their histories and to build alliances for mutual assistance. Working within and against dominant theories and structures of authority, Indigenous women unpack willful acts of forgetting "with a view to *re*writing and *re*righting [Indigenous women's] position in history" (Smith, 1999, pp. 28–34).

This work takes place within an extensive network of allies and coalitions. Indigenous women recognize the importance of joining in solidarity with complementary networks of anti-oppression advocates. At the same time, they recognize firsthand the difficulties and dangers inherent in relationships between people experiencing different histories and forms of oppression. Building these relationships reflects the challenges in negotiating north-south, institutional, cultural, and other differences in an environment of scarce resources, sharing theoretical and practical tools among intellectuals from community and university, stretching and strengthening concepts, categories, and connections in order to respect all partners and support equitable participation in this unique collaboration (Cottrell & Parpart, 2006; Silver, Ghorayshi, Hay & Klyne, 2006). These challenges must be situated, in turn, within the continuing colonial legacy of polarized mistrust and miscommunication affecting Indigenous / non-Indigenous relations. It has been hard but necessary work involving the sort of pedagogy of hope and critical vigilance that bell hooks (2003) commends, probing the nature of knowledges and representation (including who gets to speak and define, whose truths and stories count), individual and institutional roles and responsibilities, and the largely quantitative measures of success on which so much policy and other decision-making depends.

Anyone who has lived or worked closely with any Aboriginal community knows that Aboriginal community development policy and other decision-making depends on a different set of indicators to measure policy and program success. Financial practices and procedures are important, but should not be the sole (myopic) lens guiding program evaluation. For most Aboriginal communities, cultural sustainability is not something to be taken for granted — especially in the current era of technological globalization. Accordingly, indicators of cultural sustainability, such as inter-generational language transmission and other forms of traditional knowledge, are an important consideration in community development programs and policies.

Indigenous women generally approach community development strategies from a further step of difference. Many Indigenous women stand on the front lines of the battleground of impoverished communities and families. For many of them, maintenance of families is their priority, but it is not their sole responsibility. When their ability to fulfill their roles within the family is threatened, Indigenous women have pursued a variety of political actions to bring these issues to the public domain for redress (Miller, 1991). Drawing on a long history of

carrying an undue burden of responsibility for families and communities, they recognize that "social ills within our communities are not because of who we are but because of what has been done to us" (Muise, 2003, p. 36). As a result, the women have routinely challenged governments and their institutions to accept their share of the responsibility for impoverishing Indigenous peoples and producing an intergenerational legacy of violence and dysfunction.

All in all, Indigenous participants tend to approach things differently but with some fundamental roots of commonality to non-Indigenous participants. Like Harris (1990), all participants act on the understanding that "wholeness and commonality are acts of will and creativity, rather than passive discovery" (p. 581). Like Muise, they understand that "Nothing will change the condition of our lives until we educate ourselves, change our attitudes, and continue to heal ourselves." As a result they too are "reclaim[ing] their authority and rightful place in the community" (2003, pp. 30–35). Each participant, in effect, engages in bringing about the positive and progressive changes they want to see. Such changes as they aim to effect need spaces and venues for dialogue and voice: what one participant called "ethical spaces" where Indigenous women can be and know who they are, where they can value their differences, celebrate the beauty of powerful women, find spiritual authority, renew culture, offer mutual support, build relationships, learn together, and motivate and mobilize in the interests of healthy, sustainable communities.

PLANNING AND ORGANIZING FOR REWRITING/RIGHTING

In this section of the paper we recount the planning and organizing process for an international conference and reflect on the learning about relationships that we derived from that process. As mentioned, we have tried in that process to encompass multiple strategies in multiple sites with multiple voices and stories, reflecting the commitment to an on-going process of interaction and mutual learning rather than simply planning for one product or a specific event. No single event is likely to prove transformative unless it is embedded within such an on-going process. Indeed, it is in the ongoing acts of organizing that the learning becomes transformative, that the knowledge sharing becomes a source of strength.

The process has unfolded in three main sites: western Canada, Costa Rica, and New Zealand, each with its own multiplicity of sites and constituencies. While academics have been the initiators, we have tried to organize so that grassroots Indigenous women who do the day-to-day community development are in the foreground, unlearning our own privileges while learning actively from their experience and expertise. Despite this commitment, we encountered some interesting differences at the international level with respect to planning, all of which required negotiation. The Costa Rican organizers initially envisaged a relatively formal program of keynote speakers and multiple thematic sessions focused primarily on basic community development: health, education, environmental and cultural sustainability. In New Zealand, there are many academics, both Maori and Pakeha, who have experience working together, often with a focus on community economic development. The Canadian vision was of a less structured conference with a lot of time for cultural sharing and informal discussion of themes arising rather organically, as people gave them voice and importance. The compromise we adopted was to give each region a block of time to present and discuss as they saw fit, then to develop together an action agenda for future collaborative efforts, and to end with a conference that would allow for the participants to come together.

Similarly, while the New Zealand participants were eager to share stories of their economic development initiatives, the women in Costa Rica remained deeply suspicious of a term (economic) that had proven such an exclusive and damaging preoccupation among development agencies. Thus, the term found no place in the title for the projected conference, a title that engaged "the Hearts of Our Peoples" in re-evaluating priorities. Already then, Costa Rica was a site for action where we might rethink knowledge and practice in many spheres from curriculum to trade relations, with concern for process as well as outcomes.

Simultaneously, we in Saskatoon continued networking with others in western Canada with shared interests in community development.

Drawing on the fundamental Indigenous teachings and understandings of balance and the medicine wheel, our work was designed to reflect a balanced approach to the four directions of everyday tribal life: social and cultural (i.e., kinship, community networks); spiritual and ceremonial; economic (including sustainable land and resource use); and justice, governance and leadership. Wanda Wuttunee's description of the First Nations Development Institute's "Elements of Development Model" provided additional indicators and dimensions, which furthered our understandings of holistic Aboriginal community development (Wuttunee, 2004, pp. 21–26). In addition to this multi-dimensional approach to development, we were also committed to Indigenous teachings and protocols of our traditional territory, with a particular emphasis given to respecting *Miyo-wichetowin,* the principle of getting along well with others and expanding the circle (Cardinal & Hildebrant, 2000). Thus, the women would work to reclaim healthy communities and ecologies and renew ceremonies and teachings in the most inclusive and accessible manner possible.

To put these ideas into practice, a committee was organized that included a broad range of university and community members. The planning committee actively sought representation of Indigenous women (urban, rural, and remote, young and old) in all levels and capacities, from the co-chair to student recorders. Accessibility for all members to contribute to the conference planning was arranged through lunch hour meetings, tele-conference meetings, and email communication. In addition, the co-chairs travelled to meet with Indigenous groups to get their input and support for the conference, while a number walked with organizers and participants in marches across Saskatchewan to remember our missing or stolen sisters.

A key part of the planning committee's work was to organize a regional Roundtable on Indigenous Women's Community Development in Western Canada to celebrate the struggles and achievements of women in western Canada and to pursue the possibilities and benefits of solidarity with Indigenous women around the globe. Committed to sharing effective practices in local and regional settings and building the agenda and an action plan for Costa Rica, Roundtable participants focused on four specific themes:

- Elimination of violence against women and children;
- Education, health and other capacity-building;
- Economic and business development for well-being and sustainability;
- Justice and governance.

Each of these themes was (and remains) timely and urgent in celebrating Indigenous women's achievements and aspirations in what was the Year of First Nations and Métis Women in Saskatchewan (2005) and the first year of the United Nations Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, a decade designed to strengthen "international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by Indigenous people in such areas as culture, education, health, human rights, the environment, and social and economic development." The proposed research and social action likewise remain urgent in the context of Amnesty International's *Stolen Sisters Report* testifying to violence against Indigenous women and children that has resulted from government failures to fulfill responsibilities to protect the rights of Indigenous women (2004, p. 3). That violence, according to the United Nations Declaration on Violence against Women, is "a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women" as well as "a means by which this inequality is maintained" (Amnesty International, 2004, p. 11).

In doing this work, we achieved tremendous successes. Over 70 participants from Manitoba to British Columbia attended the Saskatoon Roundtable session in October 2005. The process began with traditional ceremonies and panel discussions by Aboriginal women leaders and Elders. Then we broke into theme groups for open sharing with a facilitator and Aboriginal student recorders. Although there was not enough time, new relationships were encouraged, old relationships renewed. We listened and we talked. We laughed and we cried. Sometimes we disagreed with each other, but always within a circle of respect for each other and the knowledge that we all brought to the session — and were eager to take to an international forum.

The following sections paraphrase the stories the women told at the Roundtable, powerful stories that ranged from suspicion of the oppressors to calls for hope and inclusiveness, stories that added to some critical reminders of effec-

tive strategies in the past. At a time when the Indian Act still proscribed women chiefs, for instance, women recalled how they made the most of "womanly" activities available to them to show leadership and politicize one another. If sewing circles were widely associated with the inconsequence of womanly activities, the women ensured otherwise, using them as sites of political education and mobilization. Similarly, others recounted the kitchen table dreaming that radicalized women from the heart and led to the grandmothers fasting and then walking to Oka.

Violence against Women

Participants told many stories of women and children being beaten, becoming depressed, turning to drugs, prostitution and sometimes suicide or being killed. Some storytellers conveyed the idea that people chose a life of drugs and violence while others insisted that this dark path was forced on many people. They likened the effects of residential schools to the symptoms of post-traumatic stress syndrome, but over a period of several generations. In any case, most participants thought that it was essential that the stories be told to help the healing, to get more resources to address the problems. Gatherings like the Roundtable are very important for women to be able to tell their stories, but the stories also need to be made public with the media being held accountable for not covering these stories because the silence is a form of control. And when the media is not silent, they tend to put all Aboriginal women in one box — categorized as prostitutes and drug addicts becoming, in the view of many, unworthy of assistance. Even if a woman follows a darker path and turns up dead, that does not mean that she does not deserve a fair investigation. Each life should be treated the same; each one is worth saving.

A few participants stated that, at gatherings like the Roundtable, it is important to move beyond the stories to talk more about some of the solutions. Some of the solutions must come from agencies, but they need to change their way of thinking and acting. They want statistics, but when one group set up a system for tracking Aboriginal children born with addictions, it was soon dropped. Another participant said that when a white colleague was willing to verify and support her claims with management, they were able to make some progress; when the white colleague moved on, management turned a deaf ear again. Much of the emphasis in the discussion about solutions was on what Aboriginal people themselves could and must do in their communities. There has to be more education for women about the roots of violence and about proper parenting; if the women choose not to come to meetings, then the meetings must somehow go to them. We also need more programs to help our men to change, to overcome their histories of violence, abandonment, and neglect. We need the flexibility to develop programs to fit the community and to prevent the violence; we must be more proactive rather than just reactive. If people come together in unity, then maybe women will have a stronger voice to break down the barriers for our sisters.

Education, Health, and Other Capacity Building

While there are many specific problems facing our people, the general message is: the way we look at things is not the same as the way non-Aboriginal people do. As such we need to return to our values and focus on building upon the strengths in our communities as opposed to lamenting what we do not have. We as Aboriginal women are strong; we are the carriers and shakers on Indigenous knowledge and we need to pass the teachings to our children. In one community we are having a banquet called "Returning to the Teachings". We must also ensure that Aboriginal people keep copyright to our knowledge. We need to build support groups within our communities. Some of the specific areas mentioned where support, including preventative work, is needed to treat our people as human beings are: HIV, chronic kidney disease, transition from school and training to jobs, transition from prison back into the community, and literacy.

Economic and Business Development for Well-being and Sustainability

While success stories were highlighted, much discussion focused on challenges faced by women in the North and the special barriers faced by those in arts and crafts marketing (underpaid for

work and far from markets); on the possibilities of e-bay and German markets that value First Nations art; on environmental issues, government bureaucracy, and culturally insensitive studies and decision making; on maintenance of traditional lifestyles, traditional knowledge, and treaties and the incursions of mining (one study showed that for every dollar spent in the community, resource companies extracted $7); on impact and benefit agreements undermining the treaties, creating forms of privatization in a legal process to steal the land; on the need to maintain balance; and on fears, conflicts, and jealousies among urban and reserve community members, fears that benefits for the one will take from the other.

Major problems in economic development derive from colonial thinking that still keeps many in "their place": the idea that Indians are not supposed to be rich and industrious and take advantage of opportunities. Or the 1999 Supreme Court of Canada Marshall decision's restrictive position on "moderate livelihood" with its presumption that Indians are not to get rich. Many are afraid to break out of their roles and be entrepreneurial. Numbers of Aboriginal women and youth are double those of the mainstream. Instead of seeing strength and opportunity, some fear success and being taken from their roles in the family. Others see they are not alone — "it is not an individual walk but a family walk. I am not alone so therefore I am not as scared" — and that the family is their strength.

The challenge is one of leadership, of a business model that is flexible enough for all communities, and a sense of collective ownership, of community development with families at the core. That is what is going to make community grow. Building relationships and seeing the big picture — in both of which women have special skills — are key. Community plans, cultural values, and effective communications are likewise critical elements. So we need to challenge leadership and to discuss environmental change, intellectual rights, and inherent rights. We need to make money without exploiting our lands, we need to explore renewable energy sources, we need to bridge persistent gaps in prosperity, we need to support funds for youth, we need social venture networks, and we need to speak out and campaign. If we want to change mindsets, then we must change ours too.

Justice and Governance

In discussing justice and governance, restoration and reconciliation, we need to find and maintain the space for Aboriginal women's voices — often the lone voices on issues. If governments want to define these terms and impose their views, we need to determine our own identity and community responsibilities. We need to find space within our communities and in Natural Law, know the power of our own voices, and build networks that create strength. It is women's responsibility to share and address the injustices (including the economic and social); everybody has a responsibility to the Treaties and the treaty relationship.

Women need to be recognized as the backbone of society if we are to address violence and missing women. We need to honour our differences (between genders and between those who share this land), recognize our gifts, share our commonalities, and return to our traditional practices as healing. In making just laws, we need to ensure leadership listens and commits to working partnerships that create meaningful change. We need to use the media to our advantage to help uncover the silences that keep injustices alive and active, and framing and reframing issues to encourage people to see issues anew and to avoid backlash. We might frame issues as matters of nationhood and not women's issues, for example.

It is imperative to expand plans to include all women while focusing on Indigenous women. We must draw on resources such as the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations Women's Commission and review jurisdictional devices that keep our women from being heard. We need to access funds, information, and the Minister of Justice; improved relationships with existing Aboriginal institutions; recognition and respect as Aboriginal women; and lawsuits to redress issues of residential school, racism, sexism. We need to decolonize and restructure the images and stereotypes of the "Indian woman", eliminate racism in our communities, use video to enhance emotional impacts, form partnerships, and build inclusive and supportive networks within and across regions. Another roundtable would help fine-tune our ideas for more sharing and concerted action in Costa Rica.

SETBACKS AND MOVING FORWARD AGAIN

While we were all energized by the experience of the Roundtable, we were not able to translate that energy into sufficient support to proceed with the conference in Costa Rica which was extremely disappointing for all concerned. The challenges in finding support came from many directions — and were compounded when the New Zealand contingent had to withdraw and delay their participation for a number of reasons (including human and financial resources). Lack of financial support to send the grassroots women to Costa Rica was the central reason, but what are the underlying reasons for that? As we have argued both theoretically and from the perspective of the women at the Roundtable, there is certainly a need for such gatherings. One reason that we were given was that, with limited resources, Aboriginal groups placed priority on local work and funding. This is clearly valid, but the Roundtable participants also understood the need for multiple levels of action, including transnational networks. Indigenous women from around the globe are affected by the four themes of the Roundtable and there is a clear need to share strategies and best practices in addressing each area.

While the reluctance of representatives of Aboriginal groups to give financial support is understandable, we were more perplexed by their reluctance to take a key role in the planning or to write letters of support. There are a few possibilities. Practical reasons include internal organizational issues, lack of direct benefit or interest, fear of impacting their own funding applications, or perhaps simply a lack of time. A more systemic reason is the deep-seated distrust of academics and universities in general. In order to try to overcome the distrust born of historical relations of privilege and marginalization, the co-chairs offered one influential leader an effective veto over any action the committee might take that her organization would not be comfortable with, but to no avail. We also recognize that some Aboriginal people and groups simply prefer to build their own initiatives. In any event, we must be ever-vigilant to acknowledge the fundamental importance of taking the time to build ethical relationships based on mutual trust and respect.

Of course, our funding challenges are also part of a systemic or structural resource problem. Funds for marginalized groups such as grassroots Aboriginal women are extremely limited and those that do exist certainly re-inscribe power differences. Academic sources are elitist, giving primacy to formal ("real") research and to the academic as "principal investigator" (Cottrell & Parpart, 2006). Knowledge held by community people is devalued, and, therefore, the very important task of building respectful relationships between academics and these community people is rarely recognized, certainly not in tangible ways reflected in budgets. We were told, for instance, that we might be able to access certain pools of funds, but travel costs for conference participants would not be a legitimate expense!

Most international funding sources are for already formulated development projects, not for partnerships to develop the plans in a participative fashion. Funds from large agencies at national and supra-national levels, if available, were viewed with some suspicion by people on the organizing committees since they would probably come with strings attached which might take the process out of the hands of the participants and into the agendas of the bureaucrats or politicians. Some funding sources focus on designated countries with the ironic result that small populations of Indigenous peoples — such as that in Costa Rica — are further marginalized in their countries because their population is not significant enough. And again, partnerships between community groups and academics to give voice to the marginalized are made difficult this time by the requirement that funds go to incorporated Indigenous organizations, often re-inscribing power differentials within the community whether based on gender, clan or class. We were held accountable by university administrators because we did not manage to secure solid representation at the Roundtable from the formal Indigenous political organizations. From our viewpoint, this attitude reflects a limited understanding of the internal divisions within Indigenous communities between formal elite Indigenous organizations and many community-based members that feel their interests have been marginalized or excluded by these formal organizations. For many of our participants, the lack of a leading role by the Indigenous political organizations was

viewed as a strength, not a weakness, because it greatly reduced hierarchies of political influence and interference.

At the lead institutions in Costa Rica and Canada, the project suffered from lack of resources, both monetary and non-monetary, at best, and from patronizing attitudes on the part of administrators toward the organizers at worst. Institutions that claim to value outreach and engagement and Indigenous issues and take for granted the importance of international meetings to further social scientific research, build research networks, and create new knowledge had a hard time seeing the value of an international gathering of community-based practitioners and academic researchers committed to celebrating and strengthening Indigenous women's community economic development. One result of this was that potential sources of private funding were largely put out of reach. Only the least likely sources were identified. We were told, on the one hand, that relationships were everything in gaining support, and on the other hand, that we should make all the contacts ourselves. Another result was that we were unable to find sufficient resources to send delegates to Costa Rica in February 2006 and the conference had to be postponed. We are pleased to report that a third result is that the unsupportive attitudes have served only to stiffen our resistance to the status quo and our resolve to push forward with the project in some form.

CONCLUSION

Through our collaborative work, we have found that when women meet to discuss their understandings, practices, and dreams about development in Indigenous communities, they also discuss the opportunities for on-going relationships to promote development their way within and across their regions. Across the gamut of development — from the provision of health, education, and justice to fairly mainstream businesses — they negotiate powerful discourses and material conditions that would otherwise divide us in order to maintain the status quo (Muise, 2003). Challenging neo-liberalism's depleted narratives of development, maturation, catch-up, or trickle-down, its new modalities of displacement and dispossession in reconstructions of sustainable development (Banerjee, 2003), or its new-found faith in (a more efficient) civil society (Mohan & Stokke, 2000), their stories will contribute to the performance of community and ceremonies of cohesion. It is in this context

Practical Strategies of Redeveloping Development

- Trust your stories; they help to make Indigenous women the strong people that they so often are.
- Think outside traditional frameworks of discussion and dialogue. Discover the sewing circles, roundtables and kitchen table methods of dialogue to ensure that many different voices are included.
- Keep speaking truth to power inside and outside your communities to re-right the wrongs of past and present.
- At the same time, seek out commonalities with the broadest range of others in order to resist marginalization of your voice.
- Through efforts large and small, try to raise some money that will help enable one or more local women involved in community development to connect with other women at regional, national, and international levels. Pooled together, these funds can facilitate independence of thought and action.
- Organize, organize, organize! The act of organizing is itself a key source of learning, motivating, and mobilizing for change. New communities and networks enrich us all.
- Listen to your hearts, think independently, act cooperatively, and celebrate the difference Indigenous women can make together.
- In the face of setbacks and unforeseen problems, stay focused on your goals, especially the long term goals of redeveloping ideas and relations of development.

and spirit of exposing contradictions, resisting categories, defying binaries and competitive systems that would define insiders and outsiders, winners and losers, that we undertook to make space for an holistic, cooperative approach to Indigenous community development affected by colonization in the past and by neo-liberalism in the present. In doing so, we have been humbled, inspired and energized by women who, despite incredible demands on their time and energy, have negotiated obstacles with marked good humour and generosity at times, and tears and solidarity at other times.

We have been honoured to work side by side with community-based women and be part of important "colearning" (Maru & Woodford, 2001). Even if we have not all shared power equally in the past or have had different experiences of a prolonged "marinating" in "colonial cognitive frameworks" (Battiste, 2004, p. 61), we have all been damaged by them and have benefited from the conscientization (Freire, 1970) promoted by women organizing and working together for justice for all. Negotiating the structural impediments to Aboriginal women's community development — development that remains so critical to sustainable livelihoods — the women have developed multiple strategies in multiple sites, always alert to opportunities to organize and act, to turn negatives into positives, to celebrate the real strengths they share, and never content to accept the way things are. In the interests of healthy and sustainable communities, we share these stories of new solidarities and identities nourished by Indigenous women who think for themselves while acting with and for the many others who continue to experience inequities in local and global contexts.

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OPPORTUNITIES, IMPEDIMENTS AND CAPACITY BUILDING FOR ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT BY AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

Louis H. Evans

INTRODUCTION

The living standards of Aboriginal people from remote communities in Australia, and to a lesser degree of Aboriginal people living in rural and urban regions, are similar to those seen in poverty stricken third world countries. Education levels are substandard; welfare dependency is the normal mode of existence; and unemployment and underemployment rates are higher than any other group within Australian society (Foley 2003). Life expectancy is significantly lower than that of non-Aboriginal people. Health and welfare policies and programs of the Australian Government aimed at addressing these problems have arguably failed while the current focus has shifted to improving well-being by encouraging support for employment and business enterprise initiatives.

Wealth creation through enterprise development is an attractive alternative to income dependency upon welfare programs. Enterprise development can be conducted on a range of scales, from large to small businesses, the latter category being most characteristic of Australian Aboriginal enterprises. Small businesses in Australia are presently categorised into three groups: (1) Non-employing businesses (sole proprietorships and the self-employed); (2) Micro-businesses (employing one to four people, including non-employing businesses); and (3) Other small businesses (businesses employing five or more people, but less than 20 people) (DIMIA, 2003, p. 21). A recent analysis of 2001 census data (Hunter, 2004a) revealed that less than five per cent of Australia's Aboriginal workforce was an employer or was simply self-employed, a significantly lower rate than was found among non-Aboriginal people.

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IMPEDIMENTS TO SUCCESS IN ABORIGINAL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

Aboriginal businesses in remote and rural communities differ from those in mainstream Australian society in several important ways. They are more likely to have their origins and connections in non-commercial or subsidised community-based activities, have some history of non-Indigenous management or financial control, be community-owned rather than owner-operated and be more focussed on community usefulness and employment rather than profit on capital (Flamsteed & Golding, 2005). In addition, there is a relative lack of suitable models for profitable and sustainable Indigenous business development in remote communities that could be utilized to help facilitate Indigenous community development.

There have been a number of published reports and comments on the impediments or barriers to sustainability and success in Aboriginal enterprise development. Descriptions of these impediments or barriers are highlighted in Table 1 and summarised in Table 2. The lack of culturally appropriate business models and related cultural issues such as native title disputes appear to be the most problematic issue facing Aboriginal communities or groups wishing to establish business enterprises. Solutions also need to be found to the problems of lack of business skills, access to advice and, in the case of remote and regional enterprises, remoteness from markets and other location specific problems.

CULTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING ENTERPRISE INITIATIVE OUTCOMES

A driving factor for enterprise development by Aboriginal entrepreneurs or groups is the desire to create a better future for young Aboriginal people while at the same time maintaining the strength and vitality of traditional cultural practices. Family relationships are of fundamental importance and often take priority over business activities. Grieving and attendance at funerals, for example, is a deeply embedded cultural obligation and one that may conflict with day-to-day business activities. Similarly, family obligations can create tensions in business partnerships and can lead to business failure.

The importance of taking cultural issues into account in business development in rural and remote Aboriginal communities have been highlighted in a recent research report by Innovation and Business Skills Australia (IBSA), a project that is examining Aboriginal business training requirements:

> Indigenous people in rural and remote areas are generally living in a very complex social, cultural and family environment which has a different view of the world and which engenders differing values and aspirations. Ceremonial, cultural, community and family obligations may have pre-eminent priority in the lives of many Indigenous people. They can often experience difficulty in understanding and dealing with the requirements of working within a small business context that is based on non-Indigenous values and structures. (IBSA, 2005, 9)

In a similar vein, Dodson and Smith comment that

> 'Culture' itself is discussed in many reports as being an influential factor in development at a local level. It is argued, on the one hand, that Aboriginal cultural values, traditional collective structures and consensus decision making hold back economic development. They are said to be at odds with western ideas of capitalism and the market place, and to undermine individual and family enterprise initiatives that require savings and profit-making. Some Indigenous groups are characterised as being opposed to economic development because it undermines their culturally based behaviours and values. Other reports argue that 'culture' should be central to any development initiative, but are unclear as to how this is to be achieved. (Dodson & Smith, 2003, p. 8)

The importance of taking cultural issues into consideration in economic development is supported by research conducted by the Harvard Project on American Indian Development, which reports that

> Culture matters. Not long ago, the federal government espoused the argument that acculturation was a means to development. Indians, they argued, would develop as soon as they shed their "Indian-ness." Research by the Harvard Project finds

TABLE 1 Impediments and barriers to success in Indigenous enterprises

Source	*Impediment or Barrier*
Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation 2000, *Achieving economic independence*, Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, Kingston, ACT, 3	• Lack of personal financial management skills • Lack of confidence to enter small business • Finding business partners • Establishing networks with the business sector • Access to good advice • Identifying opportunities • Remoteness to markets • Lack of capital • Negative perceptions about credit worthiness • Restrictions upon the transfer of native title and statutory land grants
Ahmat, R. (2003). *Doing Indigenous social business and enterprise: the view from Cape York*. Address to the Indigenous Enterprise Summit, Canberra, 21 May 2003. http://www.partnerships.org.au	• Ownership issues — Unresolved tension between communal assets and opportunities; problems with communal ownership of assets, resources and opportunities and communal relationships and obligations • Lack of planning on incentive and reward structures for community owned enterprises • Governance structures — Indigenous social and cultural imperatives often impede efficient management • Lack of expertise, experience, support institutions and networks
Central Land Council informant 2005. Cited by Flamsteed & Golding (2005).	• Lack of capital • Lack of management knowledge • Reluctance of lending institutions • Remoteness from markets • Lack of infrastructure • Cultural factors • Failure of NT Education system to provide basic satisfactory education outcomes for Aboriginal people at primary, secondary and tertiary levels
Flamsteed, K. & Golding, B. (2005). *Learning through Indigenous Business: The role of vocational education and training in Indigenous enterprise and community development*. NCVER, Adelaide.	• Lack of access to business services and commercial labour markets • 'Metro-centrism' of service delivery • Lack of commercial business models and sites • Lack of incentives for learning about and through Indigenous business • Unrealistic expectations of wide benefits for communities involved in businesses • Limited rewards for community members with responsibilities in community businesses • Problems associated with Indigenous family relationships
IBSA (2005). *Indigenous small business skills development project stage 2 research report*. Innovation and Business Skills Australia.	• Cultural issues such as such as differing worldview, values and aspirations, difficulties in working within a small business context that is based on non-Indigenous values and structures, conflicts between working in a small business and attending to community and cultural obligations and family peer pressure not to charge for goods and services • Lack of knowledge and appreciation of government regulatory requirements

Table 1 (continued)

Source	*Impediment or Barrier*
IBSA (2005). continued	• Lack of governance skills • Low literacy and numeracy skills • Higher costs and lack of access to services and qualified staff in remote areas
Maddern, P. (2005). *Remote communities: Where are the jobs?* Presentation to the Bennelong Society Conference, September 2005.	• Remoteness — Isolation, transport costs, tiny local populations, communication difficulties, lack of local infrastructure • Regulation — regulated wages • Welfare safety net — leads to lack of incentive • Difficulties in developing real economies in remote communities • Gap between cost of employment and financial return from private enterprise in remote communities • Poor foundational education
Philpot, S. (2005). *Governance training for Indigenous entrepreneurs and retail employers*, Power Point Presentation to Project Advisory Committee of the Indigenous Small Business Development Project, IBSA, Melbourne. Cited by IBSA (2005).	• Corporate governance issues such as — Ineffective representation — Untrained board members — Inappropriate constitutions — Failure to use the constitution — Lack of financial knowledge — Lack of knowledge about tax — Little Board contact with funding bodies — Lack of insurance — Inappropriate use of corporate assets — Failure to maintain correct meeting procedures

Table 2 Summary of comments on barriers and impediments

Impediment or Barrier	*Frequency of comment*
Lack of culturally appropriate business models and related cultural issues	6
Lack of business skills and access to advice	5
Remote location issues e.g., access to markets and business services	5
Lack of infrastructure and support institutions	
Government regulations, structures and 'metro-centrism' approach	4
Lack of incentives	3
Poor foundational education	3
Lack of business networks	2
Lack of business capital	2

exactly the opposite: Indian culture is a resource that strengthens tribal government and has concrete impacts upon such bottom line results as forest productivity and housing quality. Not only does culture provide important institutional resources, but a match between institutions of government and culture also matters to success.

Many Aboriginal businesses have management structures that include non-Indigenous

managers, a strategy that can allow Aboriginal people to overcome some of the cultural impediments to business success. The above cited IBSA report emphasised the benefits of non-Indigenous management, industry and board expertise in Indigenous small businesses (IBSA, 2005, p. 7). The authors concluded that this non-Indigenous expertise can be critical to the success and ongoing viability of an Indigenous business. In contrast, Flamsteed and Golding (2005) report that situations in which Indigenous quasi-businesses were primarily conducted using non-Indigenous managers could exacerbate welfare dependency. Of critical importance is the management style and practices of the non-Indigenous manager: adopting a mentor approach aimed at gradual development of business skills of Aboriginal participants, combined with the simultaneous devolution of management responsibility is likely to benefit the business and the Aboriginal entrepreneurs. On the other hand adopting a dictatorial management style that does little to promote skills development or decision sharing is likely to perpetuate welfare dependency.

LACK OF BUSINESS SKILLS

Lack of business skills and experience is an acknowledged problem in enterprise development by Aboriginal entrepreneurs and community groups (Table 2) and is currently being addressed by a range of government initiatives. Of particular note is the current project being conducted by IBSA aimed at developing appropriate standards for training Indigenous people to be small business entrepreneurs or to work in rural or remote community stores. The one-year project commenced in July 2005 and specifically addresses the training needs of employees, managers and directors of small business enterprises. In consultations aimed at identifying priority training areas, skills in communication, literacy and numeracy, computer operations, understanding community and culture, dealing with 'humbug' or family pressures, corporate governance, hygiene and presentation, occupational health and safety, time management, logistics and merchandise control and a range of skills relating to financial and business management, business planning and marketing, were among the 105 listed skills, knowledge and attitudes discussed during the consultations (IBSA, 2005, pp. 9–21).

Aboriginal small business training activities are currently being conducted by First Australians Business (FAB), an organisation funded by the Australian government that provides a national mentoring program for Indigenous business people interested in developing a small business. At the request of an Aboriginal community FAB will visit the community and conduct generic business development workshops or technical workshops in specific areas as well as provide advice and assistance on aspects of small business development and operation. The initial workshop, 'Discovering Enterprise', comprises sessions on cultural barriers to business, identifying opportunities, marketing, the preparation of business plans, financial management and other topics. Specific business ideas are discussed and workshopped with FAB staff and further training workshops are provided upon request.

LACK OF ACCESS TO ADVICE

The lack of access to both advice and business capital are other reported barriers to success in Aboriginal enterprise development that have been or are currently being addressed through government funded initiatives. One of the most important of these initiatives has been the establishment of Indigenous Business Australia (IBA), a Commonwealth statutory authority established in April 2001 through the passing of amendments to the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act* (1989). The Act, titled the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Amendment Act* (2000), received Royal Assent and commenced in 2001 (IBA, 2005). In March 2005 the Act was amended to transfer two key additional economic programs from the then existing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission to IBA, the Indigenous Business Development Program and the Home Ownership Program. The transfer of these programs to IBA has enabled the organisation to contribute more holistically to the economic development of Aboriginal Australians through a suite of complementary programs and has placed IBA as a key player in the 'whole of government' approach to Indigenous economic development.

Through the Australian Government's Equity and Investments Program (EIP), IBA invests directly in business opportunities, usually through joint venture arrangements with specialist industry partners. The total Australian Government investment in EIP to date has been $70.4 million and the IBA currently has an asset base of over $100 million (IBA, 2005). IBA presently is directly involved in some 28 investments throughout Australia and 20 in rural and remote areas in an extensive range of industries including commercial property, mining and mine services, transport, manufacturing, retail and services, agriculture and fisheries, tourism and financial services. The Australian Government Indigenous Land Corporation is another government organisation that is making a significant contribution to economic development through the provision of funding for land purchase and land management activities. FAB is also providing business advice to Aboriginal community groups as are other federal and state government agencies. Investment in Aboriginal enterprises by the private sector is growing, while mining company support for enterprise initiatives is also occurring, particularly in the North West of Western Australia.

REMOTE LOCATION ISSUES

The emphasis on remote location as a critical impediment to success in Aboriginal enterprise development would appear to be overstated. Seventy-three per cent of Aboriginal Australians live in major cites or regional centres (Altman, 2000), where business enterprise is being actively pursued (Ord & Mazzarol, 2005; Foley, 2006). Access to markets and business services should not be a problem to these communities or groups. While enterprise development in remote Aboriginal communities is presenting a significant challenge for both the communities and government agencies alike, the remote location is not an insurmountable barrier. A focus on place-based cultural tourism, arts and crafts, participation in management of national parks, enterprise activities servicing local mining companies or government service agencies combined with an innovative use of Internet marketing as is occurring in the Aboriginal art industry, are all business areas or strategies that can assist to overcome the tyranny of distance.

SUCCESS FACTORS FOR ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

Success factors for Aboriginal enterprise development in Australia have not been widely analysed or reported. Rather the emphasis to date has been on examining the impediments to sustainable enterprise development rather than factors contributing to its success. Indigenous Business Australia, in their report to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (IBA, 2005, p. 3), concluded that a careful assessment of the opportunities and business proposals and the provision of training, aftercare support and mentoring appear to be critical success factors. A 2001 survey conducted by the Allen Consulting Group for the Australian Business Council of Indigenous communities participating in collaborative activities with non-Indigenous businesses found that mentoring of trainees and workers, and the promotion of positive role models for youth were critical success factors for collaboration and employment activities. Capacity development for business enterprise is undoubtedly of central importance to successful outcomes (Schacter, 2000) and can be informed by the knowledge and experience that has been gained by agencies providing economic assistance to underdeveloped countries (Jaycox, 1993; UNDP, 1998; Bolger, 2000; DFID, 2002; Fukuda-Parr, Lopes & Malik, 2002; Oxfam, 2002; Lavergne, 2004), programs or organisations dealing with disadvantaged community groups within developed nations such as the United States (Harvard Project on American Indian Development; Murray & Dunn, 1995) and Scotland (Atterton, 2001; Barker, 2005) as well as by authoritative reviews on best practice approaches and emerging policy directions (UNDP, 1998; Lavergne & Saxby, 2001; Wescott, 2002; Horton, Alexaki, Bennet-Lartey et al., 2003; Hunt, 2005).

CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT FOR INDIGENOUS BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

In recent years there has been a paradigmatic shift in the approach taken by organisations involved in the provision of aid and assistance to developing countries from one of transference of resources and technology to one of transforma-

tion from within. At the same time, the social science underpinning this shift in thinking and approach is being explored and evaluated (Atterton, 2001; Lopes & Theisohn, 2003). The shift in process and operational approach has resulted from a recognition that unless the country/community receiving the aid is intimately involved in the planning and implementation process, the outcome is generally one of failure (Nair, 2003). The focus of development thinking and practice is changing from one of 'process, technology and policy' to include that of 'people' and their capacity to achieve change in their communities, and of finding the right balance between the two modalities. Capacity development is considered to be an essential component of the overall package, the term 'capacity' referring to "the ability of individuals, institutions, and societies to perform functions, solve problems, as well as set and achieve a country's development goals in an effective, participatory and sustainable manner" (Nair, 2003, p. 1). Capacity development efforts are being increasingly focussed on enhancing social capital and on the involvement of civil society in development activities (Atterton, 2001). Principles for development co-operation using a people centred focus include local participation, ownership and control, emphasis on the use of local capacities, a sound understanding of local conditions, a coaching, supportive role for technical assistance, an iterative and flexible approach, and a systemic, long-term perspective (Lavergne & Saxby, 2001, p. 7).

The value of having a localised focus in economic development activities, and of aiming policies to strengthen local, immobile resources — human capital, including local knowledge, environmental capital, social capital and cultural capital — has been stressed (Atterton, 2001, p. 9), although the influence of the wider, enabling (or disabling) environment on development outcomes is also seen to be of fundamental importance (Wescott, 2002; Lopes & Theisohn, 2003; Hunt, 2005). Policy makers are being urged to direct their efforts to creating the best environment or milieu for small firms through encouraging entrepreneurship, boosting local pride and social cohesion and facilitating access to labour, information and other forms of assistance (Atterton, 2001). The importance of up-front socio-political analysis based on the perspectives of the local community, that identifies the needs of interest groups and likely effects of proposed development initiatives is also being emphasised (Andrews, 2004).

The importance of using a holistic 'systems' approach — taking into account a range of scales the interactions and interrelationships of the various elements and influences that might affect the outcome of a development initiative — has been stressed by a number of authors (UNDP, 1998; Lavergne & Saxby, 2001; Lavergne, 2004; Hunt, 2005) as has the desirability of forming 'development partnerships' in which both donors and recipients collaborate to identify development needs and goals and create pathways and competent institutions to achieve these goals (Wescott, 2002; Barker, 2005). Networking is widely recognised as a useful capacity development strategy for small firms (Johannisson, 1987; Atterton, 2001) and has been recommended as a strategy for supporting small business development by Australian Aboriginal people (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 2000; Ahmat, 2003; IBA, 2005). The elements of collaborative networks and partnership methods include: pilot programs, training and research, evaluation, information sharing, identification of gaps, supporting local, national and regional strategies and the development of common goals, principles and tools (Wescott, 2002).

Capacity development approaches used by Australian government agencies to assist and promote Aboriginal economic development are currently mostly of a 'transference' rather than a 'transformation' mode. Application of current thinking and practice of capacity development in the international arena to Australian Aboriginal economic development will require a shift in government agency attitudes and approaches as well as an adaptation to local requirements. For example, the concept of 'social capital' in an Aboriginal community context needs to be clearly defined and understood (Hunter, 2004b), and strategies to enhance social capital more fully evaluated. Possible effects of location (remote Aboriginal community versus urban or regional communities) on the nature and approaches used to strengthen social capital and conduct businesses should be explored. While addressing skills shortage of Australian Aboriginal business entrepreneurs is another urgent requirement, the approach that is taken to training and skills

development should be culturally appropriate (Batty et al., 2004, p. 16) and preferably occur within, rather than external to, an existing enterprise activity. A lack of suitable incentives for skills development has been noted as has the absence of suitable commercial business models that incorporate a multi-faceted approach of both community and business enterprise development (Flamsteed & Golding, 2005). The value and importance of mentoring and empowerment through ownership and enhancing self confidence should be evaluated. Cross-cultural influences on best practice processes, incentives and goals of economic development initiatives, in particular the effect of differing worldviews of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants should be taken into consideration. A recent review of capacity development in the international development context and the implications for Indigenous Australians is provided by Hunt (2005) who describes a number of alternative approaches for capacity development that are based on strengths and capacities that already exist within the Aboriginal community or organisation. Demonstration projects should be conducted to trial these different approaches, with the aim of identifying best practice methodology.

AN AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDY

Current principles and practices for economic development being espoused by leading development agencies have been applied in an Australian context in a project involving a remote community in Central Australia, the Titjikala Community (see Figure 1). The project is being conducted by the Plants for People program (P4P), a capacity development and research program comprising sustainable development projects conducted by Aboriginal communities in partnership with P4P research and teaching staff that involves the documentation, evaluation and application of traditional knowledge of indigenous plants and their uses. The overall goal of P4P is to combine traditional and western scientific knowledge to enhance the well-being and affluence of Aboriginal people through identifying effective strategies for developing sustainable enterprises based on local plant resources. Two projects have been conducted to date with the Titjikala Community. The first one designed to build on successes of earlier community strategies to reduce domestic violence and enhance self-esteem through activities based around cultural knowledge, cultural exchanges and cultural employment, the second one aimed at using a case study approach to develop best practice models for the documentation, reclamation and generational transfer of Indigenous knowledge of plants of local cultural significance and for the application of this knowledge in Indigenous social and business enterprise development. Project activities include planning meetings and workshops, field trips to collect plant specimens and record traditional knowledge about the plants and their uses, the recording of this information on an electronic data base, laboratory studies on selected plant extracts, the establishment of a community garden and business planning discussions. Aboriginal community members are actively involved in the planning and implementation of all project activities. Some give their time voluntarily while others, primarily elders, are paid as part-time research officers.

Initiated in May 2002, a series of meetings and workshops conducted over a 12-month period comprised planning for the Titjikala P4P project, a strategy that ensured that there was ample time for discussion and decision making. The planning procedures were conducted by a research team composed of Titjikala community and administration staff members and various experts with knowledge and skills of relevance to the project aims. An Aboriginal community leader who is the CEO of an Aboriginal community group from Western Australia, the Ngalia Community, with which P4P was developing a similar project also contributed to the planning discussions, a networking approach that has been mutually advantageous for both communities. At the outset a Council of Elders was formed to provide overall direction and community control of the project. Traditional owners and other community elders comprise the council which has met formally on three occasions since 2001. The first meeting was to consider the concept of conducting a cultural revitalisation and enterprise development project, the second to endorse the proposed activities and the proposed engagement arrangements with the host university, and the third meeting called to review progress and endorse new project objectives. This ‘bottom-up’ approach has ensured that the community have

ownership over the project and overall control of project activities.

The initial workshop discussions focussed on developing an agreement concerning how the project was to be conducted and on the benefit sharing arrangements that were to be established. This was not a 'prior informed consent' approach, in that the community members and university research staff worked in partnership to decide the terms of engagement and benefit sharing approach as opposed to the university team presenting the community with a predetermined proposal. A research agreement, outlining guidelines for ethical research and education activities conducted by the Titjikala Community in partnership with P4P, was developed by the project team and endorsed by both the Council of Elders and the Tapatjatjaka Community Government Council (TCGC), an elected body of community representatives responsible for the general administration of the community and charged with the authority to enter into legal arrangements with outside agencies. Following community endorsement formalities, the agreement was subsequently ratified and signed by TCGC and by Curtin University as the collaborating partner in the research project. The overarching philosophy of the agreement, the wording of which was based on an agreement first produced by the Ngalia community (K. Muir, pers. comm.) and provided to the project team and to the TCGC to guide them in their discussions and deliberations, is described in two opening statements in the agreement: (1) All projects will seek a partnership approach, engaging community members in all levels of the project, with the aim to include the best of Indigenous knowledge with the best of western science; and (2) The Tapatjatjaka Community Government Council (TCGC) will not approve the research activities of any individuals or organizations that lead to, or in its opinion are likely to lead to, offending Indigenous people living in or connected with the Titjikala Community. Therefore the TCGC will only approve those research activities that respect, privilege, benefit and empower Indigenous people living in or connected with the Titjikala Community.

This philosophy has directly guided all projects conducted to date with the Titjikala Community. A consistent feature of the interactions between the non-Aboriginal members of the project team with their Aboriginal counterparts has been the honouring of and respect for traditional knowledge about plants and their uses. This gradually turned into an automatic and genuine response of the non-Aboriginal participants as they were increasingly exposed to the wealth and depth of knowledge revealed during the workshops, field trips and general discussions. The consequence of this approach has been a noticeable enhancement in self esteem and self-confidence of the Aboriginal elders involved in the project, an outcome that has made a significant contribution to their involvement in a recent economic initiative — the entering into a joint venture with a cultural tourism company (see Figure 1).

GUNYA-TITJIKALA CULTURAL TOURISM JOINT VENTURE

A successful example of enterprise development by an Australian Aboriginal community is the Gunya-Titjikala tourism business operating at the Titjikala Community in Central Australia. The Titjikala Community is a remote Indigenous community located south of Alice Springs in the Central Remote Region. The community was formed in the early 1950s through relocation of Luritja, Pitjantjatjara and Arrernte people that is currently home to between 250 and 300 people with 40 per cent of community members under the age of 25. In 2002, the community decided to collaborate with Curtin University in developing the P4P project. Empowerment through honouring and respecting TEK and capacity building for talking with tourists about TEK was a direct outcome of project activities. In 2005, the Titjikala community entered into a joint venture with Gunya Tours to build three luxury tents as a site adjacent to the Titjikala townsite. Tourists pay over $1,000 (AUS) per night to stay in the tents and talk with community members. The community members participate in the business in various ways, including acting as tour guides, a skill that was developed in the P4P project. This business venture is proving to be financially viable and expansion plans are under consideration.

The research agreement also contained clauses relating to intellectual property rights of the research partners. Two of these clauses stated that

Figure 1 Gunya-Titjikala tourist enterprise

Photo courtesy David Callow.

> New Intellectual Property generated through research work conducted by the research team, including all copyright and neighbouring rights, all rights in relation to inventions (including patent rights), plant varieties, registered and unregistered trademarks (including service marks), registered designs, trade secrets and know how and circuit layouts, and all other rights resulting from intellectual activity in the industrial, scientific, literary or artistic fields will be described as part of the project, and commercial application of such knowledge will be negotiated by the signatories of this agreement (Clause 9.2) and that Ongoing Indigenous ownership of the cultural and intellectual property rights in the material on which the research is based should be acknowledged (Clause 9.3).

It was later decided that these clauses, along with similar clauses in the project schedule agreement with the project funding agency, the Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre (DK-CRC), did not provide adequate protection of the rights of the TCGC over new intellectual property that might be generated by P4P project activities, in particular the knowledge generated through laboratory investigations of medicinal properties of local plants selected for study by Aboriginal elders. Consultations between community and project members, the DK-CRC, and a government funded Aboriginal agency, the Central Land Council, resulted in the development of a new project schedule. In essence, the new schedule ensures that the Titjikala Community will be legally represented at any negotiations relating to IP arising out of the project, and that the community would be entitled to an equal share of the collective commercial return to project partners arising from the new IP generated by project activities.

The approach taken in the P4P-Titjikala project has been a significant factor in the economic achievements of the Titjikala community. Key success factors in the project have been empowerment through partnership and respect, mentoring and networking activities. While P4P was not involved in the negotiations that led to the establishment of the joint venture company operating the cultural tourism business, the experience and self confidence gained by community members through participating in P4P workshops, field trips and planning discussions have been identified as an important contributing factor to

the development and operation of the business enterprise. Current initiatives are aimed at assisting entrepreneurial members of the community to develop micro-enterprises based on traditional knowledge about plants and their uses.

CONCLUSION

Participation in commercial enterprises by Aboriginal Australians is being actively supported by Australian government agencies, NGOs and other support groups. Aboriginal people are becoming involved in a range of enterprises in such diverse areas as commercial property investment, mining and mine services, transport, manufacturing, retail and services, agriculture, fisheries, tourism and financial services. Despite this growing trend a lack of effective business models to promote for enterprise development that are suitable for Aboriginal groups, whether they be family or community based, currently hinders expansion. Research is required to address this and other knowledge gaps so as to enhance the active participation of Aboriginal people in the Australian economy.

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SOME IMPACTS OF RISING WORLD OIL PRICES ON AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS RURAL AND REMOTE COMMUNITIES

David Worth

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I raise the issue of 'peak oil' and its impact on Australian Indigenous communities, present consequences of the rise in oil prices over the past three years for remote and regional Australia, and consider possible ways of addressing what I would argue is an increasingly dire future concerning economic development potential considered pivotal to these regions. The impact of 'peak oil' has been particularly difficult on the populations living in tiny and remote Indigenous communities in Western, Central and Northern Australia, the majority of which use diesel fuel for electricity and transport. Electricity powers bore pumps, household and workplace appliances, and equipment such as refrigeration. All food and other freight travels long distances via road transport, which already contributes to the higher prices of goods in remote community stores. The data presented below has been gathered from 'desk top' research, although it vividly points to the need for immediate studies in the communities.

One site of information concerning the impact of higher fuel prices on these communities is in the Western Desert of Western Australia (WA), located about 1,000 km north-east of Perth. The Ngaanyatjarra Council's (2005)[1] annual municipal grant for diesel purchase from the Australian government for 2005 was based on the figure of Aus$1.10 per litre.[2] However, by July of that year the Council had used up their funds as fuel prices peaked at $1.60 per litre during long periods. The Ngaanyatjarra Council has since agreed to enter into a Regional Partnership Agreement (RPA) with the WA State and a Shared Responsibility Agreement (SRA) with the Australian government for additional funding to reimburse the Council against the impact of fluctuating fuel prices.[3] In another jurisdiction, the Aboriginal Air Services (AAS) in Alice Springs (in the centre of the continent) closed its doors in 2006 due to high aviation fuel prices. AAS had provided essential transport services for more than 60 remote communities for close to three decades (Roberts, 2006). Finally, fuel prices of nearly $3 per litre are forcing Indigenous fishers in the Torres Strait outer islands (such as Boigu and Dauan) to return to traditional sail-powered vessels to fish in much

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the same way when European explorers Bligh and Flinders sailed these waters between Australia and Papua New Guinea more than two centuries ago (McGuire, 2006).

WHAT IS PEAK OIL?

'Peak oil' is a description developed in the early 1950s by a Shell geologist, Marion King Hubbert, to describe the way in which oil production from regional reserves follows a path that is similar to a 'bell' curve. Basing his predictions on record of prior oil discoveries and reserve growth, Hubbert predicted in 1956 that U.S. oil production would peak in the early 1970s followed by a peak in world production around the year 2000 (Heinberg, 2003, p. 90). Initially labelled a pariah for his controversial methods, within two decades he was proven correct when oil production in the contiguous U.S. peaked at close to 10 million barrels per day, a rate not since duplicated despite substantial discoveries in Alaska and the Gulf of Mexico. The discovery of new oil reserves peaked in 1960 and since 1990 oil consumption is measured at a rate of nearly 3 barrels of oil consumed for each new barrel discovered (Longwell, 2002, p. 102) (Figure 1).

Robinson and Powrie (2004) report that Australia's Bass Strait oil and gas province initiated production in 1970, reached its peak in 1985 only to begin a steady and irreversible decline. Overall Australia's oil production peaked in 2000 and again is in steady decline. Probability forecasts from Geoscience Australia (2006, p. 18) suggest that this trend will continue unabated during a period in which Australia's projected consumption increases (Figure 2). The probability of new discoveries required to meet earlier consumption and production peaks is not likely. The result: the annual cost of importing oil is over Aus$20 billion per annum, while the net cost of oil imports now exceeding exports by $5 billion in 2005 (The Senate, 2007, p. 64).

Excluding deepwater oilfields, output from 54 of the 65 largest oil-producing countries in the world is now in decline (Robinson, 2006). While global oil production rose markedly between 2000 and 2005, it has since slowed. And since the world oil price began its upward march in late 2002, world oil production has been able to quickly supply the additional oil demanded by the global market. However, as Figure 3 demonstrates, over the past two years world oil production plateaued at 84–85 million barrels each day.[4] Within OPEC, the only country presently

Figure 1 World oil discovery and production: 1900–2002

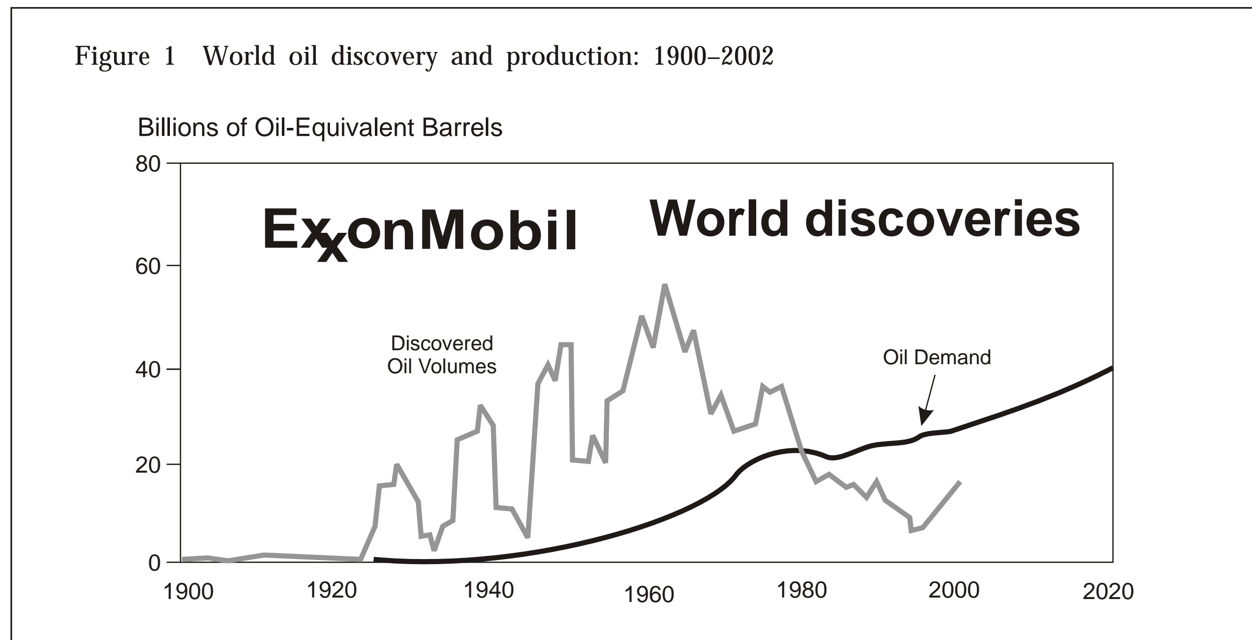
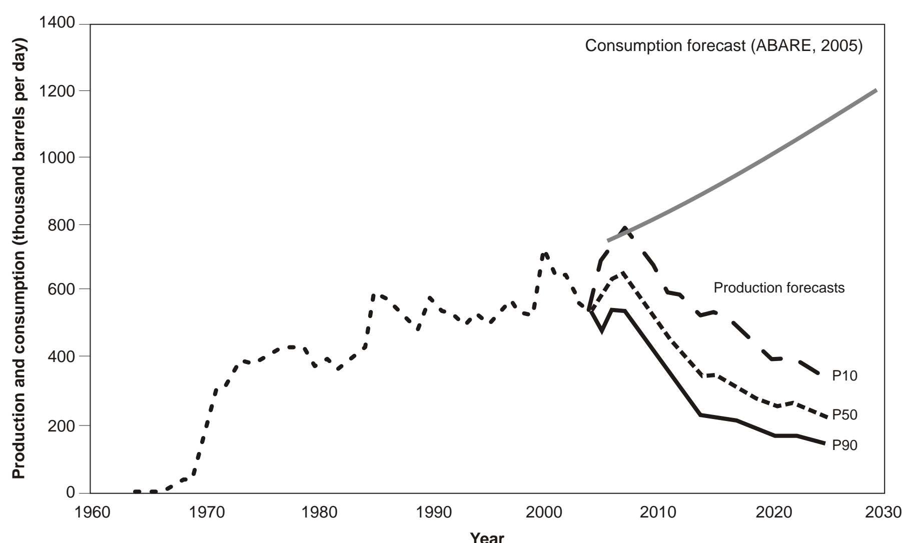


Figure 2 Australia's oil production 1965–2025



with any significant spare production capacity is Saudi Arabia (Appendix A). This surplus is heavy oil that is more expensive to refine than light, 'sweet' crude oil. The absence of any reliable audited reserve and field by field production data in most oil producing countries means it is difficult to develop more than uncertain probability estimates concerning the likely date for a global 'peak'. Estimates for such a 'peak' vary over a great range, from 2005 through to 2030, and beyond (The Senate, 2007, p. 43).

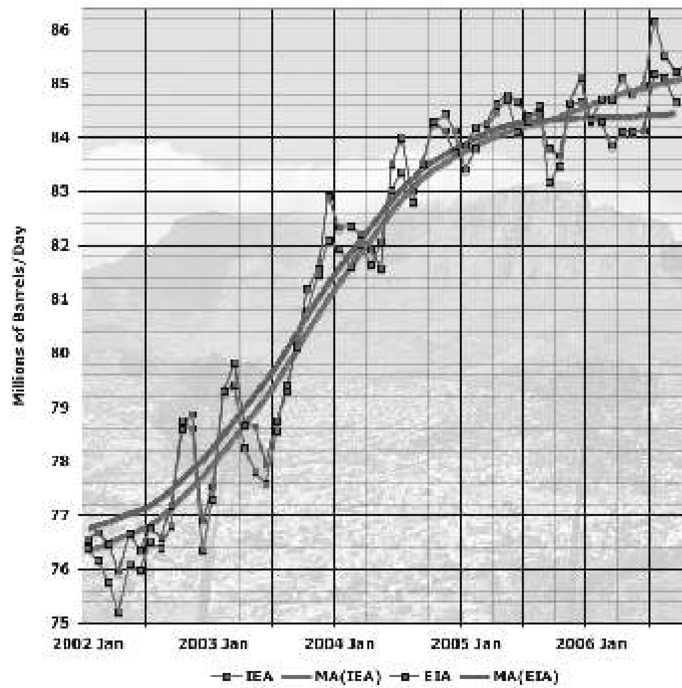
The major impact on Australians, in particular the remote areas, has been the rapid rise and volatile nature of these price changes (Figure 4). In mid-2006 the NYMEX futures price for West Texas crude peaked at US$78 per barrel. Currently, some commentators believe that oil will soon be priced at around US$80–100 per barrel, although some believe that it will drop to around $45 (Helman, 2006). Peak oil does not mean the world will run out of oil, but it does suggest that the world has come to the end of cheap liquid fuels, as global demand (especially from China and India) outstrips the growth in production. It is unlikely that oil will return to the figure of US$20 per barrel that it was trading at just five years ago.

POPULATION IN INDIGENOUS LANDS

A recent Senate Inquiry into Australia's future oil supplies attracted some 200 written submissions, albeit just one examining how Indigenous communities will be affected.[5] Most submissions focused on the impact of price rises on urban drivers and potential policy correctives aimed at reducing weekly fuel bills. The particular location and distribution of remote Indigenous communities is an important aspect of their ability (or lack thereof) to manage these rising prices. According to the 2001 Australian Census (2004), the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population was estimated to be 458,520, or 2.4 per cent of Australia's population. The median age of Indigenous Australians was 20.5 years compared with 36 years for the mainstream Australian population. It is estimated that 25 per cent of the Indigenous population lived in areas classified as remote or very remote compared with only two per cent of the non-Indigenous population (Table 1).[6]

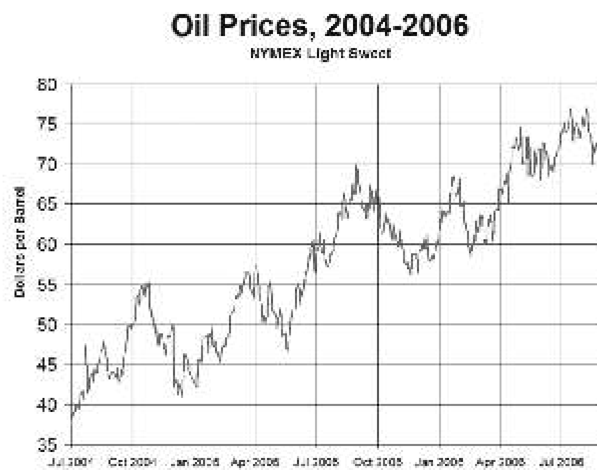
Using data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1999) report Community Housing and Infrastructure Needs Surveys (CHINS) to identify future challenges for Indigenous communities,

Figure 3 World oil production: 2002–2006 (as at December 2006)



Source: www.theoildrum.com/story/2006/12/5/144125/842

Figure 4 Volatility in NYMEX oil price: 2004–2006



Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/2/28/Oil_Prices_Short_Term.png/800px-Oil_Prices_Short_Term.png

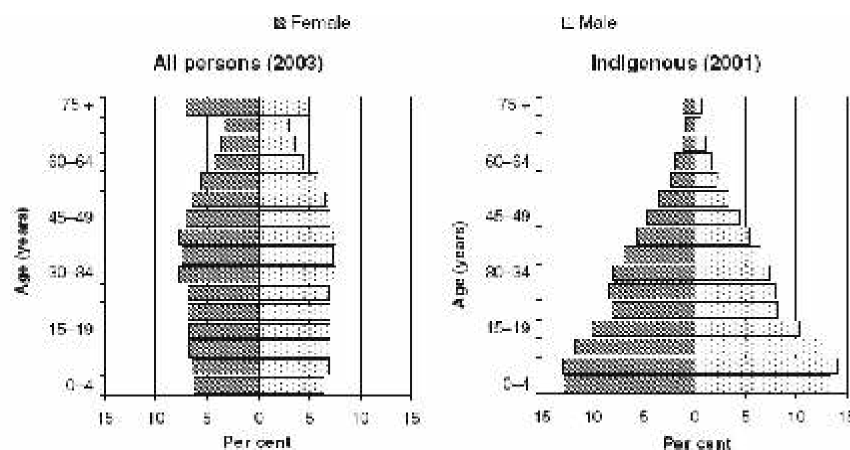
Taylor (2002, p. 13) projects that the Indigenous population in the remote Australian desert (or arid zone) (Figure 6)[7] will grow by about 10,000 people to nearly 45,000 over the next 10 years.

Half of this increase will be in the prime employment age groups (24–65) where population numbers will increase by 35 per cent over the decade. In a later publication, Taylor (2004, p. 98) suggested that high Aboriginal fertility rates will lead to sustained and rapid population growth and a high proportion of infants and children in these communities. In the Northern Territory, the Aboriginal population will double within a generation with a high potential for continued growth beyond that. Unlike the issue of population decline and ageing, which is a problem in many parts of urban Australia, the urgent challenge in many regions with Indigenous communities will be how to house and employ this young Indigenous population while ensuring that they will be able to access cost-efficient transport. Hence, easily obtained and cost-efficient energy will be critical to their future success.

Table 1 Estimated Indigenous population of Australia: 30 June 2001

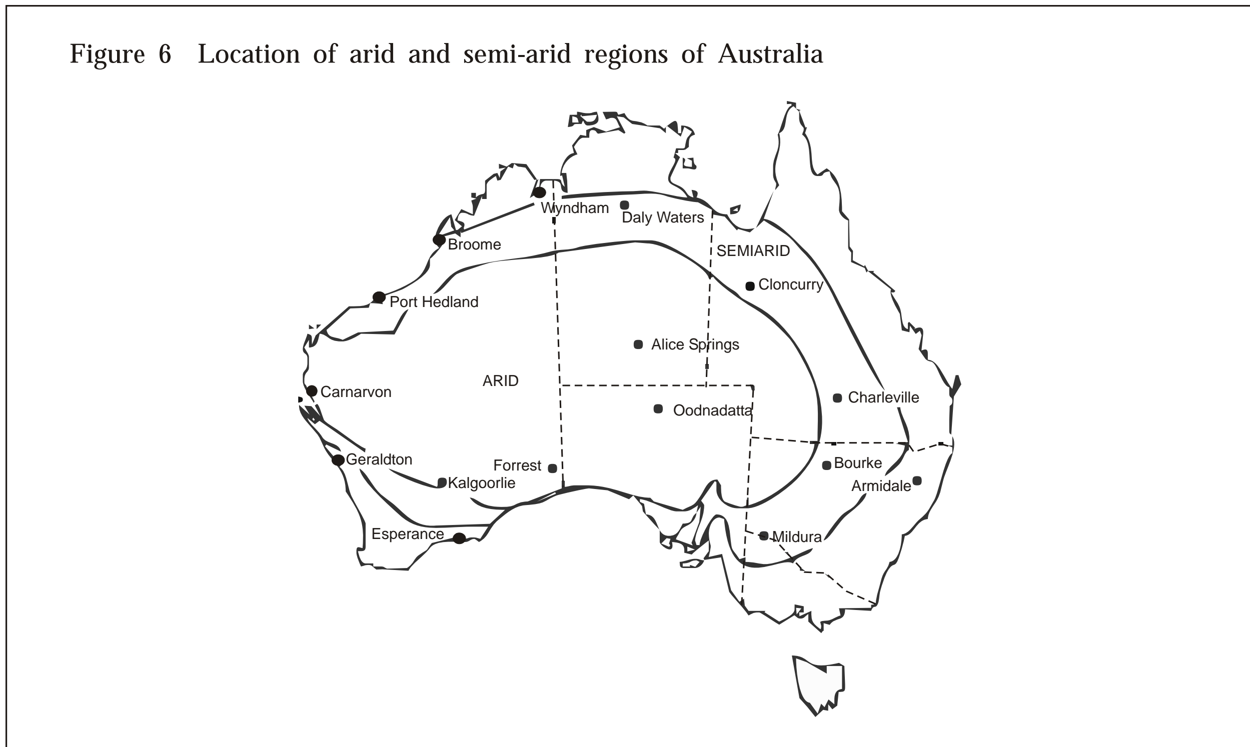
Jurisdiction	*Indigenous population*	*Proportion of Indigenous population*	*Proportion of jurisdiction population*
ACT	3,909	0.9%	1.2%
New South Wales	134,888	29.4%	2.0%
Northern Territory	56,875	12.5%	28.8%
Queensland	125,910	27.4%	3.5%
South Australia	25,544	5.6%	1.7%
Tasmania	17,384	3.8%	3.7%
Victoria	27,846	6.1%	0.6%
Western Australia	65,931	14.4%	3.5%
Australia	458,520	100%	2.4%

Figure 5 Australian population distribution by age and sex



Source: ABS, 2004b.

Figure 6 Location of arid and semi-arid regions of Australia



Indigenous people's attachment to their land has resulted in the emergence of a distinct settlement structure involving the formation of numerous dispersed, small, and discrete Indigenous communities. This is especially the case in the NT, WA and the far north of South Australia (Cane & Stanley, 1985) (Table 2). These demographic factors have resulted in unique residential settings among Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations living in the desert region. In 1996, only 26 per cent of desert Indigenous people lived in the four major inland urban centres of the arid zone (Alice Springs, Port Hedland, Kalgoorlie and Broken Hill), while the remainder lived in more remote areas (Taylor, 1998). Taylor (2002b, p. 7) reports that close to 30 per cent (nearly 25,000 people) of the Indigenous population living in these remote and very remote regions live in communities usually numbering less than 200 people (Table 2). The future housing and infrastructure requirements of small communities in these remote areas are acute, and they will face additional challenges related to higher fuel prices that will affect food prices and transport and construction costs.

Indigenous communities need for power

While the focus of this paper has been on liquid fuels and transport, many remote Indigenous communities across Australia lack connection to electrical power grids or have intermittent grid power. Of those connected communities 40 per cent experience regular supply interruptions (The Senate, 2000, p. 139). Small, remote communities with populations of less than 50 people use home generators while the larger communities are more likely to use large, community diesel generators or have access to the State power grid. The ABS CHINS study found 133 Indigenous communities (10 per cent) all of which had populations of 50 or less had no electricity supply (ABS, 1999, p. 17) (Table 3).

Likewise, a study in WA indicated that 75 per cent of Indigenous communities rely on electric-powered bores for their water supplies, 20 per cent have their water delivered by truck while the remainder were connected to a town supply (DIA, 2004, p. 33). It is clear from these figures that most Indigenous communities in remote Australia are reliant on diesel fuels for

Table 2 Indigenous communities isolated from service centres, by settlement size

	Settlement Remote				Very Remote			
Size	*Comm.*	*% of Isol. Cty*	*Pop.*	*%*	*Comm.*	*%*	*Pop.*	*%*
< 19	71	6.7	642	0.8	484	45.9	4,841	6.1
20–49	34	3.2	915	1.2	241	22.8	7,235	9.2
50–99	4	0.4	250	0.3	65	6.2	4,331	5.5
100–199	6	0.6	750	1.0	42	4.0	5,868	7.4
200–499	7	0.7	1,785	2.3	70	6.6	21,915	27.8
500–999	3	0.3	1,650	2.1	13	1.2	9,373	11.9
> 1,000	0	0.0	—	0.0	15	1.4	19,358	24.5
TOTAL	125	11.8	5,992	7.6	930	88.2	72,921	92.4

Source: Adapted from Taylor, 2002b, p. 7.

Table 3 Indigenous discrete communities — main source of electricity supply (by Community Size — All Communities)

Type of electricity supply	*< 20*	*20–49*	*50–99*	*100–199*	*200>*	*Total (a)*	*Reported Population*
State grid	44	61	50	60	66	281	4,408
Community generators	85	70	30	33	81	299	50,990
Domestic generators	241	89	12	—	–	342	5,615
Solar	83	43	4	1	–	131	2,321
Solar hybrid	62	21	5	1	2	91	1,994
Other source	2	2	–	1	–	5	212
All communities with an electricity supply	517	286	101	96	149	1,149	108,540
No electricity supply	118	13	1	1	–	133	1,378
All communities*	644	299	102	97	149	1,291	109,994

* Includes 'not stated'

Source: ABS, 1999, pp. 16–17.

their day-to-day electricity to a greater extent than elsewhere. Electricity is also used for water pumps, household and workplace appliances, and for the refrigeration of food and medical supplies, suggesting that a rise in fuel costs increases Indigenous vulnerability.

Transport to access government services

The main mode of transport used in remote Indigenous communities to access key government and community services are cars and/or four-wheel drive vehicles (SUV). People from close to half of these communities must travel anywhere between one and four hours to reach required services, and 16 per cent of residents report travel times in excess of five hours. Due to variable weather conditions, road access to and from various communities may be limited or even impossible to access for periods ranging from four or five, one week periods annually. Thirty-seven communities experience continuous periods of road closure lasting for up to three

Table 4 Fuel consumption per state of Australia, 2006

	Volume (Million Litres)				*Market Share (per cent)*		
	Auto Petro	*Auto Diesel*	*Auto LPG*	*Total Volume*	*Auto Petro*	*Auto Diesel*	*Auto LPG*
NSW	6,031.8	3,558.1	871.6	10,461.4	57.7	34.0	8.3
VIC	4,885.9	2,582.6	1,344.5	8,813.1	55.4	29.3	15.3
Queensland	4,249.9	4,573.9	342.9	9,166.7	46.4	49.9	3.7
SA	1,356.2	1,070.1	230.5	2,656.8	51.0	40.3	8.7
WA	1,891.6	3,230.7	172.3	5,294.6	35.7	61.0	3.3
TAS	464.3	350.0	18.4	832.6	55.8	42.0	2.2
NT	137.9	438.3	5.1	581.2	23.7	75.4	0.9
TOTAL	19,017.7	15,803.6	2,985.1	37,806.4	50.3	41.8	7.9

Source: WA, 2007, p. 41.

months at a time and extreme weather conditions such as floods. Transport infrastructure is a key to the sustainability of these remote communities. West Australian Indigenous MP, Ms. Carol Martin, recently highlighted the problems for her constituents in the Kimberley (north-west WA) due to low road maintenance budgets and the impact of higher fuel prices:

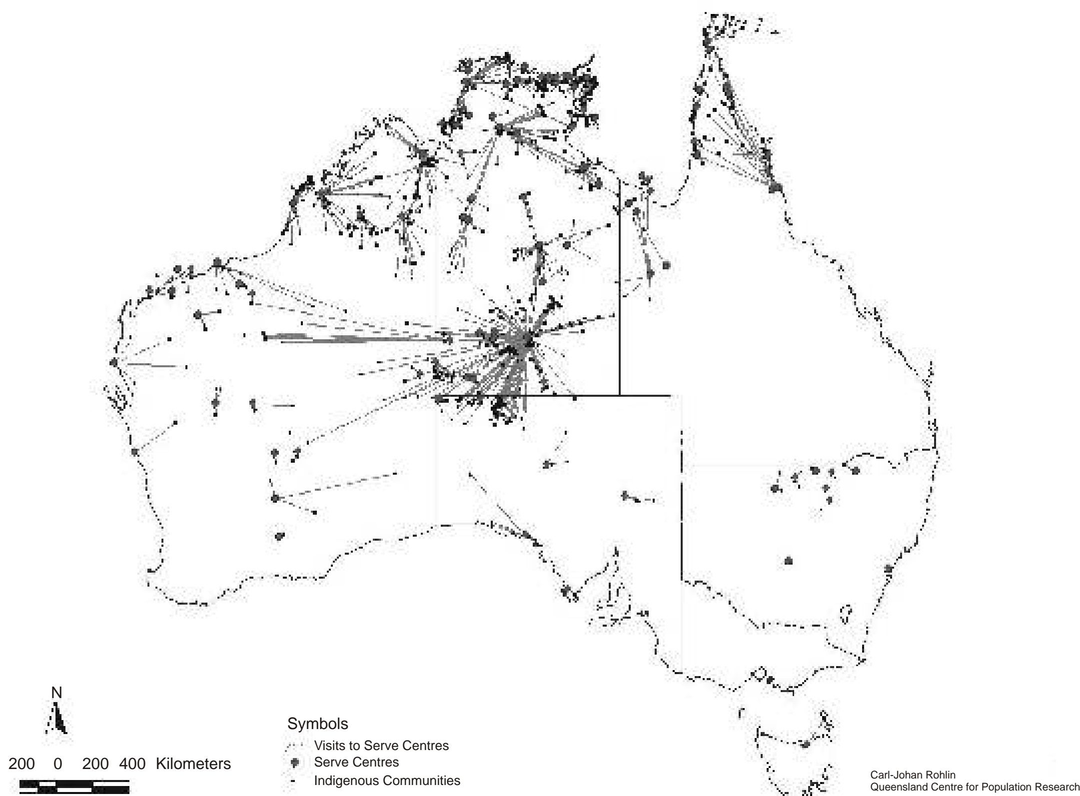
> I would like to raise some issues regarding the Dampier Peninsula, particularly the Dampier Peninsula road. This road is approximately 110 years old. Originally, it was used by the monks to access the peninsula. ... In the past couple of months there has been increasing concern about the freight service. I have been speaking to Broome Freightlines, which specifically services that area. It said that the maintenance costs on its vehicles is restricting its ability to operate. About three weeks ago it upped the ante, and freight costs increased by 20 per cent. The community wore it, because there was not much it could do about it. Norm Gardiner, the owner-operator, rang my office and said that the community had accepted the increase in freight costs, but because of the cost of maintenance on his trucks he can no longer justify servicing the community. He informed me that today would be the last day he would provide the service. ... The reason he can no longer provide the service is that the road is wrecking his vehicles. (Hansard WA, 14 September 2006)

The construction of a sealed road would positively promote Indigenous economic participation in the local pastoral and pearling industries. In response, the Minister for Planning and Infrastructure reported to Parliament that the cost of sealing the 160 km of gravel road would be about Aus$35 million, an amount beyond the local Shire of Broom council's resource base. Such experiences are likely typical for many remote communities of northern Australia. Regrettably there are no government attempts being made to gather data from Indigenous communities concerning their reliance on diesel for transport, or how much suitable infrastructure such as sealed roads would cost (Table 4). Cheap diesel fuels are critical to Indigenous communities, and this reliance is reinforced by the travel data collected (Figure 7).

Indigenous health and access to medical services

High fuel prices also impact on Indigenous health. The ABS reported that 895 (69%) of the 1,291 discrete Indigenous communities in Australia are located 100 km or more away from their nearest hospital, and only 53 per cent of these communities have access to emergency air medical services (ABS, 2005, p. 182).[8] People from

Figure 7 Major Indigenous communities and their economic and cultural travel needs



Source: Taylor, 2002b, p. 10.

these communities have to travel significant distances to access what urban Australians consider to be essential health services. For example, nearly half of the Indigenous communities located in WA, SA and NT have to travel over 25 km to access health centres (see Figure 9).

Cultural maintenance and land management

Finally, there is clear evidence that these small Indigenous communities continue to live on their traditional lands located in remote areas to ensure heritage and culture protection. For these communities, transport is essential if elders are to continue educating younger community members. For example, Sullivan (1988, p. 43) reports the “sudden and massive regional mobilisation” of Indigenous people attending a meeting of the Kimberley Land Council (KLC), in a remote location, required a journey of two or three days each way, and that there is a strong correlation between the maintenance of a traditional lifestyle and the retention of Indigenous languages, as an example (Figure 10).

Despite the strong links to their traditional lands, anecdotal evidence suggests that some Aboriginal peoples from smaller communities in WA are leaving their lands to live in larger settlements such as South Hedland. This is being done to try to ease the burden posed by diesel prices that have risen by 30 per cent over an 18-month period (Figures 11 and 12).

Information provided by a WA government departmental official demonstrates that the budget for diesel in some remote Indigenous com-

Figure 9 Indigenous access to health resources

10.3 DISTANCE TO NEAREST HOSPITAL AND COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTRE—2001

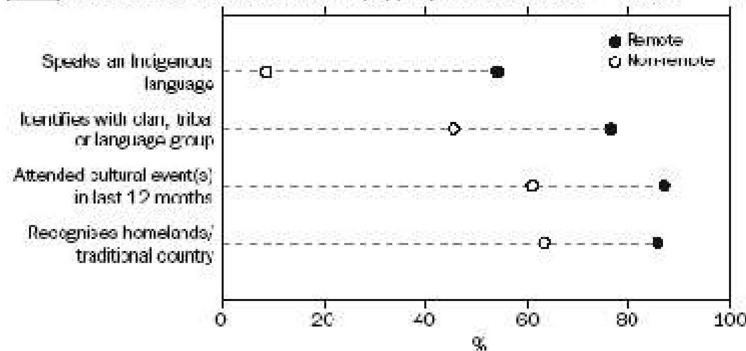
		NSW	Qld	SA	WA	NT	Australia
Discrete communities located less than 10km from nearest hospital	no.	33	22	11	27	34	127
Discrete communities located 10km or more from nearest hospital							
Distance to nearest community health centre							
Less than 25km	no.	17	48	43	117	254	481
25km or more	no.	10	72	42	139	342	606
Total	no.	27	120	85	256	596	1 087
Total number of communities(a)	no.	**60**	**142**	**96**	**283**	**630**	**1 216**
Total population(a)	no.	7 771	30 961	5 226	15 558	47 233	108 085
Proportion 10km or more from nearest hospital and 25km or more from nearest community health centre							
Communities	%	16.7	50.7	43.8	49.1	54.1	49.8
Population	%	9.9	3.0	14.7	17.4	12.7	10.7

(a) There are no discrete Indigenous communities in the ACT. Tasmania and Victoria are included in the total.

Source: ABS, 2001 CHINS

Source: ABS, 2005, p. 182.

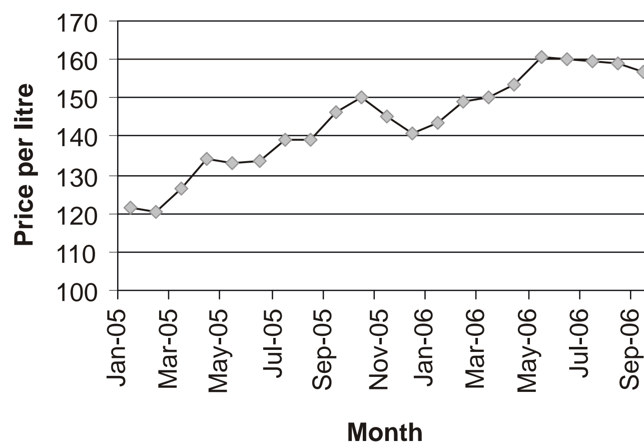
Figure 10 Remoteness and cultural attachment



Source: ABS, 2005, p. 6.

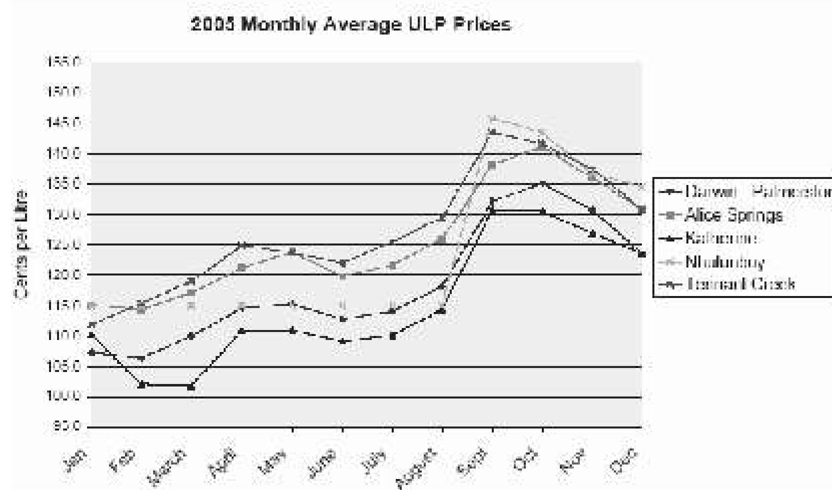
munities rose in 2006 from about 20 per cent of their annual maintenance budget to over 80 per cent. The resulting shortfall in operational revenue resulted in cost cutting to meet budgetary requirements that negatively affected education, health services, and infrastructure maintenance. Additional funds have been provided to Indigenous communities by the Australian government,

Figure 11 Kimberley diesel prices (Jan. 2005 to Sept. 2006)



Note: See <www.fuelwatch.wa.gov.au/prices/dsp_hist_avg.cfm> (last accessed 30 October 2006).

Figure 12 Northern Territory petrol prices — 2005



Note: See <www.nt.gov.au/justice/docs/cba/nt_fuel_watch/nt_fuel_watch_summary_graph_2005.pdf> (last accessed 30 October 2006).

although these monies arrive with obligations to the community. In relation to the Western Desert, additional powerhouse funds were provided to the Ngaanyatjarra Community (2005, p. 7); but under their 'mutual obligations', its members were required to

- take steps to minimise power consumption;
- pay power bills when presented;
- enter into arrangements to settle any outstanding debts; and
- place no pressure on staff or others to provide power services free of charge.

The Ngaanyatjarra Council itself was required to undertake new initiatives such as the following:

- set a benchmark fee collection rate of 100 per cent for all community members;
- develop an education program aimed at encouraging members to save power and minimise fuel costs; and
- implement the collection of tariffs in accordance with the rates set by the Australian government.

Finally, diesel fuels are at the heart of local community economic development ventures as Indigenous leaders attempt to generate the funds required to stay on their lands. In one instance, tourism was promoted as an economic development measure in the Kimberley Natural Resource Management plan (2004, p. 93); however, the success of such ventures would be dependent on affordable fuel inputs. Rising costs and price fluctuations would make it difficult to become and remain competitive with the local and overseas tourist experiences.[9] Pastoralism is another important sector for Indigenous employment. Baker (2000) shows that the fuel costs of pastoral properties in the NT averaged about $57,000 per annum, or about 10 per cent of their total annual expenditures. This figure is considerably higher than properties in other less-remote jurisdictions.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATE SOLUTIONS

In urban areas, governments have a wide range of 'demand-side' solutions that can assist drivers deal with higher fuel prices such as greater reliance upon public transport. In remote Australia, governments must focus on 'supply-side' solutions. These possible solutions include:

i) Alternate fuel sources to replace diesel;
ii) Convincing the State and Australian governments to 'subsidise' the future use of crude-based diesel fuels;
iii) Closing down the remote communities and moving residents to larger centres.[10]

Alternative two was proposed by the Remote Area Planning and Development Board (RAPAD) in a recent submission to a Senate inquiry into Australia's petrol prices in northern Queensland, which is responsible for an area of 385,000 sq km, encompassing 17 towns in 11 local government areas.[11] In support of the proposal, the Mayor of Winton Shire proposed a reduction or abolition of the Federal fuel excise (38¢ per litre) and the Goods and Services Tax (about 10–13¢ per litre) on fuel sales as a way of supporting the sustainable development of remote Australia.[12] Neither of the major Australian political parties appeared to support the proposal, especially given the arbitrage opportunities it opens for those living on either side of a boundary separating areas with different fuel taxes. This negative response begs the question: If governments refuse to subsidise fuel use in remote Australia, what types of economic activities are required to generate the required funding needed to ameliorate the influence of rising fuel costs and fluctuating prices? Evidence collected from the Road and Automobile Club of WA during the Senate inquiry indicated that tourism to remote Australia (and hence income for these communities) was already suffering due to the present rise in diesel prices over the past three years:

Senator WEBBER — Recently there was some publicity looking at price being a determinant for the change of behaviour and about how fewer people are driving east across the Nullarbor and how the roadhouses are really struggling to make a quid. Are you aware of those reports? They are saying they are hardly getting any passing vehicles these days.

Mr Moir (RACWA) — We do not track vehicle movements like that, but anecdotally we hear the same stories as you. We hear that the tourism market in the north-west, which is largely dependent on passenger or private transport, is suffering at the moment because of the fuel prices. With respect to the 'grey nomads', as they are referred to, the retired tourists, anecdotally we hear that their numbers are dropping off because of fuel prices.[13]

These positions were confirmed by another witness appearing before the Inquiry, this time from Queensland:

Councillor Collins (Mayor, Winton Shire) — Total visitor numbers have been declining in

what we call the outback region, which actually runs, outside of the RAPAD Board area, from the New South Wales border at Cunnamulla in the west, north to Mount Isa and Richmond and Hughenden. The outback region covers about two-thirds of Queensland. In that area there has been a general decline — I think it [the reduction] is in the order of about three or four per cent a year for the last four or five years.[14]

It appears that communities in these remote areas can maintain their customs and lifestyles only by convincing the Australian government to develop alternate fuel sources. Communities located in north Australia would benefit from the development of transport fuels based on liquid natural gas (LNG) or compressed natural gas (CNG), developed as part of the fuel developments occurring in the North-West Shelf and Timor Sea regions. Most existing large diesel engines can be appropriately modified although this would require local fuelling outlets to make anywhere from $50–100,000 in modifications. This should not be seen as an insurmountable cost given the alternate cost of housing and caring for people in rapidly growing centres, such as Alice Springs, if remote communities were forced to close. The development of a local LNG/CNG industry could also offer new training and employment opportunities for Indigenous workers to support this change in fuel supplies.

Another possible alternate fuel source is biodiesel. The WA government is presently exploring the policy issues surrounding this option via a Taskforce which is due to report in mid-2007 (ABC, 2006). Biodiesel has advantages over other biofuels, such as ethanol, for it can be developed from agricultural waste in small, cost-efficient local plants (e.g., sugar waste from the Ord River scheme in the Kimberleys). The WA Farmers Federation is currently investigating a plan to develop a network of regional biodiesel plants based on a cooperative model. It is anticipated that each plant would produce between 20–25 million litres of fuel annually. An alternative biodiesel source to agricultural waste could be obtained by planting and harvesting the 'diesel tree', or copaifera langsdorfii. It is estimated a one hectare plantation could produce 12,000 litres of fuel a year — enough to make a small farm self-sufficient in fuel (SMH, 2006). The economics of such an alternate fuel relies on transport distances being less than those for traditional diesel and petrol supplies. Again, the development of a local biodiesel industry in remote and regional Australia could also offer new training and employment opportunities for the growing number of young Indigenous workers.

CONCLUSION

This paper argued that analyses must be conducted into the vulnerability of remote Indigenous communities' dependence on cheap fuel supplies that are rising and demonstrate volatile price changes. Their continued existence relies on regular flows of low-cost diesel and petroleum fuels to support nearly all essential community infrastructure and functions. The shift in recent decades from limited regional travel and use of local resources for fuel to a reliance on hydrocarbons presents a significant challenge as the effects of 'peak oil' in Australia are imposed. The future sustainability of remote settlements will require considerable future research efforts to quantify the real situation, to consult with community members and to evaluate ways to reduce the dependence on oil-derived fuels, or its replacement by biodiesel. Such issues are not specific to Australian Aboriginal population. Cunningham (1999), for example, describes the plight of First Nations in the Yukon trying to develop and maintain an air-based medivac program. Similarly, Suppiah et al. (2003) describe how basic functions such as garbage collection in remote British Columbia First Nations communities can be hindered by lack of funds and road transport. In Australia, some solutions are emerging in WA at least, but they will require several years before we are able to measure their results or to produce the required levels of biofuel at a cost-efficient price. The danger of unchecked fuel costs could impede regional economic developments in regional and remote Australia leading to an exodus of young men and women from their traditional lands.

NOTES

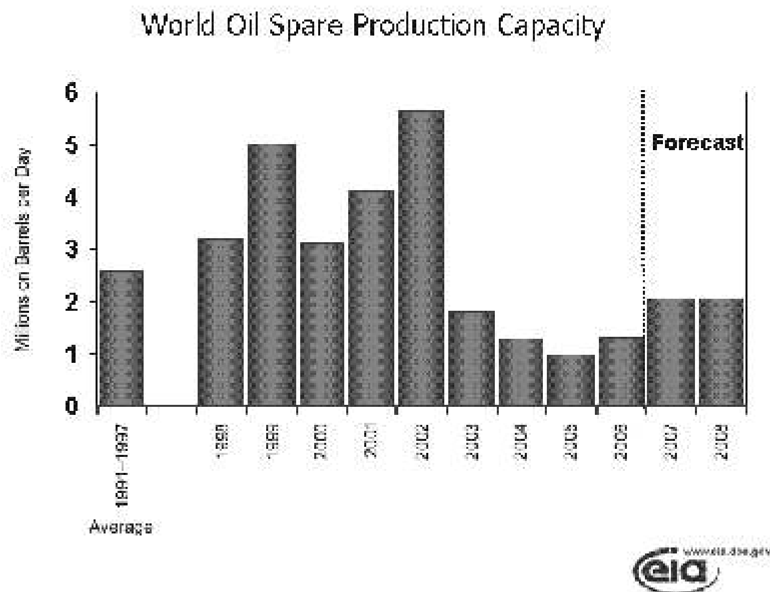
1. This remote region is home to 11 small Indigenous communities and in 2004 these communities were granted native title over an area of about 188,000 sq km. Online: <www.nntt.gov.au/media/Ngaanyatjarra.html>.

Appendix A OPEC Oil Production (as at January 2007, thousand barrels per day)

	7/01/2005	*Jan-07*		
	OPEC 10 Quota	*Production*	*Capacity*	*Surplus Capacity*
Algeria	894	1,360	1,430	70
Indonesia	1,451	860	860	0
Iran	4,110	3,700	3,750	50
Kuwait	2,247	2,500	2,600	100
Libya	1,500	1,650	1,700	50
Nigeria	2,306	2,250	2,250	0
Qatar	726	810	850	40
Saudi Arabia	9,099	8,800	10,500–11,000	1,700–2,200
United Arab Emirates	2,444	2,500	2,600	100
Venezuela	3,223	2,340	2,450	110
OPEC 10	28,000	26,770	28,990–29,490	2,220–2,720
Other Liquids		4,305		

Source: Table 3a. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/steo/pub/3atab.html> (Energy Information Administration/ Short-Term Energy Outlook — February 2007).

Appendix B Global Surplus Oil Prediction (U.S. Department of Energy, 2007)



Source: *Short-Term Energy Outlook*, February 2007 <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/steo/pub/gifs/ Slide13.gif>

2. In early 2007, Aus$1 is worth approximately US$0.78 [online].
3. See <www.indigenous.gov.au/rpa/wa/warpanov0501.pdf> (last accessed 30 October 2006).
4. These figures for 'oil' includes the production of other liquid hydrocarbons such as ethanol, bitumen and liquids condensates from the production of natural gas. IEA — International Energy Agency in Geneva and EIA — U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Agency, Washington, D.C.
5. See <www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/rrat_ctte/oil_supply/submissions/sublist.htm>.
6. See <www.aihw.gov.au/indigenous/>.
7. The arid zone amounts to 3.5 million km^2, or 45 per cent of the Australian land mass (Taylor, 2002, p. 4).
8. This proportion is likely to be now lower with the closure of AAS in Alice Springs, reported above.
9. Roarty and Barber (2004, p. 3) list the following reasons why country petrol prices tend to be higher than metropolitan prices: "A country service station typically sells less than half the amount of fuel of a metropolitan service station. Hence there is less opportunity to reduce the operating margin on fuel sales taking into consideration the overall viability of the business. Additionally there is higher distribution costs associated with country retail outlets. Furthermore, there are generally lower sales of higher profit non-fuel items in the country."
10. Alternative three will not be explored here, but there are many influential stakeholders who are already pursuing it as a 'solution' to other Indigenous issues such as community violence. This includes influential journalist Nicholas Rothwell from The Australian (2006a; 2006b) and the then-Minister for Indigenous Affairs, Hon. Amanda Vanstone (2005) who threatened "All Australians living in remote areas of the country have less access to services.... Perhaps we need to explicitly draw a line on the level of service that can be provided to homeland settlements."
11. See <www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/economics_ctte/petrol_price/submissions/sub43.pdf>.
12. See <www.aph.gov.au/hansard/senate/commttee/S9691.pdf>, p. E29.
13. See <http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/senate/commttee/S9623.pdf>, p. E36.
14. Ibid., p. E33.

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Editor's Introduction

We offer a new section in this issue of the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* that will remain a regular feature: the research note. It is our intention to supplement the innovative research produced in this journal by offering a wider range of inquiry through publishing research notes and/or working papers. In this, the first research note published, Soma Dey, lecturer in the Department of Women and Gender Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, assesses the impact of new agricultural techniques on the indigenous Garo populations of the Modhupur Garh forest in Bangladesh. In particular, Dey highlights how the establishment of regional transportation networks led to the insinuation of cash crop cultivation to the detriment of thriving subsistence economies in the once remote Modhupur Garh. According to Dey, research such as hers is required to better understand "how various aspects of Garo society have been impacted by this slow shift from a subsistence economy to participation in the dominant commercial economy," events that no doubt will resonate with Aboriginal leaders in Canada who have and continue to face similar issues.

COMMERCIALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS ECONOMY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ENVIRONMENT OF MODHUPUR GARH, BANGLADESH

Soma Dey

INTRODUCTION

The degrading status of the natural sal forest of Modhupur Garh has pushed the local Garo community towards cash crop cultivation at the expense of a once thriving subsistence economy. The development of transportation networks permitting greater access to the forest has also contributed enormously to the commercialization process in previously remote areas. Cash crop production started with pineapple cultivation followed by banana monoculture, the latter of which has been identified as a threat to the Modhupur environment by environmentalists. It accelerates the destruction of remaining forest patches, degrades soil quality and increases vulnerability of local flora and fauna species. Moreover, excessive use of agrochemicals by commercial plantations has raised serious concerns and is considered also to be a direct threat to both Indigenous populations' and consumer health. Expansion of the commercial economy has exacerbated landlessness, poverty, and gender discrimination among the Garos. These trends have also led to increased numbers of Garos working as wage labourers in plantations and migrating into local cities in search of employment leading to the loss of traditional cultural and economic security. This exploratory study assesses how various aspects of Garo society have been impacted by this slow shift from a subsistence economy to participation in the dominant commercial economy.

METHODOLOGY

Primary data and secondary literature have been utilized to produce this study. A reconnaissance survey was conducted in the Modhupur region which was followed by a semi-structured questionnaire randomly delivered to 50 Garo and 30 Bengali female respondents. The primary researcher lived with a Garo family in the Gachabari village of Modhupur in an attempt to gather relevant data collected through formal and informal interviews. Prior to and following the creation of a database to help guide the research several visits into the forest area took place. In order to qualify the extent of land use in the Modhupur forest, satellite images of the region from various years were drawn from the Global Landcover Facilities, Global Land Cover

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Facilities and from Centre for Environmental and Geographic Information Service in Dhaka and compared to a map prepared by the Survey of India in 1928. Other relevant spatial data were incorporated through a GPS survey and field observations. Information regarding biodiversity of sal forest have been collected in several ways, including a secondary source literature review level of various academics working on like issues, documents of Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, the Department of Forest and Environment, and reports from local forest offices and non-governmental organizations such as the Bangladesh Research Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Society for Environment and Human Development.

According to the Tangail Forest Division, in 2004 Modhupur Garh forest covered about 46,000 acres (186 sp. km) of land in the Tangail district and about 17,000 acres (69 sq. km) in the Mymensingh district. This study is confined to the Modhupur Garh forest region which is placed under Modhupur Upazila, or second tier administrative unit for the Tangail District. It should be mentioned here that the last remains of sal forest are found mainly in the Arankhola Union Parishad, the smallest administrative unit of Modhupur Upazila. For this reason, the questionnaire survey was delivered in 10 Garo villages of Arankhola Union. To gain an in depth understanding of the region and knowledge of the local communities, specifically three Garo communities (Chunia, Gaira and Gachabari) were selected for intensive study (Figure 1).

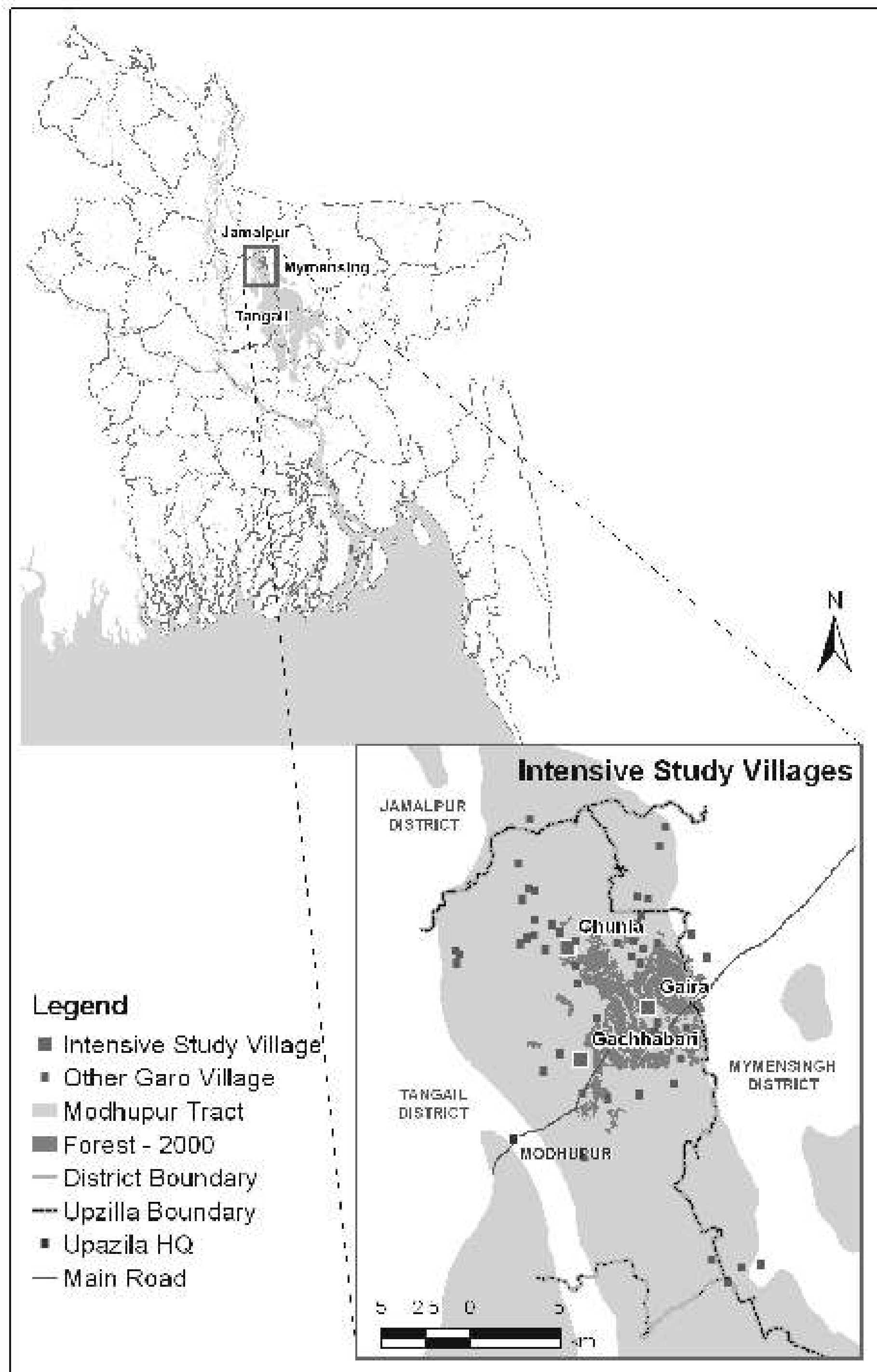
AN OVERVIEW OF COMMERCIALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS ECONOMY

Historic Modhupur Garh is a forest region located in central Bangladesh. It is located predominantly in the Pleistocene terrace area of Tangail district, which lies between the River Banar in the east and Bangshai in the west (Bangladesh District Gazetteers, Tangail, 1983, p. 12). Geomorphologically, Modhupur Garh is a part of Modhupur Tract and topographically positioned a few metres above the level of surrounding flood plains (Khaleque, 1992, and Burling, 1997). Modhupur Garh forest is also known as Modhupur sal forest. A valuable timber species, sal is the predominant tree species of the forest that was once famous for housing unique wild life, its dense tree coverage, rich biodiversity and forest dwelling ethnic communities, in particular the Garos who claim to be the forest's earliest inhabitants. Only a few decades ago, the Garos subsistence economy was totally dependent on abundant forest resources. The matrilineal Garos produced the bulk of their household consumption items through slash and burn cultivation, locally known as jum. They also collected fuel, fodder and numerous wild edibles from the jungle. Perhaps for this reason, they expressed little interest in wage work or in trade (Playfair, 1909).

Slowly the traditional economy began its shift towards a commercial model which soon became quite rapid due to the regional introduction of pineapple production in 1939 which the Garos embraced. Pineapple plantations were well-suited to the Modhupur region's topography and soon thereafter the community began to convert their abandoned jum plots into pineapple orchards. This unfortunately was largely the reason for the destruction of forest lands. Garos continued to practice jum in the higher forest blocks covered with bushes and trees (Khaleque, 1992, p. 107). They prepared the soil for crop cultivation by clearing and then burning the forest. They grew between 50 and 60 types of paddies known as dry rice in their jum plots in addition to crops like chillies, white sesame, banana, melon, watermelon, different types of potatoes, arum, cucumber, pumpkin, egg plant, kalai dal (one type of pulse), different beans, ladies finger and many more items for home consumption. They also produced cotton for weaving clothes and cane for making household utensils and similar items. According to Gain (2002), the maximum period for such cultivation in the Modhupur forest was three years. After that the land was left fallow to naturally regenerate. Thus the sal forest remained intact and the forest people lived in peace.

According to Gain (2000) degradation of sal forest began with the imposition of British colonial rule fuelled by interest in localized timber stocks. This resulted in the construction of the Mymensingh-Tangail Highway through the jungle during the Second World War, which contributed directly to the massive destruction of the forest's biological resources. At the same time the high-

Figure 1 Location of Study Area in Bangladesh



Source: Dey, 2004

way and a second road constructed in the mid-1950s opened the forest to outside interests. The development of this transportation network in the end encouraged illegal tree felling and the expansion of the market economy. In order to conserve the biological resources, the Forest Department formally banned jum cultivation in the early 1950s and restricted entry to the jungle region. Since then the misery of the forest dwelling people intensified. The heavy reliance on the forest resources began to decrease and the people were pushed to adopt a new livelihood. In the early 1960s, when part of Modhupur Garh was declared a national park, the Forest Department began to prohibit these practices among the Garos, although they continued growing pineapples in their already established gardens.

Over time, the Garos began to grow ginger, arum, mustard and many other crops in what had become increasingly denuded and degraded forest plots. At the same time increased growing demand of cultivable land led to the forest being cleared to assist monoculture cropping. The excessive use of agrochemicals also became more common, so much so that the local Forest Department office was forced to centre out the recently introduced banana monoculture as a threat to the natural and social environment of Modhupur. Banana monoculture has become hugely popular resulting in changes to typical Modhupur land-use patterns within a very short time span leading to the bulk of the forestland being denuded, degraded, encroached upon and, in certain cases, completely overtaken for commercial pineapple and banana production. It is also utilized for industrial rubber plantations or to produce exotic wood-fuel species (Gain, 2002). At present pineapple, banana, ginger, arum, jackfruit, mango, olive, litchi, potato, papaya, and sugar cane, among others, have been produced in Modhupur Garh for market consumption.

Monoculture cropping is also seen in Modhupur in the form of industrial plantations like rubber monoculture and plantation of exotic fuel-wood species in the name of social forestry. These types of commercial plantations are launched by international donor agencies like Asian Development Band and the World Bank with direct involvement of the Forest Department, Government of Bangladesh.

IMPACT OF COMMERCIAL ECONOMY

(a) Natural Environment

Loss of Forest Patches

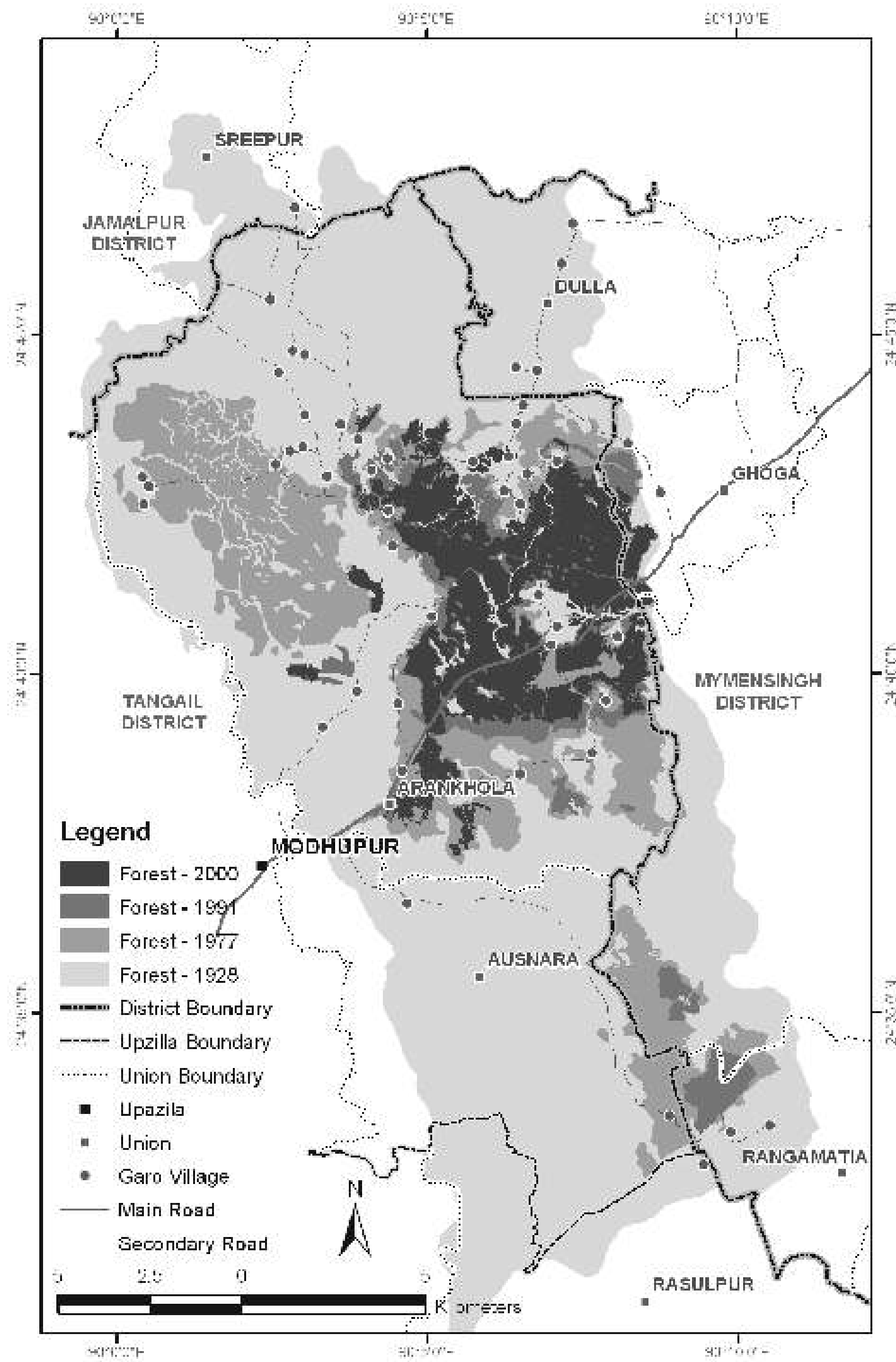
According to the map prepared by the Survey of India in 1928, natural sal forest extended over the whole land area of Modhupur region and covered close to 80,000 acres. Forty-nine years later, satellite image analysis discovered that the forest coverage had shrunk to about 25,700 acres. This was an alarming trend for it demonstrated not only a constant level of forest degradation and increased land usage, but further analysis shows that the rate of natural forest destruction has recently become more rapid. Satellite imaging from 1991 demonstrated further that the natural forest coverage of Modhupur Garh had dropped again resulting in a loss of close to 14,400 acres in 14 years. This trend has continued: in 2000 natural forest coverage had dropped to 8,400 acres (Figure 2).

The decrease in forest coverage of Modhupur Garh between the years 1975 to 1983 was calculated by Khaleque (1992) at nearly 36 per cent. It was further concluded that deforestation in the Modhupur region amounted to 56 per cent, or an average of 4 per cent per year, from 1977 to 1991. If this rate continues, academics warn, it is clear that the remaining sal forest is destined to disappear. Commercial agricultural has absorbed large tracts of forest territory for banana production as trees surrounding the Garos home territory are cut down (Figure 3). Currently some 153,243 acres of Modhupur Garh land have been appropriated for banana cultivation. According to the local Forest Department officials, monoculture cropping is the greatest threat to the remaining scattered forest patches of Modhupur Garh (Dey, 2004).

Soil Degradation

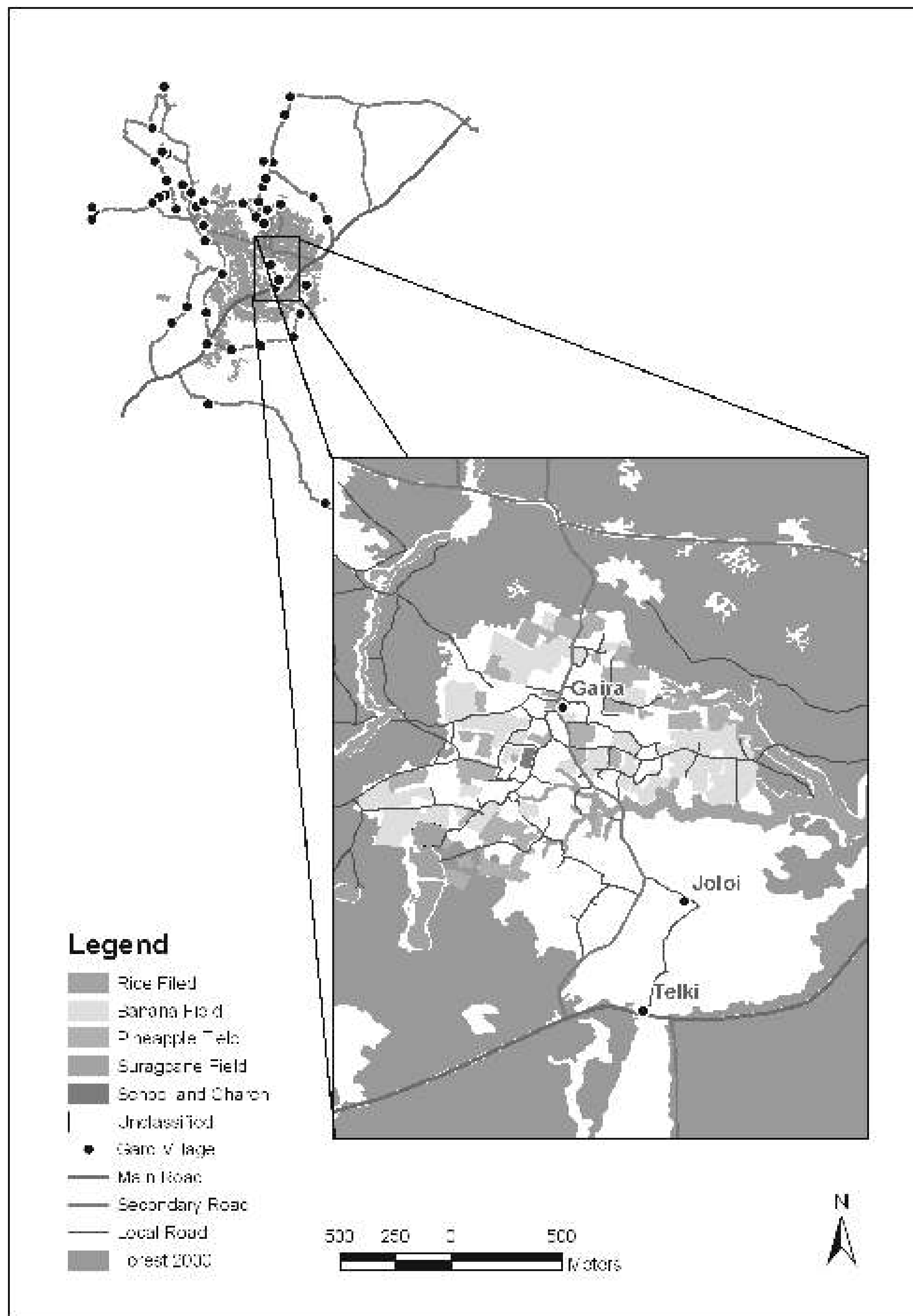
Improper soil management methods results in serious soil degradation, causes pollution, and exacerbates erosion. Treating the soil with chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and fungicides interferes with the natural processes that occur within the soil while destroying bacteria, fungi, and other useful micro-organisms. In most cases in Modhupur, commercial agriculture follows monoculture cropping at the expense of crop

Figure 2 Decreasing Natural Forest Coverage of Modhupur Garh (1928–2000)



Source: Dey, 2004

Figure 3 Typical Landuse Map of a Garo Village (Gaira)



Source: Dey, 2004 and Tojo, 2004

rotation. Such an approach is largely responsible for soil nutrient deficiency that, should it continue, may lead to soil infertility. Excessive use of agrochemicals in the fields has also raised serious concern of environmentalists. Additional issues such as severe land and water pollution can not be excluded.

Loss of Biodiversity

The current vascular plant diversity of Modhupur Garh numbers nearly 176 species, 140 species of birds, 19 species of mammals, 28 species of reptiles and four species of amphibians (Chemonic International, 2002). It is estimated that as land falls to commercial cultivation, current deforestation rates of nearly four per cent annually may increase, posing a direct threat to the rich regional biodiversity. The excessive use of agro-chemicals in commercial plantations has also resulted in poor water quality which in turn has left aquatic habitats of shapla, shaluk, shell, tortoise, to name a few, vulnerable to various poisons. This has led to the extinction of fish species such as raga and pipihoile. Commercial cultivation resulting in market dependency has also led to the disappearance of various crops including between 50 and 60 types of dry rice and lesser known vegetables.

(b) Socio-economic Environment

Landlessness and Poverty

Commercial cultivation has in recent times encouraged the transfer of land to people living outside the region who expressed an interest in agro-business. In exchange for a small amount of money adivasis are leasing their land to outsiders for between five and 10 years. In most cases, such an arrangement results in landlessness as money lenders later acquire the property. Commercial land use does not mean that the local people are benefiting from such plantations; rather it appears as though the poor are becoming poorer and the rich are becoming richer. Although most of them have a minimal level of education, the Garos remain naïve to such mechanizations as striking poverty results from landlessness. This ultimately leaves many Garo working as wage labourers on Bengali plantations located in former Garo territories. Their former role as producers has been exchanged for one of marginalized employee working in the production sector.

Marginalization of Women

As mentioned above, decreasing forest resources have forced the Garos to integrate into the commercial economy. Ester Boserup (1970), in her influential book *Women's Role in Economic Development*, demonstrated that the introduction of new agricultural methods had a negative effect on women in the developing world. This resulted primarily from the forced change in the gender division of labour that led to women being displaced from their traditional areas of work. Such trends are discernable among Garo women of Modhupur Garh as their traditional agricultural roles and responsibilities have been transformed, thus in the long run results in less female control over the economy. For example, in jum cultivation females performed most of the tasks in a five-stage production cycle: women shared equally in two stages of production with males while the males were largely responsible for the final three stages in the subsistence economy (Table 1). Today Garo males dominate over the commercial production and females share responsibilities along with males in rice production.

It is clear that Garo women's previous position in agricultural production has changed. Previously, the females were found to work mainly in their own pineapple plantations, arum or ginger fields. Today most are engaged in rice production for home consumption, while almost all the Garo females work in kitchen gardens which demands less agricultural knowledge. Those who work outside the home do so in commercial banana plantations as day labourers. Although some are working in their own banana fields, more females are working exclusively as banana monoculturists thereby leaving their role as producers and adopting the role of wage labourers laden in tedious time consuming work associated with commercial production.

Threat to the Health Status

Various agrochemicals are used in the Modhupur region commercial agro-plantations to hasten the ripening of bananas and pineapples. Recently the media has grappled with this issue in various newspaper reports condemning the

Table 1 Gender Responsibilities in Jum Cultivation

	Major Responsibility		
Tasks	*Female*	*Male*	*Both*
Cutting and Lopping		M	
Clearing Undergrowth	F		
Burning			B
Making Stick for Digging		M	
Sowing Seeds	F		
Harvesting			B
Weeding	F		
Threshing and Winnowing		M	
Husking and Drying	F		
Storage	F		

Source: Dey, 2004

practice. It has been cited that 30 different types of growth hormones are currently being used in commercial plantations. Females working at banana plantations indicated in their interviews that chemical fertilizers like potash and urea are used in 15-day intervals. Further, hormones are sprayed on the fruit early on — a process that continues daily to ensure the healthy and quick growth of fruits; and after the harvest, farmers use additional hormones to maintain rapid ripening. As a result of this excessive hormone use, pineapples in certain instances were found to be rotten during the 2003 cropping season. As well, consumers have been suffering from various ailments such as dysentery, stomach pain, and vomiting, which have been associated with eating what are generally tasteless fruits.

The excessive use of pesticides and hormones has also become a significant concern for the producers. According to a recent Oxfam study, at least 750,000 cases of accidental pesticide poisoning occur each year resulting in 13,800 deaths worldwide. Of these, 10,000 occur in the third world. There are also chronic and long-term health effects such as various cancers, birth defects and induced sterility, for which no reliable data exist although officials believe they are directly related to similar agricultural practices. For example, women farm workers in the pineapple and banana plantation in Mindanao, Philippine, as well as rice and corn workers, were the first to notice that prolonged exposure to certain pesticides can actually cause spontaneous abortions and still births. Also cited were chronic dizziness and malaise, blurred vision, peeling off of nails and skin and swelling of the legs (Shiva, 1994, p. 119).

Through a questionnaire survey, some health problems of the Garo women who work in the agricultural plantations have been identified in Table 2.

Migration towards city

The introduction of cash crop production in Modhupur Garh in many regards is solely responsible for the abolition of nature oriented life pattern of the Garos. They are now more dependent on market to bear the necessities of day to day life, which finally has resulted in the increase of monitory demand. This has been resulted in Garos migrating towards cities, leaving the forest area. Bal (1999) has indicated that beginning in the 1960s, many Garos have started to migrate towards Dhaka. Dey (2004) found that a total of 40 Garo females and 33 Garo males from the surveyed 50 households migrated towards different towns of Bangladesh.

CONCLUSION

This preliminary study begins to map out some of the key concerns the Garo of the Modhupur

Table 2 Types of Health Problems Faced by the Women Working in Commercial Plantations

Problem	*Frequency*	*Valid Per Cent*
Headache	11	22
Vomiting	13	26
Sleeplessness	3	6
Numbness, Fever	5	10
Birth Complexity	2	4
Headache and Vomiting	6	12
Headache, Vomiting, Sleeplessness	4	8
No Response	6	12
Total	50	100

Source: Dey, 2004

region are contending with in the wake of the introduction of commercial agriculture which resulted in a need to integrate themselves into the now prevalent market economy. Beginning with the construction of the Tangail-Mymensingh highway during the British colonial period, the dark, dense sal forest was opened to outsiders for the first time. Over time the Modhupur regional transportation network has played a significant role resulting in the over-exploitation of forest resources, the destruction of biodiversity, as well as the expansion of commercial economy. The essence of the Garos traditional subsistence economy began to disappear following the formal ban on jum cultivation in early 1950s. Since then Garos engaged in cash crop production. Today, among many cash crops, banana monoculture has raised many questions among the environmentally conscious who fear that this will, in the long run, destroy the local forest ecosystem. Moreover, the socio-economic consequences of commercial economy need to be considered seriously. Arguably government and non-governmental initiatives should be taken to monitor the issue.

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A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization
by Michael Hart

Partnerships in Sustainable Forest Resource Management: Learning from Latin America
edited by
Mirjam A.F. Ros-Tonen
in collaboration with
Heleen Van Den Hombergh and Annelies Zoomers

BOOK REVIEW

A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization
Michael Hart
Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2002; ISBN 978-0-7748-0895-8; 576 pp.; $29.95

P. Whitney Lackenbauer

Canada has always been a trading nation, Michael Hart reveals in his sweeping study of the nation's trade policy from the first Europeans to arrive on Canada's coasts to trade for fish and fur, to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Uruguay Round. Hart, the Simon Reisman Chair in Trade Policy at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, is eminently qualified to write this survey. Although he openly acknowledges that his background as a trade official with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade influenced his decisions on which facts, events and ideas he chose to highlight (p. x), this allows him to develop a "practical and theoretical appreciation of economics and politics." He does not simply rely on theoretical models with self-serving anecdotal evidence; instead his analysis is well-grounded in historical evidence and systematic analysis to bolster his arguments. Canada's trade policy options always have been subjected to pressures from our major trading partners, particularly the British and the Americans, and our high dependence on foreign markets has forced Canadian decision-makers to continuously adapt to external pressures. Overall, Hart observes, they have done a good job — Canada's modern economy, and our participation in efforts to open the global economy, makes this obvious.

This is an ambitious book in both breadth and analytical depth, and Hart achieves his main objectives through clear lines of argument and an effective, flowing writing style. The focus is on policy, not on "trade" itself, which delimits what he chooses to assess. In his examination of the colonial period and the mercantile system between the "New World" and the "Old" (Hart starts with the arrival of the Europeans, and does not discuss the extensive pre-contact Aboriginal trade networks on the continent), the author demonstrated that trade reflected prevailing political organization and economic doctrines. While this accessible overview does not add much detail to the existing literature, and only references Native traders in superficial terms (pp. 18–19, 22), it does lay out the basic contours of core-periphery structures and the transition from mercantilism to free trade in the mid-nineteenth century. There is no discussion of Native peoples after the end of the French era. Dependency theory is not examined in terms of individual actors like Aboriginal peoples in the fur trade. Given the breadth of the book, it is

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Canadian dependency — from the colonial period to present — that is the central theme of his reflections on Canada as a "trading nation."

In his coverage of the last 150 years of Canadian trade policy, readers will find a rich discussion of the competing pressures to adopt nationalist, bilateralist and multilateralist solutions to trade issues. Hart's coverage of Canadian protective tariffs during the 1850s period, best known as an era of "reciprocity," serves as useful context to the National Policy and American wariness about Canadian economic intentions through to the late twentieth century. The particular strength of Hart's book, however, is in his coverage of the post-Second World War period. His own beliefs are clearly discernible: trade liberalization is positive (and its opponents either well-intentioned but misguided or self-interested beneficiaries of protectionism), and trade policy is best crafted by professional trade negotiators who do not succumb to trying to find ideal solutions, but rather practical and realizable ones. He suggests that continental integration has been beneficial rather than harmful to the Canadian economy: a good example is the Auto Pact, which was a windfall for Canadian workers and consumers. Furthermore, Hart integrates regional perspectives rather than treating "Canadian" trade policy as a monolith. Despite the strong public backlash against Prime Minister Mulroney during his last mandate, Hart depicts his government as astute in recognizing that a "bilateral" agreement would become multilateral and would ensure Canada a special relationship with the U.S. in terms of trade policy. While this reader craved more depth on some issues related to the post-Mulroney era, this was largely because Hart makes such an interesting case. He is at his best when contrasting the views of Canadian and foreign (particularly American) policy makers, particularly during the free trade negotiations which neatly juxtaposes the two sides' distinct perspectives. It also reaffirms that trade policy is inherently political: from Diefenbaker's failed European policy to the negotiators' efforts to break the impasse over the Free Trade Agreement. Because it is both comprehensive and eminently readable, this book will be essential to general readers and senior undergraduate or graduate students unfamiliar with the broad contours of Canada's evolving trade policies. It also provides an insightful overview for specialists seeking to ponder how these policies were devised over time.

The danger in reviewing a book such as this in a specialized journal is to place expectations on an author that far exceed those intended for the book. This study is about the highly political and bureaucratic processes of trade policy formation. As a result, it is not surprising that Aboriginal peoples' perspectives are not presented: this is definitely not intended to be a study of Native peoples in Canada and the global economy. There are no Native voices after the French colonial era, and Hart's broad scope and policy focus precludes discussion of Aboriginal contributions. A fair review, however, can reflect on future research initiatives flowing from a study. The existing historiography on post-fur trade Aboriginal economies has tended to focus within: what continuities and change can we find within regional or local economies? Scholars should also extend these questions outwards, to include national and transnational trade networks. What are "Aboriginal economies"? How do these compare with Canada's evolving economy over the last century in particular? And how do they operate in an era of globalization? Scholars will likely need to devise new methodologies and theories to address these questions. Michael Hart's skilful navigation of more than three centuries of Canadian trade history provides us with a much-needed foundation from which to explore these uncharted waters of intellectual inquiry.

BOOK REVIEW

Partnerships in Sustainable Forest Resource Management: Learning from Latin America

Mirjam A.F. Ros-Tonen
in collaboration with Heleen Van Den Hombergh
and Annelies Zoomers (Eds.)

Boston: Brill, 2006; ISBN 978-9004153-39-4; 336 pp.; US$66.00

Sarah Jane Fraser

Partnerships in Sustainable Forest Resource Management: Learning from Latin America represents the proceedings of a conference held in Amsterdam in 2003, examining globalization and the management of tropical forests. The partnerships described in each case study generally fall into three groupings: company-community, multi-sector, or political. The editors and authors strive to answer why and how we are missing out on opportunities to structure partnerships in an effort to foster local participation while at the same time alleviating poverty. The latter question is especially provocative considering that sustainable forest management and empowerment of communities has been presented as contributing to "pro-poor, socially just and environmentally friendly forest governance."

The authors in this compilation argue convincingly that insufficient attention is currently being paid to how many of the partnerships' under investigation in this volume are structured or to the overall analysis concerning possible outcomes of these business relationships. It was suggested that communities and local groups need to establish from the outset the potential benefits of partnerships to all parties involved. This would involve discussing how benefits will be distributed within the community and between partners; who will be responsible for taking financial and environmental risks; and the need for conflict resolution guidelines for events as varied as how to resolve disputes over perceived objectives or to establish criteria permitting one partner to leave the project to explore more lucrative options. To this point I agree: development officers need to challenge community-based and partner assumptions prior to entering into a partnership. In sum, a multi-perspective needs-assessment is required prior to putting pen to paper, thereby legally initiating a relationship. This could be accomplished by tapping individuals from your community to answer how the partnership could, for example, potentially impact neighbours, relatives, socio-economically challenged community members who need the partnership to succeed, and even how it may influence the community's wealthiest individuals.

Heleen Van Den Hombergh (chapter 4) reflects upon the minimum conditions of public-private partnership. She claims that the "most important basic principle is the basic right to a sustainable livelihood, which means that not

Sarah Jane Fraser, Industry and Trade Analyst, Canadian Forest Service

only respect for the country's legal system, but also the socio-economic rights of the poor should serve as a basis." She goes on to state that partnerships aiming to create sustainable development should not threaten the "survival in the countryside of the poorer categories among the 'beneficiaries', without alternative livelihood options being available." As a result, "the environmental but also the socio-economic benefits of interventions for a variety of rights and stakeholders (especially the poorest) should be properly thought through and not taken for granted" (101). I would argue that this is an essential first principle of partnerships, and one that is examined in *Partnerships in Sustainable Forest Resource Management*. Yet despite the obvious nature of such a statement many of the authors grappled with the issue of poor economic development and its current lack of effective guiding principles.

In chapter 12, for example, Otsuki suggests that there are five central elements necessary for communities to gain the maximum benefit from partnerships and development projects:

1. Adaptive management at the institutional level to deal with changing socio-economic circumstances and environmental conditions,
2. The creation of strategic partnerships with donors, industry and non-governmental organizations, where community learning is a central element,
3. Partnerships with research institutions to map traditional ecological knowledge, and address technological limitations, again, where community learning is included,
4. Involvement of community members from rural areas and urban centres, and
5. Market-oriented product development.

This idea of adaptive management is based on the learning cycle and is a central theme in the book. One strategy presented by Fairhead and Leach (chapter 5) discussed how to help deal with the issue of how to plan for an uncertain future. Their prescription is to use studies based upon traditional ecological knowledge and vegetation histories to help establish what is on your land base and how it came to be that way. In his chapter on extractive reserves, Sergio Rosendo describes the importance of adaptive management, which "assumes incomplete knowledge about ecosystem complexity and treats management as experiments from which managers can learn and then readjust management practices and institutions accordingly." He goes on to emphasise the importance of adapting to one's changing environment (e.g., political, economic, geographic) which is necessary for dealing with environmental, social and cultural influences

This compilation is presented as an academic exploration of issues that is also intended to provide a much needed learning tool for political and economic leaders who find themselves in similar circumstances. There are sections that would be especially relevant for development officers, community planners, and others involved in community development. It appears that the editors are hoping to perpetuate a trend in which indigenous communities become increasingly resilient and better able to adapt to changing environmental and social conditions in an effort to improve upon the analysis of positive and negative trade-offs that will flow from partnerships.

While I would generally recommend this book, *Partnerships in Sustainable Forest Resource Management* has a few notable weaknesses. First, all of the authors and editors work in institutes and universities located in the Netherlands, the U.K., Germany and the U.S. necessitating the question: how would the perspectives of academics based in Latin American countries differ and perhaps add to the analysis of those presented in *Partnerships in Sustainable Forest Resource Management*? Also a number of the case studies made for challenging reading because the book was written primarily for an academic audience, forcing readers perhaps not versed in the language of 'partnership', 'alliance', 'coalition', or 'network' into unknown waters. Yet attempts at contextualizing these concepts were made in an attempt to better assist the reader in understanding their importance, especially when they impact regions such as Latin America where devolving power and responsibility to the private sector and civil society has become a guiding ethos. Finally, the editors failed to properly establish for the reader the existing socio-political scene for the book, even if helpful summaries detailing important events and environmental challenges were presented at the beginning of each chapter in a somewhat repetitive fashion.

Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Call for Papers
Volume 6, Issue 1

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, and book reviews. Published twice yearly, the Journal is a unique resource for anyone interested in Aboriginal community economic development.

This call is for the next issue (volume 6 issue 1). Volume 6, Issue 1 of JAED will be published in September 2008 in preparation for the CANDO 15th Annual National Conference and AGM (Montreal, Quebec).

Papers should relate to one of the following areas:

- Aboriginal Community Economic and Enterprise Development
- Aboriginal Small Business and Entrepreneurship
- The Analysis of the Aboriginal Economy
- Evaluating Aboriginal Economic Activity
- Aboriginal Corporate Responsibility, Social Auditing, and the Triple Bottom Line
- Economic Partnerships
- Indigenous Knowledge and Economic Development
- Aboriginal Organizations and Management
- International Aboriginal Trade and the Global Economy
- Aboriginal Community Development: The Role of Women and Youth
- Change: Traditional and Modern Aboriginal Economies

We invite papers and case studies from academics and practitioners that address these issues. Academic papers will be subject to the usual double-blind peer-review process. Please note that we are not just looking for academic papers; we are also looking for interviews, case studies, and other practitioner views and perspectives. Submissions from practitioners will be reviewed by the co-editors. We believe such submissions will be particularly valuable, and it is our objective to publish as many as possible, if not in this issue then in subsequent issues of the JAED and/or in CANDO N-Side News. We want to know what people are doing, what is working, what is not working, and why.

Academic and Practitioner papers (double spaced, 12 point font, and 1 inch margins) should not exceed 25 pages in length, including appendices. Length can vary — 1 to 25 pages. The preferred format style is APA.

SUBMISSIONS MAY BE FORWARDED TO

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Submissions by e-mail are welcomed, in fact preferred. Send the paper as an attachment to the e-mail address above. The deadline for receipt of submissions for Volume 6, Issue 1 is November 1, 2007. If your paper does not make the cut for this issue, or needs extra work, it will be considered for publication in Volume 6, Issue 2. The deadline for receipt of submissions for Issue 6.2, tentatively scheduled to be published September 2009. Should you require further information please contact Svitlana Konoval, CANDO Executive and Administrative Services Coordinator at 1-800-463-9300 or skonoval@edo.ca.

Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Submission Guidelines

The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development (JAED) 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 (skonoval@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.

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